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Walter Mondale  
Denver, Colorado  
October 18, 1976  
Redgency Inn

... the significant western states Water and Power Consumer Conference, I want to thank Tony DeChant and Bob Partiage. I understand that their was a toss to see who would be the host to bring me in here, they lost, and ..., Ed Smith, Chairman of the Conference; Ken Billington, Washington Public Utilities Development Association; Fred Symgton, Alex Readion, Pat Greathouse; Vic Ray; Ben Radicliff and all my friends here and especially my old friend from North Dekota, Bill Guy. I campaigned for Bill Guy for United States Senate. The word got out and he lost but he's still a friend of mine and I want to introduce also my daughter, Elinor Zane, who don't you stand up so they can see you.

Well, we've been coming hard and strong in this campaign now for about six weeks, 18 hours a day, all over the nation and I feel that the campaign is coming very very well. I have the sense that we're picking up every day, people are making up their minds and we're going to win but I must also . concede that the President is pursuing a stragety that have been throwing off our pace. Very hard to keep up with that strategy, it began with the second debate, when he announced that Eastern Europe was free of Soviet control. We did not know that. We thought that some of our researches had missed something so we were so frenzed and paniced we took our research team and sent them to the Library of Congress, disrupting the whole campaign for three days, thinking that there was something we didn't know, and then just after we had wasted our resources in that way, the President changed his mind, he said that it took six days because it took thoughtful consideration. Then we're even having trouble following him. We don't know who he is. He went to Iowa and shrewdly said that he was in Ohio State, he went to Oklahoma City and confused us by saying he was in Lowton, Texas, he went to Lincoln, Illinois, and said that he was glad to be in Pontaic. They corrected him and he said no I mean Bloomington and then he finally summed it up by saying, We're great to be here. Well, I am pleased to be

here, at this great states' Water and Power Conference which is a conference that is dedicated to one of the most curcil sets of problems and concerns in America. I'm mindfull that it was before this association that John Kennedy gave his first significant speech on power development, conservation in America, and that it was that speech that help lay the ground work for the policies of his administration and we wanted this opertunity to do the same on the water and the conservation and the energy issues that affect this great western part of our country and we wanted to be here personally in order to address ourselves to these issues that so affect you, so affect your states, and affect all of the people of this country. As you know, Governor Lamb, a few days ago received a telegram from Governor Carter carefully and in detail spelling out his views on this wide ranging and complex and sometimes controversial issues and part of that telegram reads as follows:

... WHILE THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAS PAIDED LIP SERVICE TO THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE POWER OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THEY HAVE IGNORED THE STATES AS LEGIMINATE AND FULL PARTNERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL POLICIES. UNDER A CARTER ADMINISTRATION, THE STATES AND THE REGIONS, WILL BE THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY WITH A SIGNIFICANT ROLL IN THE FORMULATION OF ENERGY PROGRAMS WHICH BEST MATCH OUR RESOURCES TO OUR NEEDS AND I HOPE, DICK, THAT A COPY OF THIS IS GIVEN TO EVERY PARTICIPANT IN THIS CONFERENCE BECAUSE I THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT. "

And I wanted to be here personally speaking on behalf of the Governor and myself as to the policies that we will proceed with in the next administratio in this whole range of issues that concerns you. And it is significant on this issue as well as many others that we're trying to address the issues specifically, directly and in detail. We're trying to understand from the people what they want done with their lives and with their communities and with

their states and the opposing ticket has not made a single statement on this range of issues despite its importance to all of the western states, to its economy, and to the peoples' to each of those states.

Everywhere that I have gone in this campaign, I have seen the hope and the optimism that have always marked the American people but I've seen something else more sobering, a widely shared public belief that inspite of our vast resources, inspite of our wealth of spirit and skill as a people, we're somehow falling short. People feel that we're not doing our best as a nation and that our leaders are not calling forth the best that is in us. Our economy is stagnet, inflation is rampant, the cost of health care is soaring, housing is in a depression, and 8 million Americans are unemployed and our government which at the best moments in our history has been agcent of change and problem solving, is not drifting. Incapabilable of attacking much less solving the problems that we face. Nowhere are these failures more apparent than in the field of energy. For today it is a cold fact that we have no coherent . national energy policy. Three years ago we learned the cost of continued and increasing dependance on energy imports. We saw what can happen when a cartail of oil producing nations ascerts the right to dramatically increase prices, not by the laws of competition and supply and demand but by mopolistic price fixing practices. The 73 oil embargo, the gasoline lines and the economic shocks to this nation taught us one lesson that we must prepare a policy and a program to reduce the dependance of imports on imported oil. But lets look at the facts, before the 73 embargo we imported 35 per cent of our oil at a cost of 3 billion dollars. Today we import 40 per cent of our oil and the cost is not 3 billion but 30 billion and in one week in March we actually ~~for~~ for the first time imported more oil than we produced at home. Despite these alarming trends, our government is paralyzed, aimless, disorganized, and bound up in it's own red tape. Three years ago when the embargo was still fresh in our minds, President Nixon made a major television address and unvailed Project

Independance. It would be claimed free us from dependance of foreign sources of energy by 1980. That was 3 years ago and what's happened? Project Independance has remains the official policy of the Ford Administration but like the win button, it has long since disappeared from public view. Since the embargo, we have had a total of 6 energy zars. Responsibility for energy matters is scattered among 20 separate agencies with resulting confusion, duplication and inconsistency and for every Federal agency in Washington that deals with energy you'll find a counterpart regional office. More than once, and I'm sure that Dick would support this view, Governors have negotiated with Cabinet Members and Program administrators in Washington only to find out that they then have to argue over again the same issues with regional offices. The net result of all of this confusion is that the United States, three years after the Arab embargo, this administration still has no rational energy policy. It's one and only response to this crises has been the single minded pursuit of higher energy prices. In January 1975, as we slid into the recession, the President called for the removal of controls on oil and natural gas prices and proposed a 3 dollar tariff on imported oil. If this proposal had become law, it would have cost the average family of four over 500 dollars an incredible price to pay for no significant return and this same proposal, according to a Library of Congress Study, would have cost the average farmer at least a 1000 dollars more a year in production costs. If this proposal had become law, it would have increased the cost to consumers of nearly every manufacture product in our country. It would set off another round of double digit inflation. It would have added massively to unemployment. Energy induced inflation and unemployment would undercut and not strengthen the security of our country. That's why the Congress said no and the limited economic recovery that we had last year occurred only because we refused to enact the Ford Program. Yet incredible this administration is trying to take credit for the little recovery that we had last year. The truth of it is that the

Ford energy policy has been one without vision and without vision and without leadership and without a sense of purpose. The leadership to solve our problems must come from the White House. The courage to make the difficult decisions must come from the White House and this is the leadership that Governor Carter and I will provide. We will actively pursue an energy policy aimed at producing American dependance on imported oil and we will pursue this policy with a sensitivity to the particular energy policies of various regions of the country. First, and perhaps most important, we must put the economy back on its feet. There is no way that this nation can solve its problems with massive unemployment and with runaway inflation. Those problems, those twin problems must be solved. This year alone, at the Federal level, the American taxpayer will pay over 50 billion dollars just for the cost of unemployment in recession. Last year it was 65 billion dollars just for the cost of unemployment and recession. Unemployment robs the treasury of revenues that would come from people that were working and instead of working they have to pay out unemployment insurance, welfare, food stamps and the rest which buys nothing but frustration and despair. And one of the things that we absolutely must do and one of the things that will positively will not be done under this administration this the pursuit of a balanced fiscal and monetary policy to put people back to work so that their earning money, paying their share of the revenues, staying off welfare, and helping this country grow and produce the things we need.....

We can't deal with opec if there is any doubt about our internal, economic strength and that's why the attack of inflation and unemployment is essential, and that's why we need policies to protect our family farms by supplying decent price supports and a firm policy against embargos--I just want to stop there a minute.

I just came from Kansas, Wichita where we had three or four thousand people out yesterday, all for Carter and Mondale, and as I went through the crowd after the speech I can't tell you how many shook my hand and said I'm a farmer who used to be a Republican but we can't

afford any more a what we've been going through. We're losing 30, 40, 50 cents a bushel, sometimes more on wheat. We're losing a \$100 a head on cattle, and what's more on the eve of the election their trying to assume we're not smart enough to know the difference. Now I helped lead the fight in the Senate for minimum loan programs that would help bring loan levels up to closer production costs. We knew and you knew that we were still far short of those cost figures but at least we tried; and on two occasions we sent to the President legislation to improve those minimum loan levels and in both cases he vetoed the legislation and each time he vetoed it he said you don't need this legislation because we're going to get good farm returns and profits out of an aggressive policy of international trade and you'll have great profits flowing from the advantages of international marketing; and then along came the embargoes--totally unnecessary, totally unjustified, and they banged the embargoes down four times in three years despite their promises to American farmers that he would have access to international markets, costing the farmers in this country hundreds of millions of dollars and shaking the confidence of our traditional farmers, such as Japan who have now gone elsewhere around the world such as Brazil . to try and find alternatives' sources of production to compete with this magnificent farm system that we have. Now three weeks before the election they would have you believe that it's all different.

My father was a minister in southern Minnesota. He said, you know, son, in my life I've heard a lot death bed conversions. He said, there's one thing wrong with them. I said, what's that, dad. He said, sometimes they get well..... And he said that's what their trying to do, they been converted, they're campaigning against the embargoes they imposed, their trying to raise temporarily minimum loan levels for grain, but the farms still realize that those loan levels are so pathetic that wheat prices that are already falling through the floor can fall much farther--clear below production costs. They announced at these import programs it looked good when you looked at the large print but like some of those insurance contracts, when you looked at the small print, it took it all back and under the import quota program as much beef can be brought in this year as last year

and they didn't change the beef import programs at all. They raised modestly the price support but they had earlier vetoed two improvements in dairy price supports, pecked at 85% and our evidence was that 85% a farmer would get less than the minimum wage. They vetoed two of those bills and the Vice President running against me....the Vice President candidate running against me voted to sustain those vetoes.

The other day I was in Houston for the Regional REA Association down there and told something about Mr. Ford's record in REA. He probably has the worse anti-REA record of any member of the House and that's their record. And I would hope that every farmer and every family farmer and every one else who believes in family farming....let me say this....the family farm is the greatest strength in our economy. It is a precious resource. It has given us our chief strength in these energy problems, and all the other problems we face at home and abroad. No other system works as well as our family farm system.....None of 'em.....

I read a story of the Soviet Union recently--some guy was working on a collective farm and when he was asked how it worked, he said this system works so bad, he said, I'm convinced that if they collectivized the Sereha Dessert within two years they'd have to import sand..... Agriculture has saved this country from the worst of these oil deficits and never again can we take our family farm system for granted, and a Carter-Mondale Administration will not..... Carter will be the first farmer to be President since Thomas Jefferson, and I'm not convinced that Tom was a farmer..... I've got a perfect farm record, always have...what would you'd expect from somebody trained from Hubert Humphrey.....

Secondly, we will reorganize, simplify and streamline the energy bureaucracy, we will combine the present tangle of energy agencies into a cabinet level energy department.

This department would be charged with analyses, energy conservation, research and development, data collecting, and the economic regulation of oil, gas, utilities and pipelines...functions now spread hopelessly throughout the federal government. We are committed to this reorganization and a thorough overhaul of the bureaucracy because we believe the



confused organization produces confused results, and in the critical field of energy requires careful management is long overdue.

Third: we will have a coherent, rational, energy plan. We will begin with an aggressive, conservation program. Today, three years after the embargo, the Ford Administration has no conservation program and the records show that. They have opposed mandatory efficiency standards for cars. We believe that such standards are essential and we support them. They have fought against energy conservation standards for major appliances. We will fight for them. They have made no effort to encourage mass transit, and to revitalize our railroads. We feel that the U.S. should have rail and mass transit systems second to none, and not just talking about urban systems but I'm talking about rural systems; and our whole upper mid-west we find it at a time when the evidence shows that rail is the most energy efficient, the most environmentally sound, the most useful for the movement of supplies and crucial to transportation competition that the rails are trying to massively abandon services to rural communities throughout those areas and this nation must have a balanced rail policy which encourages and supports efficient, modern rail transportation throughout this country, including rural America.....

Under this Administration the FEA has failed to help the states to develop conservation programs despite congressional requirements to do so. We will put that mandate into action. A strong conservation program is crucial to the future of the West. Without such a plan, our most spectacular scenic regions, our most productive farming regions will become as in Mic Mansfield's words an energy backyard of the nation. We cannot and we will not let this happen.

In addition, we must speed action to develop alternative energy resources. We emphasize on the vast quantity of energy available from renewable sources--the sun, the wind, the heat--on the earth and the tides. We know that most of these are long term, but a substantial national commitment to the development is needed now, so that as our oil and natural gas resources vanish we are prepared to fill the gap with secure and reliable alternatives; and in the immediate future we must produce more domestic oil and natural

gas to free ourselves from dependence on foreign supplies. Reasonable incentives to producers are clearly needed to meet the cost of exploration and production. That's why we support a cautious, experimental lifting of price ceilings on new natural gas. Through this program we can find out whether these incentives will bring greater production without a sharp increase in the overall price of gas consumers, but under this program, we will make sure that these price controls are kept on the vast bulk of natural gas, the gas that's already been discovered and placed under contract. This is a targeted strategy to raise prices high enough to give producers an adequate incentive but not simply to line the pockets of major oil companies. The essence of the Ford-oil-and-natural-gas-policy is to throw money, your money, at the supply problem without targeting these incentives. This is wasteful and unjustified, and because we know only too well what drastic price increases can do to our economy we strongly oppose decontrolling the price of domestically produced oil. We favor sensible incentives to help achieve independence but we draw the line at working the OPEC cartel to dictate our energy prices at home. We much prefer that the prices be set in the free market--that's where they should be set but when our energy pricing is really set not in competitive market but by as a result of the successful actions of, perhaps the most successful cartel in the history of the world--OPEC--we have a right to civilize those prices in order to make certain that the needs of the American people deal with inflation, to have employment, and yet to have enough to produce energy be balanced. Finally, we must make a major shift from the use of oil and gas toward coal--our most abundant energy source. We have in America, roughly 35 years of available oil at present consumption rates and a 200 year supply of coal. Only 18% of our consumption comes from coal, although it makes up over 80% of our known national fossil resources, but the future in coal production in America, and in the western states are still uncertain largely because the federal government has not provided clear goals and clear directions. This Administration has sought concentration instead of cooperation in dealing with our coal resources. For example, last year the Congress passed a Federal Coal Leasing Act of 1975 to modernize our policies governing coal on federally owned land. The concept

behind this legislation is simple--use it or lose it. The measure encourages lease owners to produce coal and not to just hold it for speculation; and it encourages competition among leaseholders. The bill contains provisions that insures that at least 50% of the total acreage leased must be done in a deferred bonus system, giving public power companies and others without massive financial resources a chance to compete. Mr. Ford's response to this bill was veto it. He vetoes everything. They said a leaf floated into the Oval Office the other day and they said he vetoed it until they could get it away from him..... This veto was overridden by a wide by-partisan majority of the Congress.

There is another coal related veto...I'd like to talk about. One I know that was supported by many people in this room. We must develop our coal resources....there's no question about that, but we need other things as well. We must protect the farms and the ranches in the West; and we cannot afford to destroy the magnificance of these western states. We can disagreed about the two strip-mining bills passed by the Congress. I supported both of them, because I thought they were sound but putting that legislation aside for a moment, I think that anyone who has ever been to Applalochia, who has seen the devistation still unreclaimed in areas of those states, would agreed on the need of strong legislation to make sure that this tragedy is not repeated here. We have enormous deposits of coal and that's what makes the destruction of streams and farms, and ranches, so unnecessary. We have the resources to prevent that destruction if we manage them wisely. Instead, this Administration has opposed any meaningful legislation to deal with the strip-mining issue and the result has been deadlocked. This stalemate the President, the Congress, and states, clouds the future of coal develop, delaying the substantial investments needed to stimulate coal production. We believe it is time to end this uncertainty by an acting meaningful strip-mining legislation.

We all know that plans for energy development will have a major impact on the American West. The Administration has responded by placing the entire burden of energy development on your states, while refusing to help meet the special problems that you face. It has opposed energy impact legislation to help local officials cope with the mushrooming problems

when hit with energy development booms.

It has ignored special water needs of the water states. Federal policies have helped the major oil companies obtain huge amounts of water resources from federal lands in the West which now threaten viability of agriculture. To take just one example, in the Yellowstone River Basin, virtually the entire major capacity reservoir constructed by the bureau has been committed but to whom has it been committed--not to the farmers or the farm organization, or to the public power organizations of the West--instead it has been committed to the nation's major oil companies--Texaco, Mobile, Exxon, Arco and Gulf--they have bought this water for speculative purposes, for possible use with coal development; yet, this should come as no surprise since areas in coal leasing itself have favored <sup>federal</sup> majored oil companies. Among the top fifteen/coal lease owners are five major oil companies--Continental, Shell, Sun, Gulf, and Arco; and everyone of the federal leaseholders of federal shell land is a major oil company. In short what we have seen is the government is giving away, or sold, or leased this nation's, this public's resources for private gain to the major oil companies. They have given these companies increasing grip on the energy resources in the West.

If there is anyone in this country who understands the need for competition in our industries, it is you, the public power associations, the rural cooperatives, and the farm leaders from time to time have fought to assure reasonably priced energy supplies for your customers. As a matter of fact, one of the great stories today in energy is the role of these associations in giving us the competition that we do have today thankfully in the energy industry and it should be our policy to encourage your development and the strengthen of your movement. If it weren't for the competition you provide, consumers in this region and throughout the country would be paying much more than they now do for their energy supplies, but you cannot do the job alone; especially in view of what's happening to our coal resources. That's why the governor and I support the concept of horizontal divestiture to insure that the major oil companies do not continue the present trend of acquiring huge stakes in the development of coal, in the development of oil

We believe that when it comes to energy resource development that the partner should be the federal government and the states and the people, not just the federal government and the major oil companies; and I'm proud that the western governors banded together recently in the recent compact to guard the interest of the western states. Governor Carter responded by outlining his commitment to cooperate with the states, not to dominate them or ignore their interest while favoring the oil industries. And I think that this message should be carried throughout the western states of what this administration has not done to work with you in the most crucial of all issues, what they've done to you in ignoring your needs, and I was pleased yesterday to see the editorial support of the Denver Post for the Carter-Mondale ticket.....

And one of their key points was that the time has come to get a President who will work respectfully and cooperatively with the western states and their people in a balanced energy environmental policy in this country. I am here today on behalf of Governor Carter to tell you that that is our pledge, we will work with you, we will be with you, and we'll solve this problem together in a way that serves your interest and the national interest and we'll do it in a way that we can all be proud of.....

If anything is certain, it is that the energy problems will not go away but the problems we face can be solved. The real energy crisis is basically a crisis of will and of leadership. We know that it will not be easy to balance our need for energy with respect for our environment, to mobilize our resources, and develop the technology needed to improve efficiency in both production and in the use of energy supply. It will not be easy to change our habits as we must do, to drive smaller cars, to sacrifice some of the luxuries that squander energy, but I have no doubt that the American people can meet the challenge. As once Roosevelt said, Democratic processessies of government can always meet the problems of emergencies if the leadership in public life recognizes and has the courage to tackle the problems today. It is that kind of leadership and courage that we've been missing, not only in the last 2½ years but in the last 8 years. And I thought the most helpful part of our debate the other evening showed that there is utterly no hope for leadership for the future of that ticket.....

The Governor and I are ready to make a fresh start--renew generation of leadership, willing and with your help to get on with the job that must be done. We don't pretend to have all the answers--we know better than that--but our democracy has one great advantage over all other forms of government and that is cooperation with the states, with government, and with organizations like yours that allows us to work together to solve our problems.... it is in that spirit that we intend to proceed and we're here today to tell you in precise detail how we wish to proceed, and we're here to ask for your help.

Thank you very much.....thank you.....

Walter Mondale  
San Diego, California  
October 19, 1976  
California Mayor's Conference

..... thank you very much. My good friend Tom Bradly for that very kind and nice introduction, to Pete Wilson the Host Mayor, Tom Putman, the first Vice President and soon to be the first lady president of the California League, Delane Winters, Mayor Daveys, Mayor Hayes, your executive director Don Bendehoden and participants at your California League of Cities Convention:

I'm glad to be back in San Diego. I was last here when I was running for a different office,.....President of the United States. It didn't go well and I thought I would use this morning to explain to you why. When I decided to run for President I very screwly assembled all the great Minnesota political leaders in a single room, just think of it: Harold Stasson, Gene McCarthy, Hubert Humphrey, and I said, tell me how you run for President. They said, there's nothing to it,.... I said, give me your best advise; and Stasson said, be humble. McCarthy said, work hard.... and Humphrey said, keep it short..... So I was off and running, one of my best stops was here in San Diego, and at the end of a year's campaign the gallup poll showed that I a candidate of a whopping 1% of the American people.... only 3% behind "don't know"..... I then challenged him to a debate..... He didn't even have the courtesy of responding so I pulled out ..... I must say though that the people adjusted very quickly.... and impressively to my decision.....

We think our campaign is picking up. I've been all over the country in the last six weeks, but I must confess that President Ford is pursuing a new strategy that is confusing us and throwing us off our course.

It began 10 days ago when he announced that Eastern Europe was independent and autonomous of Soviet control. I'll admit, we didn't know that....we didn't know it...and we took all our research staff and sent them to the Library of Congress to see what there was that we had to learn that we didn't know, totally paralyzing our campaign for nearly a week. Just when we found out the answer he changed his mind...now he's pursuing a different policy and he really has us confused, we don't know where he is; most of the time. A few days ago, he visited Iowa State University, he said he was

glad to be at Ohio State.....then he went to Oklahoma City and said it was nice to be in Lawton, Texas.....then he went to Bloomington and said it was nice to be Joliet, Indiana...and then he toured Lincoln, Illinois and said it was nice to be Ponitac.... the crowd corrected him and he said, o' yes, Bloomington.... and then he concluded by saying, we're great to be here.....

Seriously, I'm glad to be here to speak before the League of Cities organization that is accepted by everyone in the field as the best League of Cities of any state in the Union. It's a standard procedure to praise the organization that your speaking before and I must say that once in a while it's not a very easy task. .... But to those who are cynical and discouraged about the performance of government in this country they should come to California. This state has done more to revitalize state and local government than possibly any other state in the nation. You have an innovative and progressive state legislature. You may well have the best runned cities in America with some of the most highly regarded professionals in city management. The high degree of professionalism and confident reflected in this organization is well respected around this nation, and much of this is due to the outstanding leadership of your former executive directors, Bud Carpentar and Dick Graves, and the fine work of your present executive director Don Binginghoven.

At a time when so many government institutions are criticized California can gather together several thousand city officials like yourselves who will respect it for your confidence and honesty; and at a time when so many people seem to be asking what their country can do for them most of you are here this morning as volunteers, unpaid professionals, proud of the cities you manage. Because this state care about local government, and because of the long standing traditions of excellence on the part of local officials, California cities have very successfully coped with problems facing your cities. I came here today at your invitation as a part of our effort in this campaign not to use the campaign for the purposes to make the standard political talks but as a part of our policy during this campaign to try to address in serious ways, indepth, some of the major issues and problems confronting our nation and no issue is more



important, no policy question calls off more for explicit detail and policy than the role of state and governments and the relationship of those governments to the federal government. From the beginning of my public career it has been my privilege to be working closely with local governments. From the days of my private practice when I served as counsel for local governments to the nearly five years when I served as the attorney general of my state, and as you know, in most state the attorney general has a very close working relationship with municipalities, to the twelve years I spent in the Senate, and eight of those year as a member of Housing and Urban Subcommittee, a member of the Finance Committee and Budget Committee which have a host of responsibilities which directly affect the functioning of the municipalities.

In all those years I worked very closely with not only our state League but the national league of cities and I'm very, very proud of the record that I've established over those years as one of the most consistent supporters of the objectives of this League; and certainly nothing is more important in this campaign than that the candidate for the highest office the land spell out in detail and care just what it is they propose to do in federal policy that effects municipal government, and that's my reason for being here this morning and the reason I am so grateful to you for permitting me to do so.

Despite the progress in California cities throughout the country are in deep trouble. The problems continue. They are getting worse, and the statistics are quite clear. In 1959 27% of the nation's poor lived in the cities. Two years ago it has risen to 36%, and the number of poor concentrated in our cities continues to rise. While the national rate of unemployment is a startling 7.8%, unemployment averages nearly 10% in the federal cities and in poverty areas up to 40 and 45%. The trend here in California is the same; while statewide unemployment was 9.6%, which is an astounding figure. Here in San Diego it was over 11% and in San Francisco over 11%. Small business bankruptcies have nearly doubled in the past two years and each of these bankruptcies contribute to the erosion of local taxes. City housing is deteriorating dramatically. Nineteen seventy-five was the worst year in over 29 years, in terms of new production in housing in our country. There isn't a recession, there's a depression

in housing. Thousands of dwellings are falling into government hands. And according to the census bureau 1/3 of all renters in center cities live in units classified as only fair or poor. Urban transportation in many American cities--most of them are deplorable; and violent crime has risen 58% since 1969 and has ruined the vibrance and vitality of thousands of downtown and neighborhoods throughout America. Most public officials understand the magnitude of these problems and the need for a major effort by the federal government to help her cities. In all the major issues I have worked with you are in the Senate: Revenue Sharing, Housing, Social Services and the rest, there has been a bi-partisan support from leadership from mayors, city managers and governors, but unfortunately the record of the Nixon, and Ford Administration has made the plight of our cities a bi-partisan issue in this election. These administrations have turned their backs on the problems of our cities. They have demonstrated their insensitivity with their budgets, with their enpoundments, and with their vetoes. Between 1972 and 1974 the Nixon Administration cut  $4\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars in a variety of urban programs and another 7 billions to aid the poor, the untrained, the unemployed and the medically indignant. These cuts occurred during a period when municipalities lost  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million in purchasing power due to inflation; and Mr. Ford's budget this year, the 1977 budget contains a proposal for a series of devistating cuts of nine billion dollars in federal aid to cities and states; and perhaps nothing demonstrates the twisted priorities of this Administration more than their tax and budget policies. Mr. Ford, for example, is making an issue over his supposed plan to cut 10 billion dollars in personal income tax, but let's take a look at the fine print. Where are they going to get the offsetting budget cuts to pay that so-called 10 billion in relief? The answer is that nine billion of it is coming out of aid to cities and states and will be reflected, most likely, in higher real estate taxes at home. Now, I strongly oppose these cuts, but at least you could say this if there really were 10 billion dollars in tax relief at those state and local governments could argue that there would be an expanded revenue base back home, but the truth is that there is no net reduction in personal income tax. In fact, when you read the fine print

the 10 billion dollars in tax relief he's talking about is fully funded by increases in personal income taxes in other ways by removing more progressive elements of our income taxes and shifting them into more regressive elements. Let me show you exactly what I mean, while he claims to be reducing income taxes by 10 billion under his plan he plan also calls for a 6.6 billion increase in the payroll tax and elimination of 3 billion dollars in personal tax relief now found in the tax loss in terms of personal reductions, in terms of the low income worker's tax bonus, and for the increasing taxes in a regressive way by 10 billion dollars, he proposes tax relief that would give three times as much relief for an American earning a \$100,000 a year as it does a family and a taxpayer earning \$15,000 a year. Even worse, Ford tax plan when fully effective calls for a permanent net deduction in corporate and individually income taxes of 20 billion dollars; and I can assure you that if this is carried out a good part of that 20 billion dollars must inevitably from federal assistance to state and local governments.

Now just as Mr. Ford has used his budget to reduce existing programs for our cities he has used the veto to prevent the enactment of new legislation supporting by most of you in this room, and your colleagues throughout the country. In 1976, he vetoed the HEW's Appropriation Bill, including programs for education, social services, welfare and health, public service jobs, and employment service. He vetoed the public works employment act which provided funds for counter cycle and funds for the quick of public works program. After that veto was sustained, he then vetoed a much reduced compromise public works employment act which contained counter cycle aid and funds for public works. Last year he opposed the Muskie Counter Cycle Aid proposal, vetoed employment emergency appropriation to provide a million jobs, and vetoed the emergency housing act of 1975 which included interest subsidies, help with downpayments, and loans to unemployed home owners for mortgage costs. The list can go on and on, With your help, the National Leagues' help, bi-partisans congressional majorities force White House compromise, thus enabling us to salvage much of this effort at long delays but is undoubtedly in Ford's Administration management of our economy that we've

..... honored cities. For the past two years we've had the highest unemployment since the great depression, coupled with the worse sustained inflation in 25 years. Since Mr. Ford took office unemployment in America has increased by 50%; for every 10 people standing in unemployed lines when he was sworn in, there are now 15; every 10th Californian is unemployed ..as we met this morning--three times the number 8 years ago. Now each 1% unemployment cost state and local governments roughly 6.6 billion dollars in lost revenues and increased mandatory spending for welfare and unemployment. In '75 and '76 alone unemployment cost state and local government more than 50 billion dollars and inflation an additional 30 billion. And Mr. Ford's own economic report there is one startling statistic which summarizes the devastating impact of simultaneous unemployment and inflation on the cities. In '73 all state and local governments had accumulated a surplus of 4 point billion dollars, by '75 it had sunk to a net deficit of 1.1 billion, a swing of over 5 billion dollars in the poster of local governments around the nation. In response to this financial pressure, cities have been forced to raise local property tax by a billion and a half dollars and at the same time cut back important municipal services. Over a hundred thousand municipal jobs were eliminated last year alone. To make matters worse, when these cities go to the bond market they are told because of their precarious position they must pay even higher interest rates to compete in that market. Now all of this occurred at a time when the Ford Administration was shashing away at Federal aid to the cities. Under his policies his own economist agree that we cannot expect full employment within this decade. Just this morning the new GNP figures came out showing that the rosey predictions for this administration for productivity are just not turning out to be true. GNP has now dropped to half of what it was in the first quarter of this year. GNP is limping along at a rate below that which is necessary even to hold our own and the last unemployment figures, a crucial element of unemployment worsen dramatically and that's the category of heads of households. When the head of a household loses a job, the whole family is in trouble, and unemployment in that category rose dramatically in the the last statistics. Also, inflation is getting worse. The wholesale price index just out reports double digit inflation in the wholesale price sector. The social and

economic cost of these policies casts a dark shadow over the future for every city in the country. They forecast ever increasing pressure on property, sales and other local taxes already beyond their limits. Here in California, you know what I'm talking about. Here homeowners property taxes have increased 33 per cent in two years, yet many of these tax payers have seen local services decrease because your cities need even more money to hold out against inflation. Now the election is upon us, Mr. Ford now says that he's for many proposals that he original opposed. My father was a minister in small towns in Southern Minnesota. He used to tell me about death bed conversions. He said that the trouble with them is that sometimes they get well and they almost always forget them. Just a few weeks ago, Mr. Ford went to Yonkers, New York, a city that is nearly bankrupt to sign the extention of the revenue sharing act. Now I have a special affection for that program, I was one of its original sponcers and we consider it a Minnensota idea, Docter Heller, of the University of Minnesota, first proposed it and I was very surprised when Mr. Ford used that occasion to make an erroneous and misleading attack on Governor Carter for supposedly opposing revenue sharing. He neglected to point out that Governor Carter does support federal revenue sharing and had urged the Presidents' signature and he also forgot to point out that under the Governors' revenue sharing program, local governments would have received eight and one half billion dollars more than under the Presidents' plan. He also neglected to point out that his budget this year would trim 9 billion from existing aid to state and local government and he neglected to point out that federal revenue sharing is adopted would replace less than one third of theo cost that local governments incurred as the result of high unemployment caused by his policies. Now there is no way that our cities can cope with these difficult problems alone. Once again we must restore a creative and respectful partnership between Washington and state and city governments but the record of the past makes it clear that we will not have that partnership without new leadership. We don't have all of the answers and will make mistakes but we very much want to start this new course of leadership. A high priority of our administration will be to end the policies that have abandoned our cities and to pursue a course which recognizes the necessary of federal support and assistance in solving our urban problems andour objectives will be these;

First, we believe that there is no solution to any of our nations' problems, including the problems of our cities, unless we can put people back to work and fight inflation and get this inflationary rate down. It is the single most important action that the government can take to help state and local governments. Without a healthy and vibrant economy, where all Americans who can work are working, American cities will continue to operate on the brink of disaster and I make that point in a harsh way because I think that there are very few economists today who would disagree with the point that this administration has unduly and excessively restrained the economy on the misplaced notion that inflation is being caused by excess demand. They have succeeded in reducing unemployment already, alright, and stagnating the economy alright but because that wasn't the cause of inflation we have inflation with us as well. Secondly, we must once and for all end the rat's maze of federal bureaucracy and the confusion and the unpredictability of federal policies toward state and local governments that have so frustrated and paralyzed you in the past. We could not be more serious in our pledge to re-organize the federal bureaucracy and nowhere is the need more clear than in the area of federal, state, and city relations. Why should it take 12 months for the urban mass transit administration to send a check from Washington to California? Why should your state employment insurances be required to submit at least 108 forms on a monthly basis to the U.S. Department of Labor and why should grant and aid reporting requirements be so complex that smaller cities are often discouraged from participating in federal programs? I've been around public life along time and I think that there is no alternative to put the responsibility in the hands of elected officers and every level of government the buck must stop on the desk of someone who's accountable to the voters. It has to be that way and no level of government is more accountable, is closer to the people, is required to remain closer to the people, than at the local level. There is no way that a federal bureaucrat could possibly substitute the knowledge that each of you have about each of your own communities, no way on earth. And what we need at the federal level is just a simple understanding of that basic fact. Very few of you, I think one fact is true, I've noticed it over the years, there are very few local elected officers with unlisted phone numbers because as soon as you unlist it they get somebody else and that is

terribly crucial part of the government of your communities but to also to the health of this community. Statistics show that about half of the people in this country have turned off to the public process because they feel that it's too remote, it's too unresponsive, it doesn't care, it's too deceitful and even illegal. In order to restore that confidence one of the most decisive acts that we can take it to make certain that the fullest possible authority rests with those of you who are closest to the people and that would be a key objective of our administration and that's why we support federal revenue sharing and see it as being so important and that it must be strengthened. And then we need at long last to reform our welfare system. You know better than I what a mess that is. Now when ever you want to applaud just let it rip you will not bother me at all. It happens so seldom, I actually like it. The welfare system is too often wasteful to the taxpayer, demeaning to the recipients. It often discourages work and encourages the break up of families. The system ... poops people and differs greatly in benefits and regulations from state to state. Governor Carter and I proposed at long last a fair uniformed national program of welfare benefits funded in, your doing very well, substantial part by the federal government and as the federal budget margin permits, we're committed to assuming the local share of welfare payments and we look forward to working with state and local officials to design a program which is fair to the beneficiary, fair to the dedicated people who work in our welfare system, and above all, fair to the American taxpayer. We want to remove what are called the disincentive features of our welfare system. It always ought to be the case that those who can work will do better by working than non working and that requires an incentive system. In Addition, this nation must revitalize it's housing programs. I know in California you see dramatically the impact of the failure to have a housing program that really produces adequately for this nations' needs. In 68 when we passed the housing act, and I was one of its principal sponsors, we established a minimum objective of 2.6 new housing starts a year hoping in 20 years we might reach the objective declared in the 1940 Act of a good home and a good neighborhood for every family in the country. Since then we've reached barely half of that and often in these recent years, with high interest rates and the elimination of these federal programs we've been even though half of that objective

and because that housing stock of that country has barely kept even with what it was and has even often been shrinking the cost of that existing housing stock has soared in this nation. The cost of a medium family home now is double what it was six years ago. So every time a home is sold in California, it costs double what it did six years ago. Real Estate taxes reflect that increase in market value ... and you the citizens are tearing your ears off because of the soaring real estate rates and the only answer, there are many answers, but one of the answers has to be to get enough housing production so the supply starts reaching the demand and because of that we get some civilized housing prices again. It is not enough for fully fund these programs, we must also reform them. But federal housing programs are not enough, unemployment and high interest rates have crippled the private construction of housing bringing these interest rates down, restraining inflation, will do more to end our housing shortage and the deterioration of our cities than any federal housing program. These are our main objectives but all of this requires a restoration of a respectful cooperative relationship between the White House and the Congress. These last eight years have been tough for all of us and I don't know how those of you at the municipal level get along at all with any program where you depend on the federal government. There has been such a deadlock, so much delay, so much unpredictability, and period of impoundments that it must be almost impossible to prepare your own budget. It has been suggested by some that government works best when the Executive and the Legislative Branches are at logger heads, I don't think that there is any evidence that that is true at all. It has not been true in my state, where we have I think an excellent state government working cooperatively with local levels of government and it has not been true here in California, where united government has produced better state government than a government logger heads and I don't think that it's true in most of the states which have a Executive and Legislative committed to the same goals and are willing to take joint responsibility for the success or failure of their actions. What we've had for eight years are debating points, to decide whose responsible for failure and the American people are no longer interested in debating points. The time has come to have a unified national government that gets the job done. Finally, we need a respectful relationship, an under-



standing between the federal and local government. As vice president I would hope to perform the role that my dear colleague Hubert Humphrey performed when he was vice president. He tried to be the ... for local government. If you were having trouble with red tape, you called Hubert Humphrey and the check arrived by the time that you put the phone back on the cradle. Humphrey would have liked that. There has to be a personal commitment is my point at the top levels of the federal government to make any of those federal programs work in the way that makes sense to you and in that regard I would like to be your representative working with the national league, working with you, to make certain that these federal programs are not only there, properly funded, but work in a way that really permits you to do your job the way that it must be done. Together all of us have an overriding duty to restore faith and trust in government. This nation cannot live on a continuing diet of frustration and despair. This nation is in danger, when 50 per cent of her citizens say that they no longer think government responds, or will respond, or cares. Government, in a democracy, in our great country, our chief assets is the affection and the trust of the American people. If we don't have that, we're risking the future of our country and above all it would be our hope that in the next few years, working together, we could break through that tremendous veil of despair and restore the love and the trust and the optimism of our people. Thank you very much.

Walter Mondale  
Portland, Oregon  
October 20, 1976

Thank you very much. You know I really like Oregon so much so that I made arrangements to have my wife born here and I like it better every time I come here particularly when I see in your eyes that you're about to make this state go for the Carter Ticket on November 2. It's always an honor to be with my friend and your governor, Bob Straub, who unlike most governors in most states greets me every time I come to his state. Neil Goldschmit whose I guess I know, best mayor in the country, to the ablest tax specialists in America, Al Ulman; my old friend who's going to be reelected. What does it take to be nominated on both tickets. I was told to come to Oregon and just hold on to Bob and I couldn't lose, so here I am. One of the most exciting new voices in America, who is going to be re-elected overwhelmingly, Les Coin; to the co-chairman of the Carter Mondale Ticket my old friend Betty Roberts and Fred Hurd and to the Miss Lilian of Oregon, Dorthey McGall. And I want to thank my friend who gave me the picture Mundall. You know one of the great tragedies of my campaign in my public career has been that my great great grandfather came from Norway with a perfectly good name of Mundall, changed it to Mondall, and I lose a hundred thousand votes every election. You know as we have been traveling around the country with the national press and all of the network cameras here we've been trying to teach them about America and in order to do that we've tried to have impartial public opinion polls that they could use in the morning and evening news to tell about each of the stops that we take. Here tonight we have a balanced audience, Republicans, Conservatives, a few liberals and I'd like to take a little poll and I'd like the cameras to cooperate. How many of you watched the debate last Friday night? Alright, I want you to think seriously now as you decide how to vote, get the cameras ready, they're not ready, how many of you are going to vote for Carter for the United States. There you have it. There you have it. 103 per cent of the vote. But the real reason that I wanted to come here tonight is tell you not to get over confident because in the last 10 days Ford is pursuing a new strategy that has confused us and thrown us off our course. It began in the foreign policy debate when he announced that Eastern Europe was free of Soviet Control. We didn't know that. I'll be honest about it. And so we took all of our research specialists and told them to drop everything and go to the Library of Congress to see if there was something

Walter Mondale  
Portland, Oregon  
October 20, 1976

-2-

that we didn't know about Eastern Europe and just about the time we thought we had the answers the President said something else. Now he's pursuing a different strategy of confusing us as to where he is. The other day he was in Iowa State and he said that it was great to be in Ohio State. The he went to Oklahoma City and said it was great to be in Lawton, Texas. Then he went to Bloomington and he said it was nice to be in Joliet, Indiana. Then he went to Lincoln, Illinois, and said it's great to be in Pontiac. The crowd corrected him and he said Bloomington. And then he said, and I quote him, we're great to be here so watch out.

Tonight we meet with representatives from all over this great state to get ready for an all out final push to change the course of this country, to get a fresh start, new leadership, concerned about attacking and solving the great problems that this nation faces. I think we'd all agree on what they are. Number one, this country needs a President who will make this economy work to produce jobs and to end inflation. We cannot solve this nations' problems unless everyone who wants a job can get one and unless a dollar earned is worth a dollar. Now they have been in office eight years. To hear them talk they haven't been around at all, someone else did it. What's happen. You know in Oregon cause you, above all states, have really paid, really paid, every tenth Oregonian out of work, can you imagine that. In Portland nearly every tenth worker out of work. Three times more unemployment now than eight years ago. 50 per cent more unemployment than when Mr. Ford was sworn in two years ago, 15 people in the unemployment line for every ten that was there when he was sworn in and the other day he announced we turned the economy around and they have , straight down. A week ago the leading economic indicators which consistly predicted accurately what direction the economy is going in, every one of them pointed downward for the first time in nearly two years. Yesterday.....-.....

THE SPEECH WAS INTERRUPTED BY THE OPERATOR.

Walter Mondale  
October 22, 1976  
Columbus, Ohio

I must say, I really like the Democratic Womens Club of Ohio. I'm coming back again and again. I keep an informal poll of all audiences and I want you to know that I have been kissed more from that door to this door than at any time in this whole campaign. It's an honor and a prividge to be invited to speak before the best Democratic Womens Organization in America and I'm proud to be asked to be here. And it's a special honor to have DunHay bring me in because you think organization doesn't make a difference I understand that Gertuade is the first woman to hold state wide office in the history and I think that after her example that we're going to see alot more of it. Senior President, Anglea Carlinger; to your able and effective county chairman, Nelson Lafononna; Mary Benson, your first vice president; other names of the executive party, and to all of you and especially let me recognize our candidates for Congress in this area both of whom are going to Washington where we need their help very much. First, Fran Ryan and Mike McGee our candidate for the 15 district.

You know I've been all over this country in the last two months and I've smelled victory everywhere but the last two weeks particularly it's picking up, we're gaining ground and I see it in your eyes today. Your getting ready to elect Jimmy Carter the next President of the United States. The people want a change, they want new leadership and they want a peoples' president again. But having said that I must confess that the President is throwing us off of the track. He's pursuing a new policy that's confusing us and we're having difficulty catching up. Just last week he confused us when he said that Eastern Europe is free of Soviet domination, we didn't know that and so it paralyzed our campaign. We took our whole campaign research crew and sent them to the Library of Congress to see what it was that he knew that we didn't know. We lost a week there. Now he has got a new strategy of confusing us as to where he is. He went to Iowa State the other day and said that he was glad to be in Ohio State. He went to Oklahoma City and said gosh, it's nice to be in Lowton, Texas. He then went to Bloomington and said it's nice to here in Joliet Indiana, then he went to Lincoln, Illinois, and he said that it's nice to be in Pontaic. The crowd corrected him and he said oh yes Bloomington. Finally he recovered and he said, We're great to be here. We have, what, ten or eleven days left in

this campaign. This state of Ohio, this great state, could well decide who the next President is going to be. It's one of our great states, it's a close election, we're sure that we're ahead but we want to stay ahead and I wanted to be here today to speak to you representing the whole State of Ohio and the Democrats of Ohio because they're more than enough people in this room and you know politics and how to do it or you wouldn't be here, you've done it many times for us in the past, and what I'm asking for is dedicate and contribute the next 11 days to your country and between now and then every hour, every day, at home, with your friends, with your family, at church, at work, everywhere you can reach, reach out and persuade the undecided, confuse the enemy, get that vote out and we'll win Ohio. I know that. You're the kind of organization that can do it. Pray for them, it comes naturally. They haven't seen anything yet. Who turned out the lights. Those Republicans will do anything. The election is getting so bad that we're going through that phase when the Republican leadership starts talking like people again. It happens every four years about two weeks before the election when the moon is full they suddenly get religion and start talking about peoples' real problems. It reminds me a lot of what my father who was a minister used to say about death bed conversions. He said you know son, there is one thing wrong with a death bed conversion and I said what's that dad? He said, sometimes they get well. We're not going to let crowd get well. We're going to elect a President who doesn't need to be converted, who stands with the people because we need a peoples' President and I'm talking about Jimmy Carter our next President.

END OF THE SPEECH NOT ON THE TAPE MACHINE.....

Walter Mondale,  
Cuyahoga Convention  
Cleveland, Ohio  
October 24, 1976

..... introduction.....I can't think of any better way of coming to Ohio and being introduced than by being introduced by one of the great public leaders in your history, and one of the finest United States Senators of the country, John Glenn..... I think it's a mark of John's stature that although he is a relatively new Senator he was selected to be the only other Senator to travel with Mike Mansfield in what may well be an historic troop....trip to China, and may yield great dividends for this country. There's someone else I'd like to introduce for Mike; he's been with me on most of this campaign....he's the best baggage carrier in America, my son, Teddy.... I understand that Annie Glenn is here; I've got to say hello to her; and your fine team of candidates for the county board, Tony Garafolly, who, as you know, is going to win.....going to win and Bob Swiney. They've got a lot more signs up here than Carter and Mondale.... I've got to get this straightened out....that's the way to do it..... and George Forbes, city counsel, my friend and co-chairman of Cuyahoga County Democrats and friends.....

I'm delighted to be here..... at the end of ...I don't know how many hours....I've been going so long I keep a little card in my left hand pocket that starts like this .... your name is Walter Mondale..... and I think we're in Cleveland....

We've had a long campaign; a good campaign; and we now have what..... nine days to go....and we think we're coming very well.... I think I won the election the other day in Columbus at the Democratic Women....we had a marvelous time, but as I said at that organization in Columbus the other day, even though we think we're coming very well the President is pursuing a new strategy that is throwing us off our course that we might as well be frank about it.....

It began about 10 days ago when he announced that Eastern Europe was free of Soviet domination...now we didn't know that; it came as a complete surprise to us and we stopped everything, because you know that's a shock, we took a whole search staff and sent them to Washington, put them through the Library of Congress and "please find

out what we didn't know about Eastern Europe". Wasted a week doing that! Then the President pursued a different policy of confusing us where he is.....and that's being very successful. The other day he went to Iowa State and said he was glad to be in Ohio State....then he went to Oklahoma City and said it's nice to be in Mountain, Texas, then he went to Bloomington and said its nice to be in Jolliet, Indiana, then he went to Lincoln, Illinois and said it good to be in Pontiac...and the crowd corrected him and he said, O, Yes,.....Bloomington, and then he finally said, 'we great to be here'; so he's keeping us on our toes, we're doing our best to try and win this election. Let's talk seriously for just a few minutes, if we can....

First of all, as John Glenn put it, this is a tight election; it can't be taken for granted and the state of Ohio is very close...we've got to win this election in Ohio, it crucial to this campaign and it can well be that how this country decides to go on this Presidency will be determined by the state of Ohio....it's that simple; and I come to this state repeatedly and I'm going to be back again before this campaign is over, I think Carter is coming in Thursday, because we think that we need this state, we need you, we need this great organization and this great state to win this election, and we want your support and I want everyone in this room to pledge that their going to use this next 8 or 9 days to give it all you've got to carry this state; and if we do we're going to win, and that's as simple as that, and the issues are as clear as they can be. First of all the issue of economic management.....if you watched the debate last Friday night you saw perhaps the clearest contrast between the two Parties in economic that you could possibly see. The Republicans have been in office now for eight years; they've been running this economy, they control the Federal Reserve Board, they control the Treasury Department, they control the Counsel of Economic Advisors, they handle the principle economic policies in this country and in those eight years we've had some of the worse economic policies in American history. Until tonight as we meet we have the highest unemployment since the Great Depression. Since Mr. Ford was sworn in office less than 2-years ago, unemployment has gone up by 50%; we now have

15 people in the unemployment lines for every 10 that was there when Mr. Ford was sworn into office just 2-years ago. There are more unemployed in America than in the whole population in the state of Ohio. In Cleveland alone there are nearly 10% unemployed, meaning every 10th citizen of that community is out of work, and in this nation, if you consider discouraged workers nearly every 9th worker in America is out of work and if you look at the building trades housing construction, I am told in this community may be as high as 30-40% unemployed. Now with that kind of record--after 8 years with that massive unemployment if there were no other issues, if there was nothing else at stake in 1976, and there is, and that's all there was, America ought to vote unanimously for Carter in order to put people back to work..... but that's not all.

Look at inflation, the other day with my debate with Mr. Dole they asked that great commoner from Texas, Mr. Connelly, who won the debate, but he said I think that Mondale lost because he talked about the need to attack inflation and I'd like to quote Mr. Connelly directly when he said..."inflation isn't much of a problem." Well, maybe it isn't if you earn 2-300,000 dollars a year but if you're a family on an average family income, inflation is killing 'ya and there's just no question about it. Now what has been their record on inflation? Since they took office, inflation has tripled under the Republicans. In the 8 years of Kennedy and Johnson we've had an inflation rate of 2% and in many years less than that. In most years, most Americans earned more than the year before and the dollars they earned bought more, so every year we were doing better. In the 8 years that the Republicans have been in power inflation has so eroded the purchasing power that the average family's purchasing power is equivalent to what it was in 1965. In other words in 8 years we've lost 11 years. Now say this, when you have an administration that creates massive unemployment and then creates massive inflation and just before the election you see statistics that show that both are getting worse, one wonders that this is the best they can do for us just before they are up for election, what on earth do they have in mind for us right after the election?



Walter Mondale  
Cuyahoga Convention  
October 24, 1976

-4-

And then you look at the programs that affect people, Aid to Education; you know the other day the President said, "We need jobs for everyone, health care for all that's affordable; housing for everyone that wants to work, a strong program for education for everyone, and an end to the rising crime rate." Well that's interesting cause that the list of not his successes but of his failures and just take a look at everyone of those issues. Jobs, we've talked about, look at housing, they don't have a recession in housing, they've got a depression. We are less than half of the housing units creating less than half of the housing units that this country needs to meet the goals set in 1968. That's the reason that we have so many unemployed in the housing industry and that's one of the reasons that the cost of housing is double in just six years. In education, they proposed the deepest cuts in education of any modern President. Nearly a 20 per cent cut in aid to education. Look at health care. This President not only has not proposed anything in the field of health care, he has said that if we send him a bill to reform the health system for health insurance, he'll veto it. So wherever you look, jobs, inflation, the programs that the American people need this administration has had a negative backward record and that's their policies. You don't hear any new programs out of this administration. One of the things that distinguished it in this campaign is that they have simply tried to defer the past. No new plans, satisfied with the present, unable to see the problems as they really are, and hoping the American people will accept their promises for the future. Well, be careful of those promises. We've heard them before. As someone once said, there is this period out of each four years just two weeks before the election when the moon is full, when the Republicans get interested in talking about people's problems. They're doing it again, I predict the evening of November 1 for another 4 years. Harry Truman once described this phenomenon in this way. He said after studying the Republican Party for many years, I've finally discovered where they stand on the major issues. They stand four square for the American home, but not for housing. They are strong for labor, but stronger for restricting labors' rights. They favor a minimum wage, the smaller the minimum the better. They endorse educational opportunity for all but they will not spend money for schools or teachers.

They think modern medical care in hospitals are fine, for those who can afford it. And they admire the government of the United States so much that they would like to buy it. Well, it's not for sale. The White House belongs to the American people and we want it back and we're going to take it back on November 2 by electing Jimmy Carter the President.

This afternoon I told the story of two elections which I think really describes why it's important that we all do our work in these last few days. In 1960, when Kennedy was running for President he came to Minnesota an unknown person. But more than that, he was from the East, he had a peculiar accent. He got off of the plane in Minnesota and he said it's nice to be in Minnesotera. People never heard it pronounced that way before. He came from the East where no one knew him, his religion was different from most of the people of my state and we had a tough campaign in Minnesota and I was a brand new Attorney General and I went all over the state and I said now look, what a person's region is isn't important in America as long as he is a good American. What a person's accent is in America isn't important as long as he's a good American, what a person's religion is isn't important as long as the person has religious beliefs and what really counts is who that person is. What would they do for this country. What do they believe about this nation. What is the person really and should he be entrusted with high public office? We talked to Minnesotans all through that campaign and I cannot tell you how proud I was the morning after the election when it was Minnesota all because of only 20,000 votes that was the deciding state, the crucial state, in casting its electoral votes that made John Kennedy the President of the United States, I was proud of that. And we found out very quickly that we were right. That those things were not important because we'd elected a great American and when Kennedy was taken from us the people of Minnesota cried as much as anyone else because we'd lost a great American. That time we did the little bit extra that was needed and we won and the Kennedy Presidency was one of the great parts of American history and we're all proud of it. Now let's go to 1968, that year you had my friend Hubert Humphrey running against a man who's no longer with us, Richard Nixon. That year instead of winning by a shave, we lost by a shave. Cause some of us didn't quite do enough. We didn't quite make it. And I have often ask myself what a different nation this

Walter Mondale  
Cuyahoga Convention  
October 24, 1976

-6-

would have been, if in 1969 we had inaugurated President Humphrey rather than President Nixon. Now it's 1976, we have got 9 days to go. It's as close as it can be. We're sure that we're ahead in Ohio but not by much and I'm asking each of you to contribute these nine days to your country and do those extra things that make the difference. You know how to do it, you've done it many times before and do it for the Carter-Mondale Ticket, for your whole ticket, Howard Metabaum, candidates for the county board that we've talked about, we need Howard in the Senate to work with us. Help set this country straight. If we don't do it in these nine days they get four more years. In 1972 we gave them four more years and then they gave it to us. Lincoln once said that if you turn your back to the fire, you're doomed to sit on your own blisters and we've been sitting on our blisters now for eight years and the people of this country have suffered and we've got to stop it so I'm asking you now to give it all that you've got between now and November 2 and we'll get an economy that works, to put people back to work, to fight inflation, we'll make this government work efficiently. We'll have a government again that cares and we'll have a foreign policy that reflects the values and the beliefs of the American people. That's what this country needs, that's what it wants and that's what it can have if we'll all work together for that victory. Thank you very very much.

Walter Mondale October 24, 1976 (High School)

Mayfield High School

Cleveland, Ohio

October 24, 1976

have been in Cleveland, Ohio, today I haven't been there at all,

..... thank you very much for the very, very kind introduction, John. I think you know, I can tell it in your eyes....that in John Glenn you have as good a United States Senator as there is in the country.... you ought to be very, very proud of this outstanding man.....

before this, yes....it will be we go. We're proud of him....he has dignity, stature, and conscious to the Senate. There's

only one thing wrong, he needs a seatmate.... from Ohio....and we'd like for you to send Howard Methenbaum down there to help him..... Charlie Vanick and I, and our wives are very close friends, and you also know in Charlie you'd got the best Congressman of the country and I'm going to talk about him in a minute.

To Lieutenant Governor Dick Selese, Reverend Father, Tom Telebreeze, and our next county commissioner, Tony Garafolly....

I was campaigning for Tony in downtown Cleveland and they told me that his polls picked up 2-to-1 right afterwards....Bob Swiney and Irene Kaye, our program chairman, and to all of you, I am told that you've had to wait an hour for us...and I want to apologize. We had Republican weather today....and it slowed us down...but we bring good news the Brown's won.....and so will we .....

I wanted to be here today to represent the Carter-Mondale ticket; and what I think is one of the most important elections in the American history. We have a contrast between

the two tickets that is about as clear and obvious as it's ever been. By the way how many watched the debate last Friday night....and how many are voting for Carter... that fair, 103%....that's about right.....

But you saw it there. You know this country cannot solve its problems unless everyone who wants a job can find one, and unless the dollar you earn remains worth a dollar, unless we have a government that works efficiently, unless we have a government that cares, and unless we have a foreign policy that reflects our values. Those are the simple outlines of a government that is as good as the American people; and the Republicans well, inflation isn't bad".

[illegible]

Well if you make 2-300,000 dollars a year, it isn't bad, but if you are a family living on a average income, it's killing you. Just think, since they took office, the purchasing power of the average family has slipped to 1965; in other words, we've lost 11 years of progress through inflation and what we need in this country is a President again who will fight inflation, like John Kennedy did in the 60's with the guts to stand up to those big shots.....get those interest rates down, make big business compete again, use the White House to get some civilized pricing by some of these major industries and try to get that dollar back where it's worth a dollar. There's some other things we've got to do.

On the platform with me today is the man whose led the fight of the Tax Reform in America, and I want to talk about that a little bit, because the President keeps talking about tax reductions that he wants to impose. Well, I remember my telling me when I was a kid, he was a minister, about death bed conversions. He said the trouble with them is that they get well.....and their trying to get well every four years for about 2-weeks, just before an election, the Republicans start talking like human beings...they want to help with jobs, housing, and so on. Let's just take the issue of tax reform...I'm on the finance committee at the Senate, I know what they did. Last year they wanted a 10% surtax, an increase on your taxes. When we finally talked them into a tax reduction, because we were slipping into a recession, they wanted to give all the relief at the high income levels. I lead the fight in the Senate to bring it down to middle income and low income Americans in the form of relief based upon the number of depends in your family, and for single tax payers. We won the fight. When we got done, this President wanted to change our bill in this way: he wanted to increase taxes on families earning \$6,000 a year or less by \$450; he wanted to increase taxes on Americans earning that figure and \$10,000, \$150 a taxpayer; he wanted to increase taxes between \$10-15,000 a year by \$85 a taxpayer, but if you made over a \$100,000 a year he wanted to reduce your taxes by \$780 a taxpayer...now, does that sound like relief or middle income Americans..... no..... In addition to that, he

wanted to raise your payroll taxes and increase energy costs by about \$500 a family; now he comes along and says, I want to reduce taxes on middle income Americans.... hold on, this is what he wants to do, this is in his budget....that 10 billion dollars he's talking about is going to come from 10 billion dollars of increases on individual income taxpayers; 6.6 billion dollars in payroll taxes, and that's the average worker in America, and by elimination of relief that we passed for families, and that makes 10 billion dollars. There is no net tax relief at all in the President's package. That 10 billion dollars/he's talking about will be paid for by working Americans, and the proposal he has will give three times as much relief to a family earning a \$100,000 as it does to a family earning \$15,000. Once again, committed to that cause of comforting the comfortable. Now in America we've got time to be just. We have time to be decent; and we need jobs for everyone. We need to fight inflation and we need a tax system that fair for working Americans. Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole would have you believe that they are for that, but look at their record. Together they have some of the worse loophole records in the Senate. My .... guy....had the second worst record in the United States Senate fighting for loopholes. The reason their against Jimmy Carter is that we're going to fill those loopholes and we are going to take the money we pick up and bring some relief to working Americans.....

Well you know all that or you wouldn't be here.....

Now the question is, what'a we do between now and election.....nine days away....that's what I want to talk about....

In 1960 when this country, I guess, had the closest election in the American history, we won by a slight..... and we elected John Kennedy, the President of the United States, and I don't think there's anybody in the America who would not agree that the Kennedy years were among the most decent years in the American history and among the most proud of our whole nation's history.....

That time we did a little bit extra that elected him...along came 1968 and my colleague, and dear friend, Hubert Humphrey, ran against a man named Richard Nixon. That year

we did a little bit less that was needed to win. We lost by a half million votes in this country...about a vote a precinct would have made the difference. We didn't quite do it; and instead of electing Humphrey we elected a Nixon and I've often wondered what a different this country would have been if we had had a President Humphrey rather than a President Nixon.....

Now we've got a chance again to turn it around. There'll be no change under that Republican team, they've said as much. If you want a fresh start, if you want a new beginning, if you want people back to work, if you want to solve uninflation, if you want tax reform, if you want us to once again deal with the real problems that the Americans face, you've got to make a change; and I'm here today to ask you to contribute these 9-days of your life to your country. You know how to do it....your friends, your relatives, where you work, at church, at the synagogue, anyway you can reach out, reach out and ask people to vote and help to set this country on the right course. Nine days....if we fail, four more years.....four more years. Remember they asked for four more years.....and we gave it to him and then they gave it to us.... this time....let's give it to them.... and elect Jimmy Carter as President of the the United States.....

And we want you to send Beneck back ....send Beneck back with a big,.....

....

THERE WAS NO END TO THIS SPEECH.....IT WAS CUT OFF



Walter Mondale  
Cleveland Airport, Ohio  
October 24, 1976

.....United States John Glenn.....I think its a measure of leadership and the recognition that John Glenn has earned in just the short time he has been in Washington...of all the Senators he was selected to go on this special trip to China at that crucial moment; and it's a tribute to his physical stamina that he just got back from China and looks so good.

The other evening, this country once again saw the profound difference between the two tickets, the Republican and Democratic, on the issue of management of economy. It was perhaps the starkest contrast that one could imagine. The Republican ticket ..... the Republican Party has been in charge of this government now for eight years. Under their leadership unemployment has tripled, and since Mr. Ford has become President he has gone up 50%. And the people in Ohio knows what that means because in this state they have nearly 10% unemployment...nearly every 10th worker out of work...and that's true nationally. The unemployment in the housing industry is much higher than that. Similarly their failure to deal with inflation is eroding the purchasing power of the Americans throughout this nation. Purchasing power has slipped so much that it's now the equivalent of 1965. Just think of it...losing 11 years of progress; and at the debate the President, in effect, said that he was satisfied. He thought, quote...the pause was healthy. In fact, all the economic indicators indicate this isn't a pause...we're going down. All leading indicating indicators are pointing down for the first time in two years; all economic indicators are stagnate or pointing down and for all these reasons, recognizing the cruelty of unemployment and inflation. The country is crying out for new leadership that will make a change, see problems are they really are, and putting people back to work and start fighting inflation. There many other issues but none effect Americans more harshly than the cruel combination of unemployment and inflation; they've had government for 8 years; everything is worse; they've failed and what's worse, they don't even recognize that failure; and I think above all is this fact of the economic failure is leading the Americans in increasingly to vote for the Carter-Mondale

ticket. We begin this last week of the campaign....I'm very, very confident. I think we're picking up every day. I think that last debate was very, very helpful in showing the differences of economic policy and I'm convinced that we're going to win and we're going to win very handsomely.....

Question.....

Response from Mondale: we favor the major rule and would do so consistently. Now America can not always have its way, but I think that it's terribly important that we not lose our way. For 7½ years this Administration representing a government who was the first to throw out colonial rule supported colonial rule in Angola. The present Republican leadership continued to purchase Rhodesian crone which was an international symbol of minority leadership in Angola....pardon me, in Rhodesia and so the recent change in policy is not as creditable as they might think.

Question.....from audience....."Senator Mondale, in the last week of the campaign what, if any, trouble areas do you see ahead and where are you going to have to work the hardest to put Mondale-Carter over the top?"

Mondale Response: We usually call it Carter-Mondale....I had a talk with Jimmy about that, he said that he likes it this way....and Jimmy had a talk with me about that, and he said he likes it this way. We agreed!

We think that we couldn't be in better shape for this last week. The....our readings, our campaign shows that we have strength across the board, and not in just urban areas but in rural areas. I just came from the great farm areas of our country last week and there is no question that we are picking up across the farm belt of this country. We think that we are in good shape throughout the industrial belt, the great industrial areas, leading from New York to Illinois, Wisconsin, but we're not taking any chances, we're not taking anything for granted, we're going to campaign right down to the last moment and we expect to do very well.

Question from audience...."what would you say to Hungarian-Americans who

(not understandable,...,apparently person is standing back too far from microphone.....)

Response from Mondale: the first thing is that we would honor the right of the countries to have their own national independence and to seek their own freedom; and that fact is a very important one. One of the things that offended me the most the last few years was when this great country that stands for freedom had a President who wouldn't receive Mr. Zolnezon, who is the international symbol of the strength of the human spirit to resist policestate oppression. We would use....for example....in Eastern Europe deal with these countries individually as separate national nations and not go through intermediaries and would not treat them as a block. Those are very, very important differences.

Thank you very much.....thank you

Well this morning, at this meeting, we saw once again the literally heartbreaking reality of what's really going on in this American economy of ours. Despite all of the rosey predications about where we are and where we're going the truth was heard again this morning and we've heard the same story around the nation. Here we have one of the greatest steel producing centers of the whole world and there is probably nothing that reflects the condition of the American economy more than the rate of business activity in basic metals. Unemployment in this town of Ducane, the Mayor tells me, 14 per cent was the lastest figures, and he figures that it has gone up to 18 per cent or higher. The steel worker officials here point out that the plant that we were at this morning at full employment employees 5000 people, it's now down to 1700. Steel workers locals with three thousand members with half or fewer at work. Most of them have been told that they will have to take all of their vacations at the beginning of next year because there is no work for them. If there is any time in the year when they are usually employed, it's in this period that's leading into Christmas when the new cars are coming out and the rest but yet there is massive unemployment. That's the reality of what's going on. We have people standing with me here with seniority over 30 years in the plant. The core of the senior work force who have been layed off and this is the most basic of all sectors of our economy. That's the truth of what's going on and that's the human face behind those statistics and the reality behind those statistics is causing these people difficulty in paying their bills and all the human hardships that occur and we simply can't tolerate a nation to have these economic policies that have given us massive unemployment. We say that we have the highest unemployment since the great depression. I think that to many that sounds like an exgraeration but to the people of Ducane and McKeesport and the fine families of this area trying to work, they know the deadly reality and the truth of that statement.

QUESTION: Senator, you ask this morning how is it that President Ford can go around saying that things have improved. What is your response to that.

REPLY: The only way that he can do that is to continue to give rosey predictions and that we have been living on rosy predictions now for a couple of years. Things are going to be

better earlier this year, things are going to be better later this year, things have gotten worse now their going to be better next year. Well these people can't live on rosey predictions. You know we have official statistics. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has recognized an impartial highly qualify body and this administrations' have shown that all of the leading economic indicators are pointing downward, that's the first time in two years that has happen. These are the Bell Weather indicators what direction that we're going, they're all going down in terms of inflation, the whole sale price index shows the possability of double digit inflation and the latest statistics shows two things. One that the purchasing power of the average American will slip about 6 per cent this year even if they got a job and that druable orders, that's where these people work, steel, basic metals and the rest, are dropping again. So that every where you look I think that we see the fact that they've had eight years to control this government and they've really botched the economy.

QUESTION: How do you propose the tightening of the Trade Act?

REPLY: The Trade Act as passed has much stronger tools to prevent dumping, to prevent untrade practices than was true under the old act. The Tarriff Commission members are appointed by the President and the President of course under that act has broad powers and what we were talking about an alagitation. Now I'm not familiar with this perticular point myself but I'm told that it's been suggested recently that the Japanese and the European common market entered into an arrangement where the market in Europe would be Japanese sales or more free and that the market in the United States would be more exposed and that sort of thing is not suppose to be happening in the world today and as our administration would move very carefully to avoid that kind of practice and when you do your going to improve the economic posture fo the steel workers but more than that you have to deal with the problem of economic activity, you have to do both.

QUESTION: In Addition to the Trade Act and that sort of thing you've been talking about unemployment as a top priority. What specifically could a Carter-Mondale administration IMMEDIATELY to put the people like these back to work?

Walter Mondale  
McKeesport, Pennsylvania  
Press Conference  
October 25, 1976

-3-

REPLY: The first thing that we would do is to press immediately for much more forth coming monetary policy. I'm talking about credit terms and the flow of money. The Federal Reserve Board is a little noted ... profound influence on course of the American economy. They can be very very helpful in moving, for example construction, if housing would get back up to where it's suppose to be in construction, these people would all be back to work because they make the structural steel, theymake the steel that goes into the furnaces and so on. So the construction depression, which we're in, is basically a result of the high interest rates and tight credit. I'm just told that the Federal Home Loan Board is now extimating that the basic rate for home mortgages is going to go back up to 10 per cent. That means that most Americans can't remotely consider buying a house. They can't do that. Housing construction stops, these people are out of work. So that's one of the main things. The other thing is as a temporary measure we much prefer a private sector employment. We can substancially inçrease the amount of public service employment we can get moving in the sewer and water areas, the highway construction areas faster than we are and all of that will help pick on the unemployment.

Walter Mondale  
October 25, 1976  
Discussion with Labor Leaders  
at a breakfast at Duke's  
Restrauant  
McKeesport, Pennsylvania

... I'm convinced that this unemployment problem is alot worse than there are trying to picture it. I'm also convinced that it's easy to live with unemployment if your not unemployed, if you don't know people who are unemployed, and you don't live in a community with unemployment and behind those statistics are people who are trying to take care of their families and can't do it when they are unemployed. I was just in Flint (Michigan) the other day, 14 per cent unemployed, just came from Cleveland, 9.4 per cent unemployed, San Francisco 11 and 1/2 per cent unemployed, California there is every tenth worker is unemployed and when you go around the country you see so much of this that you become convinced that they are trying to paint a rosy picture on a tough situation and I wanted to come here to see what the situation was in Becayne and these other communities around here and to hear from you directly as to how you see it, which way it's going, what the problems are, and so on. What don't we start anywhere you want.

QUESTION FROM MONDALE TO A PERSON: How many would be working at that plant when it's fully employed?

REPLT TO MONDALE: Roughly 4000.

QUESTION FROM MONDALE TO A PERSON: How many are there now?

REPLY: Maybe about 1700.

QUESTION FROM MONDALE: Who's got 33 years seniority? You've got 38 and you've working where have you been working at Bucayne? A sister plant.

REPLY: A sister plant, a merger. This is the first time in the history of my employment that I've ever been layed off. First time.

MONDALE: And when were you layed off?

REPLY: Effective today.

QUESTION FROM MONDALE: How many were layed off in that lay off?

REPLY: Well, in the neighborhood of 400 to 500 in addition to the 2000 that were already off.

OPERATOR CUTS IN .... NOTHING ELSE ON TAPE.