

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
THE FULL EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE
Washington, D. C.
June 24, 1975

I am delighted to have this chance to meet with you today and to participate in the National Conference on Full Employment. As I look around today I feel right at home. I see so many friends, so many familiar faces, so many allies in the battles for social, economic and political justice in America.

It is reassuring to know that all of you still are fighting to make the promise of full employment a reality for our citizens, despite the fact that we now are in the grips of the worst unemployment crisis to ravage our nation since the Great Depression of the 1930's.

I always have thought of the United States as a land of opportunity, of optimism and of progress. But, in the vital area of jobs, we have been moving backward instead of forward. And many of our leaders have become defeatists, instead of fighters.

When I first came to the Senate in 1950, this nation had a full employment goal of 2 percent maximum unemployment. Gradually, that objective has been eroded so that by the early 70's we were told by the White House that 5 percent was a "reasonable" unemployment level.

Today things are even worse. The Administration informs us that we should passively accept unemployment levels of 6 percent, 7 percent or 8 percent for the rest of this decade.

There is an unmistakable pattern--each recession brings with it an official tolerance of higher unemployment. This represents a tragic erosion of both confidence and commitment, a "cop-out," that is unworthy of our great nation.

As we approach the 200th anniversary of the founding of our country, and the 30th anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946, we must rededicate the nation to the objective of a job opportunity at decent wages for every American who wants one. And more importantly, we must organize for the political action that can make this objective attainable.

The 9.2 percent unemployment rate for May, unimaginable as it would have been five, ten or fifteen years ago, masks the much greater hardship experienced by many Americans. The black unemployment rate is 14.8 percent. Among teenagers, joblessness is 21.8 percent and among black teenagers it is an incredible 39.9 percent.

Today, I am releasing the results of a survey conducted for me last week by the staff of the Joint Economic Committee. The survey documents the seriousness of the unemployment problem in major urban areas of the United States.

Our survey, which included 18 major American cities, clearly indicates that urban America is in an employment depression. While this comes as no big surprise to most of you, it is a point that is lost to far too many.

For example, our survey shows that unemployment within the city limits of Detroit is 20.9 percent, 18.3 percent in Providence, 16.6 percent in Newark, 13.4 percent in Boston, 13 percent in Cleveland, 12.3 percent in Atlanta, and the list goes on and on. Of course, inner city rates are even higher than these Depression levels.

This kind of pervasive unemployment is a social, economic and moral outrage. It must not be tolerated.

Of all the industrialized nations, we probably have the most backward attitudes about full employment. Recently in France, their President, Giscard D'Estaing, declared it a national emergency when unemployment rose above 4.5 percent. In Great Britain and Italy, unemployment is 3.5 percent, and in Japan, it is below 2 percent. Unemployment is becoming the shame of a great nation.

Yet, in spite of the fact that unemployment today is higher than it has been since the Great Depression, the Administration has consistently minimized its severity and has failed to propose or accept a program to attack unemployment, let alone assure full employment.

The President has vetoed and Congress has sustained an emergency employment bill which would have created almost a million jobs. The reason given by the Administration for vetoing this bill was that it would have been inflationary. Why, then, doesn't the President look to better anti-trust enforcement, and an investigation of administered pricing practices to fight the war on inflation rather than to the livelihood of millions of Americans.

All we hear these days from the Administration are rosey projections of recovery. According to the President and Mr. Greenspan, the recession is over. Well, the profits recession and the production recession may be ending but the prospects for a people recovery--a jobs recovery--are still bleak.

The lack of concern over unemployment by this Administration can be clearly understood when reflecting for a moment on one statement made this Spring by the President of the United States-- "Unemployment is the biggest concern of the 8.2 percent of the American workers temporarily out of work, but inflation is the universal enemy of 100 percent of our people in America today."

I take issue with the President.

The 8.3 million American workers who presently are counted as being "officially" unemployed, represent only a small fraction of those who will directly suffer from unemployment this year. The Joint Economic Committee has estimated that 75 million Americans will experience the unemployment of at least one member of their families during 1975.

These are the numbers the President and his advisors should be studying. One third of the American population will be directly affected by unemployment this year. Of course, millions of others--the underemployed, the part-time employed, discouraged workers--will suffer indirectly through shorter work hours and smaller take-home pay, not to mention the frustration that comes with not being able to fully use one's talents.

In the face of these grim statistics, the Administration's response is that we must be careful, we must go slowly, we must accept a gradual return to full employment.

But what does this gradual approach mean in terms of lost jobs, output and income? I'll tell you.

--It means unemployment above six percent for the next four years.

--It means \$1.5 trillion in lost output between now and 1980.

--It means lower incomes, lower tax revenues, lower profits and lower wages in the next five years than we could achieve at full employment.

I am as concerned as the President is about inflation. However, he does not seem to understand that the only protection against inflation for most Americans is a decent job.

I do not subscribe to the simplistic "seesaw theory" of economics that prevails in the White House.

The notion that we can control inflation only by imposing a long period of high unemployment of millions and millions of our citizens is ridiculous and tragically misguided. We cannot accept this worn out and disproven theory--this smoke screen to hide an official policy of governmental irresponsibility and official neglect.

I don't need to give you a lecture today on the ways in which jobs could be created in this country, if we had the will to do so. You all know what can be done and you all have ideas on how to do it more effectively.

Certainly, we need more study of better ways of providing job opportunities to our people.

We need to look much more carefully at the techniques used by other nations to bring all of their citizens into the labor market.

We need to analyze our own experience much more carefully and draw from it the conclusions which can provide the basis for better programs in the future.

We need to consider, once again, the techniques that can be used to encourage the private sector to increase job opportunities for all.

This is important work, work that must be done in Congress, and work that I am delighted to know we have such fine minds concentrating on.

In our efforts, we must continually remind ourselves and the public that a Federal commitment to full employment would not mean a proliferation of leaf raking projects.

All one needs to do is look at the great unmet needs in this country to realize that we could use more hands in meeting them.

--How many thousands of new jobs could we create, if we seriously tried to meet our nation's housing needs?

--How many people could we usefully put to work, if we truly attempted to provide quality health care to all of our citizens?

--Who can estimate the tremendous need for trained workers to staff our nation's day care centers?

--Who can fail to understand the need for more teacher's assistants and counselors in our educational system?

--Who will deny that thousands of workers are needed to take our dilapidated rail system and turn it into a safe and efficient operation?

--How many Americans could we put to work, if we really decided to revitalize our nation's cities?

There is undeniably no shortage of important work for our citizens to do.

But most of you know all this. Preaching the gospel of full employment in this audience is like discussing the evils of alcohol at a meeting of the Temperance Union.

But, it is good for us to come together--to draw strength from each other for the battles that we must fight every day. We need the reinforcement that comes with being able to draw on each other's knowledge, talent and energy.

That is what is so important about the Full Employment Action Council. It can make a tremendous contribution to achieving full employment. It can bring together the researchers and the politicians. It can provide the public with information on how full employment can be achieved. And it can help organize and orchestrate timely support for legislation that can bring us closer to our goals.

It is this aspect of political action that is weakest in our movement for full employment. Surely unemployment is an economic problem, and we need to have better proposals for solving it. But the bottom line is political will and commitment.

This is where our great failure is today. There is no lack of good ideas on how to provide jobs, or on what work people could do, but there is a tragic lack of political will to provide work for all of our citizens.

This is where your organization can and must help, through research, through public information, through grass roots organization, and most important through timely and effective political action.

The prospects for quick success are not very encouraging. We are likely to have a long, tough fight before we succeed in passing legislation to provide jobs for all. But we cannot give up or lower our sights.

Where would any of us be today, if everytime we faced a challenging and difficult goal we modified our objectives or accepted second place? Where would the civil rights movement be today if, at the first sight of angry parents in a Little Rock school, Blacks had backed off on their demands for equality?

Caving in on our employment goal, and accepting 5-1/2 percent unemployment, would be tantamount to reinstituting separate but equal educational facilities. We will not accept it and "we shall overcome."

I challenge you to think, to work, to act forcefully for the realization of our goal of a decent job for every American, and to hasten the day when that goal can be a reality in our nation.

I also challenge you to work today and tomorrow and next week for more jobs, as many as we can get. We have to accept political realities today as we work to change them for tomorrow. We must all be willing to devote our time and energy to getting 300,000 - 500,000 - 1 million public service jobs even though we know we need so many more.

This is the challenge that I leave with you.

We cannot permit the stench of intolerable unemployment to foul the air of our nation as it celebrates 200 years in the "pursuit of happiness" for all.

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REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
THE FULL EMPLOYMENT CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JUNE 24, 1975

Coretta King
Murray Finley (annual clothing
workshop)
Dick Brown

I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS CHANCE TO MEET WITH
YOU TODAY AND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON FULL EMPLOYMENT. AS I LOOK AROUND TODAY I FEEL
RIGHT AT HOME. I SEE SO MANY FRIENDS, SO MANY
FAMILIAR FACES, SO MANY ALLIES IN THE BATTLES FOR
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL JUSTICE IN AMERICA.

IT IS REASSURING TO KNOW THAT ALL OF YOU STILL
ARE FIGHTING TO MAKE THE PROMISE OF FULL EMPLOYMENT
A REALITY FOR OUR CITIZENS, DESPITE THE FACT THAT
WE NOW ARE IN THE GRIPS OF THE WORST UNEMPLOYMENT
CRISIS TO RAVAGE OUR NATION SINCE THE GREAT DE-
PRESSION OF THE 1930's.

I ALWAYS HAVE THOUGHT OF THE UNITED STATES AS
A LAND OF OPPORTUNITY, OF OPTIMISM AND OF PROGRESS.
BUT, IN THE VITAL AREA OF JOBS, WE HAVE BEEN MOVING
BACKWARD INSTEAD OF FORWARD. AND MANY OF OUR LEADERS
HAVE BECOME DEFEATISTS, INSTEAD OF FIGHTERS.

~~to~~
L WHEN I FIRST CAME TO THE SENATE IN 1950, THIS
NATION HAD A FULL EMPLOYMENT GOAL OF 2 PERCENT
MAXIMUM UNEMPLOYMENT. GRADUALLY, THAT OBJECTIVE
HAS BEEN ERODED SO THAT BY THE EARLY 70's WE WERE
TOLD BY THE WHITE HOUSE THAT 5 PERCENT WAS A
"REASONABLE" UNEMPLOYMENT LEVEL.

L TODAY THINGS ARE EVEN WORSE. L THE ADMINISTRATION
INFORMS US THAT WE SHOULD PASSIVELY ACCEPT UNEM-
PLOYMENT LEVELS OF 6 PERCENT, 7 PERCENT OR 8
PERCENT FOR THE REST OF THIS DECADE.

L THERE IS AN UNMISTAKABLE PATTERN--EACH RECESSION
BRINGS WITH IT AN OFFICIAL TOLERANCE OF HIGHER
UNEMPLOYMENT. L THIS REPRESENTS A TRAGIC EROSION OF
BOTH CONFIDENCE AND COMMITMENT, A "COP-OUT," THAT
IS UNWORTHY OF OUR GREAT NATION.

~~unemployment~~

our goals

↳ AS WE APPROACH THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF OUR COUNTRY, AND THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946, WE MUST REDEDICATE
THE NATION TO THE OBJECTIVE OF A JOB OPPORTUNITY
AT DECENT WAGES FOR EVERY AMERICAN WHO WANTS ONE.

↳ AND MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE MUST ORGANIZE FOR THE
POLITICAL ACTION THAT CAN MAKE THIS OBJECTIVE ATTAINABLE.

h THE 9.2 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR MAY,

UNIMAGINABLE AS IT WOULD HAVE BEEN FIVE, TEN OR

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, MASKS THE MUCH GREATER HARDSHIP

EXPERIENCED BY MANY AMERICANS. L THE BLACK UNEM-

PLOYMENT RATE IS 14.7 PERCENT. AMONG TEENAGERS,

JOBLESSNESS IS 21.8 PERCENT AND AMONG BLACK TEENAGERS

IT IS AN INCREDIBLE 39.9 PERCENT.

L ~~15~~ TODAY, I AM RELEASING THE RESULTS OF A SURVEY

CONDUCTED FOR ME LAST WEEK BY THE STAFF OF THE JOINT

ECONOMIC COMMITTEE. L THE SURVEY DOCUMENTS THE

SERIOUSNESS OF THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN MAJOR

URBAN AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES.

*urban
america*

OUR SURVEY, WHICH INCLUDED 18 MAJOR AMERICAN
CITIES, CLEARLY INDICATES THAT URBAN AMERICA IS IN

AN EMPLOYMENT DEPRESSION. WHILE THIS COMES AS

NO BIG SURPRISE TO MOST OF YOU, IT IS A POINT THAT

IS LOST TO FAR TOO MANY.

FOR EXAMPLE, OUR SURVEY SHOWS THAT UNEMPLOYMENT
WITHIN THE CITY LIMITS OF DETROIT IS 20.9 PERCENT,

18.3 PERCENT IN PROVIDENCE, 16.6 PERCENT IN NEWARK,

13.4 PERCENT IN BOSTON, 13 PERCENT IN CLEVELAND,

12.3 PERCENT IN ATLANTA, AND THE LIST GOES ON AND

ON. OF COURSE, INNER CITY RATES ARE EVEN HIGHER THAN

THESE DEPRESSION LEVELS.

↳ THIS KIND OF PERVASIVE UNEMPLOYMENT IS A SOCIAL,
ECONOMIC AND MORAL OUTRAGE. ↳ ^{cannot} ~~must~~ NOT BE TOLERATED.

OF ALL THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS, WE PROBABLY
HAVE THE MOST BACKWARD ATTITUDES ABOUT FULL

EMPLOYMENT. ↳ RECENTLY IN FRANCE, THEIR PRESIDENT,

GISCARD D'ESTAING, DECLARED IT A NATIONAL EMERGENCY
WHEN UNEMPLOYMENT ROSE ABOVE 4.5 PERCENT. ↳ IN GREAT

BRITAIN AND ITALY, UNEMPLOYMENT IS 3.5 PERCENT,

AND IN JAPAN, IT IS BELOW 3 PERCENT. ↳ UNEMPLOYMENT

IS BECOMING THE SHAME OF A GREAT NATION.

YET, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT UNEMPLOYMENT
TODAY IS HIGHER THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE THE GREAT
DEPRESSION, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS CONSISTENTLY MINIMIZED
ITS SEVERITY AND HAS FAILED TO PROPOSE OR ACCEPT
A PROGRAM TO ATTACK UNEMPLOYMENT, LET ALONE
ASSURE FULL EMPLOYMENT.

data
L THE PRESIDENT HAS VETOED AND CONGRESS HAS
that veto of
SUSTAINED AN EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT BILL WHICH WOULD

HAVE CREATED ALMOST A MILLION JOBS. L THE REASON

GIVEN BY THE ADMINISTRATION FOR VETOING THIS BILL

WAS THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN INFLATIONARY. WHY,

THEN, DOESN'T THE PRESIDENT LOOK TO BETTER ANTI-

TRUST ENFORCEMENT, AND AN INVESTIGATION OF ADMINIS-

TERED PRICING PRACTICES TO FIGHT THE WAR ON INFLATION

RATHER THAN TO THE LIVELIHOOD OF MILLIONS OF

AMERICANS.

~~ALL WE HEAR THESE DAYS FROM THE ADMINISTRATION~~
~~ARE ROSEY PROJECTIONS OF RECOVERY.~~ L ACCORDING TO
THE PRESIDENT AND MR. GREENSPAN, THE RECESSION IS
OVER. L WELL, THE PROFITS RECESSION AND THE PRODUCTION

RECESSION MAY BE ENDING BUT THE PROSPECTS FOR A
PEOPLE RECOVERY--A JOBS RECOVERY--ARE STILL BLEAK.

L THE LACK OF CONCERN OVER UNEMPLOYMENT BY THIS
ADMINISTRATION CAN BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD WHEN

REFLECTING FOR A MOMENT ON ONE STATEMENT MADE THIS

SPRING BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES--

"UNEMPLOYMENT IS THE BIGGEST CONCERN OF THE 8.2

PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS TEMPORARILY OUT OF

WORK, BUT INFLATION IS THE UNIVERSAL ENEMY OF 100 PERCENT

OF OUR PEOPLE IN AMERICA TODAY."

*unemployment
due
economic
Vietnam*

I TAKE ISSUE WITH THE PRESIDENT,

THE 8.3 MILLION AMERICAN WORKERS WHO PRESENTLY
ARE COUNTED AS BEING "OFFICIALLY" UNEMPLOYED,
REPRESENT ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF THOSE WHO WILL
DIRECTLY SUFFER FROM UNEMPLOYMENT THIS YEAR.

THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HAS ESTIMATED THAT 75
MILLION AMERICANS WILL EXPERIENCE THE UNEMPLOYMENT
OF AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF THEIR FAMILIES DURING
1975.

THESE ARE THE NUMBERS THE PRESIDENT AND HIS
ADVISORS SHOULD BE STUDYING. ONE THIRD OF THE AMERICAN
POPULATION WILL BE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY UNEMPLOY-
MENT THIS YEAR.. OF ^{COURSE} ~~THESE~~ MILLIONS OF OTHERS--

THE UNDEREMPLOYED, THE PART-TIME EMPLOYED, DISCOURAGED
WORKERS--WILL SUFFER INDIRECTLY THROUGH SHORTER
WORK HOURS AND SMALLER TAKE-HOME PAY, NOT TO MENTION
THE FRUSTRATION THAT COMES WITH NOT BEING ABLE TO
FULLY USE ONE'S TALENTS.

IN THE FACE OF THESE GRIM STATISTICS, THE
ADMINISTRATION'S RESPONSE IS THAT WE MUST BE CAREFUL,
WE MUST GO SLOWLY, WE MUST ACCEPT A GRADUAL RETURN
TO FULL EMPLOYMENT.

BUT WHAT DOES THIS GRADUAL APPROACH MEAN IN
TERMS OF LOST JOBS, OUTPUT AND INCOME? I'LL TELL
YOU.

↳ --IT MEANS UNEMPLOYMENT ABOVE SIX PERCENT
FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS,

--IT MEANS \$1.5 TRILLION IN LOST OUTPUT BETWEEN
NOW AND 1980.

--IT MEANS LOWER INCOMES, LOWER TAX REVENUES,
LOWER PROFITS AND LOWER WAGES IN THE NEXT FIVE
YEARS THAN WE COULD ACHIEVE AT FULL EMPLOYMENT.

I AM AS CONCERNED AS THE PRESIDENT IS ABOUT
INFLATION. HOWEVER, HE DOES NOT SEEM TO UNDERSTAND
THAT THE ONLY PROTECTION AGAINST INFLATION FOR MOST
AMERICANS IS A DECENT JOB.

I DO NOT SUBSCRIBE TO THE SIMPLISTIC "SEESAW
THEORY" OF ECONOMICS THAT PREVAILS IN THE WHITE
HOUSE.

THE NOTION THAT WE CAN CONTROL INFLATION ONLY
BY IMPOSING A LONG PERIOD OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT OF
MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF OUR CITIZENS IS RIDICULOUS
AND TRAGICALLY MISGUIDED. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THIS
WORN OUT AND DISPROVEN THEORY--THIS SMOKE SCREEN
TO HIDE AN OFFICIAL POLICY OF GOVERNMENTAL
IRRESPONSIBILITY AND OFFICIAL NEGLIGENCE.
L I DON'T NEED TO GIVE YOU A LECTURE TODAY ON
THE WAYS IN WHICH JOBS COULD BE CREATED IN THIS
COUNTRY, IF WE HAD THE WILL TO DO SO. L YOU ALL KNOW
WHAT CAN BE DONE AND YOU ALL HAVE IDEAS ON HOW TO
DO IT MORE EFFECTIVELY.

↳ CERTAINLY, WE NEED MORE STUDY OF BETTER WAYS OF
PROVIDING JOB OPPORTUNITIES TO OUR PEOPLE.

↳ WE NEED TO LOOK MUCH MORE CAREFULLY AT THE
TECHNIQUES USED BY OTHER NATIONS TO BRING ALL OF
THEIR CITIZENS INTO THE LABOR MARKET.

↳ WE NEED TO ANALYZE OUR OWN EXPERIENCE MUCH MORE
CAREFULLY AND DRAW FROM IT THE CONCLUSIONS WHICH CAN
PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR BETTER PROGRAMS IN THE FUTURE.

↳ WE NEED TO CONSIDER, ONCE AGAIN, THE TECHNIQUES
THAT CAN BE USED TO ENCOURAGE THE PRIVATE SECTOR
TO INCREASE JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL.

L THIS IS IMPORTANT WORK, WORK THAT MUST BE DONE
IN CONGRESS, AND WORK THAT I AM DELIGHTED TO KNOW

WE HAVE SUCH FINE MINDS CONCENTRATING ON.

But
L IN OUR EFFORTS, WE MUST CONTINUALLY REMIND
OURSELVES AND THE PUBLIC THAT A FEDERAL COMMITMENT
TO FULL EMPLOYMENT WOULD NOT MEAN A PROLIFERATION
OF LEAF RAKING PROJECTS.

L ALL ONE NEEDS TO DO IS LOOK AT THE GREAT UNMET
NEEDS IN THIS COUNTRY TO REALIZE THAT WE COULD USE
MORE HANDS IN MEETING THEM.

L--How MANY THOUSANDS OF NEW JOBS COULD WE
CREATE, IF WE SERIOUSLY TRIED TO MEET OUR NATION'S
HOUSING NEEDS?

L--How MANY PEOPLE COULD WE USEFULLY PUT TO WORK,
IF WE TRULY ATTEMPTED TO PROVIDE QUALITY HEALTH CARE
TO ALL OF OUR CITIZENS?

/--Who CAN ESTIMATE THE TREMENDOUS NEED FOR
TRAINED WORKERS TO STAFF OUR NATION'S DAY CARE
CENTERS?

--Who CAN FAIL TO UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR MORE
TEACHER'S ASSISTANTS AND COUNSELORS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL
SYSTEM?

- Recreation Needs

--WHO WILL DENY THAT THOUSANDS OF WORKERS ARE
NEEDED TO TAKE OUR DILAPIDATED RAIL SYSTEM AND TURN
IT INTO A SAFE AND EFFICIENT OPERATION?

--HOW MANY AMERICANS COULD WE PUT TO WORK,
IF WE REALLY DECIDED TO REVITALIZE OUR NATION'S
CITIES?

1 THERE IS UNDENIABLY NO SHORTAGE OF IMPORTANT
WORK FOR OUR CITIZENS TO DO.

BUT MOST OF YOU KNOW ALL THIS. PREACHING THE
GOSPEL OF FULL EMPLOYMENT IN THIS AUDIENCE IS LIKE
DISCUSSING THE EVILS OF ALCOHOL AT A MEETING OF
THE TEMPERANCE UNION.

↳ BUT, IT IS GOOD FOR US TO COME TOGETHER--TO
DRAW STRENGTH FROM EACH OTHER FOR THE BATTLES THAT
WE MUST FIGHT EVERY DAY. ↳ WE NEED THE REINFORCEMENT
THAT COMES WITH BEING ABLE TO DRAW ON EACH OTHER'S
KNOWLEDGE, TALENT AND ENERGY.

↳ THAT IS WHAT IS SO IMPORTANT ABOUT THE FULL
EMPLOYMENT ACTION COUNCIL. ↳ IT CAN MAKE A TREMENDOUS
CONTRIBUTION TO ACHIEVING FULL EMPLOYMENT. ↳ IT CAN
BRING TOGETHER THE RESEARCHERS AND THE POLITICIANS.

↳ IT CAN PROVIDE THE PUBLIC WITH INFORMATION ON HOW
FULL EMPLOYMENT CAN BE ACHIEVED. ↳ AND IT CAN HELP
ORGANIZE AND ORCHESTRATE TIMELY SUPPORT FOR
LEGISLATION THAT CAN BRING US CLOSER TO OUR GOALS,

It is this aspect of POLITICAL ACTION THAT IS
WEAKEST IN OUR MOVEMENT FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT. SURELY

UNEMPLOYMENT IS AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM, AND WE NEED

TO HAVE BETTER PROPOSALS FOR SOLVING IT. BUT THE

BOTTOM LINE IS POLITICAL WILL AND COMMITMENT.

THIS IS WHERE OUR GREAT FAILURE IS TODAY. THERE
IS NO LACK OF GOOD IDEAS ON HOW TO PROVIDE JOBS, OR
ON WHAT WORK PEOPLE COULD DO, BUT THERE IS A TRAGIC
LACK OF POLITICAL WILL TO PROVIDE WORK FOR ALL OF
OUR CITIZENS.

THIS IS WHERE YOUR ORGANIZATION CAN AND MUST
HELP, THROUGH RESEARCH, THROUGH PUBLIC INFORMATION,
THROUGH GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATION, AND MOST IMPORTANT
THROUGH TIMELY AND EFFECTIVE POLITICAL ACTION.

↳ THE PROSPECTS FOR QUICK SUCCESS ARE NOT VERY
ENCOURAGING. ↳ WE ARE LIKELY TO HAVE A LONG, TOUGH
FIGHT BEFORE WE SUCCEED IN PASSING LEGISLATION TO
PROVIDE JOBS FOR ALL. ↳ BUT WE CANNOT GIVE UP OR
LOWER OUR SIGHTS.

WHERE WOULD ANY OF US BE TODAY, IF EVERYTIME
WE FACED A CHALLENGING AND DIFFICULT GOAL WE MODIFIED
OUR OBJECTIVES OR ACCEPTED SECOND PLACE? WHERE
WOULD THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BE TODAY IF, AT
THE FIRST SIGHT OF ANGRY PARENTS IN A LITTLE ROCK
SCHOOL, BLACKS HAD BACKED OFF ON THEIR DEMANDS FOR
EQUALITY?

h CAVING IN ON OUR EMPLOYMENT GOAL, AND ACCEPTING
5-1/2 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT, WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT
TO REINSTITUTING SEPARATE BUT EQUAL EDUCATIONAL
FACILITIES. h WE WILL NOT ACCEPT IT AND "WE SHALL
OVERCOME."

I CHALLENGE YOU TO THINK, TO WORK, TO ACT
FORCEFULLY FOR THE REALIZATION OF OUR GOAL OF A
DECENT JOB FOR EVERY AMERICAN, AND TO HASTEN THE
DAY WHEN THAT GOAL CAN BE A REALITY IN OUR NATION.

I ALSO CHALLENGE YOU TO WORK TODAY AND TOMORROW
AND NEXT WEEK FOR MORE JOBS, AS MANY AS WE CAN GET.

WE HAVE TO ACCEPT POLITICAL REALITIES TODAY AS
WE WORK TO CHANGE THEM FOR TOMORROW. WE MUST ALL
BE WILLING TO DEVOTE OUR TIME AND ENERGY TO GETTING
300,000 - 500,000 - 1 MILLION PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS
EVEN THOUGH WE KNOW WE NEED SO MANY MORE.

THIS IS THE CHALLENGE THAT I LEAVE WITH YOU.

WE CANNOT PERMIT THE STENCH OF INTOLERABLE
UNEMPLOYMENT TO FOUL THE AIR OF OUR NATION AS IT
CELEBRATES 200 YEARS IN THE "PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS"
FOR ALL.

* * *



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