

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ANNUAL MEETING

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Washington, D.C.

May 14, 1976

Your topic this year is wisely chosen. Not only does America face many critical choices at this time in our history, but it has become imperative that we debate and decide them now.

It is even more imperative, however, that we actually make these tough decisions. After all, this is not the first year in which we have faced admittedly crucial decisions. It is not the first year in which we have said, "Something must be done immediately!"

But faced with the enormity of the choices before us, we have too often found a way to delay, to say, "Something must be done soon," or "something must be done after we have heard from this or that blue-ribbon commission, or after more facts are in."

In the meantime, what began as small but pressing problems became crisis conditions begging for remedy.

It is nearly 30 years since the Paley Commission predicted serious scarcities in our energy resources -- but still we face grave uncertainties about the limits of our reserves and how to meet our energy demands in the years to come.

And it is more than 40 years since the Great Depression brought this nation to its knees -- but still we have not found a way to ensure our prosperity and provide every American with a productive place in our future.

However, I have hope for this special year in our history. I have hope that Americans will find the courage to take control of their destiny -- that they will finally decide what kind of a society we want our children to live in.

There is no greater obstacle before us this year than the belief that things can't be changed: the kind of small-minded attitude that says, "Well, it would be nice if we could make it better -- but that's just the way it is!"

That kind of thinking is not only wrong -- it is a slander on the American spirit. It ignores every great achievement of this nation, from our struggle for independence to the space program.

The fact is, my friends, that anything made by man can be changed by man, whether it is an economic trend, a government policy or a city of ten million people. We can do anything we set our minds to -- anything we decide to do.

And, the best place to begin making those tough but vital decisions is in our cities. By the end of this century -- which is not far away -- this nation will have more than 250 million inhabitants, 85 percent of whom will be living in urban areas with populations of 50,000 or more.

So when we talk about our cities, we are talking about nothing less significant than the future of four out of five American citizens. We are talking about the future of almost all of our grandchildren and their children.

Anthropologists tell me that civilized man has been around for for about 60,000 years -- and they praise his progress, his ingenuity and his incredible adaptability. And I am an optimist myself -- I always have been.

But when I walk through our great cities, when I see the decay and the rubble and the wholesale neglect of human dignity to be found there, I am compelled to ask, "What progress? What ingenuity? What conceivable dereliction of human responsibility could ancient Cairo or Carthage have had which cannot be found here?"

Is this the inheritance which we will pass on to posterity? Is this the best we can do for our children and their children? Is this the way we want them to remember how much we cared for their future?

My friends, I hope that it is not.

The city is the most efficient way for human beings to live. And in the pursuit of that efficiency, we have done great things. Our cities have become priceless centers of trade, of culture and of communications. They have traditionally been in the forefront of social programs and innovative ideas. I love the excitement, the diversity, the tolerance and the compassion that have characterized our cities.

There is no law of nature that says our cities have to be sterile deserts of concrete, and it is not an immutable fact of life that our public places must be ugly or devoid of artistry or color. Human beings need human cities. And our cities, for all their awesome size and complexity, are nothing more than human inventions -- which can be changed and modified and improved by human hands.

Where do we begin the restoration of our cities? First, we need a full-scale commitment to do for our own embattled cities what we did for our European friends in the 1940's -- we need a Marshall Plan for the Cities.

Such a plan would recognize the need to rebuild, rehabilitate and repair what is good in our cities, and to create new facilities where they are needed. It would include capable planners and designers to see to it that our human environment does not become -- whether by accident or oversight -- an inhuman monstrosity and a weight on our spirit.

To do this, we are going to need money, and we are going to need a system of loans and grants to make construction and rebuilding possible. And that money is going to have to come at interest rates that make it possible to build at reasonable cost.

We are going to have to make mortgage money available so that our young families can acquire homes of their own. That is essential: because if you want to ensure a person's commitment to the quality of the community, and guarantee that he or she will work hard to make a contribution to their neighborhoods -- then let them own a piece of it! There is nothing like ownership to make a citizen out of an occupant.

Finally, we are going to have to conserve our communities. We are going to have to give up our "throw-away" notion of the city -- the idea that when something is old or worn, it is time to build something new elsewhere. That is not only wasteful, it disrupts the lives of those who live in our communities. And believe me, you cannot make people better citizens or happier human beings by forcing them to move into faceless towers of stone far from the neighborhoods and friends they know and care about.

No, we must conserve what is best in our existing neighborhoods. We must repair where possible and rebuild where necessary. In that way we will not only conserve valuable resources and architecture, but we will conserve our citizens' sense of place, and their relation to the world around them.

That is one great decision facing this country. Another, perhaps even greater decision, is whether or not we really want every American to be part of the general good -- whether or not we want each of our people to take his or her part in building tomorrow's prosperity.

Now, there are those who tell us that millions of Americans must be without work, that millions of lives must be full of suffering and sorrow and self-contempt -- because there is simply no place for them in "the system."

They tell us that these people cannot become a productive part of our nation's livelihood because "market forces" simply won't permit it.

Well, let me tell you something: to the man who wants to work so badly that it is a dull ache in his life, and to the woman who wants to give her family a nourishing meal and decent warm clothing and maybe a little something extra now and then -- to these people, those "market forces" don't mean any more than flying saucers.

My friends, I have looked into the Bible, and market forces are not mentioned there as a deity. I have searched the Talmud and no mention is made of worshipping at the shrine of the market forces.

I did find a good deal in both those books about the dignity of work and the priceless human spirit -- and I found much about how a life can be made meaningful when there is a goal to work for.

We have been indoctrinated into believing that these "market forces" are some sort of independent spirit that moves in the world, over which we are powerless to act and of which we must stand in awe. But a little girl named Dorothy felt the same way about the Wizard of Oz -- and when the curtain was pulled away, he turned out to be just another human being, after all.

One of the critical choices we are going to have to make is how much we are willing to worship these market forces. We can bow down to them and offer up the sacrifice of millions of American citizens without jobs, and millions of lives without hope or promise. But it won't do us any more good than a rain dance.

It will do us terrible harm. It will guarantee us a permanent class of unemployed, a class which for two or three generations has lost its skills and its habits of work, a class whose only experience is welfare, unemployment and crime, a class which feels no connection to the rest of society or the world around it.

That outcome is patently unthinkable in the world's greatest democracy -- but it is coming true right now, while we are gathered together here.

On the other hand, we have it in our power to change those conditions. We have it in our power to give the promise of work -- useful work and the pride of accomplishment -- to every adult in this country.

We have it in our power to stand committed to human dignity and pledged unshakeably to the right of every citizen to contribute to our progress.

We have it in our power to say that the status quo is not holy and that market forces are not divinely inspired -- that our economy, like any other human invention, can be changed and modified by human beings.

Such a plan -- the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act -- is now in the Congress, authored by myself and Representative Augustus Hawkins of California.

It provides an economic policy process under which tax, credit and budget policies will be followed that will help private enterprise swell the ranks of their workers. It provides supplemental programs to provide jobs and meet important public needs when the private job market is inadequate. And if all other machinery fails -- which is not likely -- it authorizes the government to become the employer of last resort. This bill is based on the simple premise that work is better than welfare, and that paychecks are better than unemployment checks.

In making this commitment to full employment, which the Humphrey-Hawkins bill calls for, we can not only cut the alarming cost of maintaining a welfare and relief society, but we can achieve something very precious: we can give every American a stake in our future and a productive role to play in our common undertakings.

But if we are going to achieve those goals, we cannot go about it in a piecemeal manner. For much too long, the decisions this government has made have been determined by little more than crisis reactions to crisis situations.

We can no longer afford that kind of wasteful and confusing method of choosing our priorities. We must have some kind of sensible planning for the future.

As it stands now, we have no way at all to systematically anticipate our future needs. We have no way of knowing what crises of shortage we may face, or what kinds of goods and services will be in demand.

Worse yet, the American businessman never knows what government is going to do next -- because government itself doesn't know. There are no announced overall goals, no long-term policies and no systematic attempt to foresee and forestall problems.

We need to improve and expand our flow of information about economic activity, and we need to monitor present and projected developments much more carefully. And once we have that information, we need to devise rational goals and stick to them, for the good of our government and the business community which depends upon its decisions.

Yet despite these pressing needs and common-sense priorities, there are those in both political parties who are telling us that, if anything, we need less government -- that our system of government, now two hundred years old, has become onerous and intolerable.

Now, no one seriously doubts that we can make great improvements in the efficiency and productivity of government institutions, and no one doubts that we can do much more to eliminate waste. Congress has already made enormous progress in those areas.

But the critics of government are quick to forget that more than 20 million Americans receive quality medical attention today because Medicaid and Medicare were established. They forget the millions of students who only were able to attend college because of Federal aid, and the tens of millions who in their later years are being protected by Social Security from destitution and misery.

So when you hear these voices raised against Washington and the wisdom of the American people as it has been expressed for 200 years, you should listen to what they are not saying.

Try as they will to impugn the motives and condemn the workings of "big government," none of these critics has been able to explain how we are supposed to get a "little" government which can conceivably serve the needs of 215 million Americans in the most complex society on earth.

Nor have they indicated how any other form of government is supposed to enforce our commitments to human rights and equal justice throughout the land: how it is supposed to develop national policies for clean air and water and the conservation of our forests; how it can exercise the broad taxing power needed to reach vast concentrations of wealth, or devise and pursue a systematic program of economic prosperity for all our people.

No, what these critics neglect to mention is that the real issue is not big government, it is responsive government, government that works. What they fail to realize is that our government is no better than the kind of people we get to make it work. What they have forgotten is that our institutions do not function as they should because the people running them are indifferent to their success -- or even outright opposed to their goals.

But let me assure you of something. When the American people get the kind of leadership they deserve, when they get public servants who actually serve the public, when they find a man or woman who can give them ideals to match their strength, challenges to match their imagination, and achievements to match their promises -- then you will see our present mistrust of government disappear like fog in the bright morning sunshine.

I tell you that America is begging for a challenge. I tell you that our people are ready to work for a better day, and they are waiting for someone with the courage and the vision to lead them. And I tell you that they will not be content with more of the same.

The people have seen what passes for leadership these days and they are disillusioned. They know that an Administration which offers them nothing more than business as usual is offering nothing more than trouble as usual.

That is why the Democrats are going to regain the Presidency this year -- and more than that, they are going to regain the confidence of the people.

A Democratic President will be elected because we need a government that cares about people:

-- a government that offers America a full employment policy that assures decent jobs and decent wages for all Americans;

-- a program of long overdue reform 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 service for all at the lowest possible cost;

-- a housing program that replaces slums with sound, low-cost, high quality housing, and interest rates that make home ownership a reality for working people once again;

-- a tax program that eliminates the glaring tax loopholes that make it possible for the super-rich and the giant corporations to pay little or nothing while the middle-income taxpayer bears the major burden of government expenditures;

-- a transportation program that meets the needs of urban and rural people;

-- an energy program that assures America of energy resources for decades to come;

-- and national leadership with compassion and understanding that is clearly "of, by and for the people."

But beyond those issues and programs, a Democratic President will be elected because he hears a voice being raised across this nation. It is a voice which is as old as the Revolution yet as new as the dawn of tomorrow. It is a voice within each one of us which says:

"We are Americans. We have endured too long with cowardly ideas and mediocre ambitions. We have watched the hopes of millions crumble and the dreams of millions fade. And it is not in us to accept that.

"We are a compassionate and a generous people. We will no longer tolerate the poverty of our brothers and sisters, and we will no longer allow them to be forgotten when it is in our power to help.

"We are a strong people and proud of our history. Give us a job and we will do it -- give us a challenge and we will meet it. We believe that this nation was founded on a promise -- a promise of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"We believe that we can keep that promise in our lifetime. And we will not rest until we have become the very best it is in us to be."

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*No Privacy*

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- ✓ Elmer Winter - President
  - ✓ Bertram Gold - Exec. V.P.
  - ✓ Alfred Moses - Chairman  
Domestic Affairs  
Comm.
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YOUR TOPIC THIS YEAR IS WISELY CHOSEN. NOT ONLY DOES AMERICA  
FACE MANY CRITICAL CHOICES AT THIS TIME IN OUR HISTORY, BUT IT  
HAS BECOME IMPERATIVE THAT WE DEBATE AND DECIDE THEM NOW.

↳ IT IS EVEN MORE IMPERATIVE, HOWEVER, THAT WE ACTUALLY MAKE  
THESE TOUGH DECISIONS. AFTER ALL, THIS IS NOT THE FIRST YEAR  
IN WHICH WE HAVE FACED ADMITTEDLY CRUCIAL DECISIONS. ↳ IT IS NOT  
THE FIRST YEAR IN WHICH WE HAVE SAID, "SOMETHING MUST BE DONE  
IMMEDIATELY!"

↳ BUT FACED WITH THE ENORMITY OF THE CHOICES BEFORE US, WE  
HAVE TOO OFTEN FOUND A WAY TO DELAY, TO SAY, "SOMETHING MUST  
BE DONE SOON," OR "SOMETHING MUST BE DONE AFTER WE HAVE HEARD  
FROM THIS OR THAT BLUE-RIBBON COMMISSION, OR AFTER MORE FACTS  
ARE IN."

L IN THE MEANTIME, WHAT BEGAN AS SMALL BUT PRESSING PROBLEMS  
BECAME CRISIS CONDITIONS BEGGING FOR REMEDY.

L IT IS NEARLY 30 YEARS SINCE THE PALEY COMMISSION PREDICTED  
SERIOUS SCARCITIES IN OUR ENERGY RESOURCES -- BUT STILL WE FACE  
GRAVE UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE LIMITS OF OUR RESERVES AND HOW  
TO MEET OUR ENERGY DEMANDS IN THE YEARS TO COME.

L AND IT IS MORE THAN 40 YEARS SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION  
BROUGHT THIS NATION TO ITS KNEES -- BUT STILL WE HAVE NOT FOUND  
A WAY TO ENSURE OUR PROSPERITY AND PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN WITH  
A PRODUCTIVE PLACE IN OUR FUTURE. *Job*

L HOWEVER, I HAVE HOPE FOR THIS SPECIAL YEAR IN OUR HISTORY. I  
HAVE HOPE THAT AMERICANS WILL FIND THE COURAGE TO TAKE CONTROL OF  
THEIR DESTINY -- THAT THEY WILL FINALLY DECIDE WHAT KIND OF A  
SOCIETY WE WANT OUR CHILDREN TO LIVE IN.

There is no greater obstacle before us this year than the belief that things can't be changed; the kind of small-minded attitude that says, "Well, it would be nice if we could make it better -- but that's just the way it is!"

That kind of thinking is not only wrong -- it is a slander on the American spirit. It ignores every great achievement of this nation, from our struggle for independence to the space program.

The fact is, ~~in fact~~, that anything made by man can be changed by man, whether it is an economic trend, a government policy or a city of ten million people. We can do anything we set our minds to -- anything we decide to do.

AND, THE BEST PLACE TO BEGIN MAKING THOSE TOUGH BUT VITAL  
DECISIONS IS IN OUR CITIES. BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY -- WHICH  
IS NOT FAR AWAY -- THIS NATION WILL HAVE MORE THAN 250 MILLION  
INHABITANTS, 85 PERCENT OF WHOM WILL BE LIVING IN URBAN AREAS  
WITH POPULATIONS OF 50,000 OR MORE.

SO WHEN WE TALK ABOUT OUR CITIES, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT ~~NOTHING~~  
~~LESS SIGNIFICANT~~ THE FUTURE OF FOUR OUT OF FIVE AMERICAN  
CITIZENS. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ALMOST ALL OF OUR  
GRANDCHILDREN AND THEIR CHILDREN.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS TELL ME THAT CIVILIZED MAN HAS BEEN AROUND  
FOR ABOUT 60,000 YEARS -- AND THEY PRAISE HIS PROGRESS, HIS  
INGENUITY AND HIS INCREDIBLE ADAPTABILITY. AND I AM AN OPTIMIST  
MYSELF -- I ALWAYS HAVE BEEN.

↳ BUT WHEN I WALK THROUGH OUR GREAT CITIES, WHEN I SEE THE DECAY

AND THE RUBBLE AND THE WHOLESAL NEGLECT OF HUMAN DIGNITY TO BE

FOUND THERE, I AM COMPELLED TO ASK, "WHAT PROGRESS? WHAT INGENUITY?"

↳ WHAT CONCEIVABLE DERELICTION OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY COULD ANCIENT

CAIRO OR CARTHAGE HAVE HAD WHICH CANNOT BE FOUND HERE?"

↳ IS THIS THE INHERITANCE WHICH WE WILL PASS ON TO POSTERITY?

↳ IS THIS THE BEST WE CAN DO FOR OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR CHILDREN?

↳ IS THIS THE WAY WE WANT THEM TO REMEMBER HOW MUCH WE CARED

FOR THEIR FUTURE?

↳ MY FRIENDS, I HOPE THAT IT IS NOT.

↳ THE CITY IS THE MOST EFFICIENT WAY FOR HUMAN BEINGS TO LIVE.

↳ AND IN THE PURSUIT OF THAT EFFICIENCY, WE HAVE DONE GREAT THINGS.

↳ OUR CITIES HAVE BECOME PRICELESS CENTERS OF TRADE, OF CULTURE AND

OF COMMUNICATIONS.

h THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS  
AND INNOVATIVE IDEAS. h I LOVE THE EXCITEMENT, THE DIVERSITY, THE  
TOLERANCE AND THE COMPASSION THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED OUR CITIES.

h THERE IS NO LAW OF NATURE THAT SAYS OUR CITIES HAVE TO BE  
STERILE DESERTS OF CONCRETE, AND IT IS NOT AN IMMUTABLE FACT OF  
LIFE THAT OUR PUBLIC PLACES MUST BE UGLY OR DEVOID OF ARTISTRY  
OR COLOR. h HUMAN BEINGS NEED HUMAN CITIES. h AND OUR CITIES, FOR  
ALL THEIR AWESOME SIZE AND COMPLEXITY, ARE NOTHING MORE THAN  
HUMAN INVENTIONS -- WHICH CAN BE CHANGED AND MODIFIED AND  
IMPROVED BY HUMAN HANDS.

But h WHERE DO WE BEGIN THE RESTORATION OF OUR CITIES? h FIRST, WE  
NEED A FULL-SCALE COMMITMENT TO DO FOR OUR OWN EMBATTLED CITIES  
WHAT WE DID FOR OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS IN THE 1940'S -- WE NEED A  
MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE CITIES.

↳ SUCH A PLAN WOULD RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO REBUILD, REHABILITATE  
AND REPAIR WHAT IS GOOD IN OUR CITIES, AND TO CREATE NEW  
FACILITIES WHERE THEY ARE NEEDED. ↳ IT WOULD INCLUDE CAPABLE  
PLANNERS AND DESIGNERS TO SEE TO IT THAT OUR HUMAN ENVIRONMENT  
DOES NOT BECOME -- WHETHER BY ACCIDENT OR OVERSIGHT -- AN  
INHUMAN MONSTROSITY AND A WEIGHT ON OUR SPIRIT.

↳ TO DO THIS, WE ARE GOING TO NEED MONEY, AND WE ARE GOING  
TO NEED A SYSTEM OF LOANS AND GRANTS TO MAKE CONSTRUCTION  
AND REBUILDING POSSIBLE. ↳ AND THAT MONEY IS GOING TO HAVE  
TO COME AT INTEREST RATES THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO BUILD AT  
REASONABLE COST.

↳ WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE MORTGAGE MONEY AVAILABLE SO  
THAT OUR YOUNG FAMILIES CAN ACQUIRE HOMES OF THEIR OWN.

↳ THAT IS ESSENTIAL; BECAUSE IF YOU WANT TO ENSURE A PERSON'S  
COMMITMENT TO THE QUALITY OF THE COMMUNITY, AND GUARANTEE THAT  
HE OR SHE WILL WORK HARD TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR  
NEIGHBORHOODS -- THEN LET THEM OWN A PIECE OF IT! ↳ THERE IS  
NOTHING LIKE OWNERSHIP TO MAKE A <sup>good</sup> CITIZEN OUT OF AN OCCUPANT.

↳ FINALLY, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO CONSERVE OUR COMMUNITIES.

↳ WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE UP OUR "THROW-AWAY" NOTION OF THE  
CITY -- THE IDEA THAT WHEN SOMETHING IS OLD OR WORN, IT IS TIME TO  
BUILD SOMETHING NEW ELSEWHERE ↳ THAT IS NOT ONLY WASTEFUL, IT  
DISRUPTS THE LIVES OF THOSE WHO LIVE IN OUR COMMUNITIES. ↳ AND  
BELIEVE ME, YOU CANNOT MAKE PEOPLE BETTER CITIZENS OR HAPPIER  
HUMAN BEINGS BY FORCING THEM TO MOVE INTO FACELESS TOWERS OF STONE  
FAR FROM THE NEIGHBORHOODS AND FRIENDS THEY KNOW AND CARE ABOUT.

h No, WE MUST CONSERVE WHAT IS BEST IN OUR EXISTING NEIGHBORHOODS,

h WE MUST REPAIR WHERE POSSIBLE AND REBUILD WHERE NECESSARY. IN

THAT WAY WE WILL NOT ONLY CONSERVE VALUABLE RESOURCES AND

ARCHITECTURE, BUT WE WILL CONSERVE OUR CITIZENS' SENSE OF PLACE,

AND THEIR RELATION TO THE WORLD AROUND THEM.

h THAT IS ONE GREAT DECISION FACING THIS COUNTRY. ANOTHER,

PERHAPS EVEN GREATER DECISION, IS WHETHER OR NOT WE REALLY WANT

EVERY AMERICAN TO BE PART OF THE GENERAL GOOD -- WHETHER OR NOT

WE WANT EACH OF OUR PEOPLE TO TAKE HIS OR HER PART IN BUILDING

TOMORROW'S PROSPERITY,

h Now, THERE ARE THOSE WHO TELL US THAT MILLIONS OF AMERICANS

MUST BE WITHOUT WORK, THAT MILLIONS OF LIVES MUST BE FULL OF

SUFFERING AND SORROW AND SELF-CONTEMPT -- BECAUSE THERE IS SIMPLY

NO PLACE FOR THEM IN "THE SYSTEM."

↳ THEY TELL US THAT THESE PEOPLE CANNOT BECOME A PRODUCTIVE  
PART OR OUR NATION'S LIVELIHOOD BECAUSE "MARKET FORCES" SIMPLY  
WON'T PERMIT IT.

↳ WELL, LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING: TO THE MAN WHO WANTS TO WORK  
SO BADLY THAT IT IS A DULL ACHE IN HIS LIFE, AND TO THE WOMAN WHO  
WANTS TO GIVE HER FAMILY A NOURISHING MEAL AND DECENT WARM CLOTHING  
AND MAYBE A LITTLE SOMETHING EXTRA NOW AND THEN -- TO THESE PEOPLE,  
THOSE "MARKET FORCES" DON'T MEAN ANY MORE THAN FLYING SAUCERS.

↳ MY FRIENDS, I HAVE LOOKED INTO THE BIBLE, AND MARKET FORCES  
ARE NOT MENTIONED THERE AS A DEITY. ↳ I HAVE SEARCHED THE TALMUD  
AND NO MENTION IS MADE OF WORSHIPPING AT THE SHRINE OF THE MARKET  
FORCES.

I DID FIND A GOOD DEAL IN BOTH THOSE BOOKS ABOUT THE DIGNITY  
OF WORK AND THE PRICELESS HUMAN SPIRIT -- AND I FOUND MUCH ABOUT  
HOW A LIFE CAN BE MADE MEANINGFUL WHEN THERE IS A GOAL TO WORK FOR.

WE HAVE BEEN INDOCTRINATED INTO BELIEVING THAT THESE "MARKET  
FORCES" ARE SOME SORT OF INDEPENDENT SPIRIT THAT MOVES IN THE  
WORLD, OVER WHICH WE ARE POWERLESS TO ACT AND OF WHICH WE MUST  
STAND IN AWE. BUT A LITTLE GIRL NAMED DOROTHY FELT THE SAME WAY  
ABOUT THE WIZARD OF OZ -- AND WHEN THE CURTAIN WAS PULLED AWAY,  
HE TURNED OUT TO BE JUST ANOTHER HUMAN BEING, AFTER ALL.

ONE OF THE CRITICAL CHOICES WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE IS HOW  
MUCH WE ARE WILLING TO <sup>pay in</sup> WORSHIP THESE MARKET FORCES WE CAN BOW  
DOWN TO THEM AND OFFER UP THE SACRIFICE OF MILLIONS OF AMERICAN  
CITIZENS WITHOUT JOBS, AND MILLIONS OF LIVES WITHOUT HOPE OR PROMISE.

h BUT IT WON'T DO US ANY MORE GOOD THAN A RAIN DANCE.

*, in fact,*

L IT WILL DO US TERRIBLE HARM. L IT WILL GUARANTEE US A PERMANENT  
CLASS OF UNEMPLOYED, A CLASS WHICH FOR TWO OR THREE GENERATIONS  
HAS LOST ITS SKILLS AND ITS HABITS OF WORK, A CLASS WHOSE ONLY  
EXPERIENCE IS WELFARE, UNEMPLOYMENT AND CRIME, A CLASS WHICH  
FEELS NO CONNECTION TO THE REST OF SOCIETY OR THE WORLD AROUND  
IT.

L THAT OUTCOME IS PATENTLY UNTHINKABLE IN THE WORLD'S GREATEST  
DEMOCRACY -- BUT IT IS COMING TRUE RIGHT NOW, WHILE WE ARE  
GATHERED TOGETHER HERE.

L ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO CHANGE THOSE  
CONDITIONS. ) WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO GIVE THE PROMISE  
OF WORK -- USEFUL WORK AND THE PRIDE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT -- TO  
EVERY ADULT IN THIS COUNTRY.

WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO STAND COMMITTED TO HUMAN DIGNITY  
AND PLEDGED UNSHAKEABLY TO THE RIGHT OF EVERY CITIZEN TO  
CONTRIBUTE TO OUR PROGRESS,

WE HAVE IT IN OUR POWER TO SAY THAT THE STATUS QUO IS NOT  
HOLY AND THAT MARKET FORCES ARE NOT DIVINELY INSPIRED -- THAT  
OUR ECONOMY, LIKE ANY OTHER HUMAN INVENTION, CAN BE CHANGED  
AND MODIFIED BY HUMAN BEINGS.

SUCH A PLAN -- THE FULL EMPLOYMENT AND BALANCED GROWTH  
ACT -- IS NOW IN THE CONGRESS, AUTHORED BY MYSELF AND  
REPRESENTATIVE AUGUSTUS HAWKINS OF CALIFORNIA. IT PROVIDES AN  
ECONOMIC POLICY PROCESS UNDER WHICH TAX, CREDIT AND BUDGET  
POLICIES WILL BE FOLLOWED THAT WILL HELP PRIVATE ENTERPRISE  
SWELL THE RANKS OF THEIR WORKERS.

IT PROVIDES SUPPLEMENTAL PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE JOBS AND MEET

IMPORTANT PUBLIC NEEDS WHEN THE PRIVATE JOB MARKET IS INADEQUATE.

AND IF ALL OTHER MACHINERY FAILS -- WHICH IS NOT LIKELY -- IT

AUTHORIZES THE GOVERNMENT TO BECOME THE EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT.

THIS BILL IS BASED ON THE SIMPLE PREMISE THAT WORK IS BETTER

THAN WELFARE, AND THAT PAYCHECKS ARE BETTER THAN UNEMPLOYMENT CHECKS.

IN MAKING THIS COMMITMENT TO FULL EMPLOYMENT, WHICH THE

HUMPHREY-HAWKINS BILL CALLS FOR, WE CAN NOT ONLY CUT THE

ALARMING COST OF MAINTAINING A WELFARE AND RELIEF SOCIETY, BUT

WE CAN ACHIEVE SOMETHING VERY PRECIOUS; WE CAN GIVE EVERY

AMERICAN A STAKE IN OUR FUTURE AND A PRODUCTIVE ROLE TO PLAY

IN OUR COMMON UNDERTAKINGS.

BUT, IF WE ARE GOING TO ACHIEVE THOSE GOALS, WE CANNOT GO

ABOUT IT IN A PIECEMEAL MANNER.

FOR MUCH TOO LONG, THE DECISIONS THIS GOVERNMENT HAS MADE HAVE BEEN DETERMINED BY LITTLE MORE THAN CRISIS REACTIONS TO CRISIS SITUATIONS.

WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD THAT KIND OF WASTEFUL AND CONFUSING METHOD OF CHOOSING OUR PRIORITIES. WE MUST HAVE SOME KIND OF SENSIBLE PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE.

AS IT STANDS NOW, WE HAVE NO WAY AT ALL TO SYSTEMATICALLY ANTICIPATE OUR FUTURE NEEDS. WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHAT CRISES OF SHORTAGE WE MAY FACE, OR WHAT KINDS OF GOODS AND SERVICES WILL BE IN DEMAND.

WORSE YET, THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN NEVER KNOWS WHAT GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO DO NEXT -- BECAUSE GOVERNMENT ITSELF DOESN'T KNOW.

THERE ARE NO ANNOUNCED OVERALL GOALS, NO LONG-TERM POLICIES AND  
NO SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPT TO FORESEE AND FORESTALL PROBLEMS.

WE NEED TO IMPROVE AND EXPAND OUR FLOW OF INFORMATION  
ABOUT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, AND WE NEED TO MONITOR PRESENT AND  
PROJECTED DEVELOPMENTS MUCH MORE CAREFULLY. AND ONCE WE HAVE  
THAT INFORMATION, WE NEED TO DEVISE RATIONAL GOALS AND STICK  
TO THEM, FOR THE GOOD OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE BUSINESS  
COMMUNITY WHICH DEPENDS UPON ITS DECISIONS.

YET DESPITE THESE PRESSING NEEDS AND COMMON-SENSE PRIORITIES,  
THERE ARE THOSE IN BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES WHO ARE TELLING US  
THAT, IF ANYTHING, WE NEED LESS GOVERNMENT -- THAT OUR SYSTEM  
OF GOVERNMENT, NOW TWO HUNDRED YEARS OLD, HAS BECOME ONEROUS  
AND INTOLERABLE.

Now, NO ONE SERIOUSLY DOUBTS THAT WE CAN MAKE GREAT  
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY OF GOVERNMENT  
INSTITUTIONS, AND NO ONE DOUBTS THAT WE CAN DO MUCH MORE TO  
ELIMINATE WASTE. CONGRESS HAS ALREADY MADE ENORMOUS PROGRESS  
IN THOSE AREAS.

L BUT THE CRITICS OF GOVERNMENT ARE QUICK TO FORGET THAT  
MORE THAN 20 MILLION AMERICANS RECEIVE QUALITY MEDICAL  
ATTENTION TODAY BECAUSE MEDICAID AND MEDICARE WERE ESTABLISHED.

L THEY FORGET THE MILLIONS OF STUDENTS WHO ~~ONLY~~ WERE ABLE TO  
ATTEND COLLEGE BECAUSE OF FEDERAL AID, AND THE TENS OF MILLIONS  
WHO IN THEIR LATER YEARS ARE BEING PROTECTED BY SOCIAL SECURITY  
FROM DESTITUTION AND MISERY.

↳ SO WHEN YOU HEAR THESE VOICES RAISED AGAINST WASHINGTON AND  
THE WISDOM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS IT HAS BEEN EXPRESSED FOR  
200 YEARS, YOU SHOULD LISTEN TO WHAT THEY ARE NOT SAYING.

↳ TRY AS THEY WILL TO IMPUGN THE MOTIVES AND CONDEMN THE  
WORKINGS OF "BIG GOVERNMENT," NONE OF THESE CRITICS HAS BEEN  
ABLE TO EXPLAIN HOW WE ARE SUPPOSED TO GET A "LITTLE"  
GOVERNMENT WHICH CAN CONCEIVABLY SERVE THE NEEDS OF 215 MILLION  
AMERICANS IN THE MOST COMPLEX SOCIETY ON EARTH.

↳ NOR HAVE THEY INDICATED HOW ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVERNMENT  
IS SUPPOSED TO ENFORCE OUR COMMITMENTS TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND EQUAL  
JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE LAND; HOW IT IS SUPPOSED TO DEVELOP  
NATIONAL POLICIES FOR CLEAN AIR AND WATER AND THE CONSERVATION  
OF OUR FORESTS;

HOW IT CAN EXERCISE THE BROAD TAXING POWER NEEDED TO REACH VAST  
CONCENTRATIONS OF WEALTH, OR DEVISE AND PURSUE A SYSTEMATIC  
PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC PROSPERITY FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

No, WHAT THESE CRITICS NEGLECT TO MENTION IS THAT THE REAL  
ISSUE IS NOT BIG GOVERNMENT, IT IS RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT, GOVERNMENT  
THAT WORKS. WHAT THEY FAIL TO REALIZE IS THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS  
NO BETTER THAN THE KIND OF PEOPLE WE GET TO MAKE IT WORK. WHAT  
THEY HAVE FORGOTTEN IS THAT OUR INSTITUTIONS DO NOT FUNCTION AS  
THEY SHOULD BECAUSE THE PEOPLE RUNNING THEM ARE INDIFFERENT TO  
THEIR SUCCESS -- OR EVEN OUTRIGHT OPPOSED TO THEIR GOALS.

BUT LET ME ASSURE YOU OF SOMETHING, WHEN THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE GET THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP THEY DESERVE, WHEN THEY  
GET PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO ACTUALLY SERVE THE PUBLIC,

WHEN THEY FIND A MAN OR WOMAN WHO CAN GIVE THEM IDEALS TO MATCH  
THEIR STRENGTH, CHALLENGES TO MATCH THEIR IMAGINATION, AND  
ACHIEVEMENTS TO MATCH THEIR PROMISES -- THEN YOU WILL SEE OUR  
PRESENT MISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT DISAPPEAR LIKE FOG IN THE BRIGHT  
MORNING SUNSHINE.

I TELL YOU THAT AMERICA IS BEGGING FOR A CHALLENGE, I TELL  
YOU THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE READY TO WORK FOR A BETTER DAY, AND THEY  
ARE WAITING FOR SOMEONE WITH THE COURAGE AND THE VISION TO LEAD  
THEM. AND I TELL YOU THAT THEY WILL NOT BE CONTENT WITH MORE  
OF THE SAME.

THE PEOPLE HAVE SEEN WHAT PASSES FOR LEADERSHIP THESE DAYS  
AND THEY ARE DISILLUSIONED. THEY KNOW THAT AN ADMINISTRATION  
WHICH OFFERS THEM NOTHING MORE THAN BUSINESS AS USUAL IS  
OFFERING NOTHING MORE THAN TROUBLE AS USUAL.

↳ THAT IS WHY THE DEMOCRATS ARE GOING TO REGAIN THE PRESIDENCY  
THIS YEAR -- AND MORE THAN THAT, THEY ARE GOING TO REGAIN THE  
CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE,

↳ A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT WILL BE ELECTED BECAUSE WE NEED A  
GOVERNMENT THAT CARES ABOUT PEOPLE:

↳ -- A GOVERNMENT THAT OFFERS AMERICA A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY  
THAT ASSURES DECENT JOBS AND DECENT WAGES FOR ALL AMERICANS;

↳ -- A PROGRAM OF LONG OVERDUE REFORM 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 SERVICE FOR ALL AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE COST;

↳ -- A HOUSING PROGRAM THAT REPLACES SLUMS WITH SOUND, LOW-COST,  
HIGH QUALITY HOUSING, AND INTEREST RATES THAT MAKE HOME OWNERSHIP  
A REALITY FOR WORKING PEOPLE ONCE AGAIN;

L -- A TAX PROGRAM THAT ELIMINATES THE GLARING TAX LOOPHOLES  
THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SUPER-RICH AND THE GIANT  
CORPORATIONS TO PAY LITTLE OR NOTHING WHILE THE MIDDLE-INCOME  
TAXPAYER BEARS THE MAJOR BURDEN OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES;

L -- A TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM THAT MEETS THE NEEDS OF URBAN  
AND RURAL PEOPLE;

L -- AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT ASSURES AMERICA OF ENERGY RESOURCES  
FOR DECADES TO COME;

L -- AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP WITH COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING  
THAT IS CLEARLY "OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE."

L BUT BEYOND THOSE ISSUES AND PROGRAMS, A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT  
WILL BE ELECTED BECAUSE HE HEARS A VOICE BEING RAISED ACROSS

THIS NATION.

IT IS A VOICE WHICH IS AS OLD AS THE REVOLUTION YET AS NEW AS THE  
DAWN OF TOMORROW. IT IS A VOICE WITHIN EACH ONE OF US WHICH SAYS:

"WE ARE AMERICANS. WE HAVE ENDURED TOO LONG WITH COWARDLY  
IDEAS AND MEDIOCRE AMBITIONS. WE HAVE WATCHED THE HOPES OF  
MILLIONS CRUMBLE AND THE DREAMS OF MILLIONS FADE. AND IT IS  
NOT IN US TO ACCEPT THAT.

"WE ARE A COMPASSIONATE AND A GENEROUS PEOPLE. WE WILL NO  
LONGER TOLERATE THE POVERTY OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS, AND WE  
WILL NO LONGER ALLOW THEM TO BE FORGOTTEN WHEN IT IS IN OUR POWER  
TO HELP.

"WE ARE A STRONG PEOPLE AND PROUD OF OUR HISTORY. GIVE US A  
JOB AND WE WILL DO IT -- GIVE US A CHALLENGE AND WE WILL MEET IT.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED ON A PROMISE -- A PROMISE  
OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

"WE BELIEVE THAT WE CAN KEEP THAT PROMISE IN OUR LIFETIME,  
AND WE WILL NOT REST UNTIL WE HAVE BECOME THE VERY BEST IT  
IS IN US TO BE."

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