

SPEECH BY SENATOR HUMPHREY IN CALIFORNIA

FEB 62

Thanks very much Dr. -----, Mr. Barton ?, Mr. Ash, and all the officers of Litton Industries and those who are here as members of the Small Business Symposium, many of the suppliers of this great industry. I am very honored to share the platform with several speakers today, some from our ^{great}armed services, some from the offices of the Executive Branch of our Government, those representing industry. I am hopeful that the distinguished mayor of the great city of Los Angeles will come into this room at any moment now and if he does, I am going to be very much like the Evangelists who are willing to stop the sermon at any moment to receive a repentent sinner, so if he should come in--I know he is a very busy man--I would want the mayor of the thriving, enterprising city that we all want to call to your attention that I was the Mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota, and I always appreciated it when the long-winded speakers would interupt their message to let me make on/e of my several long-winded greetings so that I could get on to other meetings. But I know the mayor would be very busy and I shall certainly attempt to accommodate him if he comes in, and I gather that's allright with you George.

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I want to bring you the greetings today of your two U. S.

Senators from the state of California. I say this with good conscience now that all the elections are over until at least the next batch is up I want you to know that I cherish the friendship of two of the finest public servants we have in Washington in Senator Tom Kuchel and Senator Engle, Both of these men are good friends of mine, Senator Kuchel in the Minority Whip of the U. S. Senate and the Majority Whip--we try to whip everybody else instead of each other. We are very close personal friends. As a matter of fact, Senator Engle is one of my long time personal friends, as well as political associate, and I hope this won't make it seem too political if I lend a bipartisan note to it and say to you that it is a joy to be in their state and to share this wonderful California climate, which is always better when a Minnesotan comes out to pay you a visit. Then too, my good colleague of the Congress, Congressman John Blatnik, was mentioned here today but I want to say that if there is anyone man in public life that I am proud of and he is the "old man of the Minnesota delegation." He is the dean of the delegation. I can't remember whether he's seventeen days older than I am or I'm seventeen days younger

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than he is or what it is but we argue about it. All I know is that in terms of Congressional service he has seniority, and I respect seniority. I don't know how you folks feel about it, and frankly, I'm not going to argue about it with you but in the Senate its important, very, very important. Congressman Blatnik is the Congressman of the Minnesota Eighth District, which today is the Headquarters, at least for on&ooof the many facilities of the Litton Industries at Duluth, Minnesota. And unless I forget the most important part of my message and the real reason that I want to be here, I want to thank you, Mr. Bartman, and you George Scharffenberger, and you, Mr. Ash, and you, Ms. all of you officers of Litton Industries. I want you to know how grateful we are in Mlmesota for the honor and high privilege, as well as the economic necessity of having you as one of our great industries in the state of Minnesota. We w/ want you to know that the opportunity there is unlimited, the quality of our people, at least in the private sector of our life is excellent, the opportunity to expand is there and we are the most appreciative people in the world when we get a new industry or when we have new business come to our state. I hope Californians won't take exception to that. You're doing very well out here and we'd like to have you in our state.

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Now I'm going to talk to you a little bit about a subject

which has been mentioned by every independent businessman time after time. Small Business is here to stay because there are a goodly number of ----- about this subject. There are no fields that the United States is but a growing manifestation of the rise and the power of big business, and when some people say that they say "big business" with a smile ----- I hope that today we will be able to find some ~~answer~~ answer to the question "Is small business here to stay," and what its role is and its reference to our economy, the importance to our political and economic social structure and also that possibly it shed a little light on the place that we call "big business" not only on the American economy but in the world in which we live. George Scharffenberger told you that I just left Geneva, Switzerland, ~~yesterday~~ yesterday, and that's true. Its a wonderful age in which we live. I was sitting at the luncheon table on Thursday with some of the top economists of the world. We were discussing foreign trade. We were discussing the common market, European economic community, We were discussing what has developed in terms of DeGaulle and MacMillan. Britain's entry into the

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Common Market. Its impact upon Western Europe and its relationship to the whole power struggle in the world and what this could mean to the United States. Because remember this, the United States of America is the largest commercial operation in the world. We not only have vast military power which is honorable represented ~~here~~ ^{here} today by the officers and the men of our armed services but we have unbelievable economic power. Well, ----- and another kind of economic power in science and technology and the know-how, as well as the great pool--the reservoir of skilled and semi-skilled and semi-professional labor.

....decision is made anywhere in the world on an economic front affects the United States. Anything we do here affects the world. If there ever was proof of the ~~interdependence~~ inter-dependence of free men and free women today it is in the economic area, even more than in the political area.

While I sat down and talked to the Executive Director of these European free-trade areas, I listened for many hours to a discussion ~~between~~ between the Director of _____ and the Director of _____, the general agreement of tariffs and _____. All of these were working in Geneva, Switzerland. I had the privilege in these few days to talk to businessmen

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that represent huge international business organizations--listened to each one of them and as I listened to these men I realized more and more how important it is that every American businessman and every American boy and girl of future generations begin to understand that the future well-being of the United States is not merely in what we do here but in what we are able to do elsewhere, ~~of~~ the kind of investments that we make here but the kind of investments that we can make elsewhere. The labor that we have here and the management that we have here but also our capacity as educators in training of management and skilled labor forces elsewhere. The power struggle between freedom and ~~anarchism~~ communism, the power struggle between free people and totalitarian dictatorship will not be ~~set~~ settled by nuclear weapons because if it is, and what we have as a society today will be a page in history. It will be settled, I ~~xxx~~ hope to say, by what the Chairman of Ministers calls this competitive struggle. And we can win that struggle and why he even wants to talk about it is more than I can understand. We can win it if we have the will to win it. The danger is that the communists understand the importance of international economics and we just talk about it. We talk about it because we have had such a

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great opportunity here at home that we can't understand at home today
is a much bigger horizon and a much bigger area than it was five years
ago--10, 20, 50 years ago--I want to emphasize it to you but I want to
bring into this broad international picture the role of the individual
because all too often everytime you get down to talking about something
that's as big and as complex as international questions, somebody says
"Well, what difference does it make to me? What's my role in this?"
Just like I've heard some folks say "My vote doesn't amount to anything."
You want to live in Minnesota and find out if it doesn't. We don't even
know who's Governor. We had a million people go to the polls to
cast a vote and the election will be settled anywhere from 5 to 10 to
15 _____ vote. And when the election will be settled, I don't know.
Maybe they'll come to the conclusion that they will have to do it all
over again. But everybody is important. You are important. Litton
Industries is important. Terribly important. You as an independent
businessman are very important. Your company is important. Your corp-
oration is important. And we have to understand that importance and
_____ into, blow it into the general stream of what we call this economic,

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~~strong~~
competitive struggle that's under way. Ladies and gentlemen, the toughest war that you'll ever fight and live to fight again is the economic one. That's a real tough one. Even the struggle for skills and technicians-- this is a tremendously competitive area. Well, I come from a small business family--most people in private life never feel that anybody in public life ever had the business experience. Well I want to say to the Litton Industries management that you may be very capable--I haven't any doubts that you will stand testing in years to come and become most capable. Any fellow that survives--my father's by the way is a competitive man out in South Dakota and I've often said to many groups that I've talked to, that any businessman that could survive fifty years of business ~~struggle~~ in South Dakota and not go broke has something to talk about. He is a businessman and a good one. We've survived depressions and dust storms, bad winters and bad summers and poor crops and inflation and deflation and tight credit and loose credit. We've survived it all, and all during this period of time, at least a substantial part of it I was closely associated with my father in his business, and I come from a small business family. I still am a family-

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the president of the family corporation. I'm a corporation executive,

I want you to know. The Humphrey Drug Company, Inc., out in South Dakota,

and we're making money, and we pay taxes and we growl about it, and we have

some definite business about how the Government operates its share of our

money and uses it. If you don't believe so you ought to answer the telephone

when my brother calls me in Washington and wants to know "Now what are you

doing to me." You'd think I was his personal enemy. Well, I approach

this subject of "small business is here to stay" with a bias, I would

imagine. I have an emotional _____ as a small business man and I admit

it, and I'm also convinced that after many years of active participation

in the public life of our country, both at a local and now at a Federal national

level, that the existence of a healthy small business sector in our economy

is very much in the national interest. It is vital to the national interest.

The question is: Is small business going to have a significant future/ in

the American economic scene? And my answer is unequivocally "Yes." Its

going to have significant future but only if we decide as a nation, if we decide

as a matter of public policy, gentlemen, those of us in Government, ~~and~~ in

Executive and Legislative branches, to take the necessary steps to keep

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independent small business alive and healthy. Now let's take a look at the broad pattern of the American economy today. The wonderful pattern-- we give it a lot of analysis, we scold it, condemn it, but its a marvelous mechanism. You know when I was in the Soviet Union in 1958 and I had that long talk with Khrushchev and in the process of that talk we got to discussing our economic system. He's a very pointed man, as you know, and looked at me and said "Well, you're just stupid." A very friendly comment! There were several very patriotic Americans who agreed with that analysis but he said to me "You're stupid. You know nothing of socialists" Well, I said "I didn't come here to be offensive in any way but since you indicated your thought of my knowledge of your economic system might I reply in kind that there's a great deal ~~is~~ about our system that you don't know." And I'll say to Mr. Khrushchev--he's a competitor, don't kid yourselves. If ~~he~~ weren't in the Soviet Union and if he hadn't been indoctrinated with Communism and started out in that kind of thing ~~is~~ he would be one of the toughest political/ competitors or economic competitors that anybody ever had in any country on the face of the earth. Don't under estimate him. He said to me "Allright, you take twenty minutes and tell me about your

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system and I'll take twenty minutes and tell you about mine. Well, you heard mine. ^{We} I went over the respective systems and after we got all through we finalized it by saying "I guess we both agree." And it was sure, positively true that we didn't agree but I had a chance, in those twenty minutes to put together the most persuasive case that I could think of for my country and the system that has made this country great. And I didn't use all the _____, I didn't use all the standard texts. I tried to think about the America that I knew, not the one that I'd read about. Not the America of fiction but the America of fact and reality. I told him about my own state of Minnesota--the state that big business, big banks, national banks, and safe independent banks. Little business, family corporations, big business, massive corporations, that had credit unions and cooperatives, public housing, vast amount of private housing, and that had some public ownership. Massive amounts of independent ownership--and when I got all through with it he said "Well, what do you call it?" What can you call it? We call it a free economy--we ~~xx~~ use the word "free" because it relates to freedom of choice. We have an economy. We have a social structure, a _____ structure which we still have _____, choices where we are not ~~expressed~~ told you

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must go this way, and everything is stacked against you unless you do go this way. We still have a chance in America, economically, socially, politically and spiritually. We have choices and choice is the ~~bedrock~~ ^{bedrock} of the heart and the core of the democratic experience. This is what we mean by freedom. The right to exercise one's own independent judgment--to make choices. How much free enterprise and how much of a free market in a classical sense and a theoretical sense do we have? What we need. Well first of all as I said about my own state--there ^{are} those giant industries. Many of the older industries of the country--the older technology. We have something that might be called for lack of a better phrase _____. A handful of giants dominate a market and between themselves--amongst themselves--control that market. With power concentrated in a very few great corporations--I read an excellent text on this that I studied some years ago--Chamberlain's theory of ^{competition} /Olygot --and the new technology

A whole new area of .. and I see it right here--competition is rough and tough and maybe this is one reason.... the whole industry of communications utilities and transport are completely outside of what we call..... as they have been for now better than a half century. We see the Federal Government

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itself with its huge program of research and development with one department alone, the Department of Defense accounting for almost 10 percent of the total gross national product. One department of Government though when I hear people outside of Government say well Government doesn't know much about ~~ix~~ business, that may be true, but Government does an awful lot of business and what it does with that dollar has a tremendous impact upon the total of of economy. And that research dollar, my fellow businessman, you look into this, has a tremendous impact on ----- economy. American Government's research dollar may well determine the future course of economic structure of this country. And more of that research dollar needs to go into peacetime research, and what I mean by research for peacetime goods, consumer goods and durable goods without at the same time destroying what we need or eliminating what we need for our military preparedness. Fortunately, our military and I want to compliment them on this, has seen fit to try to make that research dollar, which is so important in your budget, applicable ^{item} not only to the military/but also to the item -----, This is why we need today more than ever before close/ ~~can~~ cooperation between

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Government and business. Instead of looking at each other as enemies

we'd better join hands as partners. Its too important. The Government

has too much at stake and you have too much at stake. ϕ You look at

one another as if you were antagonists. This business about Government

being anti-business, that's something from columnists and has no relation-

ship to fact. And this business about business being antigovernment, if

there's anything to that it ought to be erased from one's mind immediately

because today due to the importance of research and technology in which

the Government of the United States puts up the major portion of the

in view
money and ~~cash~~ have the tremendous purchasing power of the Government

over
of the United States, in view of the Government's control ~~of~~ the fiscal

and monetary and tax policy it is absolutely imperative that businessmen

and Government start burying the hatchet, if they've had one out and start

as a team
to work together/before its too late. I call upon you to take that message

most seriously. Governmental decisions today dominating the new

technology and the industries dependent upon are complimentary to these

technology. Now we have also a vast number of small business and partnerships

and _____ cooperating as _____ in our economy of various-----. The

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countries largest industrial companies, despite their massive size, account for only 10 percent of the sales of all industrial commercial and agricultural enterprises. See there is the answer to the Communist lies, and believe me they use their lies effectively. They say big business dominates all of America. The biggest business in the world is the state capitalism of the Soviet Union. Big capitalism--the biggest monopoly in the world, too, and the cruelist and most inefficient at times. We've got the answer. We _____ but we don't want to tell anybody about it. Here we have the largest corporations in America that look like giants and are portrayed as devils by our enemies. These largest ~~corporations~~ corporations do less than 10 per cent of the total difference of this great United States of America. The best answer to a lie is the truth stated with conviction. Surprisingly, look into the future. This whole share of bug business in our economy does not appear to be increasing over the long----- . Now we have over 5 million American^s business firms with _____ employees. No other country on the face of the earth can make that claim. And if we count our farms, which ~~is~~ ^{are} surely businesses, we have about 9 million sole independent proprietors and over 2 million

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partnerships--small in nature--that account for most of the business and economic life of this nation. This is a remarkable tribute to the competitive system and ~~political~~ political system of the United States of America. We have, in short, a competitive, pluralistic economy, and it is my position that we have this pluralistic competitive economic system primarily because the Federal Government has for three generations followed a deliberate national policy of fostering at least a variety of a free market by encouraging opportunity and by stimulating competition, and I wish to emphasize the Federal Government could not impose these conditions of competition ~~and~~ or of pluralism. It has been aided primarily by the business leadership outside of our Government which takes an enlightened view of the economy and which recognizes that the unrestrained free market left to itself is self-destruction. Such enlightened business leaders know that the law of the jungle with no rules, no rules of fair competition if applied to an economy would ultimately result in only two possible conditions, either ~~oligopoly~~ oligopoly, a handful of giants which the economic decisions are made by a small handful of top corporation ~~executives~~ executives, or a state controlled or state owned economy in which all of

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the decisions are made by another handful of men--the bureaucrats or the commissars. The best way that I know of to keep this economy alive, is to keep it competitive. An enlightened business management in this country recognizes that both private and governmental action is required if a nation is not to wind up in the camp of the oligarchs or the camp of the political commissars. A corporation like Litton Industries has, and I want to complement you on what you are doing here today, ..those of us who know of your work are proud to be here. I am very proud as a United States senator to have been invited by one of the great companies of the nation, indeed, one that has investments in many companies, because I see here a chance of public responsibility and economic enlightenment. And when one sees that, it ought to be encouraged and it ought to be honored.

Corporations like Litton Industries have adopted a deliberate policy of fostering independent small business. By so doing they make an enormous contribution to the total task of maintaining a competitive economy. The best was, you know, after all, to maintain competition is to develop it not just police the big ones, but to encourage the small ones. In other words, not merely to restrict the market, but to build a bigger market and there's a conflict

of thought here, you know, running through our economic structure. Some people have already made theirs, they say, and they are not interested in trying to build a bigger market, they are interested in trying to control the market. I say that the future of America rests in trying to build bigger markets, open up new markets. And the best control over monopoly is to open new markets, encourage and prosper new enterprises for new markets. Better than anti-trust, better than federal Trade Commission, it's better than the power of the policeman. The encouragement of enterprise. But our Government has a role to play in regulation. The policies of these enlightened companies to supplement the policies of the Government which were established as the Sherman, the Clayton and the ^{Robinson-}Patman Acts, and are now carried out by the Federal Trade Commission, The Anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, the Small Business Administration which is doing a good job, and the other divisions of Government which are trying to limit corporate power and to simulate competition ultimately to provide the widest range of options and _____ for the American Business citizens. I would like to have you believe that our Government today is not just anti-trust, but what we really are is pro-competition, that's what we're

trying to do.

Now what possible value then, does small business have for the nation? Is big business that much more efficient, you hear that all the time. Doesn't big business, by and large, provide materials and services at a more reasonable cost at a higher quality? Yes, the answers are, in many instances. In some cases, big business is more efficient, but not always. We need both, some instances, sometimes, it requires big business that has the genius of organization for the big job.

I wrote an article for Look Magazine a year ago, I've got a copy of it here, Big Business is Too Big. Some of my more liberal friends thought I (?took to drink?) when I wrote that article, but I just wrote what I believed. And I pointed out for the most part, that big corporations are a source of strength and vitality. The fact is that big business is here to stay, and since you know that, you had better start dealing with it. I ~~was~~ pointed out that ownership in American corporations is far more widely spread today than a century ago. One or two individuals only infrequently holding large companies. I pointed out that the great corporations have wide distribution bases.

And then I said something else that I thought was fairly worthwhile. Khrushchev obviously would give a great deal to obtain the management team that some of our big industries. He'd like to have the management team of Litton Industries. Let's make no mistake about it, or some of our other big companies in America. Because his biggest problem and the biggest problem all over the world in economics, is management, not capital. If you have management and human resources, you can get capital.

I've travelled to many parts~~of~~ of this world and the so-called underdeveloped areas. And everytime we want to help these areas, we say, "Make them a loan." We're very quick with the check-~~book~~ book. Write them out five million dollars or give them fifty million dollars. They may not only need five million dollars, but more importantly, they need to have somebody who knows what to do with five million dollars. How to put a program together, how to manage it. I've been in the countries of ~~the~~ South and central america, and I can tell you that you can ~~pour~~ ^{pour} a ~~hundred~~ hundred billion dollars into that area, but until you get trained man-power and supervisors, foremen, management and people who understand accounting, people that understand research and technology and applied research, until

you get people who understand market development and distribution and public transportation and until you get people who know how to organize the business, to run it, you'll never have enough money to keep it going.

This is why Hubert Humphrey when he comes back from these trips, says, the biggest problem we have today is the training of people. We need to encourage more of our business people in America to take leadership in this. One of my colleagues in the Senate pointed out the other day, that maybe what we need is a senior peace corps of management. I think he's got something. Otherwise, we're going to run out of checks, we're going to run out of bank accounts, we already have some problems on the balance of payment. (Well, I didn't intend to give you that, that's something a little extra just thrown in here) But it's very important! You as U. S. citizens ought to be interested in this. You ought to ask yourself when you talk about foreign aid or something, it's not how much money your government is spending but who is spending it once it gets there. We haven't overspent. The success of the Marshall plan wasn't the thirteen billion dollars that we loaned, the success of the Marshall Plan was the thirteen million dollars that we loaned to people who knew what to do with it.

And if you don't think so, go to Germany today, or to Italy or to France or to England, or go anyplace in Western Europe and see industry throbbing and see them taking the markets right out from under your nose, because they knew what to do with the money. Now I believe that it is rather noteworthy, speaking of big business and small business, and production and economics, that the American family farm operation has been demonstrated to the world to be superior to any forms of corporate farming or state controlled farmings. So efficiency doesn't necessarily come from big items. Actually, it can be too big. The other answer to the question as to the growth of business and what it can do for this nation, is that without the competition of small and medium size businesses thriving to grow, our big business would, on the basis of historical evidence, tend to stratification and frustration. Its the decay of management and ultimately to inefficiency and _____-. Now, I'm no expert in this business, but I'll tell you, I can tell when a politician is slipping--when he starts spending more time in the hotel lobbies than out in front shaking hands, when he spends more time at the country club ~~th~~ or ~~th~~ at the up-town club than he does out in the fields, the factories, the shops and shopping centers and such,

I know that fellow is on the way out. When you think you've got it made, that's just when you're starting to lose out and sometimes when business get too big, it gets the feeling that somehow or ~~some~~ another, that this world is made for them. And we've watched it in some of our old-line businesses in America where new products have come in and swept the old corporation's ground right out from underneath them. We've watched the new, aggressive young men come into the business field, take over the old corporations, revitalize them, make tremendous strides. It has happened in this ^{company} ~~country~~, and it is fantastic. And I want to say that I think it's just the beginning, very frankly, ^{it is} ~~is~~ one of the most encouraging and economic and industrial developments I have ever witnessed. I've seen intelligent, hard-working able, dedicated, sincere, non-gripping businessmen go to work and do things. So, you see, I have two primary objectives in supporting, then, the health and welfare of small business. I shan't detain you much longer.

First, I want to keep open the channels for economic initiative. there's a lot of talk around this country about ^{initiative &} free-enterprise. Well, let's keep it initiated and let's keep free enterprise enterprising. I want to keep open the channels for economic initiative and defense, imagination and growth. You need the right to (decept?????), the right to be different in

economics, just as exactly as you need it in women's clothing or in politics.

The right to be different.

Second, I want to provide the economic option for individual Americans, The economic choice, because it is these economic choices which lie underpin or underlie genuine political freedom. Political freedom is a mockery without economic and social choices. I should not like to see the day that a man with drive and initiative is forced to have only the choice ~~between~~ ~~of~~ either working for the large corporation or the Government. I want him to have the choice of working for himself and want it to be more than a theoretical choice. I want it to be a practical and fair choice. That if he desires to work for himself to build his own enterprise, that he doesn't have the cards stacked against him.

that there is a social, political and economic environment in which he is willing to work and give all that he has to it. That he has a fighting chance to succeed.

Yes, working for the Government or for a corporation may be a tremendously satisfying experience. I don't want to appear to be critical of those whose choice it is to work in these areas. I enjoy my work or I wouldn't be doing what I'm doing. If I worked for a pipe factory instead of the United States Senate, they either have me in a psychiatric ward or be giving me prizes for service beyond the call of duty, because people in government do work hard. I like my work, I like it eighteen hours a day. I'm willing to give six hours to myself and my family. I think that a man ought to put everything he has into what he's trying to do. He's not on this earth very long. But I want to say that he ought to have some other choices too. I still like feel that I've got a fighting chance to make Humphrey's Drug Store succeed. By the way, If you're ever in Heron, South Dakota, do stop in -- we do need the business.

Yes, I am fully convinced that the political future requires not only choices in the political arena, but between Democrats and Republicans

or between any other political party, but in the economic area as well. In short, then, and in summary, a thriving, independent small business community to keep the American economic pot boiling and stirred up. It's the yeast its the ferment, it's the testing ground, it's the pilot-class, it's the new horizen, it's the new frontier of economic life. It provided a choice for enterprising individuals to make an economic contribution to this country.

And I want to thank the people here today for what your' dong for your country, for waht you're doing for the American consumer, for what you're doing for the American economy. You're needed and there's nothing more important than being needed. And you're fulfilling a great need. But let me also say this...big business is here to stay and it's going to get bigger. And rather than runningaround seeing who can figure out the dirtiest anfectives and the meanast words about it, it seems to me that what we ought to be trying to do is to harness the enlightened leadership of big business, working with government, working with the community for the promotion of the economic interest of our nation,for the economic interest for our consumers, and for the expansion of the competitive structure in the

independent business ~~business~~ sector.

Big labor is here too. And it, too, is here to stay. And it has abuses and it has many wonderful aspects. And that same thing can be said about labor and its leadership. I have ~~ix~~ a great responsibility to the community, it has a responsibility to the nation's welfare, it has a responsibility to the consumers, to its membership. Its leadership ought to be working in close partnership with the government of the United States to find answers to problems that we know are here, rather than trying to pretend they don't exist, or forget them or brush them aside.

The challenge of automation, old standards that are no longer applicable to new ways and new production needs. These things have to be faced. The statesmanship of this part of the Twentieth Century is going to require that we take up control, the challenge of the bigness of big business and the bigness of big labor and we don't need to be anti either one. What we need to do is to ask their best leadership help clean house where it needs to be cleaned up. But more importantly to make these institutions ~~responsibilities~~ sive to what our nation needs, to what our people need. And big government there too.

~~And I'll tell you~~

No matter what party the American people put into their government, it's still going to be big. And it'll be getting bigger, because the country is getting bigger, the gross national product is getting bigger, the requirements of government get to be more demanding, the people expect more, and rightly so, Big Government is here, and our job is to make that government more responsible. My job as a Senator is to get the machinery of Congress in step with the Twentieth Century. It's not right now, by the way. The lag in the organizational structure of the Congress is one of the drawbacks of American Government. One of these days, we'll start acting as if we're representative of the people rather than representative of each other in the Congress, and we'll start to reorganize the Congress of the United States to meet ~~with~~ the foreign policy, the military, the security, the economic and the social needs of this nation. And big business and small business ought to be here to stay. Independent business ought to be here to stay. We've got to design the policies to keep it there. And ~~some~~ as I've said early, the most successful method of preventing monopoly has been, and continues to be, the growth of markets. So we must do everything we can for the expansion

of markets, both at home and abroad. One of the things that I'm particularly worried about in the next ten years is what is going to happen to us in these foreign markets. It doesn't need to be bad. I don't know - we're big and we're strong and we're powerful and we may be rich, but we're going to have to learn how to compete on the international front just as we did on the domestic front. But we're going to have to have young men coming into American business who can see beyond the borders of California or beyond the Mississippi river or even the Atlantic or the Pacific oceans. Young men and women that understand the ~~economic~~ economic, the social, the political structures of nations far away and people in far-off places. And we are going to have to go out and build those markets just as we built them in this country..... with credit, with advance-men, with investments, with appetite, with good will, with patience, because the future of small business ties right in with the future of big business and this big American. You can't separate them. Small Business will have a better interest if the world in which ~~we~~ it lives has a more hopeful future. It's all tied in that close.

I've taken this opportunity to expound of few of my thoughts, and I hope they've been worthy of your attention. Those of us who serve in the

Government consider it a privelege, a high duty and a heavy responsibility.

If you feel that we're wrong, tell us. If you feel that something wer're doing

is right, tell us too, will you? A little commendation once in a while

is almost as helpful as constructive critisism. To share with us your thoughts

and bring to ~~us~~ our attention the things which ~~are~~ you are dong with you

feel canhelp us.



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