

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

EXCHANGE, INCORPORATED

Minneapolis, Minnesota

April 11, 1975

I am delighted to be with you tonight to discuss the economic crisis in our nation today and its impact on the black community.

It is a special privilege to address you today as members of Exchange, Incorporated. The concept underlying your organization is an important and creative one. It fits ideally the unique nature of our state's minority community.

While your organization is relatively a new one, your leadership and membership is composed of many old friends and allies. Many of us in this room tonight have worked together, in a variety of organizations, for a generation.

It has been one of the privileges of my political life to have had the chance to be associated with such dedicated people in the cause of equal justice for all Americans.

We have made progress in our effort to promote human rights and fulfill our democratic ideals. But progress so far has been little more than a good beginning toward our common dream of a better America for all its people.

~~The danger today is that many will become~~

The danger today is that many will become over-confident and relax, rather than draw strength from what we have accomplished and push on. This nation cannot afford to lessen its resolve to root out prejudice and discrimination wherever they exist.

At a time when the American people have become skeptical about the integrity and commitment of their government to meet the needs of the people, we must redouble our efforts to insure full equality of opportunity and treatment. We can do no less.

I do not accept the proposition that two centuries of racial injustice have somehow vanished from this land. Only the blind and the indifferent would accept such an obviously false conclusion.

America still has an unfinished agenda of human rights. And at the top of this agenda is the right to a meaningful life free from poverty and hunger.

We must shift the battlefield for equal opportunity in America from the courts to the marketplace.

Economic justice must now be the major goal of a revitalized civil rights movement for the 1970's and beyond.

And this must be a civil rights movement for all Americans. Poverty knows no racial bounds. Whether white, black, brown or red, the children of urban slums and rural blight have a right to escape the poverty which every day, every week, every month and every passing year will deprive them of their basic civil rights -- the right to develop to their full potential and the right to share in the abundance of America.

We now must identify the struggle for civil rights as an all-embracing struggle for the rights and privileges and duties of all Americans. We need allies and friends.

In the political arena there are not enough blacks, Chicanos, Indians and Puerto Ricans to form an electoral majority.

So we must create a climate of shared interests between the needs, the hopes and the fears of the minorities and the needs, the hopes and fears of the majority.

This is our challenge.

It is also our best hope.

In simple language this means, for example, identifying the cause of civil rights with giving every child the chance to obtain the best possible education.

This means identifying civil rights with the right of every American to good health care. There are millions of Americans, white as well as black or brown or red, who are either victims of inadequate health care or unable to pay for what care is available.

We must find the mutual needs and wants, the common hopes and fears, and use them to bind together a coalition of people representing the hopes and the needs of the majority.

Today we are enduring a period of economic hardship which has not been equalled since the days of the soup kitchens and the boarded-up banks of the Great Depression.

We are now in the grips of a recession which has brought us too many tragic reminders of the 1930's. And remember this; a recession for white Americans is a depression for black Americans.

Just look at the figures:

-- Unemployment for black adults now is nearly 14.2 percent compared to 8 percent for whites.

-- In the last year unemployment among black men and women has increased by 55 percent to reach a tragic total of 1.5 million people.

-- And joblessness among black teenagers now is reaching the alarming rate of nearly 42 percent.

These are the so-called "official" figures.

But they don't measure the true economic costs of this recession -- the broken homes, the lost educational opportunities, the hunger, and pain of it all. These official rates don't take account of the millions of people who have become so discouraged that they have stopped looking for a job.

The recession of 1975 is about to wipe out many of the economic gains black and other minority Americans made in the 1960's. We must not let this happen.

It is economically, morally, and politically unacceptable.

The struggle for economic justice is tough when times are good, but when they are bad, special efforts have to be made.

Unless we act soon, millions of poor blacks and poor whites will suffer even more poverty. These people will spend the rest of the decade trying to recover what they will lose in this "Great Recession."

The policy of "last hired -- first fired" is applied without hesitation in times of economic trouble.

Moreover, minority businesses close their doors at a frightful pace because they can't compete with more established firms for scarce capital and raw materials.

Minority graduate students, being prepared to provide the critical professional leadership needed in the fields of engineering, education, law, architecture, medicine, social work and journalism, are forced to put off their training as recession dries up the sources of assistance.

We all know the terribly discriminatory impact of inflation and recession on the economically weak and unorganized. To be poor, or black, or elderly in America today means great deprivation and personal suffering.

We cannot continue to avoid our responsibility to help these people meet the current crisis.

We have not passively accepted policies that would have blatantly cut back on the food stamp, medicare, and other people programs that are so desperately needed.

We must also act to prevent the destruction of the momentum toward economic justice that has been building up over the last two decades. And, let us be honest with ourselves; these are the staggering costs of policies that purposely create recession in order to bring down inflation.

I am not here to give you a speech on economics. But I want to tell you that the federal government can take action which will begin to turn the tide against recession.

First, we must quickly implement the program of tax relief which Congress has just enacted. While I would have preferred enactment of my \$30 billion tax cut proposal, the bill we passed can get the economy moving again.

Second, we must launch a genuine full employment program that will guarantee a job at decent wages for every able-bodied American who can work.

This is not a pipe dream. A nation which spends \$100 billion each year in its military budget can provide every American a good job.

And, how much more expensive is it to have 8 or 9 million Americans out of work?

At the same time, we must create at least 1 million public service jobs -- now. In addition, when unemployment is at 8 percent, a direct federal jobs program is also a must. Such a program would provide 500,000 jobs at 8 percent unemployment and one-half million more each time unemployment rises a full percentage point.

Third, the time has come for the government to recognize that its cities are becoming the shame of a great nation. Many are becoming empty shells where the poor live and the rich and middle class work and then leave. The vast treasure in American banks now flows to the suburbs, to the speculative land developers, the multinational corporations and to finance speculation in stocks, commodities, gold and silver.

We need resources in our cities. Not only to build skyscrapers, but to construct low cost housing. Not only to build giant convention halls, but to improve our schools and hospitals. Not only to build expressways, but to pave and clean our streets and provide efficient transportation systems.

If the private banks won't help our cities, then the Congress must establish a National Domestic Development Bank that will. Such a public bank would provide long-term, low-interest loans to stimulate economic development.

Fourth, the housing sector must be revived by a general loosening of the monetary reins and the release of still-impounded housing funds. Nothing can be more inflationary in the long run, and recessionary and destructive in the short run, than the current policy of induced "depression" in this key industry.

I have introduced legislation to establish a Federal Homeowners Bank. This institution would make mortgage money available to home buyers at never more than 6 percent. It is crucial to meeting our nation's housing needs and to assuring some stability in this volatile industry.

Fifth, the experts predict that when recovery begins, and no one is taking any bets on when that will be, it will be a long and hard economic period with high levels of unemployment.

To deal with this prospect, a comprehensive program must be devised to preserve economic gains made by minorities in the past two decades.

This is an urgent requirement.

It must include an "energized" program of "survival" loans to minority business. It must include an imaginative proposal for assuring that equal opportunity gains of minority workers are not destroyed in the recession. And it must provide expanded support for minority educational institutions and students at a time when traditional sources of support are stretched to the breaking point.

We must redouble our efforts to sustain the momentum for equal opportunity and economic justice. If we fail to do so, the dream we share of America the "promised land," will be greeted with growing cynicism by a new generation of frustrated and angered young Americans.

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Carl Eller
Alan Page
Jim Marshall

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

EXCHANGE, INCORPORATED

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

APRIL 11, 1975

Earl Craig

Rew Battle

Larry Davis

- Carl Eller
- Cecil Neumaier
- Tom Tipton

John Evans Greigby
Urban Coalition

Alfred Babington Johnson

↳ I AM DELIGHTED TO BE WITH YOU TONIGHT TO DISCUSS THE
ECONOMIC CRISIS IN OUR NATION TODAY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE
BLACK COMMUNITY,

↳ IT IS A SPECIAL PRIVILEGE TO ADDRESS YOU TODAY AS MEMBERS
OF EXCHANGE, INCORPORATED. ↳ THE CONCEPT UNDERLYING YOUR
ORGANIZATION IS AN IMPORTANT AND CREATIVE ONE. ↳ IT FITS
IDEALLY THE UNIQUE NATURE OF OUR STATE'S MINORITY COMMUNITY.

↳ WHILE YOUR ORGANIZATION IS ^ARELATIVELY NEW ONE, YOUR
LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP IS COMPOSED OF MANY OLD FRIENDS AND
ALLIES. MANY OF US IN THIS ROOM TONIGHT HAVE WORKED TOGETHER,
IN A VARIETY OF ORGANIZATIONS, FOR A GENERATION or more

IT HAS BEEN ONE OF THE PRIVILEGES OF MY POLITICAL LIFE
TO HAVE HAD THE CHANCE TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH SUCH DEDICATED
PEOPLE IN THE CAUSE OF ^{of Equal Opportunity} EQUAL JUSTICE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN OUR EFFORT TO PROMOTE HUMAN
RIGHTS AND FULFILL OUR DEMOCRATIC IDEALS BUT, PROGRESS SO
FAR HAS BEEN LITTLE MORE THAN A GOOD BEGINNING TOWARD OUR
COMMON DREAM OF A BETTER AMERICA FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE.

THE DANGER TODAY IS THAT MANY WILL BECOME OVER-CONFIDENT
AND RELAX, RATHER THAN DRAW STRENGTH FROM WHAT WE HAVE
ACCOMPLISHED AND PUSH ON. THIS NATION CANNOT AFFORD TO LESSEN
ITS RESOLVE TO ROOT OUT PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION WHEREVER
THEY EXIST.

AT A TIME WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BECOME SKEPTICAL
ABOUT THE INTEGRITY AND COMMITMENT OF THEIR GOVERNMENT TO
MEET THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE, WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS
TO INSURE FULL EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT WE CAN
DO NO LESS.

~~X~~ I DO NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT TWO CENTURIES OF
RACIAL INJUSTICE HAVE SOMEHOW VANISHED FROM THIS LAND.

~~X~~ ONLY THE BLIND AND THE INDIFFERENT WOULD ACCEPT SUCH AN
OBVIOUSLY FALSE CONCLUSION.

~~X~~ AMERICA STILL HAS AN UNFINISHED AGENDA OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
AND AT THE TOP OF THIS AGENDA IS THE RIGHT TO A MEANINGFUL
LIFE FREE FROM POVERTY AND HUNGER.

L WE MUST SHIFT THE BATTLEFIELD FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN
AMERICA FROM THE COURTS TO THE MARKETPLACE.

L ECONOMIC JUSTICE MUST NOW BE THE MAJOR GOAL OF A REVITALIZED
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT FOR THE 1970'S AND BEYOND.

L AND THIS MUST BE A CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT FOR ALL AMERICANS.

L POVERTY KNOWS NO RACIAL BOUNDS. WHETHER WHITE, BLACK, BROWN
OR RED, THE CHILDREN OF URBAN SLUMS AND RURAL BLIGHT HAVE A
RIGHT TO ESCAPE THE POVERTY WHICH EVERY DAY, EVERY WEEK,
EVERY MONTH AND EVERY PASSING YEAR WILL DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR
BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS -- THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP TO THEIR FULL
POTENTIAL AND THE RIGHT TO SHARE IN THE ABUNDANCE OF AMERICA.

WE ~~NOW~~ MUST IDENTIFY THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AS AN

ALL-EMBRACING STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AND

DUTIES OF ALL AMERICANS. WE NEED ALLIES AND FRIENDS.!

IN THE POLITICAL ARENA THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH BLACKS,

CHICANOS, INDIANS AND PUERTO RICANS TO FORM AN ELECTORAL

MAJORITY.

SO WE MUST CREATE A CLIMATE OF SHARED INTERESTS BETWEEN

THE NEEDS, THE HOPES AND THE FEARS OF THE MINORITIES AND THE

NEEDS, THE HOPES AND FEARS OF THE MAJORITY.

THIS IS OUR CHALLENGE, *our opportunity*!

IT IS ALSO OUR BEST HOPE.

You have been doing this!

L IN SIMPLE LANGUAGE THIS MEANS, ~~FOR EXAMPLE~~, IDENTIFYING
 THE CAUSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS WITH GIVING EVERY CHILD THE CHANCE
 TO OBTAIN THE BEST POSSIBLE EDUCATION. - Lunch too

L THIS MEANS IDENTIFYING CIVIL RIGHTS WITH THE RIGHT OF EVERY
 AMERICAN TO GOOD HEALTH CARE. / THERE ARE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS,
 WHITE AS WELL AS BLACK OR BROWN OR RED, WHO ARE EITHER
 VICTIMS OF INADEQUATE HEALTH CARE OR UNABLE TO PAY FOR WHAT
 CARE IS AVAILABLE. - Housing
Small Business

L WE MUST FIND THE MUTUAL NEEDS AND WANTS, THE COMMON
 HOPES AND FEARS, AND USE THEM TO BIND TOGETHER A COALITION OF
 PEOPLE REPRESENTING THE HOPES AND THE NEEDS OF THE MAJORITY.

Economy

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↳ TODAY WE ARE ENDURING A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP WHICH

HAS NOT BEEN EQUALLED SINCE THE DAYS OF THE SOUP KITCHENS AND

THE BOARDED-UP BANKS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

Deficit -
GDP

↳ WE ARE NOW IN THE GRIPS OF A RECESSION WHICH HAS BROUGHT

US TOO MANY TRAGIC REMINDERS OF THE 1930's, AND REMEMBER THIS:

A RECESSION FOR WHITE AMERICANS IS A DEPRESSION FOR BLACK

AMERICANS.

↳ JUST LOOK AT THE FIGURES:

-- UNEMPLOYMENT FOR BLACKS ¹⁵ ~~15~~ NOW ~~15~~ NEARLY 14.2 PERCENT

COMPARED TO 8 PERCENT FOR WHITES.

-- IN THE LAST YEAR UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG BLACK MEN AND WOMEN
HAS INCREASED BY 55 PERCENT TO REACH A TRAGIC TOTAL OF 1.5
MILLION PEOPLE,

-- AND JOBLESSNESS AMONG BLACK TEENAGERS ^{HAS} NOW REACH^{ED}

THE ALARMING RATE OF NEARLY 42 PERCENT.

↳ THESE ARE THE SO-CALLED "OFFICIAL" FIGURES.

↳ BUT THEY DON'T MEASURE THE TRUE ECONOMIC COSTS OF THIS

RECESSION -- THE BROKEN HOMES, THE LOST EDUCATIONAL OPPOR-

TUNITIES, THE HUNGER, AND PAIN OF IT ALL. THESE OFFICIAL

RATES DON'T TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE

BECOME SO DISCOURAGED THAT THEY HAVE STOPPED LOOKING FOR A JOB.

THE RECESSION OF 1975 IS ABOUT TO WIPE OUT MANY OF THE
ECONOMIC GAINS BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY AMERICANS MADE IN THE
1960's. WE MUST NOT LET THIS HAPPEN.

IT IS ECONOMICALLY, MORALLY, AND POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE.

THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE IS TOUGH WHEN TIMES ARE
GOOD, BUT WHEN THEY ARE BAD, SPECIAL EFFORTS HAVE TO BE MADE.

UNLESS WE ACT SOON, MILLIONS OF POOR BLACKS AND POOR WHITES
WILL SUFFER EVEN MORE POVERTY. THESE PEOPLE WILL SPEND THE

REST OF THE DECADE TRYING TO RECOVER WHAT THEY WILL LOSE IN
THIS "GREAT RECESSION."

THE POLICY OF "LAST HIRED -- FIRST FIRED" IS APPLIED
WITHOUT HESITATION IN TIMES OF ECONOMIC TROUBLE.

MOREOVER, MINORITY BUSINESSES CLOSE THEIR DOORS AT A
FRIGHTFUL PACE BECAUSE THEY CAN'T COMPETE WITH MORE ESTABLISHED
FIRMS FOR SCARCE CAPITAL AND RAW MATERIALS.
Hi Interest

MINORITY GRADUATE STUDENTS, BEING PREPARED TO PROVIDE
THE CRITICAL PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP NEEDED IN THE FIELDS
OF ENGINEERING, EDUCATION, LAW, ARCHITECTURE, MEDICINE,
SOCIAL WORK AND JOURNALISM, ARE FORCED TO PUT OFF THEIR
TRAINING AS RECESSION DRIES UP THE SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE,
So
Ugh!

WE ALL KNOW THE TERRIBLY DISCRIMINATORY IMPACT OF
INFLATION AND RECESSION ON THE ECONOMICALLY WEAK AND
UNORGANIZED. TO BE POOR, OR BLACK, OR ELDERLY IN AMERICA
TODAY MEANS GREAT DEPRIVATION AND PERSONAL SUFFERING.

So
Wrong!

and

WE CANNOT CONTINUE TO AVOID OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP

THESE PEOPLE MEET THE CURRENT CRISIS.

[*must*
WE ~~HAVE~~ NOT PASSIVELY ACCEPTED POLICIES THAT WOULD HAVE

BLATANTLY CUT BACK ON THE FOOD STAMP, MEDICARE, AND OTHER

PEOPLE PROGRAMS THAT ARE SO DESPERATELY NEEDED.

[WE MUST ALSO ACT TO PREVENT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE

MOMENTUM TOWARD ECONOMIC JUSTICE THAT HAS BEEN BUILDING UP

OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES. / AND, LET US BE HONEST WITH OUR-

SELVES; THESE ARE THE STAGGERING COSTS OF POLICIES THAT

PURPOSELY CREATE RECESSION IN ORDER TO BRING DOWN INFLATION.

L I AM NOT HERE TO GIVE YOU A SPEECH ON ECONOMICS, BUT

I WANT TO TELL YOU THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE

ACTION WHICH WILL BEGIN TO TURN THE TIDE AGAINST RECESSION.

L FIRST, WE MUST QUICKLY IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAM OF TAX

RELIEF WHICH CONGRESS HAS JUST ENACTED. WHILE I WOULD HAVE

PREFERRED ENACTMENT OF MY \$30 BILLION TAX CUT PROPOSAL, THE

BILL WE PASSED CAN ^{help} GET THE ECONOMY MOVING AGAIN.

L SECOND, WE MUST LAUNCH A GENUINE FULL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

THAT WILL GUARANTEE A JOB AT DECENT WAGES FOR EVERY ABLE-

BODIED AMERICAN WHO CAN WORK.

L THIS IS NOT A PIPE DREAM. A NATION WHICH SPENDS ~~\$100~~ ¹⁹⁰

BILLION EACH YEAR IN ITS MILITARY BUDGET CAN PROVIDE EVERY

AMERICAN A GOOD JOB.

AND, HOW MUCH MORE EXPENSIVE IS IT TO HAVE 8 OR 9 MILLION
AMERICANS OUT OF WORK? *(Cost of Low Production)*

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST CREATE AT LEAST 1 MILLION PUBLIC
SERVICE JOBS ~~NOW, IN ADDITION, WHEN UNEMPLOYMENT IS AT~~
8 PERCENT, A DIRECT FEDERAL JOBS PROGRAM IS ALSO A MUST.
SUCH A PROGRAM WOULD PROVIDE 500,000 JOBS AT 8 PERCENT
UNEMPLOYMENT AND ONE-HALF MILLION MORE EACH TIME UNEMPLOYMENT
RISES A FULL PERCENTAGE POINT.

THIRD, THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE
THAT ITS CITIES ARE BECOMING THE SHAME OF A GREAT NATION

*(New
Reform)*

MANY ARE BECOMING EMPTY SHELLS WHERE THE POOR LIVE AND THE
RICH AND MIDDLE CLASS WORK AND THEN LEAVE,



THE VAST TREASURE IN AMERICAN BANKS NOW FLOWS TO THE SUBURBS,
TO THE SPECULATIVE LAND DEVELOPERS, THE MULTINATIONAL
CORPORATIONS AND TO FINANCE SPECULATION IN STOCKS, COMMODITIES,
GOLD AND SILVER.

WE NEED RESOURCES IN OUR CITIES, NOT ONLY TO BUILD SKY-
SCRAPERS, BUT TO CONSTRUCT LOW COST HOUSING, NOT ONLY TO
BUILD GIANT CONVENTION HALLS, BUT TO IMPROVE OUR SCHOOLS AND
HOSPITALS, NOT ONLY TO BUILD EXPRESSWAYS, BUT TO PAVE AND
CLEAN OUR STREETS AND PROVIDE EFFICIENT TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

IF THE PRIVATE BANKS WON'T HELP OUR CITIES, THEN THE
CONGRESS MUST ESTABLISH A NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK
THAT WILL SUCH A PUBLIC BANK WOULD PROVIDE LONG-TERM,
LOW-INTEREST LOANS TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

FOURTH, THE HOUSING SECTOR MUST BE REVIVED BY A GENERAL
LOOSENING OF THE MONETARY REINS AND THE RELEASE OF STILL-

IMPOUNDED HOUSING FUNDS. NOTHING CAN BE MORE INFLATIONARY IN

THE LONG RUN, AND RECESSIONARY AND DESTRUCTIVE IN THE SHORT

RUN, THAN THE CURRENT POLICY OF INDUCED "DEPRESSION" IN THIS

KEY INDUSTRY.

of Housing.

I HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A FEDERAL

HOMEOWNERS BANK. THIS INSTITUTION WOULD MAKE MORTGAGE MONEY

AVAILABLE TO HOME BUYERS AT ~~NEVER~~ ^{not} MORE THAN 6 PERCENT. IT IS

CRUCIAL TO MEETING OUR NATION'S HOUSING NEEDS AND TO ASSURING

SOME STABILITY IN THIS VOLATILE INDUSTRY.

FIFTH, THE EXPERTS PREDICT THAT WHEN RECOVERY BEGINS, AND

NO ONE IS TAKING ANY BETS ON WHEN THAT WILL BE, IT WILL BE

A LONG AND HARD ECONOMIC PERIOD WITH HIGH LEVELS OF UNEMPLOYMENT,

↳ TO DEAL WITH THIS PROSPECT, A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM

MUST BE DEVISED TO PRESERVE ECONOMIC GAINS MADE BY MINORITIES

IN THE PAST TWO DECADES,

↳ THIS IS AN URGENT REQUIREMENT.

IT MUST INCLUDE AN "ENERGIZED" PROGRAM OF "SURVIVAL"

LOANS TO MINORITY BUSINESS, IT MUST INCLUDE AN IMAGINATIVE

PROPOSAL FOR ASSURING THAT EQUAL OPPORUNITY GAINS OF

MINORITY WORKERS ARE NOT DESTROYED IN THE RECESSION.

[AND IT MUST PROVIDE EXPANDED SUPPORT FOR MINORITY EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS AND STUDENTS AT A TIME WHEN TRADITIONAL SOURCES
OF SUPPORT ARE STRETCHED TO THE BREAKING POINT.

[WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM FOR
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE. IF WE FAIL TO DO SO,
THE DREAM WE SHARE OF AMERICA THE "PROMISED LAND," WILL BE
GREETED WITH GROWING CYNICISM BY A NEW GENERATION OF FRUSTRATED
AND ANGERED YOUNG AMERICANS.

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