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## Remarks by Senator Edmund S. Muskie at the Jefferson-Jackson Dinner, Fresno, California

Edmund S. Muskie

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SPEECH BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE  
JEFFERSON-JACKSON DINNER, FRESNO,  
CALIFORNIA, SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1971

AMERICAN'S PEOPLE ARE IN TROUBLE TONIGHT.

YOU CAN SEE THE TROUBLE HERE IN THIS VALLEY AND  
EVERYWHERE IN THIS COUNTRY.

AT DUSK IN OUR CITIES AND OUR SUBURBS, WOMEN ARE  
WALKING HOME FROM THE CORNER BUS STOP, WITH FRIGHTENED, OVER-THE-  
SHOULDER ~~TER~~ GLANCES TO FIND OUT WHO'S FOLLOWING BEHIND.

EACH FRIDAY <sup>ON</sup> ~~IN~~ THE WEST COAST THOUSANDS OF ~~ARE~~  
AEROSPACE ~~WORKERS~~ WORKERS ARE ENDING UP WITH LAYOFF SLIPS INSTEAD OF  
PAYCHECKS.

EACH MONTH THE FARMERS OF THE SAN JOAQUIN ~~VALLEY~~  
ARE PAID LESS FOR THE CROPS THEY PRODUCE <sup>WHILE</sup> ~~AND~~ THE SHOPPERS OF FRESNO  
ARE PAYING MORE FOR THE FOOD THEY ~~BUY~~ <sup>BUY</sup>.

EACH YEAR, MILLIONS OF HARD WORKING AMERICANS ARE  
HEAVILY TAXED ~~ON~~ ON A FEW THOUSAND DOLLARS ~~XX~~ WHILE THOUSANDS  
OF AMERICAN MILLIONAIRES ARE TAXED ~~A~~ LITTLE OR NOTHING AT ALL.

THOSE ARE THE REALITIES OF AMERICAN LIFE IN  
1971.

THEY ARE NOT PLEASANT.

AND THEY CAN NO LONGER BE DISGUISED BY NEWS  
RELEASES.

THE ADMINISTRATION CAN MANAGE THE NEWS, BUT NOT THE TRUTH.

~~THE~~ THE TRUTH IS WRITTEN ON EVERY FINANCIAL PAGE, EVERY PRICE TAG, AND EVERY POLICE BLOTTER.

THE TRUTH IS HITTING PEOPLE WHERE THEY HURT.

*OUR PARTY--*  
THAT'S WHY <sup>A</sup> THE POLITICAL PARTY WHICH CARES ABOUT PEOPLE <sup>A</sup> IS ~~WEEKLY~~ SO WORRIED ABOUT AMERICA.

AN UNEMPLOYED FATHER CANNOT TELL HIS HUNGRY CHILDREN TO HOLD ON UNTIL THE 1972 ELECTION.

THE MORTGAGE PAYMENT CANNOT BE PUT OFF UNTIL JANUARY 20, 1973.

*We can't wait for a New Administration to stop Today's crime.*  
~~TODAY'S MUGGINGS CANNOT BE PREVENTED BY TOMORROW'S ADMINISTRATION.~~ AND AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD MORE DELAYS, MORE FAILURES AND MORE EXCUSES.

THE WHITE HOUSE MUST STOP ~~TRYING~~ TREATING TOUGH TALK AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR SAFE STREETS.

IT HAS BEEN TWO YEARS SINCE ALL THE PROMISES ABOUT LAW AND ORDER:

- TWO YEARS OF RISING CRIME
- TWO YEARS OF FEAR IN OUR NEIGHBORHOODS
- TWO YEARS OF TRIPLE LOCKS ON OUR ~~DOORS~~ DOORS.

A LOT OF MONEY HAS BEEN SPENT SNOOPING ON PUBLIC OFFICIALS-- AND FAR TOO LITTLE HAS BEEN SPENT PROTECTING CITIZENS.

SO WE MUST START NOW TO PUT AS MANY FEDERAL DOLLARS AS IT TAKES INTO THE TASK OF MAKING OUR <sup>Communities</sup> ~~LOCALITIES~~ SAFE.



*better qualified*  
MORE FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AID CAN MEAN ~~MORE~~  
POLICE -- BETTER TRAINED, BETTER EQUIPPED AND BETTER PAID.

CODE WORDS HAVE NEVER DETERRED CRIME OR ARRESTED  
*well trained*  
CRIMINALS -- BUT ~~ENOUGH GOOD~~ POLICEMEN CAN DO BOTH.

MORE FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AID CAN ALSO REFORM  
THE PRISONS & THAT TOO OFTEN REINFORCE CRIMINAL TENDENCIES RATHER  
THAN ~~THE~~ REHABILITATING CONVICTS.

WE MUST HELP X PRISON INMATES ~~THEY~~ HELP THEMSELVES --  
BECAUSE THAT IS ONE OF THE BEST WAYS TO ~~THEY~~ BUILD SAFETY IN OUR  
SOCIETY.

AND SURELY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CAN MUSTER  
MORE MONEY TO FIGHT THE NARCOTICS PLAGUE THAT HAS POISONED SO  
MANY OF OUR CHILDREN AND SPAWNED SO MUCH OF OUR CRIME.

X WASHINGTON IS KEEPING MUSIC ABOUT DRUGS OFF  
THE RADIO -- HOW ABOUT KEEPING THE HEROIN AWAY FROM THE KIDS?

THOSE PROBLEMS ARE WHAT LAW AND ORDER ARE REALLY  
ALL ABOUT. BUT THOSE PROBLEMS ARE ALSO WHERE WE HAVE HEARD THE  
LEAST AND DONE TOO LITTLE.

AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD MORE OF THE SAME --  
JUST AS WE CANNOT AFFORD MORE OF ~~THE~~ A FAILING ECONOMY.

IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, THE ONLY THING THAT HAS  
KEPT PACE WITH THE RISE IN CRIME HAS BEEN THE RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT  
AND INFLATION.

BUT PEOPLE IN FRESNO DON'T NEED A POLITICIAN TO  
TELL THEM THAT. LAST MONTH UNEMPLOYMENT ACROSS THE NATION WENT  
UP TO 6.1%.

IN MARCH IT CLIMBED TO 7.2% IN FRESNO  
 YOU KNOW THE PEOPLE BEHIND THOSE NUMBERS. YOU  
 KNOW WHAT'S HAPPENED TO THEM.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS QUIET, BUREAUCRATIC NAMES  
 FOR IT:

- "COOLING OFF"
- "GAME PLAN"
- "RR READJUSTMENT".

THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING, THE LIST OF TECHNICAL  
 TERMS FOR THIS RECESSION MAY SOON BE AS LONG AS THE LINE AT THE  
 LOCAL UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICE.

IT IS TIME FOR THE WHITE HOUSE TO RECOGNIZE THAT  
 ITS ECONOMIC POLICY HAS BECOME A HUMAN TRAGEDY.

IT IS TIME TO REVERSE THE DECISIONS THAT ARE  
 PUTTING WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OUT OF WORK.

IT IS TIME TO REMEMBER THE REAL FORGOTTEN  
 AMERICANS -- THE CRAFTSMEN AND LABORERS WHO HAVE BEEN "TRADED OFF"  
 TO STOP AN INFLATION STILL OUT OF CONTROL.

AND THAT IS PERHAPS THE WORST TRAGEDY OF ALL.  
 THE PAINS HAVE ~~BEEN~~ BROUGHT NO ~~FOR~~ GREAT GAINS. THE ADMINISTRATION  
 SET OUT TO TRADE 6% INFLATION FOR 6% UNEMPLOYMENT -- AND ~~T~~ IT HAS  
 ENDED UP BY ALMOST GIVING US BOTH.

WHAT WILL WE SAY TO THE BOYS WHEN THEY FINALLY  
DO COME HOME FROM VIETNAM -- THAT WE KNEW HOW TO USE THEM IN WAR,  
 BUT HAVE NOTHING FOR THEM TO DO IN PEACE?



I'M NOT GOING TO SAY THAT. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS NOT GOING TO SAY THAT AND THE ADMINISTRATION MUST NOT SAY IT EITHER, EVEN IN THE MOST TECHNICAL AND ABSTRACT OF WORDS.

WHAT WE NEED IS NOT WORDS, BUT ACTIONS.

THE ADMINISTRATION MUST RELEASE IMMEDIATELY THE HALF A BILLION DOLLARS IN ALREADY APPROPRIATED URBAN AIDE THAT IT HAS ~~BE~~ STUBBORNLY REFUSED TO SPEND. ~~IT~~ THAT WOULD CREATE AT LEAST 60,000 NEW JOBS -- AND IT WOULD HELP TO SAVE OUR IMPERILED CITIES.

THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD MOVE TO MEET A NATION-WIDE HOUSING DEFICIT ~~X~~ OF OVER A MILLION UNITS IN 1971 ALONE.

IT SHOULD MOVE TO RESOLVE THE TANGLE OF PROBLEMS THAT ARE SLOWING CONSTRUCTION AND INFLATING ITS COSTS.

AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD GUARANTEE A JOB OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY AMERICAN WORKER.

ALL THAT MUST BE DONE -- AND MORE. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT A CAREFUL COMBINATION OF SOCIAL, FISCAL, AND MONETARY ~~AND~~ POLICY CAN TAKE US BACK TO FULL EMPLOYMENT WITH PRICE STABILITY.

THE PARTY OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT CANNOT SETTLE FOR LESS -- AND NEITHER CAN ANY ADMINISTRATION THAT CARES ABOUT THE COUNTRY -- AND ABOUT PEOPLE AND THE WAY THEY LIVE.

BUT RESTORING PROSPERITY IS NOT THE WHOLE CHALLENGE. WE MUST ALSO DECIDE HOW TO USE THE PROSPERITY WE CREATE. WE MUST TURN AMERICA'S RESOURCES TO THE NEEDS OF AMERICA'S PEOPLE.

TAX REFORM CAN GIVE LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME CITIZENS THE BREAK THEY DESERVE -- AND PUT THE BURDEN OF TAXES WHERE IT REALLY BELONGS.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE CAN ~~TAKE THE DOLLAR~~ <sup>reduce the cost</sup> ~~SIGN OUT~~ OF MEDICAL CARE -- SO PEOPLE CAN LOOK OUT FOR THEIR <sup>their</sup> HEALTH WITHOUT LOOKING INTO BANKBOOKS.

AND A FULLY-FUNDED FEDERAL ATTACK ON POLLUTION CAN CLEAR THE AIR AND CLEAN THE WATER AND MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR HUMAN LIFE.

AMERICA'S UNFINISHED AGENDA IS LONG AND URGENT. ~~WHETHER OUR COUNTRY HAS A FUTURE MAY DEPEND ON WHETHER WE ACT NOW.~~

SO, IN 1971, THE ~~D~~EMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE SENATE, IN THE HOUSE, AND ACROSS THE COUNTRY WILL WORK TO MAKE CHANGE HAPPEN.

THAT IS THE BEST POLICY FOR AMERICA AND THE BEST POLITICS FOR 1972.

I BELIEVE THAT WE WILL WIN ~~THE~~ 1972 ELECTION.

I ALSO BELIEVE THAT WE WILL LIVE UP TO OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE DIFFICULT YEAR AND A HALF AHEAD. THEN -- WIN OR LOSE -- WE WILL ALWAYS BE PROUD TO BE DEMOCRATS.

WIN OR LOSE WE WILL ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED AS THE PARTY OF JEFFERSON AND JACKSON THAT STOOD UP FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF JEFFERSON AND JACKSON.

THAT IS WHAT WE MUST ALWAYS STAND FOR:

-- FOR A PROSPEROUS SOCIETY, WHERE EACH MAN CAN EXERCISE HIS FULL TALENTS AND EVERY MAN HAS A FAIR CHANCE;



-- FOR A SECURE SOCIETY WHERE PEOPLE CAN WALK WITHOUT FEAR AND LIVE TOGETHER WITHOUT SUSPICION:

-- FOR A FREE SOCIETY WHERE ~~ONE~~<sup>NO ONE</sup> IS LISTENING IN AND EVERYONE CAN BE HEARD;

-- FOR A PEACEFUL SOCIETY, STRONG ENOUGH TO ~~ARRERE~~ DEFEND THE RIGHT ~~CAUSE~~ CAUSE IN THE RIGHT PLACE AT THE RIGHT TIME -- AND WISE ENOUGH TO STOP SPENDING ~~LIVES~~ LIVES AND TREASURE ~~NOT~~ FOR A CAUSE, ~~IF~~ BUT FOR A MISTAKE.

SHAPING THAT KIND OF A SOCIETY WILL TAKE TIME. IT WILL NOT BE EASY. NOTHING WORTHWHILE EVER IS. ~~LIVE~~<sup>IF</sup> ITSELF IS TOUGH AND UNEVEN AND FRUSTRATING.

BUT I BELIEVE WE CAN MAKE THINGS WORK IN OUR LIVES AND IN ~~THE~~<sup>OUR</sup> LAND.

YOUR ~~EN~~ OWN EXPERIENCE TESTIFIES TO THAT.

ALMOST FOUR DECADES AGO, JOHN STEINBECK WROTE ABOUT YOUR VALLEY AND YOUR STATE. HE CALLED THE NOVEL "THE GRAPES OF ~~MY~~ WRATH".

WHAT HE SAW HERE AND WHAT HE SAID THERE ARE NOW PRECIOUS ~~REXXEXXAX~~ PARTS OF AMERICAN HERITAGE. BUT WHAT YOU AND YOUR PARENTS DID IS MORE PRECIOUS STILL.

YOU CHANGED THE PATTERN OF THIS PLACE. YOU PROVED SOMETHING WE MUST NEVER FORGET.

THAT MEN, NOT FAITH, ARE THE FORCE THAT FASHION THE FUTURE,

IS  
THAT PRINCIPLES ~~THE~~ THE FOUNDATION OF POLITICS AND THE FUNDAMENTAL ~~BELIEVE~~ BELIEF OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.



IT'S THE TRUTH THAT KEEPS US FREE -- AND WILL  
SEE US THROUGH THESE TROUBLED TIMES.

THE FINAL OUTCOME DEPENDS ON US -- ON WHAT WE DO  
IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND WHAT WE TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.  
I THINK THEY ARE READY TO LISTEN. AND I THINK WE HAVE SOMETHING  
TO SAY.

THAT IS WHY WE WON IN 1970 -- AND THAT IS WHY  
WE WILL WIN AGAIN -- AND AGAIN -- AND AGAIN.