

EXERPTS FROM REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCAST ADVERTISERS, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, APRIL 3, 1970

The incredible genius of the American system has
been its capacity to solve problems.

Big problems -- small problems.

Local problems -- national problems.

From Valley Forge to Honolulu, we have built rail-
roads, dams, highways and harbors. We have put man on
the moon with an almost casual bravura.

We have tamed nature, if not ourselves.

If money can buy it, or technology solve it, we
will have the answer immediately, if not sooner.

Our awesome abundance is a tribute to the produc-
tivity of American capitalism and the ingenuity of Amer-
ican businessmen and workers. We have no chronic short-
ages, no dreary sameness, no technological lags.

Compared to other countries, we live in plenty.

The vast majority of our businessmen recognize that
it is to their advantage to sell a decent product at a
reasonable price. Our credit transactions are usually
fair. Most services are as represented and most con-
sumers are in a position to exercise choice and discre-
tion in their purchases.

But our system is by no means perfect -- not political-ly, not socially, not economically.

We have come a long way in our nation, but we are yet far from reaching our goals.

~~This year -- removed from active politics the first~~
~~time in twenty-five years --~~ ^{recently} I have had the opportunity to develop some historical perspective. I have taken a hard look both at our achievements, and at the challenges facing the American system of self-government.

I have listened, I have reflected, and I have concluded that there is indeed a crisis in America, a crisis that poses the gravest threat to all of our existing institutions -- to the family and the church, to the school and to the court, and - perhaps most basically - to our representative system of government. It is a crisis of values.

This is by no means the first "critical era" in our history, but it is surely one of the most serious, rivaled perhaps only twice in our history: by the Civil War and by the Great Depression of the 30's.

As in these earlier crises, our challenge today is to find new ways for the free individual to adapt in a social order of increasing complexity; to find constructive and appropriate outlets and channels for the rage and frustration that, uncontrolled, reaps violent harvest in our lands.

By some standards, and compared to many other nations, we are a united people, sharing a common destiny and enjoying the collective rewards of our productive diligence.

Most of the conventional economic indicators suggest that we are a prosperous and healthy nation.

But these indicators can be misleading. They do not deceive us, but they do mislead us.

Despite our remarkable increases in spendable income and the Gross National Product, despite our very substantial achievements in reducing the number of people living below the poverty level and in increasing the number of people who benefit from secondary and higher education in our nation -- despite all this very real progress -- there is abundant evidence of a continuing social turbulence that is as potentially destructive to our democracy as the forces unleashed by the Civil War and the Great Depression.

In ways few of us would have predicted as recently as a decade ago, the most basic assumptions of our society are being challenged. Today, young Americans and old attack the idea of affluence itself.

Our national propensity for materialism is being questioned by serious adults as well as concerned young people. In the wake of this questioning, we must ask if we can once again invest our democratic enterprise with the moral purpose

and the sense of values which have been our pride and our heritage.

Can our nation live with affluence without losing our concern, our democratic ideals, our national goals?

I believe that we can. I believe that we are up to this challenge in America. As a starter, I think each of us needs to undertake a tough re-examination of our personal and our professional role.

These responsibilities fall with particular weight on television broadcasters. We have come to believe that "Truth" is what we see and hear.

How often one hears the statements of the ultimate proof of fact --

"I saw it with my own eyes!" or

"But, I heard it myself!"

The sense of panorama, perspective and context that are part of the living adventure are not so easily incorporated in the media.

The tragedies of Dallas and Montgomery, of My Lai and Hue, the drama of the Civil Rights March of 1963 or the 1969 Peace Moratorium in Washington are easily conveyed with a few feet of film footage.

Important and significant events deserve full reportorial coverage. But what of the story that is more difficult to tell?

The story that balances problems with accomplishments?

There were tragedies and failures in the decade of the sixties.

There was also monumental progress.

Has that story been told?

A few feet of film footage cannot tell it.

In candor we must be grateful to the media for helping us to perceive what we had to do. The media are to be congratulated for rousing the conscience of America to the problems of justice and poverty.

What happened in Selma, what happens in LaMar, is of invaluable aid in focusing the nation's attention on its unfinished agenda.

But as we act in good faith to provide justice --
as we strive to right wrongs --
as we feed and educate our children --
as we build hospitals and provide for the elderly --
let us know what those efforts and sacrifices have wrought.

I have heard much recently about the abuses under Medicare.

I would also like to hear about the millions who are now receiving the medical treatment that was unavailable only five years ago before this legislation was enacted.

Abuses must certainly be corrected -- but if we are to build, we need to know what we have accomplished, as

well as where we have failed.

In the sixties we reduced the number of persons living in poverty from forty to twenty-five million -- a percentage reduction from 20 to 12.5 percent of our population.

In the sixties the income of non-white families rose from 52 percent to 65 percent of the income of white families.

In the sixties the number of young Americans completing high school rose from 61 percent to 75 percent.

In the sixties our college population doubled -- double the rate of increase of any other nation in the world and far exceeding the rate of our population growth.

The American people ought to know those facts, for they tell an important part of the story. They show how the system works. They offer convincing evidence that effort and enterprise do pay off.

They are a basis for faith -- a foundation for action.

Each of us has his own sphere of action. Each of us must work within our given arena.

You, my friends, have a unique and special role to play in our society. As the broadcast advertisers, you are the middle-men between the consumers and the producers of this nation.

You are the vital link in our commercial and economic equation and I think you must invest this role with a

special missionary zeal if you are to serve your society today.

There are two functional areas in which I think it of primary importance for the broadcast advertisers to make a contribution.

First is your role as advocate for your constituents -- and I consider the consumer your constituent for, without the consumer, without the confidence of the American consumer, you have very little value to your client, the producer.

Such a role would require -- among other things -- that you recognize and identify the environmental hazards posed by the manufacture of certain items, the pollutant effects of specific products, the waste disposal systems of many industries, and the non-destructible containers in which your advertised products are dispensed. Recognition is the first step.

Second you must agree, together, on the legitimacy of your concern, and then lobby zealously, as a group, among your clients.

In this fashion, you can improve environmental quality in our nation.

Still in your role as advocate, you must concern yourselves with the quality of the television and radio programming offered by the industries whose products you advertise.

If you are effective in such an endeavor -- and you can be -- you will be able to take pride in improving the cultural quality of this marvelous electronic age.

The second role I should like to see you play is that of catalyst.

I think we need a Communications Coalition in the nation, a constructive media consortium that would include everyone involved - even tangentially - in the communications business.

It would include newscasters - radio and television - and print journalists; advertisers and advertising agencies; network executives, publishers, scriptwriters, the people who buy time, the people who sell time and the people who occupy time; it would include the producers and the directors, the programmers and the packagers of the programs -- everyone in the business.

And when we have this Coalition, I should like it to address the very basic question of the function of communication in a free society.

What kind of a nation do we want -- and what responsibility does the media have in its evolution?

Can television -- with its marvelous ability to inform us -- raise the educational level in our nation, not with early morning TV classrooms, but with thoughtful and sophisticated prime time programming?

Will the big time-buyers support such programming, in much the same fashion as they today buy public service advertising space in such publications as the Saturday Review, Business Week and Aviation Weekly.

Can television programming be refocused in order to help resolve differences between our urban and our rural citizens, between citizens of different races and different economic status -- rather than highlighting our areas of mistrust and disagreement?

Can radio and television, indeed, improve the quality of life for its constituents? I believe it can.

And I believe the people in this audience have the imagination, the energy and the initiative to establish such a Coalition, to harness the great creative energies of your profession on behalf of your nation and your society.

I want to raise one more area of our mutual concern, one in which there is some conflicting self-interest. Clearly it is in your interest to see radio and television time sell regularly at the highest commercial rates.

But I'd like to ask you to consider for a moment your greater concern for the national interest.

I am convinced that we need to remove certain segments of air time from the regular commercial rate structure.

...Our political campaign programming. If we are to have any hope of controlling the skyrocketing costs of political campaigns,

and of allowing candidates adequate exposure to the electorate without tying them to self-interested campaign contributors, we must make this burdensome and costly modern campaign necessity more available to those who run for major public office on a major party ticket.

...Second, we must develop an adequate response mechanism for the party of opposition -- the party out-of-power -- to report to the American public on major national issues -- especially those on which the President has taken to the air waves to present the Administration position. If we don't find a way to offer such an alternative political voice, we will surely see the demise of the two-party system in our nation. Television has become -- and will increasingly be -- too potent a weapon in the hands of an incumbent President and Vice President. We have come a far electronic distance from the Fireside Chat.

And third, I think we can profitably examine the question of commercial sponsorship for network news programming. Should this business of informing people be considered a public service? Such a change might modify the element of rating competition that so often leads to unnecessarily spectacular coverage of certain public events.

These are some of my concerns, and I hope they are

yours as well. I think we all recognize the increasing public demand for fair and representative presentation by television programmers and by broadcast journalists.

While I deplore the atmosphere of repression in which these questions have been raised, I must acknowledge the ethical problems that remain unresolved. If our electronic communications are to serve democracy - rather than enslaving it - members of the industry will have to develop professional and ethical guidelines for themselves.

The electronic and the writing press are indeed the fourth branch of government, but they cannot act as the public relations arm of government.

For both broadcasters and politicians, leadership must go beyond merely giving the people what you have found they want from public opinion and rating surveys.

Surely our knowledge of psychology and the behavioral sciences can carry us further than improved techniques for selling patent medicines, automobiles and cosmetics.

If, minute for minute, greater talent, resources and energy go into the design and production of television commercials than into program content, the viewers perception of the realities of our society will necessarily be distorted.

The responsible, creative advertiser will seek opportunities to inform his viewing audience through the commercial message. He might focus on:

- ...the problem of drug abuse. Parents who become aware of this severe threat to their children will be in better positions to take appropriate action;
- ...ways to improve personal and family health and nutrition;
- ...the dangers of environmental pollution, and proposals for individual action to improve these conditions in our communities, and
- ...our rich and rewarding national mix of nationality, race and religion. I am especially pleased by the increasing use of black youngsters, mothers and fathers in commercial messages. Keep up the good work. I'd like to see more black professionals --doctors, lawyers and teachers as well as black tradesmen and skilled craftsmen playing their role in those messages.

We all share the responsibility for improving the quality of American Life.

The question for all communicators -- for you and me alike -- is what shall we tell people

- about the challenges facing us;
- about the resources that are available, both human and material, to meet these challenges;
- about our achievements;

-- about how we can move ahead and get the job done.

Without doubt, television is the most socially decisive invention since the wheel, but time and man will ultimately determine whether this is a beneficent or a destructive force in our society.

If we are to resolve the crisis of values in our favor, the media professionals -- all you gentlemen and women -- will be essential allies in the struggle.

D R A F T
(March 25, 1970)

REVISED March 30, 1970

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCAST ADVERTISERS

APRIL 3, 1970

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has been its capacity to solve problems.

Big problems -- small problems.

Local problems -- national problems.

From Valley Forge to Honolulu we have built
railroads, dams, highways and harbors. We have put men
on the moon with an almost casual bravura.

We have tamed nature if not ourselves.

If money can buy it or technology solve it,
we can have an answer for you tomorrow morning or at
least the day after.

Our ability to construct solutions to problems
seems to flow almost automatically from their perception.

Therein lies the key to this Nation's will
and energy.

Let the need be made clear, the challenge fully
perceived, and the will of America shall find an answer.

And so we have conquered a continent and built
the greatest social, political and economic system the
world has known.

There may be some chinks in our armor, but America is still the white knight ready to meet the challenge of the two-headed dragon of defeat and despair.

However, it is our perception of the challenge that welds the will to the resources of the nation. Knowledge of this fact imposes awesome responsibilities on those who have the capacity to sound alarms.

Politicians, statesmen, educators, broadcasters and all those whose business it is to communicate with the public must decide whether circumstances demand the cry of "Fire!", a reasoned call to action, or a discursive objective presentation of fact.

Not every spark or puff of smoke is a three alarm fire.

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in poverty from forty to twenty-five million -- a percentage
reduction from 20 to 12.5 percent of our population.

In the sixties the income of non-white families
rose from 52 percent to 65 percent of the income of white
families.

In the sixties disposable per capita income
in constant dollars rose by thirty-one percent.

In the sixties the number of young Americans
completing high school rose from 61 percent to 75 percent.

In the sixties our college population doubled --
double the rate of increase of any other nation in the

world and far exceeding the rate of our population growth.

The American people ought to know those facts, for they tell an important part of the story. They show how the system works. They describe that effort and enterprise do pay off.

They are a basis for faith -- a foundation for action.

They provide courage to meet new challenges.

They provide perspective.

No problem should be glossed over.

No fact should be hidden from view.

But there is the need to build trust in the American Community.

Trust based upon achievement.

Trust essential for progress.

What was begun in the sixties can be greatly accelerated in the seventies.

Truly, the best is yet to come.

I have faith in America because I have lived her past -- the Great Depression and World War II.

In the 1930's and 40's the world smoldered in economic chaos and then writhed in the agony of war, massive tides of repression and totalitarianism, genocide, breadlines, farm foreclosures, bankruptcy and the dry dust of hopelessness were our legacy.

The New Deal -- Unemployment Insurance --
Social Security -- were the first battles in the long
War against Poverty and economic injustice.

The United Nations --

--the Bretton Woods Agreement

--the World Bank and the International
Monetary Fund

--the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

--the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,
and now

--the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks

are stepping stones in the international effort to build
a safer world.

It has not been easy.

It has been hard.

It has been frustrating.

We have seen horror and failure.

But we have held firm.

It has taken work and dedication.

But far more than that -- we have found a
reservoir of faith in ourselves and the conviction that
we could do whatever task we set for ourselves.

It is in that context that I view the Seventies.

If we increase our skill and perfect our tools
for dealing with the domestic economy, increased coord-
ination of monetary and fiscal policy and an improved

and more flexible tax structure will afford stable and certain economic growth.

We have the capacity to maintain full employment and avoid inflation. If we evoke the full partnership of the public and private sectors of our economy, it ~~can~~ will be done.

Increasing awareness of our vast wealth can lead to a full national commitment to eliminate economic deprivation.

We can eliminate poverty and hunger.

With continued vigorous economic growth --

With the cessation of the Vietnam war --

We can by 1974 expect an annual federal fiscal dividend of \$40 billion. That is the amount of new budgetary resources that will become available under the existing tax structure, taking account of projected expansion in federal expenditures.

If the SALT talks are successful -- if we and the Soviet Union can reach agreement on the limitation and reduction of our strategic forces, we can gain an additional \$15 billion of savings in the defense budget, adding substantially to the annual fiscal dividend.

These vast sums can be increased still further with the reallocation of certain expenditures and the rationalization of others.

What we do with this treasure will depend upon our perception of what has to be done.

It will take leadership.

For Media, ~~For~~ advertisers, and politicians, leadership must go beyond merely giving the people what you have found they want from public opinion surveys.

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If, minute for minute, greater talent, resources and energy go into the design and production of television commercials than into program content, the viewers perception of the realities of our society are going to be blurred and diminished.

The creative responsible advertiser will find the opportunity to inform the viewing audience through the commercial message itself

--of the rampant problem of drug abuse. Parents aware of the severe threat to their children presented by drugs will take appropriate action.

--of means for improving personal and family health and nutrition;

--of the dangers of environmental pollution and of actions that each may take to improve these conditions in our communities, and

--of the richness that our society enjoys through the mixture of its nationalities, races and religions.

I am happy to see increased identity in the commercial message of black children, black mothers and fathers.

Keep up the good work. I'd like to see more black professionals -- doctors, lawyers and teachers, as well as black tradesmen and skilled craftsmen playing their role in those messages.

The responsibility for improving the quality of American Life is one that we all share. It will not be accomplished by self-righteous preaching. It can be done through the media in educational, exciting, as well as entertaining programming.

The question for all communicators -- for you and me alike -- is what shall we tell the people

- about the challenges facing us;
- the resources available, both human and material, to meet those challenges;
- about our achievements;
- about how we can get the job done.

What shall we do with an estimated \$50 billion fiscal dividend?

What shall our National Urban Strategy be?

Two years ago I proposed a Marshall Plan for our cities and the establishment of a National Urban Development Bank to provide the resources for our financially starved cities.

How can we establish for all Americans that education and health care are rights, not luxuries?

How shall we cope with crime and expand the horizons of freedom?

How shall we use our new telecommunications technology to improve international relations -- to make the act of education more exciting -- to expand the use and availability of intellectual resources?

How can we achieve in a large, pluralistic and complex society meaningful individual participation in the political process?

Will we understand that despite our enormous resources and great strength that there are limits to our power and influence in international affairs?

Limits even to our responsibilities?

How shall we weave the social fabric of America to fulfill the dream of universal brotherhood?

--There is fear and prejudice in America.

--There is the danger of polarization.

But, I believe that the American people who have been challenged to give their political support and their money --

--to the War on Poverty

--to massive aid for the education of deprived children

--to Job Training Programs

--to increased Welfare and Social Security Benefits, and

--to Medicare and Medicaid and a host of other programs

are ready to do more -- to make the sacrifices and investments that the times and the circumstances demand.

I know that given the facts the American people will see that right is done. And given leadership they will respond.

That's your job and mine -- to see that they
get the fact -- to provide leadership -- to give hope.

Let us build trust;

Let us build faith;

Let us build understanding;

Let us continue the job of building America.

I do not despair

--I hope,

--I dream,

I plan and I work.

I have tasted the alum of defeat and the sweet
nectar of victory.

I see the future for I have known the past.

I see a new glory.

Together, we shall conquer fear and reap the
harvest of goodness.



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