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REMARKS BY

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GRADUATION BANQUET

A PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

SHOREHAM HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARCH 30, 1973

People

IT IS A DISTINCT PLEASURE FOR ME TO JOIN THIS GRADUATION
BANQUET FOR THE FIFTH CLASS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM FOR
YOUNG AMERICANS PROGRAM FOR 1973.

YOU ARE ENTITLED TO SIT BACK AND ENJOY THIS EVENING
AFTER WHAT I IMAGINE HAS BEEN A DEMANDING WEEK OF INTENSIVE
SEMINARS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND CONGRESSMEN FROM EARLY
MORNING UNTIL LATE IN THE EVENING. YOU COME TO THIS MOMENT
CRAMMED FULL OF IMPRESSIONS THAT YOU MUST TRY TO SORT OUT ON
YOUR WAY BACK HOME IN ORDER TO RELATE EFFECTIVELY TO YOUR
FELLOW STUDENTS AND YOUR COMMUNITIES WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED IN
WASHINGTON. AND I URGE YOU TO APPROACH THIS FINAL CLASSROOM
ASSIGNMENT WITH A HEAVY SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY, FOR YOUR
FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCIPLES, THE METHODS, AND THE

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GOALS UNDER WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS TODAY WILL CARRY GREAT WEIGHT BACK HOME.

✓ YOU HAVE HAD AN UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY TO BE AN EYE-WITNESS OF AMERICA'S POLITICAL POWER AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

✓ AND YOU BEAR A HEAVY OBLIGATION THAT GOES WITH THAT OPPORTUNITY, TO PRESENT A FAIR AND INFORMED JUDGMENT ON WHAT YOU HAVE OBSERVED AND LEARNED.

2 way process

I AM HOPEFUL, HOWEVER, THAT A TWO-WAY PROCESS OF LEARNING HAS OCCURRED DURING YOUR WEEK IN WASHINGTON, FOR IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THOSE WHO REPRESENT AND WHO SERVE OUR PEOPLE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH A WHOLE NEW GENERATION OF VOTERS, WHOSE VIEWS AND CONCERNS DEMAND SERIOUS ATTENTION.

✓ NOW I WANT TO TALK ABOUT WHAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN GOING ON IN THIS MUTUAL LEARNING PROCESS.

IT IS STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT "PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM

IS ENTIRELY EDUCATIONAL AND NON-PARTISAN." BUT ONE OF ITS

PURPOSES IS THAT YOUTH AT THESE CLASSROOMS SHOULD DEVELOP

"A HUMANIZED APPRECIATION OF THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS AND

INFLUENCES THAT SHAPE OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND THE CONDUCT

OF ITS AFFAIRS."

TONIGHT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THIS HUMAN FACTOR -- THE PEOPLE

BEHIND WHAT MIGHT SEEM A FACELESS MASK OF GOVERNMENT, AND THE

PEOPLE WHO EXIST BEHIND THAT NEUTRAL TERM: THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

AND WHAT I INTEND TO ACCOMPLISH THIS EVENING IS TO MAKE

YOU VERY PARTISAN ABOUT THESE PEOPLE. ALL OF US CAN READILY

RECALL THE MEMORABLE LINES FROM LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS,

BUT IT WAS SENATOR DANIEL WEBSTER WHO FIRST SPOKE THOSE IMMORTAL

WORDS:

*MS Webster - not just about Polg
U.S.S.R, China*

✓
✓

"THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT, MADE FOR THE PEOPLE,

MADE BY THE PEOPLE, AND ANSWERABLE TO THE PEOPLE."

"POLITICS IS PEOPLE." THAT PHRASE, USED ALMOST TOO FREQUENTLY

AND TOO EASILY, MUST BE GIVEN A NEW AND URGENT MEANING IN THE

DECADE OF THE SEVENTIES.

Ⓟ Politics

I LEARNED POLITICS AT A YOUNG AGE WITH MY FATHER. I WENT

WITH HIM TO CITY COUNCIL MEETINGS, TO COUNTY DEMOCRATIC

GATHERINGS, AND TO STATE PARTY CONVENTIONS. WHAT I LEARNED

WAS THAT POLITICS OFFERS SOLID OPPORTUNITIES FOR PUBLIC SERVICE.

IT CAN CHALLENGE THE BEST THAT IS IN ~~A MAN~~ ^{you} OR A WOMAN TO WORK

TO HELP MAKE THIS COUNTRY, THIS WORLD, A BETTER PLACE IN WHICH

TO LIVE, TO WORK, AND TO HOPE IN THE FUTURE.

I ENJOY PUBLIC SERVICE. I GIVE IT EVERYTHING I HAVE.

OUR GOVERNMENT FACES TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITIES TODAY AT HOME

AND ABROAD. BUT THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES ARE GOING TO BE CARRIED
OUT BY ORDINARY HUMAN BEINGS IN PUBLIC SERVICE MAKING DECISIONS
ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS, ALWAYS UNDER PRESSURE, AND WITH THE TOOLS
THAT ARE IMMEDIATELY AT HAND. So THE ABILITY OF THESE PEOPLE
TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISIONS, AND TAKE THE RIGHT ACTION WILL BE
STRONGLY AFFECTED BY THE CAPABILITIES, THE KNOWLEDGE, THE
EXPERIENCE THEY ALREADY POSSESS.

h THAT IS WHY I WANT TO POSE SOME CHALLENGES TONIGHT TO YOU
WHO ARE HAVING YOUR FIRST IMPORTANT EXPERIENCE AS SPOKESMEN OF
AND TO OTHER PEOPLE. You MAY BE CONSIDERING MAKING A CAREER OF
PUBLIC SERVICE, AND I WANT TO GIVE YOU EVERY ENCOURAGEMENT TO
PURSUE THIS VOCATION.

h BUT REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THIS DEMOCRACY IS NO

Stevenson

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World Power

BETTER THAN THE PEOPLE IT REPRESENTS. WE SAY THAT THIS NATION IS A WORLD POWER, BUT ARE WE AS A PEOPLE CAPABLE OF EXERCISING THAT POWER IN A WORLD THAT IS UNDERGOING TREMENDOUS CHANGES? HOW MUCH DO WE REALLY KNOW ABOUT THIS WORLD -- ESPECIALLY, ABOUT ITS PEOPLE?

TODAY, WE ARE A WORLD POWER WITH A HALF-WORLD KNOWLEDGE.

WE KNOW A GREAT DEAL ABOUT GREAT BRITAIN AND THE NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE, WITH WHICH WE HAVE HAD LONG-STANDING CULTURAL TIES AND CLOSE ALLIANCES.

BUT WHAT DO WE REALLY KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, ABOUT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE--THE TRUE SOURCE OF THAT NATION'S GREAT POWER? THAT KNOWLEDGE WILL BE VITAL IN THE COMING YEARS, FOR THE UNITED STATES IS NO LONGER THE GREATEST POWER IN THE WORLD -- IT IS JUST ONE OF THEM.

SO WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO LEARN NEW LESSONS. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FOCUS NOT ON THE BLUNT USE OF POWER, BUT ON THE RESTRAINT OF POWER, ITS GRADUAL EMPLOYMENT FOR WHAT WE TRY TO DETERMINE IS THE GREATEST GOOD FOR THE GREATEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

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ONE DECISIVE LESSON OF THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS THAT OCCURRED OVER A DECADE AGO, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN THE FIRST STEPS WERE BEING TAKEN TOWARD FORMING WHAT LATER BECAME ESTABLISHED AS THE PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM, WAS THAT FROM THAT TIME ON -- HAVING BEEN THREATENED WITH DESTRUCTION UNLESS THEY REMOVED THEIR OFFENSIVE MISSILES FROM CUBA -- THE RUSSIANS RESOLVED TO BECOME A NUCLEAR SUPER-POWER. AND FOR YEARS WE HAVE HAD TO STRUGGLE ALONG WITH A PEACE ACHIEVED SOLELY THROUGH A BALANCE OF TERROR.

BUT WHAT DO WE KNOW EVEN TODAY ABOUT THE U.S.S.R. WITH WHOM WE WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO DEVELOP NEW WORKING RELATIONSHIPS? THE REAL POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION IS IN THE STRENGTH, THE CHARACTER, THE DURABILITY OF ITS PEOPLE. IT IS IN ITS

SCIENTIFIC RESOURCES. WHEN IT COMES TO BUILDING THE WEAPONS OF WAR -- THE CUTTING EDGE OF POWER -- THE SOVIET UNION IS SECOND TO NONE.

BUT INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY -- NATIONS RESOLVING CONFLICTING INTERESTS -- IS A PROCESS OF BALANCING STRENGTHS AND NEEDS. THE SOVIET ECONOMY, FOR EXAMPLE, NEXT TO THAT OF THE UNITED STATES, IS A SMALL TOWN GARAGE COMPARED TO GENERAL MOTORS. THERE IS MUCH THAT CAN AND MUST BE DONE IN THIS AREA, THEREFORE, TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

BUT LET US ASSUME YOU ARE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE AND ONE OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES IS UNDERSTANDING THE DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER NATIONS, THE REASONS THEIR ACTIONS HAVE THE POTENTIAL FOR CREATING INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS.

AS I INDICATED AT THE OUTSET, TO A GREAT EXTENT YOU WILL HAVE

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TO FALL BACK ON YOUR OWN RESOURCES -- THE HISTORY YOU HAVE
LEARNED, THE ABILITIES YOU HAVE DEVELOPED TO UNDERSTAND AND TO
ANALYZE WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND YOU, ^{AND} _^ THE PROCESSES YOU HAVE
MASTERED TO GET AT THE FACTS.

HOW WILL YOU ANALYZE ACTIONS BY THE SOVIET UNION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST AND TOWARD ITS COMMUNIST NEIGHBOR, CHINA? DO
YOU KNOW THE FACTS OF HISTORY -- THAT RUSSIA HISTORICALLY HAS
BEEN TRYING TO MOVE INTO THE ARABIC STATES, TO BREAK OUT OF
THE BLACK SEA? DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE FUNDAMENTAL CULTURAL
DIFFERENCES, EVOLVED OVER COUNTLESS GENERATIONS, THAT REALLY
EXPLAIN THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT, THE DIVISION OF THE TWO GREAT
POWERS OF COMMUNISM, WHERE EACH NATION HAS ADAPTED A POLITICAL
SYSTEM TO MORE BASIC, IN-BRED TRADITIONS.

Knowledge gap - Not generation
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LET ME CITE JUST ONE OTHER AREA OF THIS NATION'S KNOWLEDGE GAP ABOUT THE WORLD -- A KNOWLEDGE GAP THAT CAN SERIOUSLY THREATEN THE EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF POWER, LEAVING TO YOUR GENERATION ANOTHER MAJOR INTERNATIONAL TENSION SITUATION TO RESOLVE.

I AM REFERRING TO THE FAR EAST. DID YOU KNOW THAT ONLY TEN COLLEGES IN AMERICA HAD A COURSE ON THE FAR EAST PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II? AND HOW MUCH DID WE KNOW ABOUT VIETNAM WHEN WE SENT IN MILITARY ADVISERS OVER A DECADE AGO, LEADING TO THE LONGEST ARMED CONFLICT IN WHICH THIS NATION HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN ITS ENTIRE HISTORY?

THEN LOOK TO THE FUTURE IN THE FAR EAST. WHICH POWER WILL BE THE FOCAL POINT THERE HAVING A MAJOR IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL

RELATIONS -- CHINA? JAPAN? INDIA?

THE STRENGTH OF EACH OF THESE NATIONS IS ITS PEOPLE, BUT OUR FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF THEM -- THEIR HERITAGE, THE VALUES AND COMMITMENTS THAT ARE CENTRAL IN THEIR LIVES, THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND FUTURE GOALS -- ABOUT ALL OF THIS WE ARE REALLY IGNORANT. AND THERE IS NOTHING MORE DANGEROUS THAN A LITTLE KNOWLEDGE -- ESPECIALLY WHEN IT COMES TO MAKING JUDGMENTS AFFECTING AN ENTIRE NATION.

h So if there is one piece of advice I would give to anyone considering a career in public service, it is that you must have a deep desire to learn and keep learning. You will never really understand the present unless you have a good grasp of history. You will never make the best possible judgment about the truth of a situation if you are content

JUST TO TAKE SOMEONE ELSE'S WORD FOR IT.

L BUT TO THOSE OF YOU WHO MAY BE CONSIDERING PUBLIC SERVICE
AS AN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE, I WOULD ADD AN EXTRA
DIMENSION TO THIS LESSON. THOSE PEOPLE ARE NOT NUMBERS, OR
STATISTICS, OR TYPES -- THEY ARE INDIVIDUAL PERSONS, EACH WITH
HIS CONCERNS, HIS AMBITIONS, HIS VIEWPOINTS, HIS PREJUDICES,
AND HIS NEEDS.

L THE ART OF POLITICS -- AND THE THING THAT MAKES IT ONE OF
THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE FULL-TIME VOCATIONS -- IS TO KNOW THESE
PERSONS; TO UNDERSTAND WHAT MAKES THEM TICK; TO COMMUNICATE WITH
A MAN AT A GENUINE LEVEL BECAUSE YOU'VE BOTH GOT THE SAME MUD
ON YOUR SHOES; AND TO SHARE A HANDCLASP THAT SAYS IT ALL.

L AMERICAN HISTORY BOOKS DON'T REALLY TELL YOU MUCH ABOUT WHAT

WENT INTO THE BUILDING OF THIS COUNTRY. DATES AND PLACES AND
 FAMOUS NAMES ARE ALL FINE. BUT WHAT REALLY EXPLAINS AMERICA IS
 THE CHARACTER OF ITS PEOPLE. AND YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT
 CHARACTER UNTIL YOU KNOW THEIR SACRIFICES, THEIR DETERMINATION,
 THEIR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE.

IT'S NICE TO KNOW THAT ON A CERTAIN DAY LONG AGO A GOLDEN
 SPIKE WAS HAMMERED HOME IN A ^{RAIL} ~~RAILROAD~~ LINKING EAST AND WEST FOR
 THE FIRST TIME. BUT THE MISSING PARAGRAPH WOULD HAVE TOLD YOU
 OF THE THOUSANDS OF BODIES OF CHINESE AND IRISH LABORERS THAT
 LITTERED THAT TRACKAGE!

IT'S IMPORTANT TO KNOW THAT SLAVERY WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR
 IN THE CAUSES OF A MAJOR CIVIL WAR. BUT WHERE WILL YOU FIND A
 HISTORY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MINORITIES IN THE BUILDING OF

AMERICA?

h YOU CAN PROBABLY RECITE A LIST OF GREAT NAMES IN AMERICAN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. BUT IT WAS WORKING PEOPLE WHO BUILT THAT ENTERPRISE; IT IS THEIR LABOR WHICH EXPLAINS A GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT OF OVER A TRILLION DOLLARS.

h WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT YOU CANNOT PREACH A SERMON ABOUT HUMAN DIGNITY UNLESS YOU KNOW WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN PEOPLE'S LIVES.

h YOU WILL NOT REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT IS MEANT BY JUSTICE TEMPERED WITH MERCY, OR PRINCIPLES REFINED BY TOLERANCE UNTIL YOU UNDERSTAND PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES -- THE STRIVING AFTER WHAT, (IN THE END,) IS A BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE.

h THE POINT OF THIS LESSON HAS AN IMMEDIATE RELEVANCE TODAY.

A LOT OF EXPERTS ARE TRYING TO EXPLAIN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE --

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WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THEM; WHAT THEY EXPECT OF THE FUTURE.

L THERE ARE GOOD REASONS FOR CONCERN. WHAT IS THE REAL REASON THAT ONLY 55 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE VOTED IN THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?

L AND BY THE WAY, THE "NEW GENERATION" OF YOUTH SHOWED NO REAL DIFFERENCES FROM THE REST OF THE POPULACE IN ITS VOTING PATTERNS -- A LOW RATE OF PARTICIPATION AT THE VOTING BOOTH, WITH NEITHER POLITICAL PARTY RECEIVING A SUBSTANTIAL ADVANTAGE FROM A SO-CALLED "BLOC VOTE" THAT PROVED TO BE A MYTH.

L YET HOW CAN WE TALK ABOUT AMERICA BEING A GOVERNMENT OF, BY, AND FOR THE PEOPLE WHEN ALMOST HALF THE PEOPLE DID NOT BOTHER TO REGISTER THEIR PREFERENCE AT THE BALLOT BOX? COMPARE THAT WITH VOTER TURNOUTS OF OVER 90 PERCENT IN WEST EUROPEAN NATIONS. WE

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SAY THAT AN INFORMED ELECTORATE IS THE BEDROCK OF DEMOCRACY, BUT
 IN INDIA, WITH A HIGH RATE OF ILLITERACY, OVER 70 PERCENT OF THE
 VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS.

L WE COULD PROBABLY SPEND THE REST OF THE NIGHT LISTING REASONS
 FOR ALL THIS. BUT WE WOULD BE LEFT WITH ONE QUESTION ABOUT WHICH
 WE SHOULD BE DEEPLY CONCERNED. LET ME POSE THAT QUESTION BLUNTLY:

u CAN DEMOCRACY SURVIVE IN PLENTY?

L WAS MARX RIGHT WHEN HE SAID, IN EFFECT, THAT IT IS THE VERY
WEALTH OR SELF-SATISFACTION OF CAPITALISM THAT WILL DO US IN? HAVE
 SO MANY PEOPLE LET THEIR SELF-INTERESTS STAND IN THE WAY OF THEIR
COUNTRY'S INTEREST?

h WHEN I WAS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS I INSTITUTED AN OPEN-DOOR
 POLICY. EVERY SATURDAY AFTERNOON ANY CITIZEN WHO HAD A COMPLAINT

COULD WALK RIGHT IN AND TAKE IT STRAIGHT TO THE MAYOR HIMSELF.

BUT I HAD ONE QUESTION THAT USUALLY CUT THOSE COMPLAINTS SHORT.

I DIDN'T CARE ABOUT THE MAN'S POLITICS, BUT I JUST ASKED HIM

STRAIGHT OUT: "DID YOU VOTE?" THE MESSAGE WAS SIMPLE: "I HAVE

A RESPONSIBILITY TO YOU AS A RESIDENT AND A TAYPAYER. BUT YOU

HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN THE FREE CHOICE OF THE ELECTORATE,

THAT HAPPENED TO PUT ME HERE." AND HE USUALLY GOT THE MESSAGE.

h THERE IS ANOTHER REASON WHY THOSE OF US IN PUBLIC SERVICE
MUST FOCUS OUR ATTENTION ~~ON~~ ON PEOPLE.

h WE ARE GOING THROUGH A REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. THERE IS A
TREMENDOUS MIGRATION OF PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS

UNEQUALLED IN ALL OF RECORDED HISTORY. I AM TALKING ABOUT

A MIGRATION FROM THE FARM TO THE CITY, ABOUT DESERTED AREAS IN

THE MID WEST AND INCREASINGLY DENSE POPULATIONS ON THE EAST AND WEST COASTS.

I AM TALKING ABOUT RURAL AND SMALL TOWN PEOPLE FINDING THEMSELVES ALIENS IN A FOREIGN LAND WHEN THEY ENTER URBAN AREAS WITH A TOTALLY DIFFERENT CULTURE. AS PEOPLE MIGRATE, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT THEY ARE GOING THROUGH TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES.

BUT EVEN MORE THAN THIS, WE SEEM TO HAVE GOTTEN EVERYTHING UPSIDE DOWN IN THIS NATION ON WHERE PEOPLE LIVE AND WORK, AND WE'RE BEGINNING TO DISCOVER THAT IT IS HAVING AN EXTENSIVE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT AS WELL AS PUTTING A TREMENDOUS STRAIN ON OUR PUBLIC FACILITIES AND RESOURCES.

Planning

WE HAVE SIMPLY GOT TO GET HOLD OF THIS SITUATION IN THE DECADE OF THE SEVENTIES AND BEGIN TO PLAN FOR BALANCED NATIONAL

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

WE HAVE TO RESTORE TO PEOPLE A FREE CHOICE ON WHERE THEY WILL
LIVE AND WORK. WE HAVE TO RESTORE A DECENT AND SATISFYING LIVING
ENVIRONMENT. AND WE HAVE TO RESTORE A SENSE OF COMMUNITY.

LOOK AT THE SITUATION WE'VE CREATED FOR OURSELVES. THE
FACTORIES ARE MOVING OUT INTO THE COUNTRY, BUT THE WORKERS ARE
IN THE CENTRAL CITY. ^{Lawyer, Doctor} THE EXECUTIVES, AND BANKERS LIVE IN THE
SUBURBS, BUT THEIR JOBS ARE IN THE CENTRAL CITY. AND ALL OF
THEM HAVE TO COMMUTE -- AND THAT OFTEN MEANS 45 MINUTES OF
BUMPER-TO-BUMPER TRAFFIC -- ONE OF THE BEST TENSION-BUILDERS THAT
MANKIND HAS EVER CREATED. WHAT AN ACCOMPLISHMENT!

AMERICANS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY SEPARATING THEMSELVES
FROM THE THINGS THAT MAKE FOR COMMUNITY. INSTEAD OF SERVICES

CLOSE AT HAND AND WITH WHICH THEY CAN IDENTIFY, THEY HAVE TO

PUT UP WITH A LONG DRIVE TO AN ANONYMOUS SHOPPING CENTER OR TO A

CROWDED MEDICAL CLINIC.

h THEY CAN'T FIND LOCAL PARKS AND RECREATION AREAS -- THEY'RE

EVEN LUCKY TO SQUEEZE INTO A NATIONAL PARK AFTER SEVERAL DAYS

OF TIRING TRAVEL. DID YOU KNOW THAT LONDON HAS ~~THREE~~²⁴ TIMES

AS MUCH PARK SPACE AS NEW YORK? THEN CONSIDER THE FACT THAT

LONDON HAS A MUCH LOWER RATE OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE.

h NOW THE LAST EXAMPLE I WANT TO GIVE OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE

IN PUBLIC SERVICE RIGHT NOW OF GIVING THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO

PEOPLE, IS THE DOCUMENT THAT HAS JUST BEEN PRESENTED TO CONGRESS --

THE FEDERAL BUDGET FOR FISCAL ¹⁹⁷⁴~~1974~~.

h I KNOW THERE IS A GOOD MIXTURE HERE OF INTELLIGENT DEMOCRATS

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AND MISGUIDED REPUBLICANS, SO I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO BE NON-PARTISAN IN MY REMARKS. BUT I ALSO HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY AS A UNITED STATES SENATOR TO EXPRESS MY DEEP CONCERN OVER A BUDGET THAT REFLECTS A BASIC DECISION TO REDUCE THE PRIORITY OF SERVING THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE.

WE'VE HEARD A GREAT DEAL ABOUT ACHIEVING FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS BUDGET, AND I YIELD TO NO MAN IN MY ADHERENCE TO THAT PRINCIPLE. BUT LET ME JUST POINT OUT THAT CONGRESS HAS CUT BUDGET REQUESTS IN EVERY YEAR OF THIS ADMINISTRATION -- LAST YEAR REDUCING THEM BY SOME \$5 BILLION IN DEFENSE ALONE. BY CONTRAST, THIS FISCAL '74 BUDGET PROJECTS A ^{#12.7} \$~~12.7~~ 2.7 BILLION DEFICIT.

BUT AFTER ALL THE HAGGLING OVER WHO IS REALLY THE SPEND-THRIFT, ONE HARSH FACT COMES THROUGH SHARP AND CLEAR: IN THIS

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BUDGET, SOME ^{#10} \$~~4~~0 BILLION WILL BE SLICED FROM SOCIAL PROGRAMS

DESIGNED TO HELP THE POOR AND THE UNDERPRIVILEGED OVERCOME

BARRIERS TO MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION AND HOPE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

CUTBACKS

IT IS A BUDGET OF ~~CUTABKS~~ IN HEALTH, IN EDUCATION, IN MANPOWER,
IN HOUSING, IN THE REHABILITATION OF THE HANDICAPPED, IN THE WAR
ON POVERTY.

IT IS A BUDGET THAT NEGLECTS THE PEOPLE.

IT IS A BUDGET OF WHAT I WOULD FRANKLY CALL, "DOMESTIC
DISENGAGEMENT," *retreat* THE COUNTERPART OF OUR DISENGAGEMENT FROM
VIETNAM.

IT IS A BUDGET THAT IS DEAD WRONG IN ITS PRIORITIES, AND
THIS IS ONE SENATOR WHO WON'T STAND FOR IT.

NOW THE ADMINISTRATION SAYS THAT WE CAN'T PAY FOR THESE

PEOPLE-CENTERED PROGRAMS WITHOUT RAISING TAXES. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT DECEPTION WILL LAST VERY LONG.

FIRST, BY CUTTING BACK FEDERAL HELP TO STATES AND CITIES, ALL THAT IS BEING ACCOMPLISHED IS A TRANSFER OF THE TAX BURDEN, WHILE THE SAME TAXPAYER FOOTS THE BILL. THERE ARE PUBLIC SERVICES AND PROGRAMS THAT SIMPLY CANNOT BE CUT BACK WITHOUT DOING VIOLENCE BOTH TO HUMAN DECENCY AND TO ECONOMIC GOOD SENSE. AND THAT MEANS THAT STATE TAXES AND LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES WILL HAVE TO PICK UP THE SLACK.

BUT SECOND, THIS BUDGET DOES NOT CONTAIN A WORD ABOUT TAX REFORM. AND IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM, COUPLED WITH LONG-OVERDUE REDUCTIONS IN NON-ESSENTIAL DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, THAT CAN PRODUCE THE ADDED REVENUES FOR PEOPLE CENTERED PROGRAMS.

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IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM THAT WILL AT LAST MAKE IT A REALITY THAT EVERY AMERICAN PAYS HIS FAIR SHARE. IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM THAT WILL SAY TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS WAGE EARNER THAT SOMEONE ELSE IS GOING TO SHARE THE BURDEN HE HAS BORNE FOR SO LONG OF PAYING FOR OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES.

AND IT IS GENUINE TAX REFORM THAT CAN PLACE A SURCHARGE ON PREFERRED INCOME -- THAT CATEGORY OF PRIVATE WEALTH THAT IS GENERALLY OUT OF THE REACH OF THE WORKING FAMILIES OF AMERICA.

I BELIEVE THE TIME HAS COME TO DRAFT A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS:

- THE RIGHT TO DECENT LIVING CONDITIONS;
- THE RIGHT TO QUALITY EDUCATION FOR ALL OUR CHILDREN;
- THE RIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS TO GOOD HEALTH CARE, AT

LOW COST, AND IMMEDIATELY ACCESSIBLE;

-- THE RIGHT TO A MEANINGFUL LIFE, FREE FROM PROVETY;

-- THE RIGHT TO FULL AND EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW;

-- THE RIGHT OF EVERYONE WHO NEEDS AND WANTS A JOB TO

PRODUCTIVE AND GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT; AND TO ADVANCE IN THAT

JOB ON THE BASIS OF MERIT ALONE;

-- THE RIGHT TO A CLEAN AND DECENT NEIGHBORHOOD;

-- THE RIGHT TO LIFE FREE FROM VIOLENCE OR TERROR;

-- THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY, FREE FROM OFFICIAL OR PRIVATE

INVASION;

-- THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM HUNGER;

-- AND THE RIGHT TO A CLEAN AND WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT,

WITH PROTECTION OF RESOURCES FOR RECREATION AND LEISURE.

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THESE RIGHTS BELONG TO ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- YET FOR TOO MANY, SUCH RIGHTS ARE MYTHS. WITHOUT THESE VITAL RIGHTS, WITHOUT THESE RIGHTS BEING APPLICABLE AND ACCEPTED, THERE ARE NO REAL CIVIL RIGHTS.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE LAWS ESTABLISHING SUCH RIGHTS.

W. A. R. W. H.
THERE WERE LAWS UNDER HITLER AND STALIN. IT IS THE PRACTICE IN WHICH THESE RIGHTS ARE GENUINELY AFFIRMED THAT COUNTS.

THE TALK OF HUMAN DIGNITY ON SUNDAY MUST NOT BE FOLLOWED BY THE PRACTICE OF HUMAN DEGRADATION ON MONDAY. WE BETRAY OUR NATION'S PURPOSE WHEN WE ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF A RUN-DOWN SCHOOL IN THE CENTRAL CITY OR IN A POVERTY-STRICKEN RURAL AREA, WHEN WE DO NOTHING ABOUT THE MALNUTRITION THAT AFFLICTS CHILDREN AT ALL INCOME LEVELS, OR WHEN WE ALLOW A FAMILY TO LIVE IN A RAT-INFESTED TENEMENT, AND FORCE THAT FAMILY TO GO MILES TO FIND

A DOCTOR.

WHAT I AM SUGGESTING IS THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO ESTABLISH
A NEW CIVIL RIGHTS COALITION -- A BROTHERHOOD OF MEN AND WOMEN
WORKING TOGETHER TO ESTABLISH AS THE HIGHEST NATIONAL PRIORITY
THE MEETING OF THE CRITICAL NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE.

NOW, I HAVE ONLY MENTIONED A FEW OF THE ITEMS ON THE
PRIORITY WORK AGENDA OF CONGRESS. I MENTION THEM TO POINT OUT
THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES THAT A UNITED STATES SENATOR OR
REPRESENTATIVE MUST BE READY TO ASSUME, THE HARD DECISIONS HE
IS GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE, THE EXTENSIVE RESOURCES HE WILL HAVE
TO CALL UPON, IF HE IS TO FULFILL HIS PUBLIC SERVICE TO THE
PEOPLE.

ABOVE ALL, HOWEVER, HE MUST CONSTANTLY REACH FOR AS MUCH

KNOWLEDGE AS HE CAN ABSORB. HE MUST MAINTAIN THE BROADEST AND MOST ALERT PERSPECTIVE POSSIBLE ABOUT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AMERICA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

BUT IT IS YOU WHO HAVE THE ADVANTAGE HERE. YOU ARE AT AN AGE OF LIFE WHEN YOU CAN LEARN MORE AND LEARN IT BETTER. IN CARRYING OUT YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND IN DEVELOPING INVALUABLE INSIGHTS IN YOUR FIRST-HAND CONTACTS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON, YOU ARE GAINING A VANTAGE POINT, A BROADENED PERSPECTIVE, DENIED TO MANY OTHERS.

I URGE YOU TO SEIZE HOLD OF THESE OPPORTUNITIES AND MAKE THE MOST OF THEM -- YOU OWE IT TO YOURSELF; YOU OWE IT TO OTHER PEOPLE; AND YOU OWE IT TO YOUR COUNTRY.



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