

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

US SENATE YOUTH PROGRAM LUNCHEON

Washington, D. C.

February 9, 1973

It has been noted that I worked to help get the Senate Resolution adopted unanimously eleven years ago, that launched the U.S. Senate Youth Program.

The reason I did this was simple but important. I felt this program had something vital to offer -- it would give young people in positions of student leadership a first-hand orientation on the responsibilities of public service in Washington.

I learned politics at a young age with my father. I went with him to city council meetings, to county Democratic gatherings, and to state party conventions. What I learned was that politics offers solid opportunities for public service. It can challenge the best that is in a man or a woman to work to help make this country, this world, a better place in which to live, to work, and to hope in the future.

I enjoy public service. I give it everything I have. Our government faces tremendous responsibilities today at home and abroad. But those responsibilities are going to be carried out by ordinary human beings in public service making decisions on a day-to-day basis, always under pressure, and with the tools that are immediately at hand. So the ability of these people to make the right decisions, and take the right action will be strongly affected by the capabilities, the knowledge, the experience they already possess.

That is why I want to pose some challenges today to you who are having your first important experience as representatives of other people -- your fellow students. You may be considering making a career of public service, and I want to give you every encouragement to pursue this vocation.

But representative government in this democracy is no better than the people it represents. We say that this nation is a world power, but are we as a people capable of exercising that power in a world that is undergoing tremendous changes? How much do we really know about this world?

Today, we are a world power with a half-world knowledge. We know a great deal about Great Britain and the nations of Western Europe, with which we have had long-standing cultural ties and close alliances.

But what do we really know, for example, about the Russian people? That knowledge will be vital in the coming years, for the United States is no longer the greatest power in the world -- it is just one of them.

So we are going to have to learn new lessons. We are going to have to focus not on the blunt use of power, but on the restraint of power, its gradual employment for what we try to determine is the greatest good for the greatest number of people. One decisive lesson of the Cuban missile crisis that occurred

at the time the U.S. Senate Youth Program began, for example, was that from that time on -- having been threatened with destruction unless they removed their offensive missiles from Cuba -- the Russians resolved to become a nuclear super-power. And for years we have had to struggle along with a peace achieved solely through a balance of terror.

But what do we know even today about the U.S.S.R. with whom we will have to continue to develop new working relationships? The real power of the Soviet Union is in the strength, the character, the durability of its people. It is in its scientific resources. When it comes to building the weapons of war -- the cutting edge of power -- the Soviet Union is second to none.

But international diplomacy -- nations resolving conflicting interests -- is a process of balancing strengths and needs. The Soviet economy, for example, next to that of the United States, is a small town garage compared to General Motors. There is much that can and must be done in this area, therefore, to strengthen international relations.

But let us assume you are representatives of the people and one of your responsibilities is understanding the developments in other nations, the reasons their actions have the potential for creating international tensions. As I indicated at the outset, to a great extent you will have to fall back on your own resources -- the history you have learned, the abilities you have developed to understand, to analyze what is going on around you, the processes you have mastered to get at the facts.

How will you analyze actions by the Soviet Union in the Middle East and toward its communist neighbor, China? Do you know the facts of history -- that Russia historically has been trying to move into the Arabic states, to break out of the Black Sea? Do you understand the fundamental cultural differences, evolved over countless generations, that really explain the Sino-Soviet split, the division of the two great powers of communism, where each nation has adapted a political system to more basic, in-bred traditions.

Let me cite just one other area of this nation's knowledge gap about the world -- a knowledge gap that can seriously threaten the effective exercise of power, leaving to your generation another major international tension situation to resolve.

I am referring to the Far East. Did you know that only ten colleges in America had a course on the Far East prior to World War II? And how much did we know about Vietnam when we sent in military advisers over a decade ago, leading to the longest armed conflict in which this nation has been involved in its entire history?

Then look to the future in the Far East. Which power will be the focal point there having a major impact on international relations -- China? Japan? India?

The strength of each of these nations is its people, but our first-hand knowledge of them -- their heritage, the values and commitments that are central in their lives, their accomplishments and future goals -- about all of this we are really ignorant. And

there is nothing more dangerous than a little knowledge -- especially when it comes to making judgments affecting an entire nation.

So if there is one piece of advice I would give to anyone considering a career in public service, it is that you must have a deep desire to learn and keep learning. You will never really understand the present unless you have a good grasp of history. You will never make the best possible judgment about the truth of a situation if you are content just to take someone else's word for it.

But to those of you who may be considering public service as an elected representative of the people, I would add an extra dimension to this lesson. Those people are not numbers, or statistics, or types -- they are individual persons, each with his concerns, his ambitions, his viewpoints, his prejudices, and his needs.

The art of politics -- and the thing that makes it one of the best of all possible full-time vocations -- is to know these persons; to understand what makes them tick; to communicate with a man at a genuine level because you've both got the same mud on your shoes; and to share a handclasp that says it all.

American history books don't really tell you much about what went into the building of this country. Dates and places and famous names are all fine. But what really explains America is the character of its people. And you don't understand that character until you know their sacrifices, their determination, their hopes for the future.

It's nice to know that on a certain day long ago a golden spike was hammered home in a railroad linking East and West for the first time. But the missing paragraph would have told you of the thousands of bodies of Chinese and Irish laborers that littered that trackage.

It's important to know that slavery was an important factor in the causes of a major Civil War. But where will you find a history of the contributions of minorities in the building of America?

You can probably recite a list of great names in American private enterprise. But it was working people who built that enterprise; it is their labor which explains a gross national product of over a trillion dollars.

What I am saying is that you cannot preach a sermon about human dignity unless you know what has happened in peoples lives. You will not really understand what is meant by justice tempered with mercy, or principles refined by tolerance until you understand people's struggles -- the striving after what, in the end, is a better quality of life.

The point of this lesson has an immediate relevance today. A lot of experts are trying to explain the American people -- what's happening to them; what they expect of the future.

There are good reasons for concern. What is the real reason that only 55 percent of the electorate voted in the last Presidential election?

And by the way, the "new generation" of youth showed no real differences from the rest of the populace in its voting patterns -- a low rate of participation at the voting booth, with neither political party receiving a substantial advantage from a so-called "bloc vote" that proved to be a myth.

Yet how can we talk about America being a government of, by, and for the people when almost half the people did not bother to register their preference at the ballot box? Compare that with voter turnouts of over 90 percent in West European nations. We say that an informed electorate is the bedrock of democracy. But in India, with a high rate of illiteracy, over 70 percent of the voters went to the polls.

We could probably spend the rest of the day listing reasons for all this. But we would be left with one question about which we should be deeply concerned. Let me pose that question bluntly: Can democracy survive in plenty?

Was Marx right when he said, in effect, that it is the very wealth or self-satisfaction of capitalism that will do us in? Have so many people let their self-interests stand in the way of their country's interest?

When I was mayor of Minneapolis I instituted an open-door policy. Every Saturday afternoon any citizen who had a complaint could walk right in and take it straight to the mayor himself. But I had one question that usually cut those complaints short. I didn't care about the man's politics, but I just asked him straight out: "Did you vote?" The message was simple: "I have a responsibility to you as a resident and a taxpayer. But you have a responsibility to maintain the free choice of the electorate, that happened to put me here." And he usually got the message.

There is another reason why those of us in public service must focus our attention now on people.

We are going through a revolutionary period. There is a tremendous migration of people in the United States. No wave of migration from the farm to the city, about deserted areas in the Mid West and increasingly dense populations on the East and West coasts.

I am talking about rural and small town people finding themselves aliens in a foreign land when they enter urban areas with a totally different culture. As people migrate, it is now clear that they are going through traumatic experiences.

But even more than this, we seem to have gotten everything upside down in this Nation where people live and work, and we're beginning to discover that it is having an extensive psychological impact as well as putting a tremendous strain on our public facilities and resources.

We have simply got to get hold of this situation in the decade of the seventies and begin to plan for balanced national growth and development.

We have to restore to people a free choice on where they will live and work. We have to restore a decent and satisfying living environment. And we have to restore a sense of community.

Look at the situation we've created for ourselves. The factories are moving out into the country, but the workers are in the central city. The executives and bankers live in the suburbs, but their jobs are in the central city. And all of them have to commute -- and that often means 45 minutes of bumper-to-bumper traffic -- one of the best tension-builders that mankind had ever created. What an accomplishment.

Americans have been increasingly separating themselves from the things that make for community. Instead of services close at hand and with which they can identify, they have to put up with a long drive to an anonymous shopping center or to a crowded medical clinic.

They can't find local parks and recreation areas -- they're even lucky to squeeze into a national park after several days of tiring travel. Did you know that London has twelve times as much park space as New York? Then consider the fact that London has a much lower rate of crimes of violence.

Now the last example I want to give of the great importance in public service right now of giving the highest priority to people, is the document that has just been presented to Congress -- the Federal Budget for Fiscal 1974.

I know there is a good mixture here of intelligent Democrats and misguided Republicans, so I have a responsibility to be non-partisan in my remarks. But I also have a responsibility as a United States Senator to express my deep concern over a Budget that reflects a basic decision to reduce the priority of serving the needs of people.

We've heard a great deal about achieving fiscal responsibility in this budget, and I yield to no man in my adherence to that principle. But let me just point out that Congress has cut budget requests in every year of this Administration -- last year reducing them by some \$5 billion in defense alone. By contrast this Fiscal '74 budget projects a \$12.7 billion deficit.

But, after all the haggling over who is really the spend-thrift, one harsh fact comes through sharp and clear: In this budget, some \$10 billion will be sliced from social programs designed to help the poor and the underprivileged overcome barriers to meaningful participation and hope in American society.

It is a budget of cutbacks in health, in education, in manpower, in housing, in the rehabilitation of the handicapped, in the war on poverty.

It is a budget that neglects the people.

It is a budget of what I would frankly call, "domestic disengagement."

It is a budget that is dead wrong in its priorities, and this is one Senator who won't stand for it.

Now the Administration says that we can't pay for these people-centered programs without raising taxes. I don't believe that deception will last very long.

First, by cutting back Federal help to States and cities, all that is being accomplished is a transfer of the tax burden, while the same taxpayer foots the bill. There are public services

and programs that simply cannot be cut back without doing violence both to human decency and to economic good sense. And that means that state taxes and local property taxes will have to pick up the slack.

But second, this budget does not contain a word about tax reform. And it is genuine tax reform that can produce the added revenues for people centered programs.

It is genuine tax reform that will at least make it a reality that every American pays his fair share. It is genuine tax reform that will say to the middle-class wage earner that someone else is going to share the burden he has borne for so long of paying for our national priorities.

And it is genuine tax reform that can raise \$7 billion more by placing a ten percent surcharge on preferred income -- that category of private wealth that is generally out of the reach of the working families of America.

Now, I have only mentioned a few of the items on the priority work agenda of Congress. I mention them to point out the heavy responsibilities that a United States Senator or Representative must be ready to assume, the hard decisions he is going to have to make, the extensive resources he will have to call upon, if he is to fulfill his public service to the people.

Above all, however, he must constantly reach for as much alert perspective possible about what is happening in America and throughout the world.

But it is you who have the advantage here. You are at an age of life when you can learn more and learn it better. In carrying out your student leadership responsibilities and in developing invaluable insights in your first-hand contacts with government officials and elected representatives in Washington, you are gaining a vantage point, a broadened perspective, denied to many others.

I urge you to seize hold of these opportunities and make the most of them -- you owe it to yourself; you owe it to other people; and you owe it to your country.

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U.S. SENATE YOUTH PROGRAM LUNCHEON

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 9, 1973

IT HAS BEEN NOTED THAT I WORKED TO HELP GET THE SENATE
RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY ELEVEN YEARS AGO, THAT
LAUNCHED THE U.S. SENATE YOUTH PROGRAM.

THE REASON I DID THIS WAS SIMPLE BUT IMPORTANT. I FELT
THIS PROGRAM HAD SOMETHING VITAL TO OFFER -- IT WOULD GIVE
YOUNG PEOPLE IN POSITIONS OF STUDENT LEADERSHIP A FIRST-
HAND ORIENTATION ON THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PUBLIC SERVICE IN
WASHINGTON.

I LEARNED POLITICS AT A YOUNG AGE WITH MY FATHER. I WENT
WITH HIM TO CITY COUNCIL MEETINGS, TO COUNTY DEMOCRATIC
GATHERINGS, AND TO STATE PARTY CONVENTIONS. WHAT I LEARNED
WAS THAT POLITICS OFFERS SOLID OPPORTUNITIES FOR PUBLIC SERVICE.

IT CAN CHALLENGE THE BEST THAT IS IN A MAN OR A WOMAN TO WORK
TO HELP MAKE THIS COUNTRY, THIS WORLD, A BETTER PLACE IN WHICH
TO LIVE, TO WORK, AND TO HOPE IN THE FUTURE.

I ENJOY PUBLIC SERVICE. I GIVE IT EVERYTHING I HAVE.

OUR GOVERNMENT FACES TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITIES TODAY AT HOME
AND ABROAD. BUT THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES ARE GOING TO BE CARRIED
OUT BY ORDINARY HUMAN BEINGS IN PUBLIC SERVICE MAKING DECISIONS
ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS, ALWAYS UNDER PRESSURE, AND WITH THE TOOLS
THAT ARE IMMEDIATELY AT HAND. SO THE ABILITY OF THESE PEOPLE
TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISIONS, AND TAKE THE RIGHT ACTION WILL BE
STRONGLY AFFECTED BY THE CAPABILITIES, THE KNOWLEDGE, THE
EXPERIENCE THEY ALREADY POSSESS.

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THAT IS WHY I WANT TO POSE SOME CHALLENGES TODAY TO YOU WHO ARE HAVING YOUR FIRST IMPORTANT EXPERIENCE AS REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER PEOPLE -- YOUR FELLOW STUDENTS. YOU MAY BE CONSIDERING MAKING A CAREER OF PUBLIC SERVICE, AND I WANT TO GIVE YOU EVERY ENCOURAGEMENT TO PURSUE THIS VOCATION.

BUT REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THIS DEMOCRACY IS NO BETTER THAN THE PEOPLE IT REPRESENTS. WE SAY THAT THIS NATION IS A WORLD POWER, BUT ARE WE AS A PEOPLE CAPABLE OF EXERCISING THAT POWER IN A WORLD THAT IS UNDERGOING TREMENDOUS CHANGES? HOW MUCH DO WE REALLY KNOW ABOUT THIS WORLD?

TODAY, WE ARE A WORLD POWER WITH A HALF-WORLD KNOWLEDGE.

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WE KNOW A GREAT DEAL ABOUT GREAT BRITAIN AND THE NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE, WITH WHICH WE HAVE HAD LONG-STANDING CULTURAL TIES AND CLOSE ALLIANCES.

BUT WHAT DO WE REALLY KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, ABOUT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE? THAT KNOWLEDGE WILL BE VITAL IN THE COMING YEARS, FOR THE UNITED STATES IS NO LONGER THE GREATEST POWER IN THE WORLD -- IT IS JUST ONE OF THEM.

SO WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO LEARN NEW LESSONS. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FOCUS NOT ON THE BLUNT USE OF POWER, BUT ON THE RESTRAINT OF POWER, ITS GRADUAL EMPLOYMENT FOR WHAT WE TRY TO DETERMINE IS THE GREATEST GOOD FOR THE GREATEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

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ONE DECISIVE LESSON OF THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS THAT OCCURRED AT THE TIME THE U.S. SENATE YOUTH PROGRAM BEGAN, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS THAT FROM THAT TIME ON -- HAVING BEEN THREATENED WITH DESTRUCTION UNLESS THEY REMOVED THEIR OFFENSIVE MISSILES FROM CUBA -- THE RUSSIANS RESOLVED TO BECOME A NUCLEAR SUPER-POWER, AND FOR YEARS WE HAVE HAD TO STRUGGLE ALONG WITH A PEACE ACHIEVED SOLELY THROUGH A BALANCE OF TERROR.

BUT WHAT DO WE KNOW EVEN TODAY ABOUT THE U.S.S.R. WITH WHOM WE WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP NEW WORKING RELATIONSHIPS? THE REAL POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE STRENGTH, THE CHARACTER, THE DURABILITY OF ITS PEOPLE.

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IT IS IN ITS SCIENTIFIC RESOURCES. WHEN IT COMES TO BUILDING THE
WEAPONS OF WAR -- THE CUTTING EDGE OF POWER -- THE SOVIET UNION
IS SECOND TO NONE.

BUT INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY -- NATIONS RESOLVING
CONFLICTING INTERESTS -- IS A PROCESS OF BALANCING STRENGTHS AND
NEEDS. THE SOVIET ECONOMY, FOR EXAMPLE, NEXT TO THAT OF THE
UNITED STATES, IS A SMALL TOWN GARAGE COMPARED TO GENERAL MOTORS.
THERE IS MUCH THAT CAN AND MUST BE DONE IN THIS AREA, THEREFORE,
TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

BUT LET US ASSUME YOU ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE
AND ONE OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES IS UNDERSTANDING THE
DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER NATIONS, THE REASONS THEIR ACTIONS HAVE
THE POTENTIAL FOR CREATING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS.

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AS I INDICATED AT THE OUTSET, TO A GREAT EXTENT YOU WILL HAVE TO FALL BACK ON YOUR OWN RESOURCES -- THE HISTORY YOU HAVE LEARNED, THE ABILITIES YOU HAVE DEVELOPED TO UNDERSTAND, TO ANALYZE WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND YOU, THE PROCESSES YOU HAVE MASTERED TO GET AT THE FACTS.

HOW WILL YOU ANALYZE ACTIONS BY THE SOVIET UNION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TOWARD ITS COMMUNIST NEIGHBOR, CHINA? DO YOU KNOW THE FACTS OF HISTORY -- THAT RUSSIA HISTORICALLY HAS BEEN TRYING TO MOVE INTO THE ARABIC STATES, TO BREAK OUT OF THE BLACK SEA? DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE FUNDAMENTAL CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, EVOLVED OVER COUNTLESS GENERATIONS, THAT REALLY EXPLAIN THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT, THE DIVISION OF THE TWO GREAT

POWERS OF COMMUNISM, WHERE EACH NATION HAS ADAPTED A POLITICAL
SYSTEM TO MORE BASIC, IN-BRED TRADITIONS.

LET ME CITE JUST ONE OTHER AREA OF THIS NATION'S KNOWLEDGE
GAP ABOUT THE WORLD -- A KNOWLEDGE GAP ~~THREAT~~ ^{THAT} CAN SERIOUSLY
THREATEN THE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF POWER, LEAVING TO YOUR
GENERATION ANOTHER MAJOR INTERNATIONAL TENSION SITUATION TO RE-
SOLVE.

I AM REFERRING TO THE FAR EAST. DID YOU KNOW THAT ONLY TEN
COLLEGES IN AMERICA HAD A COURSE ON THE FAR EAST PRIOR TO WORLD
WAR II? AND HOW MUCH DID WE KNOW ABOUT VIETNAM WHEN WE SENT IN
MILITARY ADVISERS OVER A DECADE AGO, LEADING TO THE LONGEST ARMED
CONFLICT IN WHICH THIS NATION HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN ITS ENTIRE
HISTORY?

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THEN LOOK TO THE FUTURE IN THE FAR EAST. WHICH POWER WILL BE THE FOCAL POINT THERE HAVING A MAJOR IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS -- CHINA? JAPAN? INDIA?

THE STRENGTH OF EACH OF THESE NATIONS IS ITS PEOPLE, BUT OUR FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF THEM -- THEIR HERITAGE, THE VALUES AND COMMITMENTS THAT ARE CENTRAL IN THEIR LIVES, THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND FUTURE GOALS -- ABOUT ALL OF THIS WE ARE REALLY IGNORANT. AND THERE IS NOTHING MORE DANGEROUS THAN A LITTLE KNOWLEDGE -- ESPECIALLY WHEN IT COMES TO MAKING JUDGMENTS AFFECTING AN ENTIRE NATION.

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SO IF THERE IS ONE PIECE OF ADVICE I WOULD GIVE TO ANYONE
CONSIDERING A CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE, IT IS THAT YOU MUST HAVE
A DEEP DESIRE TO LEARN AND KEEP LEARNING. YOU WILL NEVER REALLY
UNDERSTAND THE PRESENT UNLESS YOU HAVE A GOOD GRASP OF HISTORY.
YOU WILL NEVER MAKE THE BEST POSSIBLE JUDGMENT ABOUT THE TRUTH
OF A SITUATION IF YOU ARE CONTENT JUST TO TAKE SOMEONE ELSE'S
WORD FOR IT.

BUT TO THOSE OF YOU WHO MAY BE CONSIDERING PUBLIC SERVICE AS
AN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE, I WOULD ADD AN EXTRA
DIMENSION TO THIS LESSON. THOSE PEOPLE ARE NOT NUMBERS, OR
STATISTICS, OR TYPES -- THEY ARE INDIVIDUAL PERSONS, EACH WITH HIS
CONCERNS, HIS AMBITIONS, HIS VIEWPOINTS, HIS PREJUDICES, AND HIS
NEEDS.

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THE ART OF POLITICS -- AND THE THING THAT MAKES IT ONE OF THE
BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE FULL-TIME VOCATIONS -- IS TO KNOW THESE PERSONS;
TO UNDERSTAND WHAT MAKES THEM TICK; TO COMMUNICATE WITH A MAN AT A
GENUINE LEVEL BECAUSE YOU'VE BOTH GOT THE SAME MUD ON YOUR SHOES;
AND TO SHARE A HANDCLASP THAT SAYS IT ALL.

AMERICAN HISTORY BOOKS DON'T REALLY TELL YOU MUCH ABOUT WHAT
WENT INTO THE BUILDING OF THIS COUNTRY. DATES AND PLACES AND FAMOUS
NAMES ARE ALL FINE. BUT WHAT REALLY EXPLAINS AMERICA IS THE CHARACTER
OF ITS PEOPLE. AND YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT CHARACTER UNTIL YOU
KNOW THEIR SACRIFICES, THEIR DETERMINATION, THEIR HOPES FOR THE
FUTURE.

IT'S NICE TO KNOW THAT ON A CERTAIN DAY LONG AGO A GOLDEN SPIKE WAS HAMMERED HOME IN A RAILROAD LINKING EAST AND WEST FOR THE FIRST TIME. BUT THE MISSING PARAGRAPH WOULD HAVE TOLD YOU OF THE THOUSANDS OF BODIES OF CHINESE AND IRISH LABORERS THAT LITTERED THAT TRACKAGE.

IT'S IMPORTANT TO KNOW THAT SLAVERY WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE CAUSES OF A MAJOR CIVIL WAR. BUT WHERE WILL YOU FIND A HISTORY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MINORITIES IN THE BUILDING OF AMERICA?

YOU CAN PROBABLY RECITE A LIST OF GREAT NAMES IN AMERICAN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. BUT IT WAS WORKING PEOPLE WHO BUILT THAT ENTERPRISE; IT IS THEIR LABOR WHICH EXPLAINS A GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT OF OVER A TRILLION DOLLARS.

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WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT YOU CANNOT PREACH A SERMON ABOUT HUMAN DIGNITY UNLESS YOU KNOW WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN PEOPLE'S LIVES. YOU WILL NOT REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT IS MEANT BY JUSTICE TEMPERED WITH MERCY, OR PRINCIPLES REFINED BY TOLERANCE, UNTIL YOU UNDERSTAND PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES -- THE STRIVING AFTER WHAT, IN THE END, IS A BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE.

THE POINT OF THIS LESSON HAS AN IMMEDIATE RELEVANCE TODAY. A LOT OF EXPERTS ARE TRYING TO EXPLAIN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THEM; WHAT THEY EXPECT OF THE FUTURE.

THERE ARE GOOD REASONS FOR CONCERN. WHAT IS THE REAL REASON THAT ONLY 55 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE VOTED IN THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?

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AND BY THE WAY, THE "NEW GENERATION" OF YOUTH SHOWED NO REAL DIFFERENCES FROM THE REST OF THE POPULACE IN ITS VOTING PATTERNS -- A LOW RATE OF PARTICIPATION AT THE VOTING BOOTH, WITH NEITHER POLITICAL PARTY RECEIVING A SUBSTANTIAL ADVANTAGE FROM A SO-CALLED "BLOC VOTE" THAT PROVED TO BE A MYTH.

YET HOW CAN WE TALK ABOUT AMERICA BEING A GOVERNMENT OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE WHEN ALMOST HALF THE PEOPLE DID NOT BOTHER TO REGISTER THEIR PREFERENCE AT THE BALLOT BOX? COMPARE THAT WITH VOTER TURNOUTS OF OVER 90 PERCENT IN WEST EUROPEAN NATIONS. WE SAY THAT AN INFORMED ELECTORATE IS THE BEDROCK OF DEMOCRACY. BUT IN INDIA, WITH A HIGH RATE OF ILLITERACY, OVER 70 PERCENT OF THE VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS.

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WE COULD PROBABLY SPEND THE REST OF THE DAY LISTING REASONS FOR ALL THIS. BUT WE WOULD BE LEFT WITH ONE QUESTION ABOUT WHICH WE SHOULD BE DEEPLY CONCERNED. LET ME POSE THAT QUESTION BLUNTLY: CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE IN PLENTY?

WAS MARX RIGHT WHEN HE SAID, IN EFFECT, THAT IT IS THE VERY WEALTH OR SELF-SATISFACTION OF CAPITALISM THAT WILL DO US IN? HAVE SO MANY PEOPLE LET THEIR SELF-INTERESTS STAND IN THE WAY OF THEIR COUNTRY'S INTEREST?

WHEN I WAS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS I INSTITUTED AN OPEN-DOOR POLICY. EVERY SATURDAY AFTERNOON ANY CITIZEN WHO HAD A COMPLAINT COULD WALK RIGHT IN AND TAKE IT STRAIGHT TO THE MAYOR HIMSELF.

BUT I HAD ONE QUESTION THAT USUALLY CUT THOSE COMPLAINTS SHORT,

I DIDN'T CARE ABOUT THE MAN'S POLITICS, BUT I JUST ASKED HIM STRAIGHT
OUT: "DID YOU VOTE?" THE MESSAGE WAS SIMPLE: "I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY

TO YOU AS A RESIDENT AND A TAXPAYER. BUT YOU HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY
TO MAINTAIN THE FREE CHOICE OF THE ELECTORATE, THAT HAPPENED TO

PUT ME HERE." AND HE USUALLY GOT THE MESSAGE.

THERE IS ANOTHER REASON WHY THOSE OF US IN PUBLIC SERVICE MUST
FOCUS OUR ATTENTION NOW ON PEOPLE.

WE ARE GOING THROUGH A REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. THERE IS A
TREMENDOUS MIGRATION OF PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. ~~WE HAVE OF~~
IT IS UNEQUALLED IN ALL OF RECORDED HISTORY. I AM TALKING
ABOUT A MIGRATION FROM THE FARM TO THE CITY, ABOUT DESERTED AREAS IN THE

MID WEST AND INCREASINGLY DENSE POPULATIONS ON THE EAST AND WEST
COASTS.

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I AM TALKING ABOUT RURAL AND SMALL TOWN PEOPLE FINDING THEMSELVES ALIENS IN A FOREIGN LAND WHEN THEY ENTER URBAN AREAS WITH A TOTALLY DIFFERENT CULTURE. AS PEOPLE MIGRATE, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT THEY ARE GOING THROUGH TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES.

BUT EVEN MORE THAN THIS, WE SEEM TO HAVE GOTTEN EVERYTHING UPSIDE DOWN IN THIS NATION^{ON} WHERE PEOPLE LIVE AND WORK, AND WE'RE BEGINNING TO DISCOVER THAT IT IS HAVING AN EXTENSIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT AS WELL AS PUTTING A TREMENDOUS STRAIN ON OUR PUBLIC FACILITIES AND RESOURCES.

WE HAVE SIMPLY GOT TO GET HOLD OF THIS SITUATION IN THE DECADE OF THE SEVENTIES AND BEGIN TO PLAN FOR BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

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WE HAVE TO RESTORE TO PEOPLE A FREE CHOICE ON WHERE THEY WILL LIVE AND WORK. WE HAVE TO RESTORE A DECENT AND SATISFYING LIVING ENVIRONMENT. AND WE HAVE TO RESTORE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY.

LOOK AT THE SITUATION WE'VE CREATED FOR OURSELVES. THE FACTORIES ARE MOVING OUT INTO THE COUNTRY, BUT THE WORKERS ARE IN THE CENTRAL CITY. THE EXECUTIVES AND BANKERS LIVE IN THE SUBURBS, BUT THEIR JOBS ARE IN THE CENTRAL CITY. AND ALL OF THEM HAVE TO COMMUTE -- AND THAT OFTEN MEANS 45 MINUTES OF BUMPER-TO-BUMPER TRAFFIC -- ONE OF THE BEST TENSION-BUILDERS THAT MANKIND HAS EVER CREATED. WHAT AN ACCOMPLISHMENT!

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AMERICANS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY SEPARATING THEMSELVES FROM THE THINGS THAT MAKE FOR COMMUNITY. INSTEAD OF SERVICES CLOSE AT HAND AND WITH WHICH THEY CAN IDENTIFY, THEY HAVE TO PUT UP WITH A LONG DRIVE TO AN ANONYMOUS SHOPPING CENTER OR TO A CROWDED MEDICAL CLINIC.

THEY CAN'T FIND LOCAL PARKS AND RECREATION AREAS -- THEY'RE EVEN LUCKY TO SQUEEZE INTO A NATIONAL PARK AFTER SEVERAL DAYS OF TIRING TRAVEL. DID YOU KNOW THAT LONDON HAS TWELVE TIMES AS MUCH PARK SPACE AS NEW YORK? THEN CONSIDER THE FACT THAT LONDON HAS A MUCH LOWER RATE OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE.

NOW THE LAST EXAMPLE I WANT TO GIVE OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE
IN PUBLIC SERVICE RIGHT NOW OF GIVING THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO PEOPLE,
IS THE DOCUMENT THAT HAS JUST BEEN PRESENTED TO CONGRESS --
THE FEDERAL BUDGET FOR FISCAL 1974.

I KNOW THERE IS A GOOD MIXTURE HERE OF INTELLIGENT
DEMOCRATS AND MISGUIDED REPUBLICANS, SO I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY
TO BE NON-PARTISAN IN MY REMARKS. BUT I ALSO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY
AS A UNITED STATES SENATOR TO EXPRESS MY DEEP CONCERN
OVER A BUDGET THAT REFLECTS A BASIC DECISION TO REDUCE THE
PRIORITY OF SERVING THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE.

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WE'VE HEARD A GREAT DEAL ABOUT ACHIEVING FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS BUDGET, AND I YIELD TO NO MAN IN MY ADHERENCE TO THAT PRINCIPLE. BUT LET ME JUST POINT OUT THAT CONGRESS HAS CUT BUDGET REQUESTS IN EVERY YEAR OF THIS ADMINISTRATION -- LAST YEAR REDUCING THEM BY SOME \$5 BILLION IN DEFENSE ALONE. BY CONTRAST, THIS FISCAL '74 BUDGET PROJECTS A \$12.7 BILLION DEFICIT.

BUT AFTER ALL THE HAGGLING OVER WHO IS REALLY THE SPEND-THRIFT, ONE HARSH FACT COMES THROUGH SHARP AND CLEAR: IN THIS BUDGET, SOME \$10 BILLION WILL BE SLICED FROM SOCIAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOR AND THE UNDERPRIVILEGED OVERCOME BARRIERS TO MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION AND HOPE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

-22-

IT IS A BUDGET OF CUTBACKS IN HEALTH, IN EDUCATION, IN
MANPOWER, IN HOUSING, IN THE REHABILITATION OF THE HANDICAPPED,
IN THE WAR ON POVERTY,

IT IS A BUDGET THAT NEGLECTS THE PEOPLE,

IT IS A BUDGET OF WHAT I WOULD FRANKLY CALL, "DOMESTIC
DISENGAGEMENT."

IT IS A BUDGET THAT IS DEAD WRONG IN ITS PRIORITIES, AND
THIS IS ONE SENATOR WHO WON'T STAND FOR IT!

NOW THE ADMINISTRATION SAYS THAT WE CAN'T PAY FOR THESE
PEOPLE-CENTERED PROGRAMS WITHOUT RAISING TAXES. I DON'T BELIEVE
THAT DECEPTION WILL LAST VERY LONG.

-23-

FIRST, BY CUTTING BACK FEDERAL HELP TO STATES AND CITIES,
ALL THAT IS BEING ACCOMPLISHED IS A TRANSFER OF THE TAX BURDEN,
WHILE THE SAME TAXPAYER FOOTS THE BILL. THERE ARE PUBLIC SERVICES
AND PROGRAMS THAT SIMPLY CANNOT BE CUT BACK WITHOUT DOING VIOLENCE
BOTH TO HUMAN DECENCY AND TO ECONOMIC GOOD SENSE. AND THAT
MEANS THAT STATE TAXES AND LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES WILL HAVE TO PICK
UP THE SLACK.

BUT SECOND, THIS BUDGET DOES NOT CONTAIN A WORD ABOUT TAX
REFORM. AND IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM THAT CAN PRODUCE THE ADDED
REVENUES FOR PEOPLE CENTERED PROGRAMS.

IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM THAT WILL AT ^{LAST}~~LEAST~~ MAKE IT A REALITY
THAT EVERY AMERICAN PAYS HIS FAIR SHARE. IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM
THAT WILL SAY TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS WAGE EARNER THAT SOMEONE ELSE IS
GOING TO SHARE THE BURDEN HE HAS BORNE FOR SO LONG OF PAYING FOR
OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES.

AND IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM THAT CAN RAISE \$7 BILLION MORE
BY PLACING A TEN PERCENT SURCHARGE ON PREFERRED INCOME -- THAT
CATEGORY OF PRIVATE WEALTH THAT IS GENERALLY OUT OF THE REACH OF
THE WORKING FAMILIES OF AMERICA.

-25-

NOW, I HAVE ONLY MENTIONED A FEW OF THE ITEMS ON THE PRIORITY
WORK AGENDA OF CONGRESS. I MENTION THEM TO POINT OUT THE HEAVY
RESPONSIBILITIES THAT A UNITED STATES SENATOR OR REPRESENTATIVE
MUST BE READY TO ASSUME, THE HARD DECISIONS HE IS GOING TO HAVE
TO MAKE, THE EXTENSIVE RESOURCES HE WILL HAVE TO CALL UPON, IF
HE IS TO FULFILL HIS PUBLIC SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE.

ABOVE ALL, HOWEVER, HE MUST CONSTANTLY REACH FOR AS MUCH
KNOWLEDGE AS HE CAN ABSORB. HE MUST MAINTAIN THE BROADEST
AND MOST ALERT PERSPECTIVE ~~BE~~ POSSIBLE ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AMERICA AND
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

BUT IT IS YOU WHO HAVE THE ADVANTAGE HERE. YOU ARE AT AN AGE OF LIFE WHEN YOU CAN LEARN MORE AND LEARN IT BETTER. IN CARRYING OUT YOUR STUDENT LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES AND IN DEVELOPING INVALUABLE INSIGHTS IN YOUR FIRST-HAND CONTACTS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON, YOU ARE GAINING A VANTAGE POINT, A BROADENED PERSPECTIVE, DENIED TO MANY OTHERS.

I URGE YOU TO SEIZE HOLD OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES AND MAKE THE MOST OF THEM -- YOU OWE IT TO YOURSELF; YOU OWE IT TO OTHER PEOPLE; AND YOU OWE IT TO YOUR COUNTRY.

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