

NEWS



Hubert H. Humphrey

HUMPHREY ATTACKS
GOVERNMENT CRITICS;
SAYS FAITH IN SYSTEM
WILL BE RESTORED

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WASHINGTON, D. C., May 4--Senator Hubert H. Humphrey today dismissed as "incomplete and misleading" attacks by anti-government critics, and predicted that a President with "imagination and perseverance" would restore Americans' faith in government.

"Most critics of government have overlooked the continuing faith that Americans place in our constitutional system," Humphrey said. "Despite the failures and disappointments of recent years, there has been no popular outcry for wholesale constitutional reform or for junking our democratic system.

"What the people are demanding today, and what it is the duty of elected officials to provide, is a government that works, one that is competent, one that is fair, and one that cares about the problems of individual citizens."

Speaking to the State Association of Broadcasters Presidents' meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, Humphrey said that attacks on big government have been "carried far beyond the boundaries of common sense.

"The Republican President seems to be running against the performance of the same government that Republicans have presided over for the past eight years. And his Republican opponent from California talks about the national government as though it were a foreign power.

"Moreover, it is "absurd" for Democrats to campaign against the federal government, Humphrey maintained, "because their chances of winning the Presidency depend on the public's conviction that we need a return to vigorous, competent and concerned government in the tradition of the Democratic Party."

Humphrey attributed the current anti-government sentiment to two decades of social unrest, the Vietnam War, Watergate revelations, the "shameful performance of the economy," among other factors. These events, he said, "seemed to violate our deeply rooted faith in the national government's commitment to protect and promote the general welfare."

As a result, he explained, it became "politically attractive to attack the institutions identified with this time of trouble."

Humphrey indicated that to dwell on the difficulties of the past 15 years is to give only "a very incomplete and misleading picture." It neglects the successes of numerous government programs such as

(more)

social security, medicare, medicaid, aid to education and the anti-poverty programs which helped 11 million Americans work their way above the subsistence income level.

Nor does it take into account advances in human rights, countless Congressional reforms and revisions of practices within the Democratic Party -- all "solid accomplishments" which "were lost in the blizzard of headlines and television newscasts describing our government's failures."

Nevertheless, Humphrey said, we do not need to defend blindly everything government has done in the last 40 years." There have been mistakes, he admitted, "and there is a special obligation on those who believe in positive and strong government to understand and correct these shortcomings. And I have no doubt whatever that these improvements can be made."

The Minnesota Senator warned that "programs can be no more effective than the dedication and commitment of those in charge and pointed out "the Nixon-Ford Administration has undercut almost every Democratic effort launched in the Kennedy-Johnson years."

The "tragic and unhappy years" since President Nixon's election "provide no basis whatever on which to judge the impact of a national administration staffed by competent and caring people and supported by a President determined to use the government's power on behalf of all Americans," Humphrey said.

That kind of government, he maintained, requires strong leadership, including a President who can "lead by persuasion" and work with Congress to form a "new relationship between the legislative and executive branches."

Also it requires "enlisting our people and their elected officials at all levels of government as common partners in establishing broad policy objectives and devising imaginative, flexible and practical solutions."

Humphrey cited proposals he has made to achieve that cooperation, including plans for a Federal Council composed of the President and the Governors of all 50 states, programs for better coordination with state and local governments, economic planning, and atmosphere in which "complaints and problems of individual citizens are taken seriously and resolved quickly."

"This will require imagination and perseverance," he said. "But above all, it will require the leadership of a President who believes that government can again be a vital force for justice and opportunity in America -- a true steward and guardian of the public interest."

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REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
STATE ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS PRESIDENTS

Washington, D. C.

May 4, 1976

Political campaigns are often the time when popular slogans and issues are carried far beyond the boundaries of common sense. This year the focus of many politicians seems to be on "big government" and how it should be blamed for just about everything that goes wrong in America.

The Republican President of the United States seems to be running against the performance of the same national government over which Republicans have presided for the last eight years.

And his Republican opponent from California talks about the national government as though it were a foreign power.

Moreover, it is only slightly less absurd to hear some Democrats attacking the idea of an activist national government -- absurd because their chances for winning the presidency depend on the public's conviction that we need a return to vigorous, competent, and concerned government, in the tradition of the Democratic Party.

It is time to get the issue of "big government" back in perspective.

To do so, we must understand clearly why it has been possible in this election year to make government itself a headline issue.

In less than a decade, a series of precedent-shattering events drove a wedge between our people and the national government:

The assassination of a President and other respected political and national leaders . . . violent disruption in our urban centers . . . a tragic war in Southeast Asia that inevitably lost the people's support . . . gross mismanagement of our national economy . . . deception and corruption that reached into the Oval Office itself and eventually drove an elected Vice President and President from office . . . the abandonment or mismanagement of social programs that initially were presented to the people as solutions to many of America's most troubling and deeply-rooted domestic problems . . . all of these events came together in the 1960's and 1970's.

These events were particularly upsetting because they seemed to violate our deeply-rooted faith in the national government's commitment to protect and promote the general welfare.

They only deepened the shock of disillusionment -- perhaps even the sense of betrayal -- that gripped Americans as the Presidency and our national government were buffeted by the events of the past few years.

Against this background, is it any wonder that it became attractive to attack the institutions identified with this time of trouble?

But those who lead the attack give us a very incomplete and misleading picture.

Many critics of government neglect the striking record of achievement that occurred in the midst of our recent political upheavals. More important, they overlook numerous examples of the system's continuing ability to correct and to change what had gone wrong. Those who view the American national government as the primary cause of our present-day problems have the responsibility to explain how the following could come to pass:

-- In 1964, 36 million Americans were living below the subsistence level, the poverty line. But by 1969, five short years after President Johnson launched the war on poverty, this number had been reduced by 11 million, the largest proportional decline in poverty in our nation's history.

-- In the mid-60's, Federal aid was first made available to improve schools in economically depressed areas and to expand significantly scholarship assistance to deserving undergraduates. This financial aid was largely responsible for doubling the number of students in our colleges during the 1960's.

-- Medicare and Medicaid were established in the 60's to provide the elderly and the needy with essential health care services. By the late 1960's, twenty million Americans were receiving quality medical attention each year because of these important programs.

-- The Department of Housing and Urban Development was established, and major programs were launched to increase the nation's supply of good housing and to rebuild and improve our cities.

Somewhere along the way, these stories of solid accomplishment were lost in the blizzard of headlines and TV newscasts describing our government's failures. But an honest accounting requires that the successes, as well as the failures, be acknowledged.

And there was other evidence of our system's basic health:

First, Watergate was a decisive test of our Constitution. As a nation, we passed the test admirably.

Mr. Nixon's resignation was a dramatic reaffirmation of the proposition that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

And as a result, we have established a new public awareness that integrity, responsiveness, and openness are standards by which to judge the conduct of elected officials and representatives.

Second, millions of Americans joined the active political life of our country for the first time. Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities, along with our young people, fought for and achieved the rights of full citizenship. Hundreds of these citizens hold high office throughout government today. In addition, women occupied increasingly significant places in all aspects of American life.

In industry, labor and our academic institutions, opportunities for minorities were opened up and expanded greatly due initially to the decisions of government.

In the early 1960's, those who fought against discrimination by race, age, or sex were ignored or scorned. By 1972, the barriers were largely gone.

Third, on the political front, the Democratic Party completely over-hauled its internal rules and procedures -- not once but twice -- toward the goal of full participation by all our people.

We search American history in vain for a comparable period of such massive, across-the-board enlargement of our citizens' rights and responsibilities.

In these years we witnessed fundamental changes in Congress and our State legislatures. And these changes were consistently in the direction of greater openness, accountability, and responsiveness to the people.

In Congress, for example, we abolished the anti-democratic tradition of seniority as a sole factor in selecting committee chairmen. Committee meetings, even joint Senate-House conferences, were opened to full public view.

Congress also established a new budget process that forces all committees and members to set basic budget priorities and then live by that discipline.

We insulated the presidential nominating and election process from the pernicious effects of special interests attempting to buy favored treatment through huge campaign contributions.

We passed constitutional amendments that provided for presidential disability and succession and that extended the rights of full citizenship to eighteen year-olds.

So, there is far more to the issue of so-called "big government" than is being told by the critics.

Let us approach this issue directly by admitting at the outset that, indeed, government has grown over the years.

But let us recognize immediately that growth in government has taken place almost entirely at the State and local levels.

The number of persons employed by the Federal Government today is barely more than the number employed in the late 1940's.

Even the much-maligned federal budget is about the same percentage of our Gross National Product today as it was in the early 1950's.

So, let us not raise "straw-men" on this issue. Let's cut through the rhetoric and recognize certain inescapable facts:

-- It is a fact that no governor alone, no State legislature -- no matter how knowledgeable -- can plan an economic recovery or provide a national food policy or a system of national health care.

-- It is a fact that only the Federal government can establish a program of Social Security, Medicare, Veteran's Benefits, and the like.

-- It is a fact that only the Federal government can protect bank deposits, regulate a stock market to prevent fraud and deception, help assure consumers that products they buy meet standards of safety and good health, and administer an equitable tax structure.

-- It is a fact that only a strong and efficiently administered national government can protect and conserve our forests, public lands and waters and wilderness areas.

-- It is a fact that only the Federal Government has the authority and ability to make civil rights a reality for every man, woman and child in every State and in every township across this great land.

So, the fundamental issue is not the "bigness" or power of government today. Rather, it is whether our institutions of government will be used in behalf of all the people, or whether its favors will be reserved primarily for the few and the rich.

For the past two generations, the Democratic Party has committed itself to using governmental power in a way that protects the interests of all citizens, but particularly those who lack the wealth, power and position to speak effectively for themselves. It is this tradition that Democrats must reaffirm in the 1976 presidential election.

And, it should be recognized clearly that building this tradition has taken a great deal of hard work.

The legislative achievements of the mid-1960's -- Medicare, Federal aid to education, civil rights, the anti-poverty program, for example -- were not the overnight products of a skillful President and a compliant Congress.

Literally years of effort were required in most instances to build a winning combination of presidential advocacy, congressional support, and broad public acceptance.

These are victories not to be thrown away lightly.

However, while it is true that government must necessarily play an active role in advancing the cause of equality and opportunity in America, we need not defend blindly everything that government has done in the past 40 years.

I don't know anyone who denies that mistakes have been made or that expectations have sometimes outdistanced the government's capacity to deliver results.

Moreover, there is a special obligation on those of us who believe in positive and strong government to understand and correct these shortcomings. And, I have no doubt whatever that these improvements can be made.

We must find better ways to make broad governmental programs actually meet or respond to the needs of all our people, in a large and diverse nation of many regions, groups, and localities. It is precisely at this point that the red tape and bureaucracy of national standards or requirements, or evaluation and clearance procedures, in the operation of federal assistance programs can turn into barriers to getting the job done.

In the late 1960's, we were well along toward devising better coordination of the programs of various federal agencies, and joint efforts by federal, state and local governments in addressing major problems across the Nation.

Our goal was to cut down on the number of administrative decisions that had to move through Washington-based bureaucracies and to encourage greater flexibility and imagination in adapting national programs to local needs.

And we were making real headway.

Then a new Republican Administration came to power.

We all know that governmental programs can be no more effective than the dedication and commitment of those in charge. And the Nixon-Ford Administration has undercut almost every Democratic effort launched in the Kennedy-Johnson years.

What could have been an orderly and constructive process of perfecting the beginnings of the late 1960's, turned into a bitter struggle between Congress and the Republican White House just to keep the programs alive.

Budgets were slashed. Funds were impounded. Career civil servants were harassed. Incompetent political appointees were installed to dismantle congressionally-mandated programs. Cries of help from State and local officials were ignored.

These tragic and unhappy years of the Nixon-Ford Administration provide no basis whatever on which to judge the impact of a national administration staffed by competent and caring people and supported by a President determined to use the government's power in behalf of all Americans.

I've never been one to spend much time bemoaning mistakes of the past. Our job now is to begin devising a national government that works -- one that delivers results and keeps its word.

It would be a very grave error to assume that Americans have permanently washed their hands of a strong and active national government. What they are seeking is a government that demonstrates a new competence, a new sense of fairness and a new concern for individuals.

When Americans again encounter that kind of responsiveness, I predict that the people's trust and confidence in government will again become a dominant fact of our political life.

How can we get that kind of government?

First, we need leadership to rally the Congress, the Executive Branch, State and local governments and the people.

And second, we need imagination to devise new relationships among our governmental institutions to take full account of the American people's common sense, ingenuity and basic sense of fairness.

A President must lead by persuasion. There is no other way that our constitutional system can be made to work. The President must be a person who can win the willing cooperation of individual citizens.

There is an especially urgent need today for the next President to move beyond the confrontation and stalemate that have characterized relations between Capitol Hill and the White House for the last eight years.

The next President must be willing to take Congress seriously, to listen to the viewpoint of the people's representatives, and to enlist Congress as an ally in a common effort to provide the people with responsive and effective government.

This new relationship between the legislative and executive branches is absolutely essential if we hope to rebuild the trust and confidence of Americans.

The guiding theme of the next national administration must be that of enlisting our people and their elected officials at all levels of government as common partners in establishing broad policy objectives and devising imaginative, flexible and practical solutions.

In recent weeks I have proposed a number of innovations that will move our governmental processes toward a new responsiveness.

First, Governors should be drawn into closer coordination with one another and with the Federal government through the establishment of regional Executive Councils.

These Regional Councils would be responsible for planning and administering Federal programs in their area, on the basis of plans prepared by the Governors of each region, working cooperatively with regional representatives of the Federal departments.

Second, we must always remember that the Federal system is not just the government in Washington. It is a national government.

The modern presidency, therefore, should include the establishment of a Federal Council, consisting of the 50 Governors and the President. The council should meet regularly so that the President can outline to the Governors his proposals and initiatives, and receive from the Governors their advice and counsel in the preparation of the Federal budget, the administration of the departments, and the implementation of Federal laws.

Third, and perhaps most important, the next President must place highest priority on structuring his administration in a way that complaints and problems of individual citizens are taken seriously, and resolved quickly.

"Serve the People", must be the motto of the next administration.

Fourth, the next President should appoint immediately a National Commission on the Organization and Efficiency of the Government. The Brownlow Commission appointed by President Roosevelt and the Hoover Commission appointed by President Truman both made historic contributions in building a more responsive executive branch. It is now time for a new effort.

Finally, much of the public's recent disaffection with government can be traced directly to the shameful performance of our economy.

The economic policies of the last eight years have been chaotic, vacillating from direct controls, freezes, and phases to the present policy of doing nothing.

The major factor in our disastrous economic record is the absence of any coherent planning function that involves the whole of American society. We have lurched from crisis to crisis, trying to patch together an economic policy that will get us through the next year or so.

The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976 that I recently introduced with Representative Augustus Hawkins of California represents a first step in devising an open process to develop annual and longer-range economic goals, as well as to identify ahead of time the specific policies to achieve these goals. It is a plan to achieve the great unrealized potential of the American economy.

These are just some of the approaches that would begin to equip our national government with the tools it needs to solve present-day problems.

And our citizens will respond to this government because it will clearly demonstrate that it listens to them and acts wisely and decisively on their behalf.

Most critics of government have overlooked the continuing faith that Americans place in our constitutional system. Despite the failures and disappointments of recent years, there has been no popular outcry for wholesale constitutional reform or for junking our democratic system.

The underpinnings of American democracy are sound. The people have not abandoned hope. And they understand clearly that our society could never survive without an active and strong central government.

What the people are demanding today, and what it is the duty of elected leaders to provide, is a government that works, one that is competent, one that is fair, and one that cares about the problems of individual citizens.

This will require imagination and perseverance. But, above all, it will require the leadership of a President who believes that government can again be a vital force for justice and opportunity in America -- a true steward and guardian of the public interest.

Working with Congress and with our state and local governments, such a President -- if he really cares -- can gradually turn our national government around, away from petty efforts at political empire-building, and toward government's only legitimate function: Serving the people who pay the bills.

Governor Adlai Stevenson once spoke about the requirements of self-government. His words provide a compelling answer to those who attack government today, as well as a stirring reminder to those of us whose faith in government still lives. Adlai Stevenson said:

"Democracy is not self-executing. We have to make it work, and to make it work we have to understand it. Sober thought and fearless criticism are impossible without critical thinkers and thinking critics.

"Democracy's need for wisdom will remain as perennial as its need for liberty; not only external vigilance, but unending self-examination must be the perennial price of liberty because the work of self-government never ceases."

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Was i Lewski
President Wasilewski (Sando Bates
then Ford, Nixon
Carter, etc)

- Stan Hubbard
 - Ray Foslid
- Big R
is it the same

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

STATE ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS PRESIDENTS

21st
state
meeting

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MAY 4, 1976

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extension of your license

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Political campaigns are often the time when popular slogans and issues are carried far beyond the boundaries of

common sense. This year the focus of many politicians seems

to be on "big government" and how it should be blamed for

just about everything that goes wrong in America.

*Divorce, crime,
family, etc*

The Republican President of the United States seems to be running against the performance of the same national government over which Republicans have presided for the last eight years.

And his Republican opponent from California talks about the national government as though it were a foreign power.

Moreover, it is only slightly less absurd to hear some Democrats attacking the idea of an activist national government --

ABSURD BECAUSE THEIR CHANCES FOR WINNING THE PRESIDENCY DEPEND ON
THE PUBLIC'S CONVICTION THAT WE NEED A RETURN TO VIGOROUS, COMPETENT,
AND CONCERNED GOVERNMENT, IN THE TRADITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC
PARTY.

↳ IT IS TIME TO GET THE ISSUE OF "BIG GOVERNMENT" BACK INTO *its proper*

PERSPECTIVE.

↳ TO DO SO, WE MUST UNDERSTAND CLEARLY WHY IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE
IN THIS ELECTION YEAR TO MAKE GOVERNMENT ITSELF A HEADLINE ISSUE.

↳ IN LESS THAN A DECADE, A SERIES OF PRECEDENT-SHATTERING EVENTS
DROVE A WEDGE BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT:

↳ THE ASSASSINATION OF A PRESIDENT AND OTHER RESPECTED POLITICAL
AND NATIONAL LEADERS . . . VIOLENT DISRUPTION IN OUR URBAN CENTERS . . .

A TRAGIC WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA THAT INEVITABLY LOST THE PEOPLE'S
SUPPORT . . . GROSS MISMANAGEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY . . .

DECEPTION AND CORRUPTION THAT REACHED INTO THE OVAL OFFICE

ITSELF AND EVENTUALLY DROVE AN ELECTED VICE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT

FROM OFFICE . . . THE ABANDONMENT OR MISMANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL

PROGRAMS THAT INITIALLY WERE PRESENTED TO THE PEOPLE AS SOLUTIONS

TO MANY OF AMERICA'S MOST TROUBLING AND DEEPLY-ROOTED DOMESTIC

PROBLEMS . . . ALL OF THESE EVENTS CAME TOGETHER IN THE 1960'S

AND 1970'S.

↳ THESE EVENTS WERE PARTICULARLY UPSETTING BECAUSE THEY SEEMED

TO VIOLATE OUR DEEPLY-ROOTED FAITH IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S

COMMITMENT TO PROTECT AND PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE.

↳ THEY ONLY DEEPEINED THE SHOCK OF DISILLUSIONMENT -- PERHAPS

EVEN THE SENSE OF BETRAYAL -- THAT GRIPPED AMERICANS AS THE

PRESIDENCY AND OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WERE BUFFETED BY THE EVENTS

OF THE PAST FEW YEARS.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IS IT ANY WONDER THAT IT BECAME *Politically*
ATTRACTIVE TO ATTACK THE INSTITUTIONS IDENTIFIED WITH THIS TIME
OF TROUBLE?

L BUT THOSE WHO LEAD THE ATTACK GIVE US A VERY INCOMPLETE AND
MISLEADING PICTURE.

L MANY CRITICS OF GOVERNMENT NEGLECT THE STRIKING RECORD OF
ACHIEVEMENT THAT OCCURRED IN THE MIDST OF OUR RECENT POLITICAL
UPHEAVALS. MORE IMPORTANT, THEY OVERLOOK NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF THE
SYSTEM'S CONTINUING ABILITY TO CORRECT AND TO CHANGE WHAT HAD GONE

WRONG. THOSE WHO VIEW THE AMERICAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AS THE
PRIMARY CAUSE OF OUR PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY
TO EXPLAIN HOW THE FOLLOWING COULD COME TO PASS:

-- IN 1964, 36 MILLION AMERICANS WERE LIVING BELOW THE
SUBSISTENCE LEVEL, THE POVERTY LINE. BUT BY 1969, FIVE SHORT YEARS
AFTER PRESIDENT JOHNSON LAUNCHED THE WAR ON POVERTY, THIS NUMBER
HAD BEEN REDUCED BY 11 MILLION, THE LARGEST PROPORTIONAL DECLINE
IN POVERTY IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

L-- IN THE MID-60'S, FEDERAL AID WAS FIRST MADE AVAILABLE TO
IMPROVE SCHOOLS IN ECONOMICALLY DEPRESSED AREAS AND TO EXPAND
SIGNIFICANTLY SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE TO DESERVING UNDERGRADUATES.

L THIS FINANCIAL AID WAS LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR DOUBLING THE NUMBER
OF STUDENTS IN OUR COLLEGES DURING THE 1960'S.

L-- MEDICARE AND MEDICAID WERE ESTABLISHED IN THE 60'S TO
PROVIDE THE ELDERLY AND THE NEEDY WITH ESSENTIAL HEALTH CARE SERVICES.

L BY THE LATE 1960'S, TWENTY MILLION AMERICANS WERE RECEIVING QUALITY
MEDICAL ATTENTION EACH YEAR BECAUSE OF THESE IMPORTANT PROGRAMS.

↳ THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT WAS ESTABLISHED, AND MAJOR PROGRAMS WERE LAUNCHED TO INCREASE THE NATION'S SUPPLY OF GOOD HOUSING AND TO REBUILD AND IMPROVE OUR CITIES.

Building on the average - 2 million housing units

↳ SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY, THESE STORIES OF SOLID ACCOMPLISHMENT WERE LOST IN THE BLIZZARD OF HEADLINES AND TV NEWSCASTS DESCRIBING OUR GOVERNMENT'S FAILURES. BUT AN HONEST ACCOUNTING REQUIRES THAT THE SUCCESSES, AS WELL AS THE FAILURES, BE ACKNOWLEDGED.

AND THERE WAS OTHER EVIDENCE OF OUR SYSTEM'S BASIC HEALTH:

↳ FIRST, WATERGATE WAS A DECISIVE TEST OF OUR CONSTITUTION. AS A NATION, WE PASSED THE TEST ADMIRABLY.

↳ MR. NIXON'S RESIGNATION WAS A DRAMATIC REAFFIRMATION OF THE PROPOSITION THAT GOVERNMENT DERIVES ITS JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

AND AS A RESULT, WE HAVE ESTABLISHED A NEW PUBLIC AWARENESS

THAT INTEGRITY, RESPONSIVENESS, AND OPENNESS ARE STANDARDS BY

WHICH TO JUDGE THE CONDUCT OF ELECTED OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES,

SECOND, MILLIONS OF AMERICANS JOINED THE ACTIVE POLITICAL

LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY FOR THE FIRST TIME. BLACKS, MEXICAN-AMERICANS,

PUERTO RICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES, ^{women,} ALONG WITH OUR YOUNG PEOPLE,

FOUGHT FOR AND ACHIEVED THE RIGHTS OF FULL CITIZENSHIP.

HUNDREDS OF THESE CITIZENS HOLD HIGH OFFICE THROUGHOUT GOVERNMENT

TODAY. IN ADDITION, WOMEN OCCUPIED INCREASINGLY SIGNIFICANT

PLACES IN ALL ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE. (Black Elected Officials 200 - to 2000)

Voting Rights Act voter Registration - more than 1,000,000 new Black Registrations

IN INDUSTRY, LABOR AND OUR ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS, OPPORTUNITIES

FOR MINORITIES WERE OPENED UP AND EXPANDED GREATLY DUE INITIALLY

TO THE DECISIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

L IN THE EARLY 1960's, THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
BY RACE, AGE, OR SEX WERE IGNORED OR SCORNE~~D~~. L By 1972, THE
BARRIERS WERE LARGELY GONE.

L THIRD, ON THE POLITICAL FRONT, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY COMPLETELY
OVER-HAULED ITS INTERNAL RULES AND PROCEDURES -- ~~NOT ONCE BUT~~
~~THREE~~ -- TOWARD THE GOAL OF FULL PARTICIPATION BY ALL OUR PEOPLE.

L WE SEARCH AMERICAN HISTORY IN VAIN FOR A COMPARABLE PERIOD
OF SUCH MASSIVE, ACROSS-THE-BOARD ENLARGEMENT OF OUR CITIZENS'
RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES.

L IN THESE YEARS WE WITNESSED FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN CONGRESS
AND OUR STATE LEGISLATURES L AND THESE CHANGES WERE CONSISTENTLY
IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER OPENNESS, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND
RESPONSIVENESS TO THE PEOPLE.

L IN CONGRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, WE ABOLISHED THE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC
TRADITION OF SENIORITY AS A SOLE FACTOR IN SELECTING COMMITTEE
CHAIRMEN, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, EVEN JOINT SENATE-HOUSE CONFERENCES,
WERE OPENED TO FULL PUBLIC VIEW.

L CONGRESS ALSO ESTABLISHED A NEW BUDGET PROCESS THAT FORCES
ALL COMMITTEES AND MEMBERS TO SET BASIC BUDGET PRIORITIES AND
THEN LIVE BY THAT DISCIPLINE.

L WE INSULATED THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING AND ELECTION PROCESS
FROM THE PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF SPECIAL INTERESTS ATTEMPTING TO
BUY FAVORED TREATMENT THROUGH HUGE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

L WE PASSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS THAT PROVIDED FOR
PRESIDENTIAL DISABILITY AND SUCCESSION AND THAT EXTENDED THE
RIGHTS OF FULL CITIZENSHIP TO EIGHTEEN YEAR-OLDS.

Fed. Exp. and % of GNP (Actual)

1952 - 20.5%

1962 - 19.6%

1972 - 20.9%

1974 - 21.3%

1975 - 23.8% (due to GNP drop and anti-recession spending)

U.S. Housing Production
(million units)

1968 - 1.6

1969 - 1.5

1970 - 1.5

1971 - 2.1

1972 - 2.4

1973 - 2.1

1974 - 1.4

1975 - 1.2

L So, THERE IS FAR MORE TO THE ISSUE OF SO-CALLED "BIG GOVERNMENT" THAN IS BEING TOLD BY THE CRITICS.

L LET US APPROACH THIS ISSUE DIRECTLY BY ADMITTING AT THE OUTSET THAT, INDEED, GOVERNMENT HAS GROWN OVER THE YEARS.

L BUT LET US RECOGNIZE IMMEDIATELY THAT GROWTH IN GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN PLACE ALMOST ENTIRELY AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS.

L THE NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TODAY IS BARELY MORE THAN THE NUMBER EMPLOYED IN THE LATE 1940's ^{Early 1950's}

L EVEN THE MUCH-MALIGNED FEDERAL BUDGET IS ABOUT THE SAME PERCENTAGE OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT TODAY AS IT WAS IN THE EARLY 1950's. (Example - (X) See other Page)

L So, LET US NOT RAISE "STRAW-MEN" ON THIS ISSUE ^{of Big Government.}
1 Lets CUT THROUGH THE RHETORIC AND RECOGNIZE CERTAIN INESCAPABLE FACTS:

L-- IT IS A FACT THAT NO GOVERNOR ALONE, NO STATE LEGISLATURE --
NO MATTER HOW KNOWLEDGEABLE -- CAN PLAN AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY OR
PROVIDE A NATIONAL FOOD POLICY OR A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL HEALTH CARE.

L-- IT IS A FACT THAT ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN ESTABLISH
A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE, VETERAN'S BENEFITS, AND
THE LIKE.

L-- IT IS A FACT THAT ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN PROTECT
BANK DEPOSITS, REGULATE A STOCK MARKET TO PREVENT FRAUD AND
DECEPTION, HELP ASSURE CONSUMERS THAT PRODUCTS THEY BUY MEET
STANDARDS OF SAFETY AND GOOD HEALTH, AND ADMINISTER AN EQUITABLE
TAX STRUCTURE.

L-- IT IS A FACT THAT ONLY A STRONG AND EFFICIENTLY ADMINISTERED
in Partnership with State govt
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CAN PROTECT AND CONSERVE OUR FORESTS, PUBLIC
LANDS AND WATERS AND WILDERNESS AREAS.

↳ IT IS A FACT THAT ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS THE
AUTHORITY AND ABILITY TO MAKE CIVIL RIGHTS A REALITY FOR EVERY
MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN EVERY STATE AND IN EVERY TOWNSHIP ACROSS
THIS GREAT LAND.

↳ SO, THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE IS NOT THE "BIGNESS" OR POWER OF
GOVERNMENT TODAY. RATHER, IT IS WHETHER OUR INSTITUTIONS OF

GOVERNMENT WILL BE USED IN BEHALF OF ALL THE PEOPLE, OR WHETHER

ITS FAVORS WILL BE RESERVED PRIMARILY FOR ~~THE FEW AND THE RICH.~~

*a selected few and
fortunate.*

↳ FOR THE PAST TWO GENERATIONS, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS
COMMITTED ITSELF TO USING GOVERNMENTAL POWER IN A WAY THAT

PROTECTS THE INTERESTS OF ALL CITIZENS, BUT PARTICULARLY THOSE
WHO LACK THE WEALTH, POWER AND POSITION TO SPEAK EFFECTIVELY FOR

THEMSELVES. IT IS THIS TRADITION THAT DEMOCRATS MUST REAFFIRM IN

THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

ALL TOO OFTEN THE EFFORTS OF ~~THE~~ DEMOCRATIC
ADMINISTRATIONS WERE INTERPRETED AS BEING DIRECTED
PRIMARILY TO BENEFIT THE POOR AT THE EXPENSE OF
MIDDLE INCOME AND HIGHER INCOME AMERICANS. TO BE SURE,
THERE HAS BEEN A CONCERTED EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE
ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE DISADVANTAGED, ~~FOR EXAMPLE,~~
AID TO EDUCATION IS NOT ONLY OF BENEFIT TO THE CHILD OF
A POVERTY FAMILY BUT IMPROVES THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION
FOR EVERY CHILD.
MEDICARE KNOWS NO ECONOMIC STATUS. HOUSING PROGRAMS
WERE NOT JUST FOR THE POOR, ~~FOR~~ NINETY PER CENT OF ALL
FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN HOUSING WENT TO MIDDLE INCOME
AMERICANS. AND SOCIAL SECURITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT
COMPENSATION ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE WHO WERE ON
PAYROLLS -- THE VAST MAJORITY BEING MIDDLE INCOME AMERICANS.

THE SIMPLE TRUTH IS THAT PROGRAMS STRETCHING
FROM PUBLIC WORKS, MEDICARE, SOCIAL SECURITY,
AID TO EDUCATION, FAIR LABOR STANDARDS -- MANY OF
WHICH HELP THE POOR -- DO MUCH MORE FOR THE REST

OF US. — and during these recent
months of Recession and unemployment
may very well have saved
us from economic collapse.

AND, IT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED CLEARLY THAT BUILDING THIS
TRADITION HAS TAKEN A GREAT DEAL OF HARD WORK.

↳ THE LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MID-1960'S -- MEDICARE,
FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION, CIVIL RIGHTS, THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM,
FOR EXAMPLE -- WERE NOT THE OVERNIGHT PRODUCTS OF A SKILLFUL

PRESIDENT AND A COMPLIANT CONGRESS.

↳ LITERALLY YEARS OF EFFORT WERE REQUIRED IN MOST INSTANCES TO
BUILD A WINNING COMBINATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVOCACY, CONGRESSIONAL
SUPPORT, AND BROAD PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE.

↳ THESE ARE VICTORIES NOT TO BE THROWN AWAY LIGHTLY.

↳ HOWEVER, WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT GOVERNMENT MUST NECESSARILY
PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF EQUALITY AND
OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA, WE NEED NOT DEFEND BLINDLY EVERYTHING
THAT GOVERNMENT HAS DONE IN THE PAST 40 YEARS.

L I DON'T KNOW ANYONE WHO DENIES THAT MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE
OR THAT EXPECTATIONS HAVE SOMETIMES OUTDISTANCED THE GOVERNMENT'S
CAPACITY TO DELIVER RESULTS.

L MOREOVER, THERE IS A SPECIAL OBLIGATION ON THOSE OF US WHO
BELIEVE IN POSITIVE AND STRONG GOVERNMENT TO UNDERSTAND AND CORRECT
THESE SHORTCOMINGS ~~AND, I HAVE NO DOUBT WHATEVER THAT THESE~~
~~IMPROVEMENTS CAN BE MADE.~~

L WE MUST FIND BETTER WAYS TO MAKE BROAD GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS
ACTUALLY MEET OR RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, IN A
LARGE AND DIVERSE NATION OF MANY REGIONS, GROUPS, AND LOCALITIES.

L IT IS PRECISELY AT THIS POINT THAT THE RED TAPE AND BUREAUCRACY OF
NATIONAL STANDARDS OR REQUIREMENTS, OR EVALUATION AND CLEARANCE
PROCEDURES, IN THE OPERATION OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS CAN
TURN INTO BARRIERS TO GETTING THE JOB DONE.

WE MUST DO A BETTER JOB OF ASSURING THAT OUR PROGRAMS ARE
EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT.

I HAVE OFFERED LEGISLATION REQUIRING CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT
TO UNDERTAKE A COMPLETE REVIEW OF ALL EXISTING GOVERNMENT RULES AND
REGULATIONS. THOSE THAT STILL MEET THE PUBLIC INTEREST WOULD BE
CONTINUED AND THOSE THAT DO NOT WILL BE ELIMINATED.

my legislation
IT FURTHER REQUIRES AN IN-DEPTH EVALUATION EACH YEAR OF
TWENTY PERCENT OF THE DOLLAR VOLUME OF EXISTING FEDERAL PROGRAMS.

THUS, ALL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS WOULD RECEIVE A SPECIAL INTENSIVE
EVALUATION AT LEAST ONCE EVERY FIVE YEARS.

*If they work,
they will be continued; if they have
outlived their usefulness they should
be abandoned.*

h IN THE LATE 1960's, WE WERE WELL ALONG TOWARD DEVISING BETTER
COORDINATION OF THE PROGRAMS OF VARIOUS FEDERAL AGENCIES, AND JOINT
EFFORTS BY FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN ADDRESSING MAJOR
PROBLEMS ACROSS THE NATION.

L OUR GOAL WAS TO CUT DOWN ON THE NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE
DECISIONS THAT HAD TO MOVE THROUGH WASHINGTON-BASED BUREAUCRACIES
AND TO ENCOURAGE GREATER FLEXIBILITY AND IMAGINATION IN ADAPTING
NATIONAL PROGRAMS TO LOCAL NEEDS.

L AND WE WERE MAKING REAL HEADWAY.

L THEN A NEW REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION CAME TO POWER.

L WE ALL KNOW THAT GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS CAN BE NO MORE
EFFECTIVE THAN THE DEDICATION AND COMMITMENT OF THOSE IN CHARGE.

L AND THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION HAS UNDERCUT ALMOST EVERY

DEMOCRATIC EFFORT LAUNCHED IN THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON YEARS.

WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN AN ORDERLY AND CONSTRUCTIVE PROCESS OF PERFECTING THE BEGINNINGS OF THE LATE 1960's, TURNED INTO A BITTER STRUGGLE BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE REPUBLICAN WHITE HOUSE JUST TO KEEP THE PROGRAMS ALIVE.

BUDGETS WERE SLASHED, FUNDS WERE IMPOUNDED, CAREER CIVIL SERVANTS WERE HARASSED, INCOMPETENT POLITICAL APPOINTEES WERE INSTALLED TO DISMANTLE CONGRESSIONALLY-MANDATED PROGRAMS. CRIES OF HELP FROM STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS WERE IGNORED.

THESE TRAGIC AND UNHAPPY YEARS OF THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION PROVIDE NO BASIS WHATEVER ON WHICH TO JUDGE THE IMPACT OF A NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION STAFFED BY COMPETENT AND CARING PEOPLE AND SUPPORTED BY A PRESIDENT DETERMINED TO USE THE GOVERNMENT'S POWER IN BEHALF OF ALL AMERICANS.

L I'VE NEVER BEEN ONE TO SPEND MUCH TIME BEMOANING MISTAKES OF THE PAST. L OUR JOB NOW IS TO BEGIN DEVISING A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS -- ONE THAT DELIVERS RESULTS AND KEEPS ITS WORD.

L IT WOULD BE A VERY GRAVE ERROR TO ASSUME THAT AMERICANS HAVE PERMANENTLY WASHED THEIR HANDS OF A STRONG AND ACTIVE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. L WHAT THEY ARE SEEKING IS A GOVERNMENT THAT DEMONSTRATES A NEW COMPETENCE, A NEW SENSE OF FAIRNESS AND A NEW CONCERN FOR INDIVIDUALS.

L WHEN AMERICANS AGAIN ENCOUNTER THAT KIND OF RESPONSIVENESS, I PREDICT THAT THE PEOPLE'S TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT WILL AGAIN BECOME A DOMINANT FACT OF OUR POLITICAL LIFE.

L HOW CAN WE GET THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT?

FIRST, WE NEED LEADERSHIP TO RALLY THE CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THE PEOPLE.

AND SECOND, WE NEED IMAGINATION TO DEVISE NEW RELATIONSHIPS
AMONG OUR GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S COMMON SENSE, INGENUITY AND BASIC SENSE OF
FAIRNESS.

L A PRESIDENT MUST LEAD BY PERSUASION. NOT COMMAND! THERE IS NO OTHER WAY

THAT OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM CAN BE MADE TO WORK. THE PRESIDENT
MUST BE A PERSON WHO CAN WIN THE WILLING COOPERATION OF INDIVIDUAL
CITIZENS.

L THERE IS AN ~~EXTRAORDINARY~~ URGENT NEED TODAY FOR THE NEXT
PRESIDENT TO MOVE BEYOND THE CONFRONTATION AND STALEMATE THAT
HAVE CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITOL HILL AND THE WHITE
HOUSE FOR THE LAST EIGHT YEARS.

h THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST BE WILLING TO TAKE CONGRESS SERIOUSLY,
TO LISTEN TO THE VIEWPOINT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES, AND
TO ENLIST CONGRESS AS AN ALLY IN A COMMON EFFORT TO PROVIDE THE
PEOPLE WITH RESPONSIVE AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT.

h THIS NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE
BRANCHES IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL IF WE HOPE TO REBUILD THE TRUST
AND CONFIDENCE OF AMERICANS.

~~THE GUIDING THEME OF THE NEXT NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION MUST
BE THAT OF ENLISTING OUR PEOPLE AND THEIR ELECTED OFFICIALS AT
ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AS COMMON PARTNERS IN ESTABLISHING BROAD
POLICY OBJECTIVES AND DEVISING IMAGINATIVE, FLEXIBLE AND
PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS.~~

h IN RECENT WEEKS I HAVE PROPOSED A NUMBER OF INNOVATIONS THAT
WILL MOVE OUR GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES TOWARD A NEW RESPONSIVENESS.

FIRST, GOVERNORS SHOULD BE DRAWN INTO CLOSER COORDINATION

WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS,

↳ THESE REGIONAL COUNCILS WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANNING

AND ADMINISTERING FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN THEIR AREA, ON THE BASIS

OF PLANS PREPARED BY THE GOVERNORS OF EACH REGION, WORKING

COOPERATIVELY WITH REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FEDERAL

DEPARTMENTS.

SECOND, WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

IS NOT JUST THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON. IT IS A NATIONAL

GOVERNMENT — *Federal-State Local*

↳ THE MODERN PRESIDENCY, THEREFORE, SHOULD INCLUDE THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL COUNCIL, CONSISTING OF THE 50 GOVERNORS

AND THE PRESIDENT. — *@ Super Cabinet.*

Federal
THE COUNCIL SHOULD MEET REGULARLY SO THAT THE PRESIDENT CAN
OUTLINE TO THE GOVERNORS HIS PROPOSALS AND INITIATIVES, AND RECEIVE
FROM THE GOVERNORS THEIR ADVICE AND COUNSEL IN THE PREPARATION
OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET, THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS, AND
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDERAL LAWS.

THIRD, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, THE NEXT PRESIDENT
MUST PLACE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON STRUCTURING HIS ADMINISTRATION IN
A WAY THAT COMPLAINTS AND PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS ARE
TAKEN SERIOUSLY, AND RESOLVED QUICKLY.

"SERVE THE PEOPLE", MUST BE THE MOTTO OF THE NEXT
ADMINISTRATION.

FOURTH THE NEXT PRESIDENT SHOULD APPOINT IMMEDIATELY A
NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE ORGANIZATION AND EFFICIENCY OF THE
GOVERNMENT.

L THE BROWNLOW COMMISSION APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND

THE HOOVER COMMISSION APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT TRUMAN BOTH MADE

HISTORIC CONTRIBUTIONS IN BUILDING A MORE RESPONSIVE EXECUTIVE

BRANCH. L IT IS NOW TIME FOR A NEW EFFORT.

(Congressional Reorganization)

L FINALLY, MUCH OF THE PUBLIC'S RECENT DISAFFECTION WITH

GOVERNMENT CAN BE TRACED DIRECTLY TO THE SHAMEFUL PERFORMANCE OF

OUR ECONOMY.

L THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE LAST EIGHT YEARS HAVE BEEN

CHAOTIC, VACILLATING FROM DIRECT CONTROLS, FREEZES, AND PHASES

TO THE PRESENT POLICY OF DOING NOTHING.

L THE MAJOR FACTOR IN OUR DISASTROUS ECONOMIC RECORD IS THE

ABSENCE OF ANY COHERENT PLANNING FUNCTION THAT INVOLVES THE

WHOLE OF AMERICAN SOCIETY.

WE HAVE LURCHED FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS, TRYING TO PATCH TOGETHER

AN ECONOMIC POLICY THAT WILL GET US THROUGH THE NEXT YEAR OR SO.

THE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND BALANCED GROWTH ACT OF 1976 THAT

I RECENTLY INTRODUCED WITH REPRESENTATIVE AUGUSTUS HAWKINS OF

CALIFORNIA REPRESENTS A FIRST STEP IN DEVISING AN OPEN PROCESS

TO DEVELOP ANNUAL AND LONGER-RANGE ECONOMIC GOALS, AS WELL AS

TO IDENTIFY AHEAD OF TIME THE SPECIFIC POLICIES TO ACHIEVE THESE

GOALS. *proposal deemed* ~~IT IS A~~ TO ACHIEVE THE GREAT UNREALIZED POTENTIAL

OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

THESE ARE JUST SOME OF THE APPROACHES THAT WOULD BEGIN TO
EQUIP OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WITH THE TOOLS IT NEEDS TO SOLVE

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS.

h AND OUR CITIZENS WILL RESPOND TO THIS GOVERNMENT BECAUSE
IT WILL CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THAT IT LISTENS TO THEM AND ACTS
WISELY AND DECISIVELY ON THEIR BEHALF.

L MOST CRITICS OF GOVERNMENT HAVE OVERLOOKED THE CONTINUING
FAITH THAT AMERICANS PLACE IN OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM.

DESPIITE THE FAILURES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS OF RECENT YEARS, THERE
HAS BEEN NO POPULAR OUTCRY FOR WHOLESAL CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM
OR FOR JUNKING OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

h THE UNDERPINNINGS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY ARE SOUND. THE
PEOPLE HAVE NOT ABANDONED HOPE AND THEY UNDERSTAND CLEARLY
THAT OUR SOCIETY COULD NEVER SURVIVE WITHOUT AN ACTIVE AND
STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

WHAT THE PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING TODAY, AND WHAT IT IS THE DUTY OF ELECTED LEADERS TO PROVIDE, IS A GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS, ONE THAT IS COMPETENT, ONE THAT IS FAIR, AND ONE THAT CARES ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.

THIS WILL REQUIRE IMAGINATION AND PERSEVERANCE. BUT, ABOVE ALL, IT WILL REQUIRE THE LEADERSHIP OF A PRESIDENT WHO BELIEVES THAT GOVERNMENT CAN AGAIN BE A VITAL FORCE FOR JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA -- A TRUE STEWARD AND GUARDIAN OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

WORKING WITH CONGRESS AND WITH OUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, SUCH A PRESIDENT -- IF HE REALLY CARES -- CAN GRADUALLY TURN OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AROUND, AWAY FROM PETTY EFFORTS AT POLITICAL EMPIRE-BUILDING, AND TOWARD GOVERNMENT'S ONLY LEGITIMATE FUNCTION: SERVING THE PEOPLE WHO PAY THE BILLS.

GOVERNOR ADLAI STEVENSON ONCE SPOKE ABOUT THE REQUIREMENTS OF
SELF-GOVERNMENT. HIS WORDS PROVIDE A COMPELLING ANSWER TO THOSE WHO
ATTACK GOVERNMENT TODAY, AS WELL AS A STIRRING REMINDER TO THOSE OF
US WHOSE FAITH IN GOVERNMENT STILL LIVES. ADLAI STEVENSON SAID:

"DEMOCRACY IS NOT SELF-EXECUTING. WE HAVE TO MAKE IT WORK,
AND TO MAKE IT WORK WE HAVE TO UNDERSTAND IT. SOBER THOUGHT
AND FEARLESS CRITICISM ARE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT CRITICAL THINKERS
AND THINKING CRITICS.

"DEMOCRACY'S NEED FOR WISDOM WILL REMAIN AS PERENNIAL AS ITS
NEED FOR LIBERTY; NOT ONLY EXTERNAL VIGILANCE, BUT UNENDING
SELF-EXAMINATION MUST BE THE PERENNIAL PRICE OF LIBERTY BECAUSE
THE WORK OF SELF-GOVERNMENT NEVER CEASES."



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