

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATORS

Washington, D. C.

March 12, 1976

It's a pleasure to be here with my friends in the National Conference of State Legislators. As you know, I have long been a supporter of greater cooperation and coordination between the activities of the Federal government and those of the States. Your organization will continue to help achieve that goal.

As Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, I've been analyzing the outlook for State and local governments in the upcoming year and the effect of the President's budget and economic proposals on these governments. And the outlook is bleak for many of you.

As you probably know all too well, last year State and local governments suffered their worst budget squeeze since the Great Depression. The Administration's mismanagement of the economy has caused this.

Inflation increased expenditures faster than tax receipts. The recession administered the second blow of the fiscal double whammy. It caused enormous revenue shortfalls on the one hand, and increased expenditures for welfare and other unemployment related services, on the other.

According to the President's own Economic Report, State and local governments lost over \$27 billion in revenues in 1975 due to high unemployment.

And what is the proposed solution? The Administration calls it the New Federalism. But look closely and carefully and you'll find that the New Federalism policies of this Administration are nothing but an empty promise.

A look at the President's budget reveals that it is an outright disaster for State and local governments -- offering plenty of rhetoric but very little money on the bottom line.

When you look at the numbers -- and that's what budgets are all about -- the President calls for a five percent reduction in real grants-in-aid to States, cities and counties. Program after program has been systematically slashed to reduce State and local governments' piece of the Federal budget pie -- community and regional development, down eight percent; health, down four percent; education, down 11 percent.

It is clear that the President's prescription for State and local government budget problems is simple -- retreat, retrench and reduce. Reduce the Federal share, and increase the State and local share.

The new consolidations may give State and local governments more discretion and more responsibility, but it also gives you less money. You and I know that discretion doesn't meet the payrolls, discretion doesn't operate the schools, and discretion won't meet your housing needs. This takes DOLLARS.

You don't need rhetoric about local control. You need relief from the economics practiced by this Administration. If we're going to reduce the role the Federal Government plays in meeting the needs of our people, the first thing we've got to do is improve the economy.

What good is the New Federalism if the economic policies pursued at the Federal level increase the fiscal dependence at the State and local level?

For each one percent increase in unemployment, the States lose \$5-6 billion in revenues. In 1975, the recession cost State and local governments over 27 billion in lost revenues. This figure does not reflect the increased expenditures you had to make for welfare, public health and other unemployment-related services.

In December 1975 there were at least 19 states where the unemployment rate was in excess of nine percent according to preliminary estimates. Included are States such as Michigan, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, California and Washington.

Fifteen states required Federal assistance to operate their unemployment insurance trust funds in 1975. By the end of 1976 as many as 15 more may need the same sort of help.

At the Federal level, revenue losses climb \$12 billion for each one percent increase in unemployment. In 1975, the Federal Government lost more than \$60 billion. What good is Federal revenue sharing if there's little or no money to share?

One of the most difficult aspects of the President's budgetary proposals is that it disregards the harsh economic realities now facing State and local governments. These proposals miss altogether the economic significance of State and local fiscal difficulties.

-- Proposed increases in the Social Security tax rate would require State and local governments to increase their annual contributions to the Social Security Trust Fund on behalf of their employees by \$300 million.

-- The proposed reduction from 90 to 50 percent in the portion of transportation block grants that can be used for mass transit operating subsidies could cost local governments as much as \$250 million in increased expenditures.

-- State and local government expenditures for public assistance could be increased by as much as \$1 billion if the proposed phase-out of extended unemployment compensation benefits and public service employment programs transfers many thousands of households to the welfare rolls by mid-1977.

Because revenues were so short in 1975, State and local taxes took over \$1 billion out of the spending system when they should have been reducing taxes to promote economic recovery.

Yes, the New Federalism can only work in a healthy and prosperous economy.

The intergovernmental countercyclical assistance which Senator Muskie and I proposed was designed to help smooth the effects of the economic cycle on State and local governments. Although this proposal was passed by a large majority of both Houses of the Congress, the Administration vetoed it.

But we're going to do something about that.

The interdependence of all sectors of our Nation is clear. We are at a crossroads, not just in our economy, but in our national spirit. The people are growing impatient. They are demanding a government that hears them and responds. And they will not be denied.

Washington does not have all the answers. The time has come to recognize that there is solid experience and competence, as well as grass-roots knowledge, in our State capitols.

Our democratic system was designed for cooperation in the public interest. We know that government must be more responsible and efficient.

In recent years, partly through revenue sharing and Federal grants and loans, State governments have been growing in competence and importance. State legislatures and the offices of governor are filled with young men and women of talent and competence, with imagination and ability, capable of addressing complex problems and eager to understand the affairs of their State in a broader regional framework.

We ought to encourage this important development.

Governors and State legislators in the several regions of our Nation should be enabled to create a closer working relationship with each other and with Washington. We can do this by establishing Regional Councils which would hold regular meetings, each one attended by a Federal representative appointed by and reporting directly to the President.

We also need a Federal - State Legislative Council -- a direct, one-in-one consultation between elected representatives.

Legislative decisions made here in Washington often have a very direct impact on State governments and other decisions that must be made by State legislators. State legislators and Congressmen share similar problems, outlooks and goals.

The Congress needs 50 functioning State legislatures. And the State legislatures need the Congress. The work of the Council could nurture this cooperative relationship and bring a new dimension to American Federalism.

Our forefathers struggled against tyranny, against government by birth, by wealth, or class, and against sectionalism. Today we struggle against confusion ineffectiveness, waste, bureaucracy and inefficiency.

Our struggle is less glorious than theirs, but just as critical, if the dream of democracy is to be realized. The search now must be for means of coordinating a more decentralized administration. That is one of our primary challenges.

The problem with government today is not its bigness. Rather the problem is its responsiveness, its accountability, its ability to help solve the problems of this Nation. The malaise being expressed today is directed against the malfunctioning of government rather than just to its bigness.

Government is government whether it is Federal, State, or local. Government is only as good as the people in it. Government is you. Government is me.

We can retreat from the challenge of government that tries its best to solve the problems of its citizens, as some suggest.

Or, we can choose to continue in the progressive tradition of a people's government designed to meet people's needs -- and get America back to work.

I know which one I'll support -- I think I know which one you'll support. We know what America needs.

Don't fall into the trap of blaming government for all of the ills that face this Nation. It's easy to run against Washington and make government the whipping boy for dissatisfaction and despair.

What we need to be attacking are the problems our people face. We need to understand the simple truth that Americans want to work, that a welfare check is not a substitute for a paycheck, that a healthy economy is essential to a healthy Nation, and that we must work together to make it happen.

We need a government dedicated to greater economic and social justice for the American people. We need:

- a government that offers America a full employment policy that assures decent jobs for all at decent wages;
- a program of long-overdue reforms to clean up the welfare mess so that help goes only to families who actually need it;
- a national health care system that provides quality health care for all at the lowest possible cost;
- a housing program that replaces slums with sound, low cost, high quality housing for every family;
- a tax program that eliminates glaring tax loopholes that make it possible for some persons in the highest income brackets to pay little or no taxes, while the middle income taxpayer bears the major burden of government expenditures;
- a transportation program for both urban and rural America;
- an energy program that assures America of adequate energy resources; and
- a national food program which is designed to give both producers and consumers fair treatment while acknowledging the importance of food as an export commodity both for profit and for humanitarian purposes.

I do not accept the conventional assessment that Americans are ready to support a radical dismantling of governmental institutions and programs designed to achieve a higher level of justice and happiness among our citizens. That is not what people are saying when they tell public opinion experts about their disillusionment and cynicism.

No, the people are expressing their natural feelings toward a government that has failed to keep its promise and that has imposed sacrifices without accepting a corresponding obligation to deliver results.

We need a government that works. We need a government that is made up of dedicated, hard working people. We don't need a government that is too timid to solve these problems.

One of the great moral political leaders of our time was my dear and good friend Adlai Stevenson.

Adlai reminded us that democracy is not self-executing. We have to make it work through sober thought and constructive criticism. We need to reason together to see new facts in light of old principles, and evaluate old principles in the light of new facts.

Democracy's need for wisdom will remain as perennial as its need for liberty. Self-examination is the perennial price of liberty. The work of self-government never ceases.

A part of this self-examination will take place here during your conference. It's up to each and every one of you to speak out both here in Washington and in your State capitals.

You have one of the biggest stakes in seeing that government faces up to the hard answers. Your voice is as vital now as it ever has been. Use it wisely. But most of all, use it.

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Speaker
Martin Schori

Pres elect
annual
meeting
Aug 1976

President Reputation Jensen!
(Tennessee)

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATORS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARCH 12, 1976

Mr. Martin Sabo -1-

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH MY FRIENDS IN THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATORS. AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE LONG BEEN A SUPPORTER OF GREATER COOPERATION AND COORDINATION BETWEEN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THOSE OF THE STATES. YOUR ORGANIZATION WILL CONTINUE TO HELP ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

As CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE, I'VE BEEN ANALYZING THE OUTLOOK FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE UPCOMING YEAR AND THE EFFECT OF THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET AND ECONOMIC PROPOSALS ON THESE GOVERNMENTS. AND THE OUTLOOK IS BLEAK FOR MANY OF YOU.

As YOU PROBABLY KNOW ALL TOO WELL, LAST YEAR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SUFFERED THEIR WORST BUDGET SQUEEZE SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION. ~~THE ADMINISTRATION'S MISMANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY HAS CAUSED THIS.~~

L INFLATION INCREASED EXPENDITURES FASTER THAN TAX
RECEIPTS. L THE RECESSION ^{UNEMP} ADMINISTERED THE SECOND BLOW OF
THE FISCAL DOUBLE WHAMMY. L IT CAUSED ENORMOUS REVENUE
SHORTFALLS ON THE ONE HAND, AND INCREASED EXPENDITURES FOR
WELFARE AND OTHER UNEMPLOYMENT RELATED SERVICES, ON THE OTHER.

L ACCORDING TO THE PRESIDENT'S OWN ECONOMIC REPORT, STATE
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS LOST OVER \$27 BILLION IN REVENUES

IN 1975 DUE TO HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT. Recession | additional costs Billion

L AND WHAT IS THE PROPOSED SOLUTION? THE ADMINISTRATION
CALLS IT THE NEW FEDERALISM BUT LOOK CLOSELY AND CAREFULLY
AND YOU'LL FIND THAT THE NEW FEDERALISM POLICIES OF ~~THE~~
~~ADMINISTRATION~~ ARE NOTHING BUT AN EMPTY PROMISE.

A LOOK AT THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET REVEALS THAT IT IS
AN OUTRIGHT DISASTER FOR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS --
OFFERING PLENTY OF RHETORIC BUT VERY LITTLE MONEY ON THE
BOTTOM LINE.

↳ WHEN YOU LOOK AT THE NUMBERS -- AND THAT'S WHAT
BUDGETS ARE ALL ABOUT -- THE PRESIDENT CALLS FOR A FIVE
PERCENT REDUCTION IN REAL GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES, CITIES
AND COUNTIES. ↳ PROGRAM AFTER PROGRAM HAS BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY
SLASHED TO REDUCE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS' PIECE OF THE
FEDERAL BUDGET PIE -- COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
DOWN EIGHT PERCENT; HEALTH, DOWN FOUR PERCENT; EDUCATION,
DOWN 11 PERCENT.

↳ 1 1/2 Billion in
retirement

↳ IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PRESCRIPTION FOR
STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT BUDGET PROBLEMS IS SIMPLE --

RETREAT, RETRENCH AND REDUCE ↳ REDUCE THE FEDERAL SHARE,
AND INCREASE THE STATE AND LOCAL SHARE,

↳ THE NEW CONSOLIDATIONS MAY GIVE STATE AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS MORE DISCRETION AND MORE RESPONSIBILITY, BUT

Block Grants

IT ALSO GIVES YOU LESS MONEY. ↳ YOU AND I KNOW THAT
DISCRETION DOESN'T MEET THE PAYROLLS, DISCRETION DOESN'T

OPERATE THE SCHOOLS, AND DISCRETION WON'T MEET YOUR HOUSING
NEEDS. ↳ THIS TAKES DOLLARS.

↳ YOU DON'T NEED RHETORIC ABOUT LOCAL CONTROL. YOU
NEED RELIEF FROM THE ECONOMICS PRACTICED BY THIS ADMINISTRATION.

IF WE'RE GOING TO REDUCE THE ROLE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PLAYS
IN MEETING THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE, THE FIRST THING WE'VE
GOT TO DO IS IMPROVE THE ECONOMY.

WHAT GOOD IS THE NEW FEDERALISM IF THE ECONOMIC
POLICIES PURSUED AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL INCREASE THE FISCAL
DEPENDENCE AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL?

FOR EACH ONE PERCENT INCREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT, THE
STATES LOSE \$5-6 BILLION IN REVENUES. IN 1975, THE RECESSION
COST STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS OVER 27 BILLION IN LOST
REVENUES. THIS FIGURE DOES NOT REFLECT THE INCREASED
EXPENDITURES YOU HAD TO MAKE FOR WELFARE, PUBLIC HEALTH
AND OTHER UNEMPLOYMENT-RELATED SERVICES.

↳ IN DECEMBER 1975 THERE WERE AT LEAST 19 STATES WHERE
THE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE WAS IN EXCESS OF NINE PERCENT ACCORDING

TO PRELIMINARY ESTIMATES. ↳ INCLUDED ARE STATES SUCH AS

MICHIGAN, NEW YORK, MASSACHUSETTS, NEW JERSEY, CALIFORNIA, R. I.,
AND WASHINGTON.

↳ FIFTEEN STATES REQUIRED FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO OPERATE
THEIR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE TRUST FUNDS IN 1975. ↳ BY THE END
OF 1976 AS MANY AS 15 MORE MAY NEED THE SAME SORT OF HELP.

↳ AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, REVENUE LOSSES CLIMB \$12 BILLION
FOR EACH ONE PERCENT INCREASE IN UNEMPLOYMENT. ↳ IN 1975, THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LOST MORE THAN \$60 BILLION. ↳ WHAT GOOD IS
FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING IF THERE'S LITTLE OR NO MONEY TO SHARE?

h ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT ASPECTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S
BUDGETARY PROPOSALS IS THAT IT DISREGARDS THE HARSH ECONOMIC
REALITIES NOW FACING STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. THESE
PROPOSALS MISS ALTOGETHER THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF STATE
AND LOCAL FISCAL DIFFICULTIES.

L-- PROPOSED INCREASES IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY TAX RATE
WOULD REQUIRE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO INCREASE THEIR
ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY TRUST FUND ON
BEHALF OF THEIR EMPLOYEES BY \$300 MILLION.

L-- THE PROPOSED REDUCTION FROM 90 TO 50 PERCENT IN
THE PORTION OF TRANSPORTATION BLOCK GRANTS THAT CAN BE
USED FOR MASS TRANSIT OPERATING SUBSIDIES COULD COST LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS AS MUCH AS \$250 MILLION IN INCREASED EXPENDITURES.

↳ -- STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE COULD BE INCREASED BY AS MUCH AS \$1 BILLION IF

THE PROPOSED PHASE-OUT OF EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

BENEFITS AND PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS TRANSFERS

~~HAND~~ THOUSANDS OF HOUSEHOLDS TO THE WELFARE ROLLS BY MID-1977.

↳ BECAUSE REVENUES WERE SO SHORT IN 1975, STATE AND LOCAL TAXES TOOK OVER \$1 BILLION OUT OF THE SPENDING SYSTEM WHEN THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN REDUCING TAXES TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

↳ YES, THE NEW FEDERALISM CAN ONLY WORK IN A HEALTHY AND PROSPEROUS ECONOMY.

↳ THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COUNTERCYCLICAL ASSISTANCE WHICH SENATOR MUSKIE AND I PROPOSED WAS DESIGNED TO HELP SMOOTH

THE EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC CYCLE ON STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

gsc

March 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATOR

FROM: JULIE WETZEL

THRU: AL

SUBJECT: Status of Countercyclical Aid Bill

One of the subjects of most interest to this group is the present status of the countercyclical assistance bill, recently vetoed. There is a lead line in your speech after which you may want to mention that the Senate Public Works Committee approved a jobs bill similar to that which has passed.

The \$1.5 billion provision for countercyclical aid to state and local governments will also be offered as will the \$1.4 billion water pollution abatement program.

Ralph Schlostein of JEC tells me the cosponsors hope to have an acceptable bill ready for floor action in a couple of weeks.

* * *

ALTHOUGH THIS PROPOSAL WAS PASSED BY A LARGE MAJORITY OF BOTH HOUSES
OF THE CONGRESS, THE ADMINISTRATION VETOED IT.

BUT WE'RE GOING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THAT.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL SECTORS OF OUR NATION IS CLEAR.

WE ARE AT A CROSSROADS, NOT JUST IN OUR ECONOMY, BUT IN OUR NATIONAL

SPIRIT. THE PEOPLE ARE GROWING IMPATIENT. THEY ARE DEMANDING

A GOVERNMENT THAT HEARS THEM AND RESPONDS. AND THEY WILL NOT BE

DENIED.

WASHINGTON DOES NOT HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS. THE TIME HAS COME

TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS SOLID EXPERIENCE AND COMPETENCE, AS WELL

AS GRASS-ROOTS KNOWLEDGE, IN OUR STATE CAPITOLS.

OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WAS DESIGNED FOR COOPERATION IN THE
PUBLIC INTEREST. WE KNOW THAT GOVERNMENT MUST BE MORE RESPONSIBLE
AND EFFICIENT.

Revenue Sharing

-10-

IN RECENT YEARS, PARTLY THROUGH REVENUE SHARING AND FEDERAL GRANTS AND LOANS, STATE GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN GROWING IN COMPETENCE AND IMPORTANCE. STATE LEGISLATURES AND THE OFFICES OF GOVERNOR ARE FILLED WITH YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF TALENT AND COMPETENCE, WITH IMAGINATION AND ABILITY, CAPABLE OF ADDRESSING COMPLEX PROBLEMS AND EAGER TO UNDERSTAND THE AFFAIRS OF THEIR STATE IN A BROADER REGIONAL FRAMEWORK.

WE OUGHT TO ENCOURAGE THIS IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT.

GOVERNORS AND STATE LEGISLATORS IN THE SEVERAL REGIONS OF OUR NATION SHOULD BE ENABLED TO CREATE A CLOSER WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH WASHINGTON. WE CAN DO THIS BY ESTABLISHING REGIONAL COUNCILS WHICH WOULD HOLD REGULAR MEETINGS, EACH ONE ATTENDED BY A FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVE APPOINTED BY AND REPORTING DIRECTLY TO THE PRESIDENT.

↳ WE ALSO NEED A FEDERAL - STATE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL -- A DIRECT, ONE-ON-ONE CONSULTATION BETWEEN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES.

↳ LEGISLATIVE DECISIONS MADE HERE IN WASHINGTON OFTEN HAVE A VERY DIRECT IMPACT ON STATE GOVERNMENTS AND OTHER DECISIONS THAT MUST BE MADE BY STATE LEGISLATORS. ↳ STATE LEGISLATORS AND CONGRESSMEN SHARE SIMILAR PROBLEMS, OUTLOOKS AND GOALS.

↳ THE CONGRESS NEEDS 50 FUNCTIONING STATE LEGISLATURES. ↳ AND THE STATE LEGISLATURES NEED THE CONGRESS. ↳ THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL COULD NURTURE THIS COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP AND BRING A NEW DIMENSION TO AMERICAN FEDERALISM, (President + Gouvernors)

↳ OUR FOREFATHERS STRUGGLED AGAINST TYRANNY, AGAINST GOVERNMENT BY BIRTH, BY WEALTH, OR CLASS, AND AGAINST SECTIONALISM. TODAY WE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONFUSION INEFFECTIVENESS, WASTE, BUREAUCRACY AND INEFFICIENCY.

OUR STRUGGLE IS LESS GLORIOUS THAN THEIRS, BUT JUST AS
CRITICAL, IF THE DREAM OF DEMOCRACY IS TO BE REALIZED. THE
SEARCH NOW MUST BE FOR MEANS OF COORDINATING A MORE DECENTRALIZED
ADMINISTRATION. THAT IS ONE OF OUR PRIMARY CHALLENGES.

THE PROBLEM WITH GOVERNMENT TODAY IS NOT ITS BIGNESS,

RATHER THE PROBLEM IS ITS RESPONSIVENESS, ITS ACCOUNTABILITY,
ITS ABILITY TO HELP SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THIS NATION. THE

MALaise BEING EXPRESSED TODAY IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE MALFUNCTIONING
OF GOVERNMENT RATHER THAN JUST TO ITS BIGNESS,

GOVERNMENT IS GOVERNMENT WHETHER IT IS FEDERAL, STATE,
OR LOCAL. GOVERNMENT IS ONLY AS GOOD AS THE PEOPLE IN IT,

GOVERNMENT IS YOU. GOVERNMENT IS ME.

as some suggest -13-

↳ WE CAN RETREAT FROM THE CHALLENGE OF GOVERNMENT THAT
TRIES ITS BEST TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF ITS CITIZENS, ~~AS SOME~~
~~SUGGEST.~~

↳ OR, WE CAN CHOOSE TO CONTINUE IN THE PROGRESSIVE
TRADITION OF A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT DESIGNED TO MEET PEOPLE'S
NEEDS -- AND GET AMERICA BACK TO WORK.

I KNOW WHICH ONE I'LL SUPPORT -- I THINK I KNOW WHICH
ONE YOU'LL SUPPORT. WE KNOW WHAT AMERICA NEEDS.

↳ DON'T FALL INTO THE TRAP OF BLAMING GOVERNMENT FOR ALL
OF THE ILLS THAT FACE THIS NATION. ↳ IT'S EASY TO RUN AGAINST
WASHINGTON AND MAKE GOVERNMENT THE WHIPPING BOY FOR DISSATISFACTION
AND DESPAIR.

WHAT WE NEED TO BE ATTACKING ARE THE PROBLEMS OUR PEOPLE
 FACE. WE NEED TO UNDERSTAND THE SIMPLE TRUTH THAT AMERICANS
 WANT TO WORK, THAT A WELFARE CHECK IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR
 A PAYCHECK, THAT A HEALTHY ECONOMY IS ESSENTIAL TO A HEALTHY
NATION, AND THAT WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE IT HAPPEN.

WE NEED A GOVERNMENT DEDICATED TO GREATER ECONOMIC AND
 SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. *and the Federal
 Govt must take
 the lead.*

-- A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT
 POLICY THAT ASSURES DECENT JOBS FOR ALL AT DECENT WAGES; *Today*

-- A PROGRAM OF LONG-OVERDUE REFORMS TO CLEAN UP THE WELFARE
 MESS SO THAT HELP GOES ONLY TO FAMILIES WHO ACTUALLY NEED IT;

-- A NATIONAL HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT PROVIDES QUALITY
 HEALTH CARE FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST;

↳ -- A HOUSING PROGRAM THAT REPLACES SLUMS WITH SOUND,

LOW COST, HIGH QUALITY HOUSING FOR EVERY FAMILY;

↳ -- A TAX PROGRAM THAT ELIMINATES GLARING TAX LOOPHOLES

THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR SOME PERSONS IN THE HIGHEST INCOME

BRACKETS TO PAY LITTLE OR NO TAXES, WHILE THE MIDDLE INCOME

TAXPAYER BEARS THE MAJOR BURDEN OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES;

-- A TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM FOR BOTH URBAN AND RURAL AMERICA;

-- AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF ADEQUATE

ENERGY RESOURCES; AND

↳ -- A NATIONAL FOOD PROGRAM WHICH IS DESIGNED TO GIVE

BOTH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS FAIR TREATMENT WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING

THE IMPORTANCE OF FOOD AS AN EXPORT COMMODITY BOTH FOR PROFIT

AND FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.

L I DO NOT ACCEPT THE CONVENTIONAL ASSESSMENT THAT AMERICANS
ARE READY TO SUPPORT A RADICAL DISMANTLING OF GOVERNMENTAL
INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE A HIGHER LEVEL OF
JUSTICE AND HAPPINESS AMONG OUR CITIZENS. L THAT IS NOT WHAT
PEOPLE ARE SAYING WHEN THEY TELL PUBLIC OPINION EXPERTS ABOUT
THEIR DISILLUSIONMENT AND CYNICISM.

L No, THE PEOPLE ARE EXPRESSING THEIR NATURAL FEELINGS
TOWARD A GOVERNMENT THAT HAS FAILED TO KEEP ITS PROMISE AND
THAT HAS IMPOSED SACRIFICES WITHOUT ACCEPTING A CORRESPONDING
OBLIGATION TO DELIVER RESULTS.

So what WE NEED ^{is a} A GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS. ~~WE NEED A GOVERNMENT~~

~~THAT IS MADE UP OF DEDICATED, HARD WORKING PEOPLE.~~ L WE DON'T
NEED A GOVERNMENT THAT IS TOO TIMID TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS.

ONE OF THE GREAT MORAL POLITICAL LEADERS OF OUR TIME
WAS MY DEAR AND GOOD FRIEND ADLAI STEVENSON.

ADLAI REMINDED US THAT DEMOCRACY IS NOT SELF-EXECUTING.
WE HAVE TO MAKE IT WORK THROUGH SOBER THOUGHT AND CONSTRUCTIVE
CRITICISM. WE NEED TO REASON TOGETHER TO SEE NEW FACTS IN
LIGHT OF OLD PRINCIPLES, AND EVALUATE OLD PRINCIPLES IN THE
LIGHT OF NEW FACTS.

DEMOCRACY'S NEED FOR WISDOM WILL REMAIN AS PERENNIAL AS
ITS NEED FOR LIBERTY. SELF-EXAMINATION IS THE PERENNIAL PRICE
OF LIBERTY; ^{and} THE WORK OF SELF-GOVERNMENT NEVER CEASES.

A PART OF THIS SELF-EXAMINATION WILL TAKE PLACE HERE
DURING YOUR CONFERENCE. IT'S UP TO EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU TO
SPEAK OUT BOTH HERE IN WASHINGTON AND IN YOUR STATE CAPITOLS.

YOU HAVE ONE OF THE BIGGEST STAKES IN SEEING THAT
GOVERNMENT FACES UP TO THE HARD ANSWERS. YOUR VOICE IS
AS VITAL NOW AS IT EVER HAS BEEN. USE IT WISELY. BUT
MOST OF ALL, USE IT.

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