

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Washington, D.C.

May 14, 1976

Your topic this year is wisely chosen. Not only does America face many critical choices at this time in our history, but it has become imperative that we debate and decide them now.

It is even more imperative, however, that we actually make these tough decisions. After all, this is not the first year in which we have faced admittedly crucial decisions. It is not the first year in which we have said, "Something must be done immediately!"

But faced with the enormity of the choices before us, we have too often found a way to delay, to say, "Something must be done soon," or "something must be done after we have heard from this or that blue-ribbon commission, or after more facts are in."

In the meantime, what began as small but pressing problems became crisis conditions begging for remedy.

It is nearly 30 years since the Paley Commission predicted serious scarcities in our energy resources -- but still we face grave uncertainties about the limits of our reserves and how to meet our energy demands in the years to come.

And it is more than 40 years since the Great Depression brought this nation to its knees -- but still we have not found a way to ensure our prosperity and provide every American with a productive place in our future.

However, I have hope for this special year in our history. I have hope that Americans will find the courage to take control of their destiny -- that they will finally decide what kind of a society we want our children to live in.

There is no greater obstacle before us this year than the belief that things can't be changed: the kind of small-minded attitude that says, "Well, it would be nice if we could make it better -- but that's just the way it is!"

That kind of thinking is not only wrong -- it is a slander on the American spirit. It ignores every great achievement of this nation, from our struggle for independence to the space program.

The fact is, my friends, that anything made by man can be changed by man, whether it is an economic trend, a government policy or a city of ten million people. We can do anything we set our minds to -- anything we decide to do.

And, the best place to begin making those tough but vital decisions is in our cities. By the end of this century -- which is not far away -- this nation will have more than 250 million inhabitants, 85 percent of whom will be living in urban areas with populations of 50,000 or more.

So when we talk about our cities, we are talking about nothing less significant than the future of four out of five American citizens. We are talking about the future of almost all of our grandchildren and their children.

Anthropologists tell me that civilized man has been around for for about 60,000 years -- and they praise his progress, his ingenuity and his incredible adaptability. And I am an optimist myself -- I always have been.

But when I walk through our great cities, when I see the decay and the rubble and the wholesale neglect of human dignity to be found there, I am compelled to ask, "What progress? What ingenuity? What conceivable dereliction of human responsibility could ancient Cairo or Carthage have had which cannot be found here?"

Is this the inheritance which we will pass on to posterity? Is this the best we can do for our children and their children? Is this the way we want them to remember how much we cared for their future?

My friends, I hope that it is not.

The city is the most efficient way for human beings to live. And in the pursuit of that efficiency, we have done great things. Our cities have become priceless centers of trade, of culture and of communications. They have traditionally been in the forefront of social programs and innovative ideas. I love the excitement, the diversity, the tolerance and the compassion that have characterized our cities.

There is no law of nature that says our cities have to be sterile deserts of concrete, and it is not an immutable fact of life that our public places must be ugly or devoid of artistry or color. Human beings need human cities. And our cities, for all their awesome size and complexity, are nothing more than human inventions -- which can be changed and modified and improved by human hands.

Where do we begin the restoration of our cities? First, we need a full-scale commitment to do for our own embattled cities what we did for our European friends in the 1940's -- we need a Marshall Plan for the Cities.

Such a plan would recognize the need to rebuild, rehabilitate and repair what is good in our cities, and to create new facilities where they are needed. It would include capable planners and designers to see to it that our human environment does not become -- whether by accident or oversight -- an inhuman monstrosity and a weight on our spirit.

To do this, we are going to need money, and we are going to need a system of loans and grants to make construction and rebuilding possible. And that money is going to have to come at interest rates that make it possible to build at reasonable cost.

We are going to have to make mortgage money available so that our young families can acquire homes of their own. That is essential: because if you want to ensure a person's commitment to the quality of the community, and guarantee that he or she will work hard to make a contribution to their neighborhoods -- then let them own a piece of it! There is nothing like ownership to make a citizen out of an occupant.

Finally, we are going to have to conserve our communities. We are going to have to give up our "throw-away" notion of the city -- the idea that when something is old or worn, it is time to build something new elsewhere. That is not only wasteful, it disrupts the lives of those who live in our communities. And believe me, you cannot make people better citizens or happier human beings by forcing them to move into faceless towers of stone far from the neighborhoods and friends they know and care about.

No, we must conserve what is best in our existing neighborhoods. We must repair where possible and rebuild where necessary. In that way we will not only conserve valuable resources and architecture, but we will conserve our citizens' sense of place, and their relation to the world around them.

That is one great decision facing this country. Another, perhaps even greater decision, is whether or not we really want every American to be part of the general good -- whether or not we want each of our people to take his or her part in building tomorrow's prosperity.

Now, there are those who tell us that millions of Americans must be without work, that millions of lives must be full of suffering and sorrow and self-contempt -- because there is simply no place for them in "the system."

They tell us that these people cannot become a productive part of our nation's livelihood because "market forces" simply won't permit it.

Well, let me tell you something: to the man who wants to work so badly that it is a dull ache in his life, and to the woman who wants to give her family a nourishing meal and decent warm clothing and maybe a little something extra now and then -- to these people, those "market forces" don't mean any more than flying saucers.

My friends, I have looked into the Bible, and market forces are not mentioned there as a deity. I have searched the Talmud and no mention is made of worshipping at the shrine of the market forces.

I did find a good deal in both those books about the dignity of work and the priceless human spirit -- and I found much about how a life can be made meaningful when there is a goal to work for.

We have been indoctrinated into believing that these "market forces" are some sort of independent spirit that moves in the world, over which we are powerless to act and of which we must stand in awe. But a little girl named Dorothy felt the same way about the Wizard of Oz -- and when the curtain was pulled away, he turned out to be just another human being, after all.

One of the critical choices we are going to have to make is how much we are willing to worship these market forces. We can bow down to them and offer up the sacrifice of millions of American citizens without jobs, and millions of lives without hope or promise. But it won't do us any more good than a rain dance.

It will do us terrible harm. It will guarantee us a permanent class of unemployed, a class which for two or three generations has lost its skills and its habits of work, a class whose only experience is welfare, unemployment and crime, a class which feels no connection to the rest of society or the world around it.

That outcome is patently unthinkable in the world's greatest democracy -- but it is coming true right now, while we are gathered together here.

On the other hand, we have it in our power to change those conditions. We have it in our power to give the promise of work -- useful work and the pride of accomplishment -- to every adult in this country.

We have it in our power to stand committed to human dignity and pledged unshakeably to the right of every citizen to contribute to our progress.

We have it in our power to say that the status quo is not holy and that market forces are not divinely inspired -- that our economy, like any other human invention, can be changed and modified by human beings.

Such a plan -- the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act -- is now in the Congress, authored by myself and Representative Augustus Hawkins of California.

It provides an economic policy process under which tax, credit and budget policies will be followed that will help private enterprise swell the ranks of their workers. It provides supplemental programs to provide jobs and meet important public needs when the private job market is inadequate. And if all other machinery fails -- which is not likely -- it authorizes the government to become the employer of last resort. This bill is based on the simple premise that work is better than welfare, and that paychecks are better than unemployment checks.

In making this commitment to full employment, which the Humphrey-Hawkins bill calls for, we can not only cut the alarming cost of maintaining a welfare and relief society, but we can achieve something very precious: we can give every American a stake in our future and a productive role to play in our common undertakings.

But if we are going to achieve those goals, we cannot go about it in a piecemeal manner. For much too long, the decisions this government has made have been determined by little more than crisis reactions to crisis situations.

We can no longer afford that kind of wasteful and confusing method of choosing our priorities. We must have some kind of sensible planning for the future.

As it stands now, we have no way at all to systematically anticipate our future needs. We have no way of knowing what crises of shortage we may face, or what kinds of goods and services will be in demand.

Worse yet, the American businessman never knows what government is going to do next -- because government itself doesn't know. There are no announced overall goals, no long-term policies and no systematic attempt to foresee and forestall problems.

We need to improve and expand our flow of information about economic activity, and we need to monitor present and projected developments much more carefully. And once we have that information, we need to devise rational goals and stick to them, for the good of our government and the business community which depends upon its decisions.

Yet despite these pressing needs and common-sense priorities, there are those in both political parties who are telling us that, if anything, we need less government -- that our system of government, now two hundred years old, has become onerous and intolerable.

Now, no one seriously doubts that we can make great improvements in the efficiency and productivity of government institutions, and no one doubts that we can do much more to eliminate waste. Congress has already made enormous progress in those areas.

But the critics of government are quick to forget that more than 20 million Americans receive quality medical attention today because Medicaid and Medicare were established. They forget the millions of students who only were able to attend college because of Federal aid, and the tens of millions who in their later years are being protected by Social Security from destitution and misery.

So when you hear these voices raised against Washington and the wisdom of the American people as it has been expressed for 200 years, you should listen to what they are not saying.

Try as they will to impugn the motives and condemn the workings of "big government," none of these critics has been able to explain how we are supposed to get a "little" government which can conceivably serve the needs of 215 million Americans in the most complex society on earth.

Nor have they indicated how any other form of government is supposed to enforce our commitments to human rights and equal justice throughout the land: how it is supposed to develop national policies for clean air and water and the conservation of our forests; how it can exercise the broad taxing power needed to reach vast concentrations of wealth, or devise and pursue a systematic program of economic prosperity for all our people.

No, what these critics neglect to mention is that the real issue is not big government, it is responsive government, government that works. What they fail to realize is that our government is no better than the kind of people we get to make it work. What they have forgotten is that our institutions do not function as they should because the people running them are indifferent to their success -- or even outright opposed to their goals.

But let me assure you of something. When the American people get the kind of leadership they deserve, when they get public servants who actually serve the public, when they find a man or woman who can give them ideals to match their strength, challenges to match their imagination, and achievements to match their promises -- then you will see our present mistrust of government disappear like fog in the bright morning sunshine.

I tell you that America is begging for a challenge. I tell you that our people are ready to work for a better day, and they are waiting for someone with the courage and the vision to lead them. And I tell you that they will not be content with more of the same.

The people have seen what passes for leadership these days and they are disillusioned. They know that an Administration which offers them nothing more than business as usual is offering nothing more than trouble as usual.

That is why the Democrats are going to regain the Presidency this year -- and more than that, they are going to regain the confidence of the people.

A Democratic President will be elected because we need a government that cares about people:

- a government that offers America a full employment policy that assures decent jobs and decent wages for all Americans;

- a program of long overdue reform to clean up the welfare mess so that help goes only to families who actually need it;

- a national health care system that provides quality health service for all at the lowest possible cost;

- a housing program that replaces slums with sound, low-cost, high quality housing, and interest rates that make home ownership a reality for working people once again;

- a tax program that eliminates the glaring tax loopholes that make it possible for the super-rich and the giant corporations to pay little or nothing while the middle-income taxpayer bears the major burden of government expenditures;

- a transportation program that meets the needs of urban and rural people;

- an energy program that assures America of energy resources for decades to come;

- and national leadership with compassion and understanding that is clearly "of, by and for the people."

But beyond those issues and programs, a Democratic President will be elected because he hears a voice being raised across this nation. It is a voice which is as old as the Revolution yet as new as the dawn of tomorrow. It is a voice within each one of us which says:

"We are Americans. We have endured too long with cowardly ideas and mediocre ambitions. We have watched the hopes of millions crumble and the dreams of millions fade. And it is not in us to accept that.

"We are a compassionate and a generous people. We will no longer tolerate the poverty of our brothers and sisters, and we will no longer allow them to be forgotten when it is in our power to help.

"We are a strong people and proud of our history. Give us a job and we will do it -- give us a challenge and we will meet it. We believe that this nation was founded on a promise -- a promise of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"We believe that we can keep that promise in our lifetime. And we will not rest until we have become the very best it is in us to be."

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No Privacy

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- ✓ Elmer Winter - President
 - ✓ Bertram Gold - Exec. V.P.
 - ✓ Alfred Moses - Chairman
Domestic Affairs
Comm.
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YOUR TOPIC THIS YEAR IS WISELY CHOSEN. NOT ONLY DOES AMERICA
FACE MANY CRITICAL CHOICES AT THIS TIME IN OUR HISTORY, BUT IT
HAS BECOME IMPERATIVE THAT WE DEBATE AND DECIDE THEM NOW.

It IS EVEN MORE IMPERATIVE, HOWEVER, THAT WE ACTUALLY MAKE
THESE TOUGH DECISIONS. AFTER ALL, THIS IS NOT THE FIRST YEAR
IN WHICH WE HAVE FACED ADMITTEDLY CRUCIAL DECISIONS. It IS NOT
THE FIRST YEAR IN WHICH WE HAVE SAID, "SOMETHING MUST BE DONE
IMMEDIATELY!"

BUT FACED WITH THE ENORMITY OF THE CHOICES BEFORE US, WE
HAVE TOO OFTEN FOUND A WAY TO DELAY, TO SAY, "SOMETHING MUST
BE DONE SOON," OR "SOMETHING MUST BE DONE AFTER WE HAVE HEARD
FROM THIS OR THAT BLUE-RIBBON COMMISSION, OR AFTER MORE FACTS
ARE IN."

L IN THE MEANTIME, WHAT BEGAN AS SMALL BUT PRESSING PROBLEMS
BECAME CRISIS CONDITIONS BEGGING FOR REMEDY.

L IT IS NEARLY 30 YEARS SINCE THE PALEY COMMISSION PREDICTED
SERIOUS SCARCITIES IN OUR ENERGY RESOURCES -- BUT STILL WE FACE
GRAVE UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE LIMITS OF OUR RESERVES AND HOW
TO MEET OUR ENERGY DEMANDS IN THE YEARS TO COME.

L AND IT IS MORE THAN 40 YEARS SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION
BROUGHT THIS NATION TO ITS KNEES -- BUT STILL WE HAVE NOT FOUND
A WAY TO ENSURE OUR PROSPERITY AND PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN WITH
A PRODUCTIVE PLACE IN OUR FUTURE. *Job.*

L HOWEVER, I HAVE HOPE FOR THIS SPECIAL YEAR IN OUR HISTORY. I
HAVE HOPE THAT AMERICANS WILL FIND THE COURAGE TO TAKE CONTROL OF
THEIR DESTINY -- THAT THEY WILL FINALLY DECIDE WHAT KIND OF A
SOCIETY WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO LIVE IN.

There is no greater obstacle before us this year than the belief that things can't be changed; the kind of small-minded attitude that says, "Well, it would be nice if we could make it better -- but that's just the way it is!"

That kind of thinking is not only wrong -- it is a slander on the American spirit. It ignores every great achievement of this nation, from our struggle for independence to the space program.

The fact is, ~~my friends~~, that anything made by man can be changed by man, whether it is an economic trend, a government policy or a city of ten million people. We can do anything we set our minds to -- anything we decide to do.

AND, THE BEST PLACE TO BEGIN MAKING THOSE TOUGH BUT VITAL
DECISIONS IS IN OUR CITIES. BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY -- WHICH
IS NOT FAR AWAY -- THIS NATION WILL HAVE MORE THAN 250 MILLION
INHABITANTS, 85 PERCENT OF WHOM WILL BE LIVING IN URBAN AREAS
WITH POPULATIONS OF 50,000 OR MORE.

SO WHEN WE TALK ABOUT OUR CITIES, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT ~~NOTHING~~
~~LESS SIGNIFICANT~~ THE FUTURE OF FOUR OUT OF FIVE AMERICAN
CITIZENS. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ALMOST ALL OF OUR
GRANDCHILDREN AND THEIR CHILDREN.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS TELL ME THAT CIVILIZED MAN HAS BEEN AROUND
FOR ABOUT 60,000 YEARS -- AND THEY PRAISE HIS PROGRESS, HIS
INGENUITY AND HIS INCREDIBLE ADAPTABILITY AND I AM AN OPTIMIST
MYSELF -- I ALWAYS HAVE BEEN.

h BUT WHEN I WALK THROUGH OUR GREAT CITIES, WHEN I SEE THE DECAY

AND THE RUBBLE AND THE WHOLESAL NEGLECT OF HUMAN DIGNITY TO BE

FOUND THERE, I AM COMPELLED TO ASK, "WHAT PROGRESS? WHAT INGENUITY?

h WHAT CONCEIVABLE DERELICTION OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY COULD ANCIENT

CAIRO OR CARTHAGE HAVE HAD WHICH CANNOT BE FOUND HERE?"

h IS THIS THE INHERITANCE WHICH WE WILL PASS ON TO POSTERITY?

h IS THIS THE BEST WE CAN DO FOR OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR CHILDREN?

h IS THIS THE WAY WE WANT THEM TO REMEMBER HOW MUCH WE CARED

FOR THEIR FUTURE?

h MY FRIENDS, I HOPE THAT IT IS NOT.

h THE CITY IS THE MOST EFFICIENT WAY FOR HUMAN BEINGS TO LIVE,

h AND IN THE PURSUIT OF THAT EFFICIENCY, WE HAVE DONE GREAT THINGS,

h OUR CITIES HAVE BECOME PRICELESS CENTERS OF TRADE, OF CULTURE AND

OF COMMUNICATIONS.

h THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS

AND INNOVATIVE IDEAS. h I LOVE THE EXCITEMENT, THE DIVERSITY, THE

TOLERANCE AND THE COMPASSION THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED OUR CITIES.

h THERE IS NO LAW OF NATURE THAT SAYS OUR CITIES HAVE TO BE
STERILE DESERTS OF CONCRETE, AND IT IS NOT AN IMMUTABLE FACT OF

LIFE THAT OUR PUBLIC PLACES MUST BE UGLY OR DEVOID OF ARTISTRY

OR COLOR. h HUMAN BEINGS NEED HUMAN CITIES. h AND OUR CITIES, FOR

ALL THEIR AWESOME SIZE AND COMPLEXITY, ARE NOTHING MORE THAN

HUMAN INVENTIONS -- WHICH CAN BE CHANGED AND MODIFIED AND

IMPROVED BY HUMAN HANDS.

But h WHERE DO WE BEGIN THE RESTORATION OF OUR CITIES? h FIRST, WE

NEED A FULL-SCALE COMMITMENT TO DO FOR OUR OWN EMBATTLED CITIES

WHAT WE DID FOR OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS IN THE 1940'S -- WE NEED A

MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE CITIES.

h SUCH A PLAN WOULD RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO REBUILD, REHABILITATE
AND REPAIR WHAT IS GOOD IN OUR CITIES, AND TO CREATE NEW
FACILITIES WHERE THEY ARE NEEDED. h IT WOULD INCLUDE CAPABLE
PLANNERS AND DESIGNERS TO SEE TO IT THAT OUR HUMAN ENVIRONMENT
DOES NOT BECOME -- WHETHER BY ACCIDENT OR OVERSIGHT -- AN
INHUMAN MONSTROSITY AND A WEIGHT ON OUR SPIRIT.

h TO DO THIS, WE ARE GOING TO NEED MONEY, AND WE ARE GOING
TO NEED A SYSTEM OF LOANS AND GRANTS TO MAKE CONSTRUCTION
AND REBUILDING POSSIBLE. h AND THAT MONEY IS GOING TO HAVE
TO COME AT INTEREST RATES THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO BUILD AT
REASONABLE COST.

h WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE MORTGAGE MONEY AVAILABLE SO
THAT OUR YOUNG FAMILIES CAN ACQUIRE HOMES OF THEIR OWN.

THAT IS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE IF YOU WANT TO ENSURE A PERSON'S

COMMITMENT TO THE QUALITY OF THE COMMUNITY, AND GUARANTEE THAT

HE OR SHE WILL WORK HARD TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR

NEIGHBORHOODS -- THEN LET THEM OWN A PIECE OF IT! THERE IS

NOTHING LIKE OWNERSHIP TO MAKE A ^{good} CITIZEN OUT OF AN OCCUPANT.

FINALLY, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO CONSERVE OUR COMMUNITIES.

WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE UP OUR "THROW-AWAY" NOTION OF THE

CITY -- THE IDEA THAT WHEN SOMETHING IS OLD OR WORN, IT IS TIME TO

BUILD SOMETHING NEW ELSEWHERE. THAT IS NOT ONLY WASTEFUL, IT

DISRUPTS THE LIVES OF THOSE WHO LIVE IN OUR COMMUNITIES. AND

BELIEVE ME, YOU CANNOT MAKE PEOPLE BETTER CITIZENS OR HAPPIER

HUMAN BEINGS BY FORCING THEM TO MOVE INTO FACELESS TOWERS OF STONE

FAR FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS AND FRIENDS THEY KNOW AND CARE ABOUT.

h No, WE MUST CONSERVE WHAT IS BEST IN OUR EXISTING NEIGHBORHOODS,

h WE MUST REPAIR WHERE POSSIBLE AND REBUILD WHERE NECESSARY. In

THAT WAY WE WILL NOT ONLY CONSERVE VALUABLE RESOURCES AND

ARCHITECTURE, BUT WE WILL CONSERVE OUR CITIZENS' SENSE OF PLACE,

AND THEIR RELATION TO THE WORLD AROUND THEM.

h THAT IS ONE GREAT DECISION FACING THIS COUNTRY. Another,

PERHAPS EVEN GREATER DECISION, IS WHETHER OR NOT WE REALLY WANT

EVERY AMERICAN TO BE PART OF THE GENERAL GOOD -- WHETHER OR NOT

WE WANT EACH OF OUR PEOPLE TO TAKE HIS OR HER PART IN BUILDING

TOMORROW'S PROSPERITY.

h Now, THERE ARE THOSE WHO TELL US THAT MILLIONS OF AMERICANS

MUST BE WITHOUT WORK, THAT MILLIONS OF LIVES MUST BE FULL OF

SUFFERING AND SORROW AND SELF-CONTEMPT -- BECAUSE THERE IS SIMPLY

NO PLACE FOR THEM IN "THE SYSTEM."

h THEY TELL US THAT THESE PEOPLE CANNOT BECOME A PRODUCTIVE
PART OR OUR NATION'S LIVELIHOOD BECAUSE "MARKET FORCES" SIMPLY
WON'T PERMIT IT.

h WELL, LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING: TO THE MAN WHO WANTS TO WORK
SO BADLY THAT IT IS A DULL ACHE IN HIS LIFE, AND TO THE WOMAN WHO
WANTS TO GIVE HER FAMILY A NOURISHING MEAL AND DECENT WARM CLOTHING
AND MAYBE A LITTLE SOMETHING EXTRA NOW AND THEN -- TO THESE PEOPLE,
THOSE "MARKET FORCES" DON'T MEAN ANY MORE THAN FLYING SAUCERS.

h MY FRIENDS, I HAVE LOOKED INTO THE BIBLE, AND MARKET FORCES
ARE NOT MENTIONED THERE AS A DEITY. I HAVE SEARCHED THE TALMUD
AND NO MENTION IS MADE OF WORSHIPPING AT THE SHRINE OF THE MARKET
FORCES.

I DID FIND A GOOD DEAL IN BOTH THOSE BOOKS ABOUT THE DIGNITY
OF WORK AND THE PRICELESS HUMAN SPIRIT -- AND I FOUND MUCH ABOUT
HOW A LIFE CAN BE MADE MEANINGFUL WHEN THERE IS A GOAL TO WORK FOR.

WE HAVE BEEN INDOCTRINATED INTO BELIEVING THAT THESE "MARKET
FORCES" ARE SOME SORT OF INDEPENDENT SPIRIT THAT MOVES IN THE
WORLD, OVER WHICH WE ARE POWERLESS TO ACT AND OF WHICH WE MUST
STAND IN AWE. BUT A LITTLE GIRL NAMED DOROTHY FELT THE SAME WAY
ABOUT THE WIZARD OF OZ -- AND WHEN THE CURTAIN WAS PULLED AWAY,
HE TURNED OUT TO BE JUST ANOTHER HUMAN BEING, AFTER ALL.

ONE OF THE CRITICAL CHOICES WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE IS HOW
MUCH WE ARE WILLING TO ^{pay in} WORSHIP THESE MARKET FORCES. WE CAN BOW
DOWN TO THEM AND OFFER UP THE SACRIFICE OF MILLIONS OF AMERICAN
CITIZENS WITHOUT JOBS, AND MILLIONS OF LIVES WITHOUT HOPE OR PROMISE.

h BUT IT WON'T DO US ANY MORE GOOD THAN A RAIN DANCE.

in fact

L IT WILL DO US TERRIBLE HARM. L IT WILL GUARANTEE US A PERMANENT
CLASS OF UNEMPLOYED, A CLASS WHICH FOR TWO OR THREE GENERATIONS
HAS LOST ITS SKILLS AND ITS HABITS OF WORK, A CLASS WHOSE ONLY
EXPERIENCE IS WELFARE, UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME, A CLASS WHICH
FEELS NO CONNECTION TO THE REST OF SOCIETY OR THE WORLD AROUND
IT.

L THAT OUTCOME IS PATENTLY UNTHINKABLE IN THE WORLD'S GREATEST
DEMOCRACY -- BUT IT IS COMING TRUE RIGHT NOW, WHILE WE ARE
GATHERED TOGETHER HERE.

L ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO CHANGE THOSE
CONDITIONS.) WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO GIVE THE PROMISE
OF WORK -- USEFUL WORK AND THE PRIDE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT -- TO
EVERY ADULT IN THIS COUNTRY.

WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO STAND COMMITTED TO HUMAN DIGNITY
AND PLEDGED UNSHAKEABLY TO THE RIGHT OF EVERY CITIZEN TO
CONTRIBUTE TO OUR PROGRESS.

WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO SAY THAT THE STATUS QUO IS NOT
HOLY AND THAT MARKET FORCES ARE NOT DIVINELY INSPIRED -- THAT
OUR ECONOMY, LIKE ANY OTHER HUMAN INVENTION, CAN BE CHANGED
AND MODIFIED BY HUMAN BEINGS.

SUCH A PLAN -- THE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND BALANCED GROWTH
ACT -- IS NOW IN THE CONGRESS, AUTHORED BY MYSELF AND
REPRESENTATIVE AUGUSTUS HAWKINS OF CALIFORNIA. IT PROVIDES AN
ECONOMIC POLICY PROCESS UNDER WHICH TAX, CREDIT AND BUDGET
POLICIES WILL BE FOLLOWED THAT WILL HELP PRIVATE ENTERPRISE
SWELL THE RANKS OF THEIR WORKERS.

IT PROVIDES SUPPLEMENTAL PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE JOBS AND MEET

IMPORTANT PUBLIC NEEDS WHEN THE PRIVATE JOB MARKET IS INADEQUATE.

AND IF ALL OTHER MACHINERY FAILS -- WHICH IS NOT LIKELY -- IT

AUTHORIZES THE GOVERNMENT TO BECOME THE EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT.

THIS BILL IS BASED ON THE SIMPLE PREMISE THAT WORK IS BETTER

THAN WELFARE, AND THAT PAYCHECKS ARE BETTER THAN UNEMPLOYMENT CHECKS.

IN MAKING THIS COMMITMENT TO FULL EMPLOYMENT, WHICH THE

HUMPHREY-HAWKINS BILL CALLS FOR, WE CAN NOT ONLY CUT THE

ALARMING COST OF MAINTAINING A WELFARE AND RELIEF SOCIETY, BUT

WE CAN ACHIEVE SOMETHING VERY PRECIOUS; WE CAN GIVE EVERY

AMERICAN A STAKE IN OUR FUTURE AND A PRODUCTIVE ROLE TO PLAY

IN OUR COMMON UNDERTAKINGS.

BUT, IF WE ARE GOING TO ACHIEVE THOSE GOALS, WE CANNOT GO

ABOUT IT IN A PIECEMEAL MANNER.

FOR MUCH TOO LONG, THE DECISIONS THIS GOVERNMENT HAS MADE HAVE
BEEN DETERMINED BY LITTLE MORE THAN CRISIS REACTIONS TO CRISIS
SITUATIONS.

WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD THAT KIND OF WASTEFUL AND CONFUSING
METHOD OF CHOOSING OUR PRIORITIES. WE MUST HAVE SOME KIND OF
SENSIBLE PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE.

AS IT STANDS NOW, WE HAVE NO WAY AT ALL TO SYSTEMATICALLY
ANTICIPATE OUR FUTURE NEEDS. WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHAT
CRISES OF SHORTAGE WE MAY FACE, OR WHAT KINDS OF GOODS AND
SERVICES WILL BE IN DEMAND.

WORSE YET, THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN NEVER KNOWS WHAT
GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO DO NEXT -- BECAUSE GOVERNMENT ITSELF
DOESN'T KNOW.

THERE ARE NO ANNOUNCED OVERALL GOALS, NO LONG-TERM POLICIES AND
NO SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPT TO FORESEE AND FORESTALL PROBLEMS.

WE NEED TO IMPROVE AND EXPAND OUR FLOW OF INFORMATION
ABOUT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, AND WE NEED TO MONITOR PRESENT AND
PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS MUCH MORE CAREFULLY. AND ONCE WE HAVE
THAT INFORMATION, WE NEED TO DEVISE RATIONAL GOALS AND STICK
TO THEM, FOR THE GOOD OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE BUSINESS
COMMUNITY WHICH DEPENDS UPON ITS DECISIONS.

YET DESPITE THESE PRESSING NEEDS AND COMMON-SENSE PRIORITIES,
THERE ARE THOSE IN BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES WHO ARE TELLING US
THAT, IF ANYTHING, WE NEED LESS GOVERNMENT -- THAT OUR SYSTEM
OF GOVERNMENT, NOW TWO HUNDRED YEARS OLD, HAS BECOME ONEROUS
AND INTOLERABLE.

Now, NO ONE SERIOUSLY DOUBTS THAT WE CAN MAKE GREAT
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY OF GOVERNMENT
INSTITUTIONS, AND NO ONE DOUBTS THAT WE CAN DO MUCH MORE TO
ELIMINATE WASTE. CONGRESS HAS ALREADY MADE ENORMOUS PROGRESS
IN THOSE AREAS.

L BUT THE CRITICS OF GOVERNMENT ARE QUICK TO FORGET THAT
MORE THAN 20 MILLION AMERICANS RECEIVE QUALITY MEDICAL
ATTENTION TODAY BECAUSE MEDICAID AND MEDICARE WERE ESTABLISHED.
L THEY FORGET THE MILLIONS OF STUDENTS WHO ~~ONLY~~ WERE ABLE TO
ATTEND COLLEGE BECAUSE OF FEDERAL AID, AND THE TENS OF MILLIONS
WHO IN THEIR LATER YEARS ARE BEING PROTECTED BY SOCIAL SECURITY
FROM DESTITUTION AND MISERY.

h SO WHEN YOU HEAR THESE VOICES RAISED AGAINST WASHINGTON AND
THE WISDOM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS IT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED FOR

200 YEARS, YOU SHOULD LISTEN TO WHAT THEY ARE NOT SAYING.

h TRY AS THEY WILL TO IMPUGN THE MOTIVES AND CONDEMN THE
WORKINGS OF "BIG GOVERNMENT," NONE OF THESE CRITICS HAS BEEN
ABLE TO EXPLAIN HOW WE ARE SUPPOSED TO GET A "LITTLE"

GOVERNMENT WHICH CAN CONCEIVABLY SERVE THE NEEDS OF 215 MILLION
AMERICANS IN THE MOST COMPLEX SOCIETY ON EARTH.

h NOR HAVE THEY INDICATED HOW ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVERNMENT
IS SUPPOSED TO ENFORCE OUR COMMITMENTS TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUAL
JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE LAND; HOW IT IS SUPPOSED TO DEVELOP
NATIONAL POLICIES FOR CLEAN AIR AND WATER AND THE CONSERVATION
OF OUR FORESTS;

HOW IT CAN EXERCISE THE BROAD TAXING POWER NEEDED TO REACH VAST
CONCENTRATIONS OF WEALTH, OR DEVISE AND PURSUE A SYSTEMATIC
PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC PROSPERITY FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

NO, WHAT THESE CRITICS NEGLECT TO MENTION IS THAT THE REAL
ISSUE IS NOT BIG GOVERNMENT, IT IS RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT
THAT WORKS. WHAT THEY FAIL TO REALIZE IS THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS
NO BETTER THAN THE KIND OF PEOPLE WE GET TO MAKE IT WORK. WHAT
THEY HAVE FORGOTTEN IS THAT OUR INSTITUTIONS DO NOT FUNCTION AS
THEY SHOULD BECAUSE THE PEOPLE RUNNING THEM ARE INDIFFERENT TO
THEIR SUCCESS -- OR EVEN OUTRIGHT OPPOSED TO THEIR GOALS.

BUT LET ME ASSURE YOU OF SOMETHING, WHEN THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE GET THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THEY DESERVE, WHEN THEY
GET PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO ACTUALLY SERVE THE PUBLIC,

WHEN THEY FIND A MAN OR WOMAN WHO CAN GIVE THEM IDEALS TO MATCH
THEIR STRENGTH, CHALLENGES TO MATCH THEIR IMAGINATION, AND
ACHIEVEMENTS TO MATCH THEIR PROMISES -- THEN YOU WILL SEE OUR
PRESENT MISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT DISAPPEAR LIKE FOG IN THE BRIGHT
MORNING SUNSHINE.

I TELL YOU THAT AMERICA IS BEGGING FOR A CHALLENGE, I TELL
YOU THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE READY TO WORK FOR A BETTER DAY, AND THEY
ARE WAITING FOR SOMEONE WITH THE COURAGE AND THE VISION TO LEAD
THEM. AND I TELL YOU THAT THEY WILL NOT BE CONTENT WITH MORE
OF THE SAME.

THE PEOPLE HAVE SEEN WHAT PASSES FOR LEADERSHIP THESE DAYS
AND THEY ARE DISILLUSIONED. THEY KNOW THAT AN ADMINISTRATION
WHICH OFFERS THEM NOTHING MORE THAN BUSINESS AS USUAL IS
OFFERING NOTHING MORE THAN TROUBLE AS USUAL.

↳ THAT IS WHY THE DEMOCRATS ARE GOING TO REGAIN THE PRESIDENCY
THIS YEAR -- AND MORE THAN THAT, THEY ARE GOING TO REGAIN THE
CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE,

↳ A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT WILL BE ELECTED BECAUSE WE NEED A
GOVERNMENT THAT CARES ABOUT PEOPLE:

↳ -- A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY
THAT ASSURES DECENT JOBS AND DECENT WAGES FOR ALL AMERICANS;

↳ -- A PROGRAM OF LONG OVERDUE REFORM TO CLEAN UP THE WELFARE
MESS SO THAT HELP GOES ONLY TO FAMILIES WHO ACTUALLY NEED IT;

↳ -- A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES QUALITY
HEALTH SERVICE FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST;

↳ -- A HOUSING PROGRAM THAT REPLACES SLUMS WITH SOUND, LOW-COST,
HIGH QUALITY HOUSING, AND INTEREST RATES THAT MAKE HOME OWNERSHIP
A REALITY FOR WORKING PEOPLE ONCE AGAIN;

L -- A TAX PROGRAM THAT ELIMINATES THE GLARING TAX LOOPHOLES
THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SUPER-RICH AND THE GIANT
CORPORATIONS TO PAY LITTLE OR NOTHING WHILE THE MIDDLE-INCOME
TAXPAYER BEARS THE MAJOR BURDEN OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES;

L -- A TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF URBAN
AND RURAL PEOPLE;

L -- AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF ENERGY RESOURCES
FOR DECADES TO COME;

L -- AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING
THAT IS CLEARLY "OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE."

L BUT BEYOND THOSE ISSUES AND PROGRAMS, A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT
WILL BE ELECTED BECAUSE HE HEARS A VOICE BEING RAISED ACROSS
THIS NATION.

IT IS A VOICE WHICH IS AS OLD AS THE REVOLUTION YET AS NEW AS THE
DAWN OF TOMORROW. IT IS A VOICE WITHIN EACH ONE OF US WHICH SAYS:

"WE ARE AMERICANS. WE HAVE ENDURED TOO LONG WITH COWARDLY
IDEAS AND MEDIOCRE AMBITIONS. WE HAVE WATCHED THE HOPES OF
MILLIONS CRUMBLE AND THE DREAMS OF MILLIONS FADE. AND IT IS
NOT IN US TO ACCEPT THAT.

"WE ARE A COMPASSIONATE AND A GENEROUS PEOPLE. WE WILL NO
LONGER TOLERATE THE POVERTY OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS, AND WE
WILL NO LONGER ALLOW THEM TO BE FORGOTTEN WHEN IT IS IN OUR POWER
TO HELP.

"WE ARE A STRONG PEOPLE AND PROUD OF OUR HISTORY. GIVE US A
JOB AND WE WILL DO IT -- GIVE US A CHALLENGE AND WE WILL MEET IT.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED ON A PROMISE -- A PROMISE
OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

"WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN KEEP THAT PROMISE IN OUR LIFETIME,

AND WE WILL NOT REST UNTIL WE HAVE BECOME THE VERY BEST IT

IS IN US TO BE."

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