

(Prepared for delivery)

ADDRESS BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS, BEFORE THE NORTH DAKOTA  
STATE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN FARGO, N.D., MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1946.

Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am profoundly grateful for the honor and privilege of addressing this great convention. I am happy to bring to North Dakota greetings from the City of Minneapolis and from all of the progressive forces of the State of Minnesota.

To be here in Fargo is almost like coming home. My native state is your sister state of South Dakota. And my secretary in the mayor's office is a native of your convention city.

In Minnesota our progressive party is the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party. It has brought within one great movement the farmer and the laboring man, the businessman and the professional man-- men and women who believe in the dynamic creed of democracy and who recognize that only through government by the consent of the governed do the people of this country have an opportunity to realize their ambitions.

I am happy to report that the Democrats of Minnesota are making real progress. Two years ago the Democratic and Farmer-Labor Parties united into one strong, progressive organization. As a result of this fusion, Minnesota cast its 11 electoral votes for Franklin Roosevelt and for the first time in years sent two Democratic congressmen to Washington.

Your state and my state have a common political tradition. The Farmer-Labor Party grew out of the original Nonpartisan League movement which in its day held such great promise for the common man. How tragic that today the leadership of this once great organization has fallen into the hands of the reactionary elements of the Republican Party.

In Minnesota what was once known as the Nonpartisan League and later the Farmer-Labor Party has chosen the wiser course and, in true faith to the early principles and traditions of this great people's movement, our Farmer-Labor Party

has become a part of the Democratic Party.

Speaking also as a Minnesotan, I say to you that your interest in North Dakota and our interest in Minnesota are one and the same. We are both great agricultural states. Our people come from a stock that has a history of progressivism, here in America as well as in their former lands.

There can be no separation of interests in politics on the basis of state lines or regional areas. Politics in America today concerns every American wherever he may be. Our economy is an integrated unit. Our system of government permits neither isolationism among the states of our nation nor isolationism among the nations of the world.

A political and economic policy which is good for the working man is good for the farmer. A political and economic policy which strengthens the farm economy is sound politics and economics for the industrial worker. The prosperous working man and farmer, teamed together, are the only hope of business profit and the maintenance of our American ~~enterprise~~ system of enterprise.

~~Those who would defeat us and pit farmer~~ Those who would defeat us and pit farmer against worker and city against rural areas are false leaders and political opportunists. I say to you tonight that just as the people of Minnesota in 1946 will retire from public life Senator Henrik Shipstead so will the people of North Dakota keep out of the United States Senate Gerald P. Nye, William Langer, and Milton R. Young.

The people of North Dakota will send to our Congress men who will work for the establishment of genuine international organization for peace and the development of a sound and secure domestic economy.

What a tragedy that this great state should have lost its great son and senator, John Moses. What a travesty upon the will of the people that the Republican leadership of this state, through its governor, should have forced upon the people the friend and associate of ~~Gerald~~ Gerald Nye who was soundly

~~defeat~~ repudiated at the polls.

The Democratic Party of North Dakota faces its greatest opportunity in its history. The eyes of the nation are upon it in the struggle to return the state to sound, progressive hands. Your unique election, in which 2 United States Senators will be named, makes your state doubly crucial in this all-important election year.

It is absolutely essential that the truly progressive and honest political forces in the state of North Dakota be organized into a sound and strong Democratic Party. Your state may hold the balance of power in the national capitol. You have an inescapable challenge to elect men to the Congress who are committed to a realistic and democratic international program and men who understand the inseparability of international peace and domestic security.

This year we make the great decision as to whether or not our nation shall meet honestly and forthrightly the problems that confront it or whether we shall go on permitting the reactionary elements to obstruct the development of progressive programs such as advanced by our leader and president, Harry S. Truman.

We do not come together in a spirit prompted by mere desire for partisan or personal victory. The world looks to America for democratic leadership. We cannot escape this responsibility if we are to survive as a free nation.

We must be clear-cut and steadfast in the program that we support. The people of this state and nation must know what we think, what we propose to do, and how we intend to accomplish it. We cannot afford the extravagance of political hypocrisy.

Let it ever be remembered that the history of the Democratic Party is the story of a free America. It is the history of the America that has given refuge to the oppressed and opportunity to the average citizen. Our party, the Democratic Party, is the party of Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Declaration of Independence, Our party is the party of James Madison, the chief designer of our American constitution. The Democratic Party is the party of Andrew Jackson, William Jennings Bryan



and Woodrow Wilson. Our record is not merely one of victory at the polls. Whether we won or lost, the Democratic Party has been the custodian of human rights against all odds.

In the darkest days of our nation's history, with ruin everywhere, and with panic in the hearts of everyone-- from the wizards of Wall Street to the toilers walking the roads in search of work-- with faith in democracy and American institutions shaken to the very core, our party, the Democratic Party, gave to the American people and the world, our beloved late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The Democratic Party has faced one crisis after another during its long and glorious history. It has been tested in the refinery of faith and achievement. It has never faltered in its devotion to the higher interests of the American people.

Unless by our record in the past and our concept of duty in the future we are prepared for the tasks of statesmanship, unless we remain the truly progressive party, the spokesman of the people, we have no right to expect the support of the electorate.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ We lay no claim to perfection. There is no pretense that our record is without error. Nevertheless, when the political balance sheet is tallied, we can be justly proud of the ~~tasks~~ tasks we have undertaken and accomplished in behalf of democracy in America.

The opposition party has its twelve long years to prove its capacity for government and administration. Their record is one of broken promises, broken hearts, and a despairing and disillusioned America.

Oh, yes, in their appeal to the American citizen they cite the name of the great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln. However, they fail to tell us that it was the ~~reactionaries~~ reactionaries of that day who destroyed the reconstruction program of Lincoln and gave to America eight years of the most corrupt government that our history records.

It is this same party that speaks of its Theodore Roosevelt, <sup>but</sup> ~~that~~ we as Democrats know that Theodore Roosevelt had to leave his party because of its basic reaction and affiliation

corrupt government that our history records. It is this same party that speaks of its Theodore Roosevelt, but we as Democrats know that Theodore Roosevelt had to leave his party because of its basic reaction and affiliation with special privilege. ~~I ask you to look at the record of those who today ask for public acceptance.~~

~~Their only two leaders suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of their machine. The shameful period of the 1920's will go down in American history as the era of glorious nonsense.~~

~~With responsibilities for the attainment of a secure economy and world peace, they gave America over to the exploiters and the world to the dictators.~~

It was a Republican administration which, through its greedy tariff policies, destroyed American foreign trade. It was a Republican administration that repudiated American promise of entrance into a League of Nations, ~~to insure permanent peace.~~ It was a Republican administration that closed its eyes to the economic realities of the inevitable catastrophe of stock-market manipulation. It was a Republican administration that broke the back of the American farm economy. It was a Republican administration that harassed the efforts of working men and women to organize into a free labor movement. It was a Republican administration which, when faced with the glaring facts of poverty of our citizens, collapse of our financial institutions, and curtailment of our industrial production, had only a slogan to offer: "Prosperity is just around the corner."

That, I say to you, is their record of their action in the twentieth century. It will do them no good to say they have changed, that they ~~regret the error of their ways~~ *now wish to become the programing party* -- that they have a new vision. You know and I know, and America knows, that the same old gang is in control. ~~May I say in passing -- even Mr. Stassen of Minnesota knows.~~



Our political opposition has forgotten nothing and has learned nothing by the tragedy of their failure. At a time when America needs a clean cut statement of purposes and a courageous statement of issues along with a positive program of action, the Republican party in our Congress along with certain reactionary and disreputable Democrats of the South stands in unalterable opposition to the program as presented by President Truman. It is the same old gang with the same old tactics and the same old reasons that fought and hampered the program of our late and beloved President Franklin Roosevelt. The Republican party in its subtle ridicule of President Truman and its open opposition to his 25 point program is out to defeat the political and social philosophy of the New Deal and Franklin Roosevelt. President Truman has dedicated his life to the fulfillment of the post war program of Franklin Roosevelt. Just as an obstinant band of Republicans politically ruined the administration of Andrew Johnson after the tragic death of the great Abraham Lincoln so they are up to their old tricks again of defeating the principles and policies of the second great emancipator, Franklin Roosevelt. Let us not be misled: The responsibilities of the office of president are tremendous and almost overpowering. One of our people - a mid-westerner, if you please - is courageously facing the onslaught of a determined opposition - the same old opposition that for 12 years fought the policies of the President. But just as they the same old gang that unsuccessfully battled Franklin Roosevelt.

was defeated before by the will of the people so this will be defeated again as Harry Truman is going his battle in defense of the program of Franklin Roosevelt.

(President Truman has dedicated his life to the fulfillment of the postwar program of Franklin Roosevelt. Our President is courageously facing the onslaught of a determined opposition, the same old opposition that for 12 years fought the policies of the New Deal. But just as they were defeated before by the will of a ~~politically~~ politically alert people, so they will be defeated again as Harry Truman and the Democratic Party wages the battle in defense of the program of Franklin Roosevelt.



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(When I say that the Republican leadership is out to destroy the program of Franklin Delano Roosevelt I mean that they are out to destroy the economic bill of rights <sup>which,</sup> ~~that,~~ when finally ~~it~~ realized, <sup>will bring</sup> ~~it would have brought~~ the assurance of genuine social security and ~~genuine~~ economic prosperity. ~~This broad program known as the economic bill of rights, as presented by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, has now been presented in detail~~

(Let me be specific. The major ~~political,~~ <sup>our nation</sup> political, economic and social issue ~~on the American scene~~ confronting ~~the people~~ today is ~~that of~~ housing ~~for~~ for our returned veterans. The ~~Democratic~~ Democratic administration has outlined a practical plan by which we can obtain 2,700,000 new homes by the end of 1947. The Republicans shout this is too drastic.

(Of course, it is drastic. So were the hardships and sacrifices endured by the many million American veterans who won this war and who ~~now~~ now cannot find a decent place for themselves and their families to live.

(This nation cannot face a major crisis like the present ~~housing~~ housing shortage without unprecedented and drastic action.

(In 1933, ~~with our economy practically down for the count~~ Franklin Roosevelt took drastic action. ~~As a result,~~ <sup>our</sup> the country was salvaged and ~~the~~ economy ~~was~~ placed back on its feet. But the same old business-as-usual boys screamed to high heaven.

(In 1941 ~~and~~ <sup>took</sup> when this nation went to war we ~~didn't~~ <sup>our</sup> hesitate to take drastic action to gear ~~this~~ country for all-out war production. ~~By~~ But even then the business-as-usual crowd yelled that it couldn't be done. Now the same old calamity chorus ~~is~~ is at it again.

Lobbyists are swarming over capitol hill in Washington like grasshoppers and locusts, chewing away at the ~~expensive~~ props that President Truman and Wilson Wyatt have set up to relieve the home shortage.

Republicans in Congress are lined up almost solidly against the program. If they cannot kill it outright, they are determined to cripple it with weakening amendments.

The administration plan strikes realistically at the housing problem. It involves incentive payments to get production moving. It stimulates the use of new materials and new construction methods. It provides government aid in financing home mortgages. It diverts scarce materials from non-essential construction into low-cost homes.

It protects home buyers from runaway inflated retail prices. Every day this program is delayed means 3,000 fewer homes built in America this year. Every day of delay means 3,000 fewer veterans who will live in the ~~comfort~~ comfort and decency of a good home.

The alternative to the ~~democratic~~ Democratic administration's housing program is the coddling of special interests and the continued shortage of houses or outright wild inflation.

Let every American remember that victory in this war will not be won until every man in our armed services returns to his community and is given every opportunity for a ~~good job at decent wages~~ decent job at good wages, a normal community life, and a modern home.

These are the men who fought to make our homes safe. Is there anyone who would deny that they have first priority on the materials needed for home building. Those who obstruct this program will face the righteous wrath of an incensed group of courageous young men who will not be told that business-as-usual and profits before people are the ideals for which they ~~x~~ fought.

~~Your~~ Your present North Dakota Congressmen voted for the speculators

and the real estate lobby. They voted against President Truman's request for stabilization of the real estate market while veterans hunt for homes and wait for new construction.

But it is not only in the field of housing that the Republican leadership has obstructed the forward-looking program of the Truman administration. If we turn to the matter of jobs and employment opportunities for our returned servicemen, we find again that the intelligent and well-designed program of the administration has been obstructed by the same tactics of the ~~reactionary~~ reactionaries.

To be sure, Congress has passed an employment bill. ~~M~~ But it has been so watered down, so amended, so tampered with, that it doesn't even begin to provide an answer to the problem of full employment. Republicans and a minority of reactionary Democrats, of whom we would well be rid, conspired to defeat passage of the original full employment bill.

These people said, "Let's have business as ~~xx~~ usual." The government must keep its hands off the economy." Again and again they said, "We must expect a normal unemployment load of from five to six million people."

Rather than have the same government that mobilized this nation for war aid in ~~the~~ creating a national program that would encourage the highest possible peace-time production and employment, the ~~xxxx~~ obstructionists in Congress shout that government must keep its hands off the economy.

~~xx~~ War-time production proved conclusively that our economic system is capable of employing all men and women who are willing to work. Better than 13,000,000 veterans are returning home, and they want a job. They want a job ~~that~~ at decent wages or a business that yields a profit.

We cannot answer the criticism of an unemployed veteran by telling him that it is impossible to arrange our economy ~~xx~~ through the cooperation of government so that he can have a job.

This hands-off, business-as-usual philosophy that literally scrapped the full employment bill is behind the Republican opposition to continuance of



~~The~~ price control. The threat of a destructive inflation hangs heavy over our nation. Need I tell the people of North Dakota the meaning of inflation. We in this great midwest experienced the hard realities of uncontrolled postwar inflation from 1918 to 1922. We saw farm mortgages skyrocket. We saw farm prices go to a disastrous new low. We ~~not~~ watched the earnings of thousands of our citizens destroyed by the wild fluctuations of an economy that was trying to readjust itself, without the help of government, from war-time production to peace-time living.

values on real estate and building materials.

Let all of us remember that inflated prices which are written into mortgages and ~~premiums~~ bank loans during ~~the~~ uncontrolled postwar boom days must be paid off by the sweat and labor of a deflated economy in the so called normal days.

This is what broke our banks in the 1920s. This is what destroyed real estate values. This is what ultimately brought on the depression of the 1930s.

Only the finaglers and the speculators-- the economic parasites-- profit from inflation. Only those who gamble with other people's money and who ruthlessly ignore human rights in the economy ask for inflationary prices, ~~now or in the past.~~

What is the record? Yes, lets take a look at the record. On February 13 when the administration asked for an appropriation to continue ~~the~~ price control, 105 Republicans and 3 Democrats voted against it, <sup>and</sup> 166 Democrats and 19 Republicans voted for <sup>it.</sup> ~~price~~

~~control. Only because of the Democratic majority in  
the Congress has our country been saved from  
monstrous inflation.~~

that is why I implore that N.D.  
send to wait 2 for 2 Congressmen who  
will uphold the <sup>myself</sup> ~~the~~ ~~been~~ measures  
which are essential to the well-being  
of our ~~country~~

Only because of a narrow Democratic majority in the Congress has our country been spared from ruinous inflation. That is why it is so important that North Dakota send to Washington two new Senators and two new Congressmen who will support anti-inflationary legislation which is so essential to the long-run economic well-being of our nation.



(This year as in the many years past, <sup>reactionary</sup> ~~Republican~~ agitation for anti-labor legislation has continued unabated. Out of one side of the reactionary's mouth he sings the praise of labor. Out of the other he warns of the danger of labor. American labor will never forget that it was through the Democratic party that <sup>it</sup> ~~they~~ obtained <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>Charta</sup> ~~Magna Carta~~ - the Wagner labor relations act. (The millions of organized workers in America who turned out the miracles of production in war time and who today are ~~asking~~ asking for sufficient take home pay to care for their families and to provide the purchasing power that is necessary for a profitable economy are well aware that their great achievements in organization are the result of such enactments as the Natl. Labor Relations Act and the Wage and Hour Law. (The Republican machine in Congress has again demonstrated their <sup>regard</sup> ~~regard~~ for labor by introducing what is known as the Case Bill. .. a bill which revives the use of court in junctions in labor disputes and which virtually repeals the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act of 1932. (Congressman Sabath, Chairman of the Rules Committee, had this to say, and it expresses the feeling of millions of Americans: "The Case Bill was presented by a wooly lamb from the plains of So. Dak., deceived and led on by the wolves of Wall St. The bill is a part of the Republican machine. It functions as a front for corporate power and special privilege." *This is the Bill that was supported by your congressman Charles Robinson.* This same group of obstructionists that ~~say such nice things about propriety and peace on the one hand~~ ~~and~~ give full scale opposition to the passage of the amendment to the Wage and Hour Law which provides a minimum wage of 65¢ an hour. American labor ~~will~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~not repudiate~~ <sup>a militant part of our</sup> progressive democracy. American labor remembers its friends and justly punishes its enemies. The Democratic party has been, is, and must continue to be, the true friend of the

working man and the labor movement. ~~It~~ We know that it is the Democratic administration which has given aid and comfort to the needy, the aged, and the infirm. The Social Security legislation proposed and enacted by Democratic leadership is the greatest social advance in American democracy since the Emancipation Proclamation. (But our party is not content to rest upon its laurels in this field of social service. The present social security program is but a beginning. Our party and our ~~president~~ <sup>that</sup> ask ~~it~~ be extended and enlarged. Here, again, obstructionists and reactionaries in Congress have fought this proposed legislation at every turn and in every committee.

(Whatever it may be, wherever the interests of the ~~people~~ ordinary every day citizen is involved, Republican leadership has been aligned in a bloc against it. Whether it be ~~the~~ price control, a housing program, progressive labor legislation, the extension of social security, public works, full employment legislation, or a school lunch program, the Republican leadership in Congress has fought it and condemned it.

~~It is because of this background of obstructionism by Republican leadership that the challenge and the obligation that our party must meet in No. Dakota looms so all-compelling. It is absolutely essential to the future welfare of our entire nation that the voters of No. Dakota send to the U. S. Senate and to the House of Representatives senators and congressman who will uphold the program of our administration.~~

~~I believe that you are all aware of the great urgency~~

~~This administration~~

~~With respect to agriculture,~~  
Your national administration and the Democratic party have not offered pious platitudes to the American farmer. Instead, successive Democratic administrations since 1933 <sup>have</sup> conceived and es-

Above all, the financial support and the political leadership of the Republican Party have been the enemy of the American farmer. Successive Democratic administrations since 1933 have conceived and established a farm program which lifted American agriculture-- yes, North Dakota agriculture-- from the depths of bankruptcy to the high plains of solvency and prosperity.

With unprecedented speed and decision <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ series of ~~economic~~ policies and programs have been enacted-- the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Act, Crop Insurance, the Farm Credit Administration, Farm Security Administration, the Rural Electrification ~~program~~ program, and the program that made possible the feeding of the world during the war, the Ever-Normal Granary plan.

All of these sound and progressive programs were established to rehabilitate and revitalize our agricultural economy. These were not dreams; these were not cheap promises; these are real accomplishments. They are today a part of the American way of life.

But again we are not content with the accomplishments of the past. We here in the midwest wish to see our great river systems developed for the purposes of navigation, irrigation, electrical power, and soil conservation.

But, as with all programs of social betterment, ~~a~~ reactionary groups under Republican leadership have fought the development of the Missouri River ~~&~~ Valley, just as they battled against the creation of the famous Tennessee Valley Authority.

The Democratic Party must dedicate its efforts to the fullest utilization of our natural resources and our mighty river systems. We must go on record for more river valley authorities, yes, a Missouri River Valley Authority. The creation and development of regional river valley authorities means jobs for the workers in the factories and increased production and prosperity for the farmer.



~~the worker - between the industrial city and the rural areas.~~  
Farmers in this country have never prospered except when the country as a whole was busy and workers in the factories and shops have pay checks to spend at the corner grocery store. If we have learned anything from the great depression and from this war it should now be evident to everyone that agriculture depends on a general prosperity. We have also learned that unless American agriculture is supported by a vigorous and practical program it can remain depressed even when the rest of the country is in good shape. This happened in the 1920's. I am sure that you remember it. Parity for agriculture can never come unless the program of government is one which realizes the interdependence of agriculture and industry. Recently, Henry Wallace, ~~former secretary of agriculture and now sec. of commerce~~, called to our attention how closely the welfare of the farmer depends on the pay check of the worker. Here are the facts. In 1929, factory pay rolls were 11 billion dollars. Farm income was 11 billion dollars. In 1932 factory pay rolls were 5 billion dollars, and farm income was also 5 billion dollars. Even during the days of World War II, this relationship has been demonstrated again and again where farm income ~~rose~~ rose side by side with the earnings of industrial workers. If the workers in the cities have money to spend, the farmer has a market for his product at a good price. Yes, just as the farmer and the worker are inseparable parts of our economy, so a stable domestic price for our commodities is a definite part of the free flow of goods between the nations. The Democratic party gave to this country the Reciprocal Trade Treaty program. This program, like all others advanced under the Roosevelt administration, was fought tooth and nail by Republican leadership.

The high tariff artists of the Republican ~~party~~ Party have never given up their fond hope of duping the American public into this ruinous policy again. Farm people will not be ~~deceived~~ deceived by Republican protectionist tariff nonsense. The economic hope of the farmer is purchasing power in the hands of the consumer and a free flow of goods between the nations.

Your convention meets when dark diplomatic clouds are gathering. In the minds of thoughtful people everywhere is the frightening question, "Are we losing the peace?" Our statesmen seek frantically to inject new meaning into their efforts for international cooperation. But anxiety hangs heavy over us <sup>at</sup> that this time, ~~now~~ as after the last world war, the war may have been in vain.

Our late President, Franklin Roosevelt, has offered the only hope-- a strong and democratically organized United Nations, supported by the leadership and strength of American democracy, dedicated to the worldwide realization of democratic ideals. May our statesmen and our congressmen be clear in their thinking and be steadfast in ~~in~~ their ideals. This nation must demand respect for treaties, This nation must repudiate economic nationalism wherever it may be found. This nation must renounce economic ~~imperialism~~ imperialism whether it be Russian, ~~British~~ British, ~~or our own~~ or our own.

We must know and come to understand the ~~complex~~ peoples of other nations. We must be prepared to stand firmly in defense of the right of the smaller and less advanced nations to be free of domination or exploitation by their larger and more powerful neighbors. We must press upon our wartime allies a respect for law and order and drive for the universal acceptance of the ~~the~~ basic free assembly, rights of free speech, free press, and free elections.

~~Nations which are free to govern themselves and to constitute the peace and security of the world~~

Now, if ever, we need faith and confidence in the instruments of international peace embodied in the charter of the United Nations. Political mechanisms alone are not enough. There must be a true and sincere respect for individual differences and personality for all races, ~~economic, political and religious~~ <sup>(economic views)</sup> political creeds, and religions.

International security and world peace are inseparable from domestic security and prosperity. If this world is to have democratic leadership, it will come from America. But America can give no leadership, if she is caught in the throes of unemployment, depression, and insecurity.



The high tariff artists of the Republican party have never given up their fond hope of duping the American public into this ruinous policy again. Farm people will not be deceived by protectionist tariff policies. The economic hope of the farmer is purchasing power in the hands of the consumer and a free flow of goods between the nations.

(R) The action for full employment, expanded social security, agricultural ~~policy~~ policy, river valley development, or whatever else it may be that you get from Washington in the critical years ahead will clearly reflect the kind of men and women we select in the primaries and send to Congress in the fall of 1946 and 48 and after. [ This goes for all programs of decent health, housing, and education. This includes a sound and progressive tax and fiscal policy. Yes, this also includes a permanent fair employment act, an adequate minimum wage, and it goes for the control and use of atomic energy so that it ~~will~~ <sup>serve us</sup> will ~~serve us~~ and not destroy us. There is only one way that we can have social and economic progress in this country - that is by getting out the vote behind the true friends of progress. Government policy today is too important to be left in the hands of those who have ~~neither~~ ~~neither~~ neither faith in their country nor belief in the principles of democracy. The problems of today and the policies of tomorrow can never be left in the control of those who despair of our future or who believe in the inevitability of depression. We need a new faith. We need a new determination in the ability of men and women to be masters of their own destiny and capable of designing their own future.



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