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NEW BILL OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR AMERICA

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

17TH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

UTILITY WORKERS UNION OF

AMERICA, AFL-CIO

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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① year 2000  
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BEFORE PROCEEDING TO DISCUSS WITH YOU SOME OF THE  
RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES THAT ARE AMERICA'S IN THE  
DECADES AND CENTURIES AHEAD, I WISH TO JOIN WITH BOTH  
LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERS IN PAYING MY RESPECTS TO BILL

*Bill Pachler*  
PACHLER, BILL PASSED ON A LITTLE LESS THAN A YEAR AGO,  
BUT THIS IS THE FIRST CHANCE I HAVE HAD TO LET YOU KNOW

I SHARE YOUR SENSE OF LOSS FOR AN OUTSTANDING LABOR  
LEADER, A FINE HUMAN BEING AND A GOOD FRIEND.

RECENTLY, WE IN AMERICA HAVE BEEN SO TERRIBLY CAUGHT  
UP IN THE PRESENT AND RECENT PAST THAT WE SOMETIMES FAIL  
TO LOOK FAR ENOUGH AHEAD TO KEEP FROM REPEATING OUR  
MISTAKES.

AMERICA IN ITS GREATNESS HAS COME MORE AND MORE  
TO HAVE A SENSE OF HISTORY AND THE ROLE THAT THE UNITED  
STATES HAS AND WILL PLAY IN SHAPING THE FUTURE OF MANKIND.  
THIS IS GOOD. THIS IS NECESSARY. WE LEARN FROM THE PAST  
AND WILL REPEAT ITS MISTAKES WITHOUT THIS KNOWLEDGE. BUT  
WHAT AMERICA MUST HAVE AND HAVE RIGHT NOW IS A STRONG  
FEELING FOR THE FUTURE. IT IS FINE TO HAVE LIVED THROUGH  
HISTORY AND TO KNOW THAT YOUR TIMES WERE FILLED WITH  
MOMENTOUS DEEDS AND GREAT MEN. BUT WOULDN'T IT BE FAR  
BETTER TO CREATE RATHER THAN CHRONICLE HISTORY? WOULDN'T  
WE RATHER HAVE A HAND IN SHAPING WHAT WILL COME ABOUT?  
CAN'T WE MAKE THINGS HAPPEN? I THINK WE CAN. I KNOW WE  
MUST.

L BUT BEFORE MAKING HISTORY INSTEAD OF ENDURING IT,  
 WE MUST HAVE THE VISION. WE MUST KNOW WHAT TO DO NOW THAT  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 WILL MAKE THE NEXT CENTURY THE FIRST IN A MILLENNIUM  
 OF PEACE, HUMAN DIGNITY AND HUMAN ASPIRATIONS FULFILLED.

*Technology*

THIS NEW ERA WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ONE OF UNBELIEVABLE  
 TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE. L BY THE YEAR 2000 WE WILL BE SO  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 ENGULFED BY TRANSISTORS, COMPUTERS, HYPERSONIC SPEED,  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 NEW ENERGY SOURCES AND USES THAT THE 1960'S WILL LOOK  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 LIKE THE MIDDLE AGES BY COMPARISON.  
 \_\_\_\_\_

*yr 2000*

WE FORSEE THIS ERA OF UNPARALLELED COMFORT AND ARE  
 WELL ON THE PATH TO ACHIEVING IT. THESE MATERIAL GOALS  
 ARE GOOD IF THEY STAY WITHIN REASON AND DO NOT DESTROY  
 OTHER VALUES THAT ARE ESSENTIAL TO PRESERVING THE HUMAN AND  
 HUMANE QUALITIES OF MAN AND THE NATURE THAT SURROUNDS US.

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HOWEVER, OUR VISION AND THE ERA WE FORSEE, MUST BE FOCUSED

ON THE WHOLE MAN AND ON ALL MANKIND. MORE IMPORTANT

THAN MACHINES ARE MEN. THE MOST COMMON DENOMINATOR

THAT RELATES TO ALL MEN IS THE RIGHTS THEY POSSESS. AND

THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TODAY -- A "NEW BILL

OF RIGHTS FOR AMERICA."

BUT IS IT ENOUGH TODAY TO SPEAK OF JUST PROTECTING

THE RIGHTS OF EVERYMAN? I DON'T THINK SO. IN THIS WORLD

OF SPEED AND INSTANT GLOBAL TRANSITION AND COMMUNICATION,

WE MUST MOVE BEYOND MERELY HELPING MAN RESIST THE INCURSIONS

OF HIS IMMEDIATE ENVIRONMENT. WE MUST ESTABLISH A DOCTRINE

OF POSITIVE ASSERTION OF THESE RIGHTS OF ALL MEN. IN

SHORT, WE MUST HELP MAN BECOME NOT JUST PROTECTED BUT

LIBERATED.

LIFE IS MORE THAN JUST BEING LEFT ALONE -- IT IS MORE  
THAN MERE EXISTENCE. LIBERTY MUST NOT ONLY BE PROCLAIMED  
BUT PRACTICED. HAPPINESS IS TO BE FOUND IN THE FULL AND  
RICH LIFE OF MEN WHO ARE BOTH SECURE AND LIBERATED,

L AND AS YOU CAN SEE, THIS DOCTRINE OF THE LIBERATED

MAN IS FAR FROM NEW -- IT DATES TO AN EARLIER AMERICAN  
ERA OF REVOLUTION. WHAT A TRIBUTE IT WOULD BE TO

AMERICANS ALIVE TODAY, TO AMERICA HERSELF, AND HER

FOUNDERS, IF 1976 FINDS A NATION FULLY COMMITTED TO THE

NEW BILL OF RIGHTS WE ARE DISCUSSING HERE TODAY. WE HAVE

5 YEARS IN WHICH TO PRESENT OURSELVES WITH THIS

COMMITMENT ON OUR 200TH BIRTHDAY AS A FREE NATION.

1976

L THE FIRST OF THE NEW RIGHTS I WISH TO DISCUSS

IS THE RIGHT TO PEACE. THIS RIGHT, THAT DAILY IS BEING

VIOLATED AROUND THE GLOBE, INCLUDES MORE THAN JUST

FREEDOM FROM PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN ACTUAL CONFLICT.

WE IN AMERICA ARE PRESENTLY AT WAR -- A WAR THAT WE MUST

WITHDRAW FROM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. EVERY AMERICAN'S RIGHT

TO PEACE IS BEING INFRINGED UPON BY THIS ACT OF NATIONAL  
VIOLENCE.

L BUT HERE IS WHERE THE RIGHT TO PEACE REALLY CAN

BE PLACED IN FOCUS. VIOLENCE IN ANY COUNTRY, NO MATTER

HOW FAR FROM OUR SHORES, IS A LESSENING OF EVERYONE'S

RIGHT TO PEACE.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM VIOLATES THE RIGHT TO PEACE OF ALL ASIANS, ALL AFRICANS, ALL EUROPEANS -- OF ALL MANKIND.

L ACTUAL PHYSICAL VIOLENCE CERTAINLY VIOLATES MAN'S

RIGHT TO PEACE. BUT WHAT ABOUT OUR RIGHT TO BE FREE

FROM THE THREATS TO PEACE -- FREE FROM FEAR OF NUCLEAR

ANNIHILATION -- FREE FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC

COSTS OF AN EVER-INCREASING ESCALATION OF THE NUCLEAR

ARMS RACE? IS THAT RIGHT ANY LESS REAL? INDEED, I THINK

PERHAPS THE VIOLATION OF THAT RIGHT DRAINS MORE FROM THE POSITIVE RESOLVES OF A NATION, MORE FROM ALL NATIONS, THAN

ANY DIRECT CONFRONTATION EVER HAS. WE LIVE WITH THIS

SPECTRE DAY IN AND DAY OUT. THIS NEW MILLENNIUM MUST

SEE OUR CHILDREN FREE FROM IT. OUT WITH THIS GHOST OF MAN'S

BESTIAL NATURE!

Arms Race

L WE HAVE PUT UP WITH THIS NUCLEAR BOGEYMAN LONG ENOUGH.

LET US END HIS TYRANNY. HIS RULE OF TERROR SHALL BE

REPLACE BY THE RULE OF LAW AND AFFIRMATION OF THE WORLD'S

RIGHT TO PEACE. ~~++~~

L TODAY, THROUGHOUT THIS NATION THERE ARE WELL OVER

*Unemp*  
5,000,000 AMERICANS OUT OF WORK. UNEMPLOYMENT IS 6%.

PRICES CONTINUE TO RISE. WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF A HEARTLESS

AND MANUFACTURED RECESSION. THE PRICE OF COOLING THE

INFLATION HAS BEEN DECREED BY THE ADMINISTRATION. IT

IS ECONOMIC AND PSYCHIC SUFFERING FOR MILLIONS OF NEWLY

UNEMPLOYED AND THEIR FAMILIES.

*Job* I THINK THAT EVERY AMERICAN HAS AN ABSOLUTE RIGHT

TO A JOB.

THAT'S THE NEXT ITEM ON OUR NEW BILL OF RIGHTS. EVERY AMERICAN THAT IS ABLE AND DESIRES TO WORK, SHOULD BE GIVEN THAT OPPORTUNITY.

↳ BUT WHAT DO WE SEE? BUREAUCRATS AND OFFICIALS, SAFE IN THEIR JOBS, DECREERING THAT A CERTAIN NUMBER OF AMERICAN MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN WILL BEAR THE FULL COST OF WHAT ARE OBVIOUSLY FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO SLOW INFLATION THROUGH UNEMPLOYMENT. MANY ECONOMIC EXPERTS STATE CATEGORICALLY THAT INFLATION CANNOT BE STOPPED BY ENDEMIC UNEMPLOYMENT, EXCEPT IN A DEPRESSION SIMILAR TO THE 30'S. I HOPE WE WILL NOT HAVE TO WAIT FOR THAT DISASTER TO PROVE THE ADMINISTRATIONS'S POLICY OF "NO-POLICY" CORRECT.

WHAT THE ECONOMY NEEDS IS STABILIZATION IN WAGES,  
PRICES AND PROFITS -- ACCROSS THE BOARD. AND THIS IS  
NOT ACHIEVED BY MAKING ONE SINGLE UNION THE WHIPPING  
BOY. YOU AND I BOTH KNOW THAT THE INFLATION WE STRUGGLE  
WITH TODAY IS FUELED BY MANY THINGS. THERE ARE THE COSTS  
OF LAND, MONEY, AND EQUIPMENT TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT  
IN BUILDING ANYTHING. AND NOT EVERY CONSTRUCTION WORKER IS  
A MEMBER OF A UNION BUILDING SKYSCRAPERS IN NEW YORK.

IN TODAY'S MANAGED ECONOMY -- WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION  
GIVETH AND THE ADMINISTRATION TAKETH AWAY, IT IS ECONOMICALLY  
AND ETHICALLY INDEFENSIBLE TO EXPECT 5 MILLION WORKERS AND  
THEIR FAMILIES TO BEAR THE WHOLE BURDEN FOR THE 200,000,000  
OF US.

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WE MUST FIND WAYS IN WHICH THIS BURDEN IS BORNE BY  
US ALL. WE MUST SHARE IN THESE ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS.

IT IS BETTER TO MAINTAIN THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF  
THESE MILLIONS IN THE ECONOMY THAN HAVE THEM REDUCED  
TO BARE SUBSISTENCE -- THROUGH REPUBLICAN MISMANAGEMENT  
OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

I REPEAT: EVERY AMERICAN HAS THE RIGHT TO SUITABLE  
EMPLOYMENT. WE MUST WORK TO SEE THAT RIGHT BECOME NOT  
JUST A CLAIM BUT A REALITY.

WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT PEACE AND JOBS FOR EVERY WILLING  
AND ABLE AMERICAN. BUT WHAT GOOD WILL IT DO US TO BE AT PEACE  
WITH EACH OTHER? WHAT GOOD WILL IT DO IF WE ARE GAINFULLY  
AND PRODUCTIVELY EMPLOYED? WHAT GOOD WILL THESE THINGS DO US?—

IF THE AIR ISN'T FIT TO BREATHE -- IF THE WATER IS TOO  
 FOUL TO DRINK -- IF FOOD IS TOO CONTAMINATED TO EAT --  
 IF THE NOISE OF TECHNOLOGY-GONE-MAD DEAFENS US -- IF  
 WE HAVE PAVED OVER THE COUNTRY SO THAT THE ONLY GREEN  
 WE SEE IS THE FACE OF OUR NEIGHBOR?

CLEARLY, YOU AND I -- EACH ONE OF US HAS A RIGHT

*Right to  
wholesome  
environment*

TO A WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT -- CLEAN AIR, CLEAN WATER,  
 PURE FOOD, PEACE AND QUIET, AND THE REFRESHING TOUCH OF  
 UNSPOILED NATURE.

THIS DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE ARE PERMITTED TO MERELY  
 SURVIVE, SEALED HERMETICALLY INTO AN ARTIFICIAL ENVIRONMENT.



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SECURE THAT ALL HIS RIGHTS WILL BE RESPECTED AS HE  
RESPECTS THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS.

THIS RIGHT OF A WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT IS OF  
PARTICULAR CONCERN FOR YOU WHO WORK TO PROVIDE US ALL  
WITH THE UTILITY THREADS THAT MAKE UP THE BASIC FABRIC  
OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY. YOU PROVIDE THE POWER AND WATER  
THAT MOVE AND LUBRICATE THE WHEELS OF AMERICA -- THAT  
LIGHT OUR WAY. YOU REACH INTO EVERY PLACE THROUGHOUT  
THIS LAND. AND FOR THIS REASON, YOU AND YOUR INDUSTRIES  
MUST LOOK INTO THE FUTURE AND PLAN MOST CAREFULLY FOR  
THIS MILLENNIUM THAT STARTS IN THE YEAR 2000. YOU MUST  
PLAN TO PROVIDE WHAT WE NEED IN THE DECADES AHEAD. BUT  
THIS PLANNING MUST BE CAREFULLY BALANCED WITH PROTECTION OF  
THE ENVIRONMENT.

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SPEAKING OF PLANNING HERE, I THINK <sup>IT</sup> IS TRULY REMARKABLE  
THAT THE UNITED STATES IS THE ONLY INDUSTRIALIZED NATION  
IN THE WORLD THAT DOES NOT HAVE SOME SORT OF NATIONAL  
PLANNING AND SETTING OF PRIORITIES. THE CLOSEST AGENCY  
THE UNITED STATES HAS TO A COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING  
BODY IS THE BUREAU OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET. THEY ARE FINE  
PROFESSIONALS, BUT THEY ARE NOT FORECASTERS AND THEY  
ARE NOT PLANNERS. PLANNING SHOULD NOT BE A DIRTY WORD  
IN GOVERNMENT. WE NEED IT AND WE MUST HAVE IT, IF WE ARE  
TO ALLOCATE OUR RESOURCES PROPERLY, CONTROL TECHNOLOGY,  
AND CHANNEL IT PROPERLY AND PROVIDE THIS TOTAL WHOLESOME  
ENVIRONMENT THAT IS EVERY AMERICAN'S RIGHT.

WHAT ABOUT POWER AND ITS GENERATION SOURCES?

BY THE YEAR 1975 WE WILL BE USING 1,400,000,000,000

(ONE TRILLION, FOUR HUNDRED BILLION) KILLOWATT-HOURS

A YEAR. IN JUST THE NEXT TEN YEARS, WE WILL HAVE USED

18,000,000,000,000<sup>Trillion</sup> KILLOWATT-HOURS -- THE SAME AMOUNT

OF ENERGY WE USED IN THE LAST 90 YEARS. BY THE YEAR

2000, IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT OVER 50% OF OUR POWER

WILL COME FROM NUCLEAR POWER-PLANTS. TRANSMISSION GRIDS

PRESENTLY IN USE ARE CLEARLY INADEQUATE -- IN FACT,

THEY ARE DANGEROUSLY, EVEN, FATALLY INADEQUATE.

**L** THIS IS YOUR INDUSTRIES' CHALLENGE--TO PLAN AND  
PROVIDE THESE ESSENTIALS WITHOUT VIOLATING THIS RIGHT TO  
A DECENT ENVIRONMENT.

Health

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EVERY AMERICAN HAS THE RIGHT TO A FEELING OF PHYSICAL

AND MENTAL WELL-BEING. AMERICA MUST BUILD, AND BUILD SOON,

A HEALTH-CARE SYSTEM THAT GUARANTEES US THE RIGHT TO

BE HEALTHY; NOT THE RIGHT TO BE TREATED WHEN WE BECOME

SICK. WE MUST HAVE EFFECTIVE PREVENTIVE MEDICINE IN THIS

COUNTRY, AND WE MUST HAVE THE DOCTORS, AND NURSES, AND

PARAMEDICAL, TECHNICAL AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL TO MAKE THIS

SYSTEM WORK. WE HAVE THE WORLDS GREATEST MEDICAL SCIENTISTS,

THEY DEVELOP MIRACULOUS CURES YEAR AFTER YEAR. I THINK

THAT IT IS ABOUT TIME OUR MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS AND

ADMINISTRATORS GAVE US ALL ACCESS TO THESE MIRACLES.

THE RICHEST NATION ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH SHOULD ALSO

BE THE HEALTHIEST NATION.

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THERE ARE OTHER RIGHTS IN THESE NEW AMENDMENTS  
OF FREEDOM, RIGHTS, AND RESPONSIBILITIES THAT FIT  
NEW TIMES AND NEW CIRCUMSTANCES.

*Justice*

WE HAVE A RIGHT TO JUSTICE -- SO THAT MAN MAY  
STAND BEFORE HIS PEERS AND HIS SOCIETY ON <sup>A</sup> TRULY JUST  
AND EQUAL BASIS WITH HIS NEIGHBOR.

THE RIGHT TO FREE EXPRESSION -- SO THAT MAN MAY  
SPEAK AND BE HEARD, DESPITE THE DECISIONS AND BELIEFS  
OF ANY TEMPORARY COMPACT MAJORITY.

*Edus*

THE RIGHT TO SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE -- SO THAT  
NO MAN MAY REMAIN ANOTHER'S SLAVE THROUGH THE DENIAL OF  
SKILL OR EDUCATION.

THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY -- SO THAT MAN

MAY REMAIN THE MASTER OF THE STATE, RATHER THAN THE STATE  
THE MASTER OF MAN.

THE RIGHT TO A MEANINGFUL ROLE IN SOCIETY -- SO THAT

MAN MAY FOLLOW HIS OWN CADENCE AND LIVE WITH SELF-RESPECT  
AND DIGNITY AMONG HIS FELLOW CITIZENS.

THE RIGHT TO FULL OPPORTUNITY -- SO THAT MAN MAY

LIFT HIMSELF TO THE LIMITS OF HIS ABILITY, NO MATTER WHAT  
THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN, THE TENETS OF HIS RELIGION, OR  
HIS SO-CALLED SOCIAL STATUS.

THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC COMPASSION -- SO THAT MAN MAY

LIVE WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HIS HEALTH, HIS WELL-BEING,  
HIS OLD-AGE AND LONLINESS ARE THE CONCERN OF HIS SOCIETY.

THE RIGHT TO MOVEMENT AND FREE ASSOCIATION -- SO  
THAT MAN MAY FREELY MOVE AND CHOOSE HIS FRIENDS WITHOUT  
COERCIVE RESTRAINTS.

THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY -- SO THAT MAN MAY BE FREE  
OF THE HEAVY HAND OF THE WATCHERS AND LISTENERS.

THE RIGHT TO REST AND RECREATION -- SO THAT THE  
NECESSITY OF LABOR NOT BE PERMITTED TO CRIPPLE HUMAN  
DEVELOPMENT.

THESE ARE THE RIGHTS WE SEEK AND MUST REALIZE.  
WE MUST MAKE THEM REAL FOR OURSELVES AND FOR OTHERS.

BUT WE MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT THE BEST WAY TO  
INSURE THESE RIGHTS FOR OURSELVES IS TO WORK FOR THEIR  
ENJOYMENT BY EVERYONE. EVERY RIGHT WE HAVE DISCUSSED  
TODAY HAS ITS ACCOMPANYING RESPONSIBILITY.

I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THESE RIGHTS ARE NOT  
OUTLINED ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF HELPING THE DISADVANTAGED,  
THE MINORITY AND THE FORGOTTEN. THESE ARE RIGHTS THAT  
WE ALL HAVE IN COMMON. ADEQUATE SECURITY, JOBS, HOUSING,  
HEALTH CARE, ENVIRONMENT, DIGNITY ARE THINGS WE ALL HAVE  
A RIGHT TO. EVERY AMERICAN SHARES THSES RIGHTS AND THE  
RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT THEY ARE ASSURED TO ALL.

WE HAVE THE VISION TO SEEK THESE RIGHTS AND MAKE  
THEM REAL. WE HAVE THE RESOURCES TO ATTAIN AND GUARANTEE  
THESE RIGHTS. AND WE HAVE THE PERSEVERANCE TO CONTINUE  
THE STRUGGLE TO SAFEGUARD THESE RIGHTS FROM ANY AND ALL  
WHO WOULD WEAKEN OR THREATEN THEM OR US.

I HAVE FAITH THAT THE YEAR 2000 WILL DAWN ON A  
WORLD NOT TORN BY DISSENSION NOR DEVESTATED BY NUCLEAR  
CONFLAGRATION. IT MUST AND WILL BE A WORLD IN WHICH  
WISDOM, HUMANENESS, DIGNITY, AND PROGRESS FOR MANKIND  
PREVAIL.

THE GLORY OF PLANET EARTH IS MAN. LET THE GROWTH  
AND EVOLUTION OF MAN CONTINUE, -- AN EVOLUTION OF THE  
SPIRIT OF MAN, EVER DEVISING, EVER SEEKING A HIGHER  
PERFECTION.



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