

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NAACP ANNUAL FREEDOM FUND DINNER

Chicago, Illinois

June 11, 1976

It is wonderful to be with you again to share the warmth of your friendship and the spirit of your fellowship.

I always feel as though I've come home. My association with this organization has been one of the most rewarding aspects of my public life, as we have worked together for the cause of civil rights, human rights -- human justice.

In this Bicentennial year, Americans are celebrating, in every conceivable fashion, the 200th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

But there is another milestone to celebrate, and that is the 67 year-long life of the NAACP.

With the possible exception of organized religion, no organization has made more of an impact on the course of American history in this century. No organization has given more in love, compassion -- in philosophical guidance, leadership, and downright hard work to the cause of justice than the NAACP.

You have been the backbone of leadership in the struggle for human rights. Since your earliest days, you have pricked the conscience of America.

You have defined the issues. You have shown us the way. And, in the Bicentennial mode, let me say that you pointed out in the most unmistakable terms -- that the Declaration of Independence had to mean what it said when it proclaimed the self-evidence of the truth that "All men are created equal."

This meeting takes place at a crucial time in the history of our land.

While Americans everywhere celebrate the anniversary of the founding of our nation, they simultaneously are selecting a person to provide national leadership for the first portion of our third century.

This is a critical election -- not only because it offers the American people a chance to restore majority government. It is critical because of the opportunity it provides to establish new priorities to determine the course of our third century.

What a golden opportunity! We have an open invitation to seize the future -- to guide our fate and make solid realities of the dreams on which this nation was founded.

This should be a time of probing, of self-examination.

We must challenge the traditional ways of doing things. We must focus on the tasks before us to make this country what it ought to be.

We've come a long way. No one can deny that. We will never forget the moving, haunting cry of Martin Luther King, who shook this Nation to its foundations because he had a dream.

It was a simple dream of justice and dignity for our brothers and sisters across this land.

We shared that dream. And let us never forget that we have been well on the way to making much of that dream come true.

With the hope, prayers, and common efforts of those who understand justice, we were able to turn this Nation around.

We went into the churches, and the political organizations -- into every corner of American life, and we brought together a great coalition that struck the conscience of this Nation.

I don't have to remind you that the product of that struggle included the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- which guaranteed to every American equal access to public accommodations, to educational opportunity, to participation in programs receiving Federal assistance, and a fair chance to get a good job.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was born of that struggle, and it is widely regarded as the most successful civil rights bill ever enacted.

By 1972, 64 percent of age-eligible black citizens in the South were registered to vote. Some 3,324,000 black Americans voted in the 1972 elections, and since the 1974 elections, there are now some 94 black State Legislators in the South. The Voting Rights Act, which has been extended by Congress, has removed the last remaining obstacle to full participation by all Americans in the electoral process.

Another milestone was the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which began the demanding task of reversing years of official policies and economic practices that had fostered residential segregation.

These efforts made dreams come true for millions of Americans who had been shut out of the American system. We won because we were willing to labor against great odds. We won because we had the courage to do what had to be done -- because it was right.

Our efforts helped to bring to fruition the promises laid down in the Constitution.

For the first time in American history, we gave meaning to the phrase, "We the People" -- not we the whites, or we the middle-class, or we the property owners -- but "We the People." There are no more beautiful words in our heritage.

It is one of the greatest joys of my life to have been involved in that great effort. We achieved an historic consensus of the American people by persuasion, and with perseverance, and with the gospel truth of justice and equality among the races.

No, we won't forget these victories. But neither can we be fooled into thinking the work is done.

The unfinished task is to secure once and for all a place for black Americans in the economic life of this Nation. Because today, more than ever, real freedom is in the market place.

Economic freedom and the self-determination it brings is the most challenging frontier that the civil rights movement must now cross.

Economic integration is every bit as vital to the well-being of this country as political participation. For only with the full and equal participation of all our citizens will the United States be able to be as productive and as progressive in the market place as competition in a world market requires.

But as I come to you tonight, I am seriously concerned about the prospects for attaining this goal.

As Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, I have conducted a two-year intensive examination of all aspects of the U.S. economy.

There is good news, and there is some that is not so good.

I am encouraged by what I believe to be the basic strength of our economic system. U.S. participation in world markets is increasing, and we have a basically healthy system for economic growth and stability.

But what disturbs me -- and it should disturb you -- is that millions of Americans are not benefitting from our economic system. This undermines this basic strength that I see in our economy.

The ultimate strength of our economy will depend on the participation of all our citizens. The people are the strength of our economic system -- their labor, their ingenuity, and their expertise. And our failure to allow some to participate robs all Americans of the kind of economic future that is within our grasp if we but make the effort.

I am convinced that we have the tools to bring about total economic integration and participation in this country.

I want to share with you what I believe to be the necessary components of an economic agenda for black Americans in the last quarter of the 20th century.

It is an agenda addressed to the urgent problems of all our people -- but one that recognizes that these urgent problems have crisis proportions for black people.

First, we must demand from our leaders a commitment to save America's cities.

Our great cities are in danger of financial and spiritual ruin -- these vital, throbbing centers of commerce, communications, transportation and entertainment that have supported this nation and made us great.

In recent years, an unthinking Administration has allowed our cities to come to the brink of disaster, and the response has been, at best, benign.

Our cities simply can't wait any longer for a positive commitment. I have said before that neglect of the cities works a terrible discrimination against the millions of people who live there. Worse yet, it is a form of national blindness -- because the city is America's tomorrow.

Make no mistake about it: by the end of this century this nation will have over 250 million inhabitants. And 85 percent of them will be living in cities with populations of 50,000 or more. We are talking about the future of more than four out of five American citizens.

We are talking about the future of almost all our children and grandchildren -- black and white alike. And yet there are some who want to retreat and say to the cities, in effect: "You're on you own."

I have an entirely different message.

I believe that a massive commitment to our cities is needed -- a commitment that possesses all the scope, the vision, the financial backing, and the spirit of the Marshall Plan. In that program, we put our strength and our resources on the line, and we rebuilt the cities of Germany, Italy, and England -- to the wonder and admiration of the world.

Now, do you mean to tell me that we can't make the same effort to rebuild our own cities, right here in the United States?

Of course we can. Through a three-part program of economic recovery, physical rehabilitation, and institutional reform, we can make our cities livable and prosperous.

We can make them symbols of hope and opportunity, instead of despair and indifference.

Where they have been crumbling and dying, we can build and prosper.

Where there has been filth and infestation, we can make them clean and healthy.

Where our people are intimidated by crime and vandalism, we can recapture a sense of community and brotherhood.

We can accomplish these things -- and we must have them as primary goals for our economic agenda.

The second major point of our economic civil rights agenda must be the further encouragement of black-owned business.

There have been some hopeful signs in this area. For example, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise projects that the gross receipts of minority-owned business will reach \$37 billion in 1977 -- up from \$16 billion in gross receipts in 1972. By 1982, these receipts are expected to reach \$67 billion.

In fiscal 1977, minority business receipts are projected to account for 2.1 percent of total business receipts -- up from 1.5 percent in 1972.

It is also encouraging to note that the largest growth in minority-owned business is taking place in the areas of distribution, or wholesaling, and transportation, manufacturing and construction.

But there is a discouraging side to this picture. Figures for minority business are very inadequate, but it has been loosely estimated that in the period between December 1973 and December 1974 the failure rate among black business may have been as high as 30 percent. And 14 of the top 100 black businesses failed in that period.

The causes most frequently stated for minority business failures are, first, a poor credit cushion. Because so many minority business enterprises are relatively new and untested, a cash bind creates a critical situation when additional credit cannot be obtained.

Second, new companies -- as many of these are -- tend to have less solid relations with suppliers. So, in periods of material shortage, like the critical period we witnessed two years ago, minority businesses are the first to suffer.

Government policies can affect significantly the future of minority business. We must take a careful look at the need for tax incentives -- changes in the tax structure which can make it possible for minority business to have the additional equity that is necessary to survive a sustained slump. And we should look to the need for promoting management training for minority-owned companies. This might include a tax credit for established companies which are willing to lend executives for training programs.

These are some of the policies which we must pursue. But central to all these goals -- and vital to the economic health of all Americans -- must be the establishment of a national full employment policy that guarantees to every American who is willing and able to work a decent job at a decent wage.

Full employment will be the cornerstone of any program to revitalize central city economies.

Without full employment the resources simply will not be available.

There can be no hope for the cities with persistent high unemployment rates.

There can be no fiscal stability with burning high unemployment. The Joint Economic Committee has estimated that each one percent reduction in the unemployment rate would reduce welfare costs to the Federal government by \$1.5 to \$2 billion and save \$2.5 to \$3 billion in unemployment compensation benefits.

If we moved from an unemployment rate of 7.5 percent to even 4 percent, we could reduce expenditures by as much as \$17 billion at the Federal level alone.

For each one percent of unemployment you lose \$14 billion in revenues. That's the problem in our Federal Budget.

Once you clear away all the bunk and the political diatribe, the central fact is that lost revenues because of joblessness are the major cause of Budget deficits.

In 1975, state and local governments lost \$27 billion because of unemployment.

And it is estimated that by 1980, we will have lost \$1 trillion in lost production.

That is money that will never appear in anyone's paycheck -- money that cannot be taxed -- money that cannot be used to buy goods and services that can keep business alive and the economy thriving.

But this is just the formal economic aspect of unemployment.

What concerns me for the spiritual, emotional and civil health of our nation is the social cost of sustained high unemployment.

It is this aspect that threatens our nation from within. Unemployment and benign government attitudes toward joblessness are a cancer in America that must be arrested.

Until every American can expect to have a part to play in this society -- until each citizen can be involved through the sweat of his own work -- he or she will not feel a part of our national life.

I am convinced that most Americans who are able to work would rather have a paycheck than a welfare check.

Time and time again -- in our hearings before the Joint Economic Committee, I have been touched by the sad, anguished stories related to us by people who want so much to contribute to our Nation.

It is no mere coincidence that the number of Americans living in poverty in the 1960's was reduced by 14 million while the unemployment rate dropped from an average of 6.7 percent in 1961 to 3.6 percent in 1968. We worked hard to achieve those goals.

But in 1974, the number of individuals living in poverty increased by 1.3 million. I shudder to think what the 1975 figures will show with the jobless rate last year jumping upwards to 9 percent.

The facts are clear. Welfare reform must be considered in the context of full employment. And you will not bring about a reduction in crime until you put people to work.

You will not see any improvement in mental health or a reduction in alcoholism and drug abuse until people are working.

And no matter how well big business fares, you won't find real economic stability until the majority of Americans are working and producing -- able to buy goods and services and purchase homes.

Congressman Augustus Hawkins and I have introduced legislation that I believe to be among the most critical of my legislative career. The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976 can help to move us toward true economic freedom for black Americans and economic stability for all.

I call this bill the Magna Carta of free enterprise. The major emphasis of this bill is on restoring full production and job opportunities in the private sector.

It would define as full employment a jobless rate of 3 percent of the adult labor force.

Under our bill, the goals of full employment would be achieved first by better management of fiscal and monetary policy, and then, if necessary, through a variety of programs to attack specific stubborn pockets of unemployment. These would include a youth training and employment program, a regional economic development program, expanded adult job training and counter-cyclical or anti-recession grants to state and local governments.

For those unable to find employment through any of these means, there would be a job reservoir, administered by the Department of Labor, which would create a limited number of federal jobs.

The points I have outlined constitute a portion of the civil rights agenda for the future.

Some of our political leaders seem to believe there are no issues of special concern to black voters in 1976.

Some are satisfied with the successes we gained in the sixties. Overpromising is the sin of the 70's, they tell us -- and they seem committed to only one thing -- doing less.

Well, our people won't buy the shoddy theory that less is more!

Black Americans won't believe that a little is enough!

You know we must dream -- we have to promise -- for it is the effort to fulfill promises that has brought progress under the constitutional system whose longevity we celebrate in 1976.

I believe you can tell a great deal about a society by looking at the nature of its promises.

And the American promise is a reaffirmation of the God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Our government was created to secure these rights, not to equivocate or bargain them away. The government exists not to do the minimum for its citizens -- but to guarantee by every means necessary that citizens have the opportunity to do everything of which they are capable.

We can make good on these promises. We can make the future ours. But the struggle is not for the faint-hearted.

The new arena of American endeavor is not for timid souls.
It is not for those with failing hearts and finite hopes.

We will stay on course. We will keep the faith of those
who have gone on before.

The economic barriers to genuine freedom for all
our people must and shall be overcome.

#

Look to the
next century

✓ Cost of Pension -

✓ Cities - Marshall Plan

✓ Full Employment -

Be first in jobs -

- Health -

- Housing -

- Education -

X Can we do it

Yes.

✓ Civil Rights Act

✓ Voting Rights Act

✓ Fair Housing Act

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Be first in
equality of
opportunity

NAACP ANNUAL FREEDOM FUND DINNER

Ted Jones -

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

✓ Economic Freedom
guarantees
Self Determination

JUNE 11, 1976

✓ Vernon Garrett - (Columnist - Radio - T.V.)

✓ Emmet Cooper Jr - Chc Dinner
(Postmaster) - Postal Employees Here

✓ Rev Johnson

✓ Rev Theo. Richardson - Pres NAACP
Chc Branch

✓ Congressman Rangel
Charles

Ralph Metcalf

It is wonderful to be with you again to share the warmth
of your friendship and the spirit of your fellowship.

I always feel as though I've come home. My association
with ~~this organization~~ ^{the NAACP} has been one of the most rewarding
aspects of my public life. ^{and} we have worked together for the
cause of civil rights, human rights -- ^{social} ~~human~~ justice.

In this bicentennial year, Americans are celebrating, in
every conceivable fashion, the 200th anniversary of the
signing of the Declaration of Independence.

67 yrs NAACP
But, there is another milestone to celebrate, and that is
the 67 year-long life of the NAACP.

With the possible exception of organized religion, no
organization has made more of an impact on the course of American
history in this century.

NO ORGANIZATION HAS GIVEN MORE IN LOVE, COMPASSION -- IN

PHILOSOPHICAL GUIDANCE, LEADERSHIP, AND DOWNRIGHT HARD WORK TO THE
CAUSE OF JUSTICE THAN THE NAACP.

YOU HAVE BEEN THE BACKBONE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE STRUGGLE
FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. SINCE YOUR EARLIEST DAYS, YOU HAVE PRICKED
THE CONSCIENCE OF AMERICA.

YOU HAVE DEFINED THE ISSUES. YOU HAVE SHOWN US THE WAY.
AND, ~~IN THE BICENTENNIAL MOOD, LET ME SAY THAT YOU~~ *you have* POINTED OUT
IN THE MOST UNMISTAKABLE TERMS -- THAT THE DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE HAD TO MEAN WHAT IT SAID WHEN IT PROCLAIMED THE
SELF-EVIDENCE OF THE TRUTH THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."

THIS MEETING TAKES PLACE AT A CRUCIAL TIME IN THE HISTORY
OF OUR LAND.

L WHILE AMERICANS EVERYWHERE CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF
THE FOUNDING OF OUR NATION, THEY SIMULTANEOUSLY ARE SELECTING
A PERSON TO PROVIDE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP FOR THE FIRST PORTION
OF OUR THIRD CENTURY.

L THIS IS A CRITICAL ELECTION -- NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT OFFERS
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A CHANCE TO RESTORE MAJORITY GOVERNMENT

L IT IS CRITICAL BECAUSE OF THE OPPORTUNITY IT PROVIDES TO
ESTABLISH NEW PRIORITIES TO DETERMINE THE COURSE OF OUR THIRD
CENTURY.

L WHAT A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY! WE HAVE AN OPEN INVITATION TO
SEIZE THE FUTURE -- TO GUIDE OUR FATE AND MAKE SOLID REALITIES
OF THE DREAMS ON WHICH THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED.

L THIS SHOULD BE A TIME OF PROBING, OF SELF-EXAMINATION.

L WE MUST CHALLENGE THE TRADITIONAL WAYS OF DOING THINGS *and*

WE MUST FOCUS ON THE TASKS BEFORE US TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY

WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE.

L WE'VE COME A LONG WAY, L NO ONE CAN DENY THAT, L WE WILL

NEVER FORGET THE MOVING *image* ~~of~~ OF MARTIN LUTHER KING,

WHO SHOOK THIS NATION TO ITS FOUNDATIONS BECAUSE HE HAD A DREAM.

L IT WAS A SIMPLE DREAM OF JUSTICE AND DIGNITY FOR OUR

BROTHERS AND SISTERS ACROSS THIS LAND,

L WE SHARED THAT DREAM *and* ~~AND LET US NEVER FORGET THAT WE HAVE~~

~~BEEN WELL ON THE WAY TO MAKING MUCH OF THAT DREAM COME TRUE.~~

L WITH THE HOPE, PRAYERS, AND COMMON EFFORTS OF THOSE WHO

UNDERSTAND JUSTICE, WE WERE ABLE TO TURN THIS NATION AROUND.

Mobilizing for Civil Rts
15-

L WE WENT INTO THE CHURCHES, AND THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS --

INTO EVERY CORNER OF AMERICAN LIFE, AND WE BROUGHT TOGETHER

A GREAT COALITION THAT STRUCK THE CONSCIENCE OF THIS NATION.

L I DON'T HAVE TO REMIND YOU THAT THE PRODUCT OF THAT

STRUGGLE INCLUDED THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 -- WHICH

GUARANTEED TO EVERY AMERICAN EQUAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC

ACCOMMODATIONS, TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, TO PARTICIPATION

IN PROGRAMS RECEIVING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE, AND A FAIR CHANCE

TO GET A GOOD JOB.

x L THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 WAS BORN OF THAT STRUGGLE,

AND IT IS WIDELY REGARDED AS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL CIVIL RIGHTS

BILL EVER ENACTED.

By 1972, 64 PERCENT OF AGE-ELIGIBLE BLACK CITIZENS IN THE SOUTH
WERE REGISTERED TO VOTE. SOME 3,324,000 BLACK AMERICANS VOTED
IN THE 1972 ELECTIONS, AND SINCE THE 1974 ELECTIONS, THERE
ARE NOW SOME 94 BLACK STATE LEGISLATORS IN THE SOUTH. THE
VOTING RIGHTS ACT, WHICH HAS BEEN EXTENDED BY CONGRESS, HAS
REMOVED THE LAST REMAINING OBSTACLE TO FULL PARTICIPATION BY ALL
AMERICANS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

ANOTHER MILESTONE WAS THE FAIR HOUSING ACT OF 1968, WHICH
BEGAN THE DEMANDING TASK OF REVERSING YEARS OF OFFICIAL POLICIES
AND ECONOMIC PRACTICES THAT HAD FOSTERED RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION.

yet a long way to go
THESE EFFORTS MADE DREAMS COME TRUE FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS
WHO HAD BEEN SHUT OUT OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. ~~WE WON BECAUSE WE~~
~~WERE WILLING TO LABOR AGAINST GREAT ODDS.~~

7
L WE WON BECAUSE WE HAD THE COURAGE TO DO WHAT HAD TO BE DONE +

BECAUSE IT WAS RIGHT.

L OUR EFFORTS HELPED TO BRING TO FRUITION THE PROMISES LAID
DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION.

L FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AMERICAN HISTORY, WE GAVE MEANING
TO THE PHRASE, "WE THE PEOPLE" -- NOT WE THE WHITES, OR WE THE
MIDDLE-CLASS, OR WE THE PROPERTY OWNERS -- BUT ^{just} "WE THE PEOPLE."

L THERE ARE NO MORE BEAUTIFUL WORDS IN OUR HERITAGE.

L IT IS ONE OF THE GREATEST JOYS OF MY LIFE TO HAVE BEEN INVOLVED
IN THAT GREAT EFFORT. WE ACHIEVED AN HISTORIC CONSENSUS OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE BY PERSUASION, AND WITH PERSEVERANCE, AND WITH THE
GOSPEL TRUTH OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY AMONG THE RACES.

PA L NO, WE WON'T FORGET THESE VICTORIES. BUT NEITHER CAN WE BE
FOOLED INTO THINKING THE WORK IS DONE.

Much more to do -

-8-

THE UNFINISHED TASK IS TO SECURE ONCE AND FOR ALL A PLACE
FOR BLACK AMERICANS IN THE ^{full} ECONOMIC LIFE OF THIS NATION.

~~BECAUSE~~ TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, REAL FREEDOM ^{must be provided in} ~~IS IN~~ THE MARKET PLACE.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND THE SELF-DETERMINATION IT BRINGS, IS THE
MOST CHALLENGING FRONTIER THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT MUST
NOW CROSS.

~~ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IS EVERY BIT AS VITAL TO THE WELL BEING
OF THIS COUNTRY AS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.~~ (FOR ONLY WITH THE
FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ALL OUR CITIZENS WILL THE UNITED
STATES BE ABLE TO BE AS PRODUCTIVE AND AS PROGRESSIVE IN THE
MARKET PLACE AS COMPETITION IN A WORLD MARKET REQUIRES.

BUT AS I COME TO YOU TONIGHT, I AM SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT
THE PROSPECTS FOR ATTAINING ^{these goals} ~~THESE GOALS~~.

~~Voting, Housing, Jobs~~

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS,

I HAVE CONDUCTED A TWO-YEAR INTENSIVE EXAMINATION OF ALL ASPECTS
OF THE U.S. ECONOMY.

THERE IS GOOD NEWS, AND THERE IS SOME THAT IS NOT SO GOOD.

I AM ENCOURAGED BY WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE THE BASIC STRENGTH
OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. ~~U.S. PARTICIPATION IN WORLD MARKETS~~
~~IS INCREASING, AND WE HAVE A BASICALLY HEALTHY SYSTEM FOR~~
ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY.

BUT WHAT DISTURBS ME -- AND IT ~~DISTURBS~~ DISTURBS YOU -- IS THAT
MILLIONS OF AMERICANS ARE NOT BENEFITTING FROM OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

THIS UNDERMINES ~~THIS BASIC STRENGTH THAT~~ ^{the} ~~we need because~~ ^{we need because} ~~IS IN OUR ECONOMY~~

^{the} ~~THE~~ ULTIMATE STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMY WILL DEPEND ON THE
PARTICIPATION OF ALL OUR CITIZENS.

THE PEOPLE ARE THE STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM -- ~~THEIR~~

~~LABOR, THEIR INSINUITY, AND THEIR EXPERTISE~~ / AND OUR FAILURE TO

ALLOW SOME TO PARTICIPATE ROBS ALL AMERICANS OF THE KIND OF

ECONOMIC FUTURE THAT IS WITHIN OUR GRASP IF WE BUT MAKE THE EFFORT.

I AM CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE THE TOOLS TO BRING ABOUT TOTAL
ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND PARTICIPATION IN THIS COUNTRY.

~~SO~~
I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU WHAT I BELIEVE TO BE THE NECESSARY
COMPONENTS OF AN ECONOMIC AGENDA FOR BLACK AMERICANS IN THE LAST
QUARTER OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

h IT IS AN AGENDA ADDRESSED TO THE URGENT PROBLEMS OF ALL
OUR PEOPLE -- BUT ONE THAT RECOGNIZES THAT THESE URGENT

PROBLEMS HAVE CRISIS PROPORTIONS FOR ^{many} BLACK PEOPLE.

Cities

L FIRST, WE MUST DEMAND FROM OUR LEADERS A COMMITMENT TO
SAVE AMERICA'S CITIES.

OUR GREAT CITIES ARE IN DANGER OF FINANCIAL AND SPIRITUAL
RUIN -- THESE VITAL, THROBBING CENTERS OF COMMERCE, COMMUNICATIONS,
TRANSPORTATION AND ENTERTAINMENT THAT HAVE SUPPORTED THIS
NATION AND MADE US GREAT.

L IN RECENT YEARS, AN UNTHINKING ADMINISTRATION HAS ALLOWED OUR
CITIES TO COME TO THE BRINK OF DISASTER; ~~AND THE RESPONSE HAS~~
~~BEEN, AT BEST, BENIGN.~~

L ~~OUR CITIES SIMPLY CAN'T WAIT ANY LONGER FOR A POSITIVE~~
~~COMMITMENT. I HAVE SAID BEFORE~~ ^{The} ~~THE~~ NEGLECT OF THE CITIES WORKS
A TERRIBLE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO LIVE
THERE. L WORSE YET, IT IS A FORM OF NATIONAL BLINDNESS -- BECAUSE
THE CITY IS AMERICA'S TOMORROW.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT: BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY THIS NATION WILL HAVE OVER 250 MILLION INHABITANTS. AND 85 PERCENT OF THEM WILL BE LIVING IN CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OF 50,000 OR MORE. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF MORE THAN FOUR OUT OF FIVE AMERICAN CITIZENS.

WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ALMOST ALL OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN -- BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE AND YET THERE ARE SOME WHO WANT TO RETREAT AND SAY TO THE CITIES, IN EFFECT:

"YOU'RE ON YOUR OWN."

I HAVE AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT MESSAGE.

Marshall Plan

I BELIEVE THAT A MASSIVE COMMITMENT TO OUR CITIES IS NEEDED -- A COMMITMENT THAT POSSESSES ALL THE SCOPE, THE VISION, THE FINANCIAL BACKING, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE MARSHALL PLAN.

L IN THAT PROGRAM, WE PUT OUR STRENGTH AND OUR RESOURCES ON THE
LINE, AND WE REBUILT THE CITIES OF GERMANY, ITALY, AND ENGLAND --
TO THE WONDER AND ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD.

L Now, DO YOU MEAN TO TELL ME THAT WE CAN'T MAKE THE SAME EFFORT
TO REBUILD OUR OWN CITIES, RIGHT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES?

L OF COURSE WE CAN! ~~THROUGH A THREE-PART PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC~~
~~RECOVERY, PHYSICAL REHABILITATION, AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORM,~~

L I Say.
WE CAN MAKE OUR CITIES LIVABLE AND PROSPEROUS.

L WE CAN MAKE THEM SYMBOLS OF HOPE AND OPPORTUNITY, INSTEAD
OF DESPAIR AND INDIFFERENCE.

L WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN CRUMBLING AND DYING, WE CAN BUILD AND
PROSPER.

L *where shums good homes*
WHERE THERE HAS BEEN FILTH AND INFESTATION, WE CAN MAKE THEM
CLEAN AND HEALTHY.

L WHERE OUR PEOPLE ARE INTIMIDATED BY CRIME AND VANDALISM, WE
CAN RECAPTURE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND ~~SECURITY~~ *Security*.

WE CAN ACCOMPLISH THESE THINGS -- ~~AND WE MUST HAVE THEM AS~~
~~PRIMARY GOALS FOR OUR ECONOMIC AGENDA.~~

#22 THE SECOND MAJOR POINT OF OUR ECONOMIC CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA
MUST BE THE FURTHER ENCOURAGEMENT OF BLACK-OWNED BUSINESS.

THERE HAVE BEEN SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS IN THIS AREA. FOR
EXAMPLE, THE OFFICE OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE PROJECTS
THAT THE GROSS RECEIPTS OF MINORITY-OWNED BUSINESS WILL REACH
\$37 BILLION IN 1977 -- UP FROM \$16 BILLION IN GROSS RECEIPTS
IN 1972. By 1982, THESE RECEIPTS ARE EXPECTED TO REACH \$67 BILLION.

IN FISCAL 1977, MINORITY BUSINESS RECEIPTS ARE PROJECTED TO
ACCOUNT FOR 2.1 PERCENT OF TOTAL BUSINESS RECEIPTS -- UP FROM
1.5 PERCENT IN 1972.

IT IS ALSO ENCOURAGING TO NOTE THAT THE LARGEST GROWTH
IN MINORITY-OWNED BUSINESS IS TAKING PLACE IN THE AREAS OF
DISTRIBUTION, OR WHOLESALING, AND TRANSPORTATION, MANUFACTURING
AND CONSTRUCTION.

L BUT THERE IS A DISCOURAGING SIDE TO THIS PICTURE. ~~FIGURES~~
FOR ~~MINORITY BUSINESS ARE VERY INADEQUATE~~, BUT IT HAS BEEN ~~ESTIMATED~~
ESTIMATED THAT IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN DECEMBER 1973 AND DECEMBER
1974 THE FAILURE RATE AMONG BLACK BUSINESS MAY HAVE BEEN AS HIGH
AS 30 PERCENT. L AND 14 OF THE TOP 100 BLACK BUSINESSES FAILED IN
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L THE CAUSES MOST FREQUENTLY STATED FOR MINORITY BUSINESS
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A CASH BIND CREATES A CRITICAL SITUATION WHEN ADDITIONAL CREDIT CANNOT BE OBTAINED.

L SECOND, NEW COMPANIES -- AS MANY OF THESE ARE -- TEND TO HAVE LESS SOLID RELATIONS WITH SUPPLIERS. L SO, IN PERIODS OF MATERIAL SHORTAGE, LIKE THE CRITICAL PERIOD WE WITNESSED TWO YEARS AGO, MINORITY BUSINESSES ARE THE FIRST TO SUFFER. *But,*

L GOVERNMENT POLICIES CAN AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY THE FUTURE OF MINORITY BUSINESS. L ~~WE MUST TAKE A CAREFUL LOOK AT THE NEED FOR TAX~~

Tax INCENTIVES -- CHANGES IN THE TAX STRUCTURE ~~WHICH~~ CAN MAKE IT POSSIBLE

FOR MINORITY BUSINESS TO HAVE THE ADDITIONAL ^{*capital*} ~~POWER~~ THAT IS

NECESSARY TO SURVIVE A SUSTAINED SLUMP L AND WE SHOULD LOOK TO THE

NEED FOR PROMOTING MANAGEMENT TRAINING FOR MINORITY-OWNED COMPANIES.

THIS MIGHT INCLUDE A TAX CREDIT FOR ESTABLISHED COMPANIES WHICH ARE WILLING TO LEND EXECUTIVES FOR TRAINING PROGRAMS.

Full Employment

-17-

THESE ARE SOME OF THE POLICIES WHICH WE MUST PURSUE. BUT
CENTRAL TO ALL THESE GOALS -- AND VITAL TO THE ECONOMIC HEALTH
OF ALL AMERICANS -- MUST BE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL FULL
EMPLOYMENT POLICY THAT GUARANTEES TO EVERY AMERICAN WHO IS
WILLING AND ABLE TO WORK A DECENT JOB AT A DECENT WAGE.

Humphrey-Hawkins Bill
L FULL EMPLOYMENT WILL BE THE CORNERSTONE OF ANY PROGRAM TO
REVITALIZE CENTRAL CITY ECONOMIES.

L WITHOUT FULL EMPLOYMENT THE RESOURCES SIMPLY WILL NOT BE
AVAILABLE.

L THERE CAN BE NO HOPE FOR THE CITIES WITH PERSISTENT HIGH
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES.

L THERE CAN BE NO FISCAL STABILITY WITH ^{COSTLY} ~~BIG~~ HIGH
UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HAS ESTIMATED THAT EACH ONE PERCENT REDUCTION IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE WOULD REDUCE WELFARE COSTS TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BY \$1.5 TO \$2 BILLION AND SAVE \$2.5 TO \$3 BILLION IN UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS.

IF WE MOVED FROM AN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF 7.3 PERCENT TO EVEN 4 PERCENT, WE COULD REDUCE EXPENDITURES BY AS MUCH AS \$17 BILLION AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL ALONE.

FOR EACH ONE PERCENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT YOU LOSE \$16 BILLION IN

REVENUES. THAT'S THE PROBLEM IN OUR FEDERAL BUDGET. *Plus 5 Billion*

in Welfare, and Stamps and U. Comp. Payments,

ONCE YOU CLEAR AWAY ALL THE BUNK AND THE POLITICAL DIATRIBE,

THE CENTRAL FACT IS THAT LOST REVENUES BECAUSE OF JOBLESSNESS

ARE THE MAJOR CAUSE OF BUDGET DEFICITS.

IN 1975, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS LOST \$27 BILLION BECAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

AND IT IS ESTIMATED THAT BY 1980, WE WILL HAVE LOST \$1 TRILLION

IN LOST PRODUCTION.

THAT IS MONEY THAT WILL NEVER APPEAR IN ANYONE'S PAYCHECK --
MONEY THAT CANNOT BE TAXED -- MONEY THAT CANNOT BE USED TO BUY
GOODS AND SERVICES THAT CAN KEEP BUSINESS ALIVE AND THE ECONOMY
THRIVING.

BUT THIS IS JUST THE ~~FORMAL~~ ECONOMIC ASPECT OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Then there are
~~WHAT CONCERNS ME FOR THE SPIRITUAL, EMOTIONAL AND~~
costs of sustained high unemployment.
HEALTH OF OUR NATION IS THE SOCIAL COST OF SUSTAINED HIGH

UNEMPLOYMENT.

(Let a man have nothing to do for his country etc)
IT IS THIS ~~ASPECT~~ THAT THREATENS OUR NATION FROM WITHIN.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND BENIGN GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES TOWARD JOBLESSNESS

ARE A CANCER IN AMERICA THAT MUST BE ARRESTED.

UNTIL EVERY AMERICAN CAN EXPECT TO HAVE A PART TO PLAY IN THIS
SOCIETY -- UNTIL EACH CITIZEN CAN BE INVOLVED THROUGH THE SWEAT
OF HIS OWN WORK -- HE OR SHE WILL NOT FEEL A PART OF OUR NATIONAL
LIFE.

I AM CONVINCED THAT MOST AMERICANS WHO ARE ABLE TO WORK
WOULD RATHER HAVE A PAYCHECK THAN A WELFARE CHECK.

TIME AND TIME AGAIN -- IN OUR HEARINGS BEFORE THE JOINT
ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, I HAVE BEEN TOUCHED BY THE SAD, ANGUISHED
STORIES RELATED TO US BY PEOPLE WHO WANT SO MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE
TO OUR NATION.

IT IS NO MERE COINCIDENCE THAT THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS LIVING
IN POVERTY IN THE 1960'S WAS REDUCED BY 14 MILLION WHILE THE
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE DROPPED FROM AN AVERAGE OF 6.7 PERCENT IN 1961
TO 3.6 PERCENT IN 1968. WE WORKED HARD TO ACHIEVE THOSE GOALS.

^{IN}
BUT, 1974, THE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN POVERTY INCREASED
BY 1.3 MILLION. I SHUDDER TO THINK WHAT THE 1975 FIGURES WILL
SHOW WITH THE JOBLESS RATE LAST YEAR JUMPING UPWARDS TO 9 PERCENT.

THE FACTS ARE CLEAR. WELFARE REFORM MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE
CONTEXT OF FULL EMPLOYMENT. AND YOU WILL NOT BRING ABOUT A
REDUCTION IN CRIME UNTIL YOU PUT PEOPLE TO WORK.

YOU WILL NOT SEE ANY IMPROVEMENT IN MENTAL HEALTH OR A
REDUCTION IN ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG ABUSE UNTIL PEOPLE ARE WORKING.

AND NO MATTER HOW WELL BIG BUSINESS FARES, YOU WON'T FIND REAL

ECONOMIC STABILITY UNTIL all americans who want to work
THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS ARE WORKING AND

and are willing & able to work, are on the job!
PRODUCING -- ABLE TO BUY GOODS AND SERVICES AND PURCHASE HOMES.

CONGRESSMAN AUGUSTUS HAWKINS AND I HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION
THAT ^{we} ~~I~~ BELIEVE TO BE AMONG THE MOST CRITICAL OF ^{our} ~~my~~ LEGISLATIVE
CAREERS.

THE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND BALANCED GROWTH ACT OF 1976 CAN HELP TO
MOVE US TOWARD TRUE ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR BLACK AMERICANS AND
ECONOMIC STABILITY FOR ALL.

I CALL THIS BILL THE MAGNA CARTA OF FREE ENTERPRISE THE MAJOR
EMPHASIS OF THIS BILL IS ON RESTORING FULL PRODUCTION AND JOB
OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

IT WOULD DEFINE AS FULL EMPLOYMENT A JOBLESS RATE OF 3 PERCENT
OF THE ADULT LABOR FORCE.

UNDER OUR BILL, THE GOALS OF FULL EMPLOYMENT WOULD BE
ACHIEVED FIRST BY BETTER MANAGEMENT OF FISCAL AND MONETARY
POLICY, AND THEN, IF NECESSARY, THROUGH A VARIETY OF PROGRAMS
TO ATTACK SPECIFIC STUBBORN POCKETS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

THESE WOULD INCLUDE A YOUTH TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM, A
REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, EXPANDED ADULT JOB TRAINING
AND ~~COUNTER-CYCLICAL~~ OR ANTI-RECESSION GRANTS TO STATE AND
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

FOR THOSE UNABLE TO FIND EMPLOYMENT THROUGH ANY OF THESE MEANS,
THERE WOULD BE A JOB RESERVOIR, ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF

LABOR, WHICH WOULD CREATE A LIMITED NUMBER OF FEDERAL JOBS. *Public Service*

what *to note*
~~THE POINTS~~ I HAVE OUTLINED CONSTITUTE A PORTION OF THE CIVIL

RIGHTS AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE.

SOME OF OUR POLITICAL LEADERS SEEM TO BELIEVE THERE ARE NO
ISSUES OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO BLACK VOTERS IN 1976.

SOME ARE SATISFIED WITH THE SUCCESSES WE GAINED IN THE SIXTIES.

OVERPROMISING IS THE SIN OF THE 70's, THEY TELL US -- AND THEY

SEEM COMMITTED TO ONLY ONE THING -- DOING LESS.

WELL, OUR PEOPLE WON'T BUY THE SHODDY THEORY THAT LESS IS
MORE!

BLACK AMERICANS WON'T BELIEVE THAT A LITTLE IS ENOUGH!

YOU KNOW WE MUST DREAM -- WE HAVE TO PROMISE -- FOR IT IS THE

EFFORT TO FULFILL PROMISES THAT HAS BROUGHT PROGRESS UNDER ~~our~~

CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM, ~~WHOSE LONGEVITY WE CELEBRATE IN 1976,~~

~~I BELIEVE~~ YOU CAN TELL A GREAT DEAL ABOUT A SOCIETY BY

LOOKING AT ~~THESE~~ ITS PROMISES.

AND THE AMERICAN PROMISE IS A REAFFIRMATION OF THE GOD-GIVEN
RIGHTS TO LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

OUR GOVERNMENT WAS CREATED TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, NOT TO
EQUIVOCATE OR BARGAIN THEM AWAY. THE GOVERNMENT EXISTS NOT TO
DO THE MINIMUM FOR ITS CITIZENS -- BUT TO GUARANTEE BY EVERY
MEANS NECESSARY THAT CITIZENS HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO EVERYTHING
OF WHICH THEY ARE CAPABLE.

WE CAN MAKE GOOD ON THESE PROMISES. WE CAN MAKE THE FUTURE
OURS. BUT THE STRUGGLE IS NOT FOR THE FAINT-HEARTED.

THE NEW ARENA OF AMERICAN ENDEAVOR IS NOT FOR TIMID SOULS.

IT IS NOT FOR THOSE WITH FAILING HEARTS AND ~~FINITE~~ ^{limited} HOPES.

WE WILL STAY ON COURSE. WE WILL KEEP THE FAITH OF THOSE
WHO HAVE GONE ON BEFORE.

THE ECONOMIC BARRIERS TO GENUINE FREEDOM FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE
MUST AND SHALL BE OVERCOME.



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