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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM:

JAMES E. CONNOR *je*.

The attached was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

"Excellent --- Get copy for Bob Hartmann. Perhaps give him this one which I have marked."

cc: Don Rumsfeld

Attachment: Remarks by Caspar W. Weinberger before
Commonwealth Club of San Francisco 7/21/75

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1975

MR. PRESIDENT:

Secretary Weinberger
and Don Rumsfeld feel you would
be interested in the attached.

Jim Conner

Excellent
Get copy for Bob's Hartman
perhaps give him
this one which
I have marked.



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

July 17, 1975

THE HONORABLE DONALD RUMSFELD

Attached is Secretary Weinberger's speech before the Commonwealth Club Monday in San Francisco. He felt that perhaps the President might be interested in seeing it.

Lewis M. Helm
Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs

Attachment

*Conner -
send to P.*



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....
THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20201

FOR RELEASE AT 3:00 P.M. EDT
Monday, July 21, 1975

REMARKS BY
THE HONORABLE CASPAR W. WEINBERGER
SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Before
Commonwealth Club of San Francisco
San Francisco, California
July 21, 1975

A VIEW OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

IN A FEW WEEKS I WILL BE LEAVING FEDERAL SERVICE, AND THIS IS MY LAST MAJOR SPEECH AS SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE. I AM GLAD IT HAS WORKED OUT THAT THIS VALEDICTORY CAN BE GIVEN IN MY HOME HERE IN SAN FRANCISCO WHERE IT ALL BEGAN FOR ME--WHEN I GAVE MY FIRST VALEDICTORY IN THIS CITY--WHEN I GRADUATED FROM POLYTECHNIC HIGH SCHOOL. I DO NOT KNOW IF THE CYCLE IS COMPLETE, BUT THERE IS A CERTAIN SYMMETRY ABOUT IT.

MY SINGLE OVERRIDING OBSERVATION AFTER THESE YEARS IN WASHINGTON IS OF THE GROWING DANGER OF AN ALL-PERVASIVE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. UNLESS CHECKED, THAT GROWTH MAY TAKE FROM US OUR MOST PRECIOUS PERSONAL FREEDOMS. IT ALSO THREATENS TO SHATTER THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

WHEN I CAME TO WASHINGTON IN 1970, THE FEDERAL BUDGET OUTLAY STOOD AT \$196.6 BILLION. IT IS NOW \$358.9 BILLION--AN INCREASE OF 83 PERCENT. LEST YOU THINK THERE IS A CAUSAL CONNECTION BETWEEN THAT INCREASE AND MY RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON, I ASK YOU TO LISTEN A BIT FURTHER.

NOTE: This text is the basis of Secretary Weinberger's oral remarks. It should be used with the understanding that some material may be added or omitted during presentation.

APART FROM ITS SHEER MAGNITUDE THE MOST NOTEWORTHY THING ABOUT THIS TREND IS THAT FEDERAL SPENDING HAS SHIFTED AWAY FROM TRADITIONAL FEDERAL FUNCTIONS SUCH AS DEFENSE AND TOWARD PROGRAMS THAT REDUCE THE REMAINING FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUALS AND LESSEN THE POWER OF OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT.

THIS SHIFT IN FEDERAL SPENDING HAS TRANSFORMED THE TASK OF AIDING LIFE'S VICTIMS FROM A PRIVATE CONCERN TO A PUBLIC OBLIGATION. THERE ARE BENEFITS AND BURDENS IN THIS:

ONE BENEFIT IS THAT THE CARE OF THE LESS FORTUNATE IS GUARANTEED UNDER LAW. THE SWEEP OF OUR SOCIAL PROGRAM COMMITMENTS HAS BROUGHT SECURE INCOMES FOR THE ELDERLY, THE ILL, THOSE WHO ARE ALONE, AND THOSE WHO ARE DISABLED. THEY HAVE PROVIDED HEALTH CARE FOR MILLIONS AND OPENED THE DOORS OF COLLEGE TO YOUNG PEOPLE WHOSE FAMILIES COULD NOT OTHERWISE HAVE GIVEN THEIR SONS AND DAUGHTERS THIS OPPORTUNITY.

BUT IN THE PROCESS OF POURING OUT ALL OF THESE COMPASSIONATE AND HUMANITARIAN BLESSINGS AND INSTITUTIONALIZING OUR SOCIAL OBLIGATIONS, WE HAVE BUILT AN EDIFICE OF LAW AND REGULATION THAT IS CLUMSY, INEFFICIENT AND INEQUITABLE. WORST OF ALL, THE UNPLANNED, UNCOORDINATED AND SPASMODIC NATURE OF OUR RESPONSES TO THESE NEEDS--SOME VERY REAL, SOME ONLY PERCEIVED--IS QUITE LITERALLY THREATENING TO BRING US TO NATIONAL INSOLVENCY.

WE ARE ALSO CREATING A MASSIVE WELFARE STATE THAT HAS INTRUDED INTO THE LIVES AND PERSONAL AFFAIRS OF OUR CITIZENS. THIS INTRUSION AFFECTS BOTH THOSE IT SEEKS TO HELP AND THOSE WHO DO THE HELPING. THE ENTIRE HUMAN RESOURCES FIELD IS UNDER THE LASH OF FEDERAL LAW--DOCTOR, HOSPITAL, TEACHER, COLLEGE PRESIDENT, STUDENT, VOLUNTARY AGENCY, CITY HALL AND STATE CAPITAL. ALL OF THESE ARE SUBJECT TO THE STEADILY INCREASING INTRUSION OF THE CONGRESS--WHICH REQUIRES THAT DRASTIC AND OFTEN UNNECESSARY REGULATIONS BE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS INCREASED INTRUSIVENESS IS A CONSEQUENCE OF LEGISLATION, NOT THE IMPULSIVENESS OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. I HAD TO PLEAD WITH THE CONGRESS TO GRANT A SPECIAL EXEMPTION FOR BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL SCOUTS FROM THE BROAD SWEEP OF TITLE IX, THE ANTI-SEX DISCRIMINATION STATUTE. YET I VENTURE TO SAY THAT THERE IS SCARCELY A PERSON IN THIS AUDIENCE WHO DOES NOT BELIEVE IT WAS ALL THE IDEA OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE RATHER THAN THE POORLY DRAFTED STATUTE CONGRESS PASSED WHICH, UNAMENDED, WOULD HAVE REQUIRED GIRL SCOUT TROOPS TO ADMIT BOYS AND VICE VERSA.

THERE IS AN OVER-RIDING DANGER INHERENT IN THE GROWTH OF AN AMERICAN WELFARE STATE. THE DANGER SIMPLY IS THAT WE MAY UNDERMINE OUR WHOLE ECONOMY. IF SOCIAL PROGRAMS CONTINUE GROWING FOR THE NEXT TWO DECADES AT THE SAME PACE THEY HAVE IN THE LAST TWO, WE WILL SPEND MORE THAN HALF OF OUR WHOLE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT FOR DOMESTIC SOCIAL PROGRAMS ALONE BY THE YEAR 2000.

SHOULD THAT DAY EVER COME, HALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL BE WORKING TO SUPPORT THE OTHER HALF. AT THAT POINT, GOVERNMENT WOULD BE LIKE A GIGANTIC SPONGE, SOPPING UP ALL THE NATION'S SURPLUS CAPITAL NEEDED FOR INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND MODERNIZATION. LACKING FUNDS FOR THESE VITAL PURPOSES, WE WOULD NO LONGER HAVE ENOUGH SURPLUS CAPITAL LEFT TO INVEST IN JOB PRODUCING ACTIVITIES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR--AND IT IS THAT KIND OF INVESTMENT WHICH HAS ALWAYS PULLED US OUT OF RECESSIONS AND DEPRESSIONS IN THE PAST. IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, WE COULD NOT MAINTAIN OUR FREE ENTERPRISE, INCENTIVE CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY, IF 50 PERCENT OF THE WHOLE GNP HAD TO BE USED TO PAY FOR DOMESTIC SOCIAL PROGRAMS ALONE. AND IF WE LOSE OUR FREE ENTERPRISE, INCENTIVE SYSTEM, WE WILL HAVE DESTROYED, BY INACTION, THE SYSTEM THAT HAS BROUGHT MORE BENEFITS TO MORE PEOPLE AT HOME AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THAN ANY OTHER SYSTEM SINCE RECORDED HISTORY BEGAN.

THOSE WHO URGE STILL MORE SOCIAL PROGRAMS VIEW THE PROBLEM UPSIDE DOWN. IT IS NOT MORE SOCIAL PROGRAMS THAT WILL SOLVE OUR NATION'S ILLS, BUT MORE ECONOMIC GROWTH. GROWTH ALONE PROVIDES THE JOBS THAT REDUCE SOCIAL ILLS. GROWTH ALONE PROVIDES THE REVENUES THAT FINANCE OUR SOCIAL PROGRAM COMMITMENTS, YET ONE OF THE MOST INIQUITOUS OF THE NEW PHILOSOPHIES WE HEAR TODAY IS THE SMUG ASSERTION THAT "LESS IS BETTER AND MORE IS WORSE."

WHAT WE DO HAVE TO LIMIT IS THE GROWTH OF THE WELFARE STATE IN AMERICA. WE MUST SUMMON UP A COMMON DETERMINATION AS A PEOPLE TO CHANGE DRASTICALLY OUR PRESENT APPROACH BECAUSE IT IS NOT ONLY NOT WORKING--BUT IT CAN RUIN ALL OF US. ONLY A WAVE OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN THIS DIRECTION CAN GIVE CONGRESS THE NERVE TO SAY "NO" TO MORE SOCIAL PROGRAMS. AS IT IS, CONGRESS QUITE EVIDENTLY BELIEVES THAT THE ROAD TO POPULARITY AND RE-ELECTION IS TO SAY "YES" TO EVERY DEMAND FOR EVERY INCREASE IN ALL EXISTING PROGRAMS AND TO AGREE TO MOST DEMANDS FOR NEW ONES.

ABOVE ALL, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT PERSONAL FREEDOMS DIMINISH AS THE WELFARE STATE GROWS. THE PRICE OF MORE AND MORE PUBLIC PROGRAMS IS LESS AND LESS PRIVATE FREEDOM.

IT IS ALSO THE PROPENSITY OF WELFARE STATES TO SPEND BEYOND THEIR MEANS, LEAVING THE DAY OF FISCAL RECKONING TO ANOTHER GENERATION. THE NEWS TODAY IS THAT WE ARE THAT OTHER GENERATION.

NEW YORK CITY, WHERE ONE OUT OF EVERY EIGHT PERSONS IS ON WELFARE, IS NOW STARING INTO THE ABYSS. FOR DECADES, IT SPENT MORE THAN IT TOOK IN--AND TODAY IT IS HOSTAGE TO WHOEVER CAN BE PERSUADED TO LOAN IT MORE BILLIONS FOR ITS UNBELIEVABLY SWOLLEN OPERATING EXPENSES.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO BEEN SPENDING MORE THAN IT HAS TAKEN IN--15 OF THE LAST 16 FEDERAL BUDGETS HAVE BEEN RED INK BUDGETS. IF WE CONTINUE THUS, THE NATION WILL ALSO STAND BEFORE THAT ABYSS SOME DAY--ONLY THERE WILL BE NO ONE WITH ENOUGH RESOURCES TO RESCUE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THIS NEED NOT BE THE RESULT. ALWAYS BEFORE WE HAVE HAD THE SENSE, THE WISDOM AND THE RESOLUTION TO CHANGE COURSE IN TIME.

BUT THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO WANT TO CHANGE COURSE SO DEFINITELY THAT THEY LET CONGRESS KNOW IN UNMISTAKABLE TERMS THAT MORE AND MORE INCREASES IN THE OLD, TIRED PROGRAMS THAT WE KNOW DO NOT WORK IS NOT THE ROAD TO POPULARITY AND RE-ELECTION.

EVENTS CAN CHANGE SWIFTLY. A YEAR AGO THIS TIME THE NATION STOOD IN THE DEPTHS OF ITS TORMENT OVER WATERGATE. THE PHRASE ON EVERY LIP WAS "A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE."

THE DOOMSDAY PHILOSOPHERS PREDICTED THAT EVIL DAYS LAY AHEAD FOR THE REPUBLIC BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD NEVER AGAIN PLACE TRUST IN THEIR LEADERSHIP. BUT THEY WERE WRONG.

TODAY, ONE YEAR LATER, THE NATION IS MOVING AHEAD AGAIN WITH GATHERING CONFIDENCE IN ITS LEADERS AND ITS ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THANKS TO THE OPEN AND CANDID LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT FORD, WE ARE REGAINING FAITH IN OURSELVES AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR LEADERS.

I AM PROUD TO HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN THIS OPEN STYLE OF LEADERSHIP. WITHIN MY DEPARTMENT, I INSTITUTED A SERIES OF OPEN GOVERNMENT REFORMS:

--WE DIRECTED THAT TOP MANAGERS AT HEW TALK DIRECTLY TO MEMBERS OF THE PRESS, WITHOUT INTERMEDIARIES IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICES;

--WE DIRECTED THAT REQUESTS UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT BE ANSWERED WITHIN 10 DAYS, AND APPEALS WITHIN 20 DAYS;

--WE CUT OUT HUNDREDS OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS POSITIONS, PUBLICATIONS AND OTHER MATERIALS WHICH WE IDENTIFIED AS SELF-SERVING PUFFERY THAT WAS OBSCURING AN OPEN-MINDED APPROACH TO THE FACTS. IN FACT, WE HAVE REDUCED OUR PUBLIC AFFAIRS ESTABLISHMENT BY 80 PERCENT SINCE I TOOK OVER THE DEPARTMENT 2 1/2 YEARS AGO.

CLEARLY WE ARE ACHIEVING OPEN GOVERNMENT. NOW WE MUST ACHIEVE EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT.

HEW IS BIG BUT BIGNESS ALONE IS NOT ITS PROBLEM. RATHER, IT IS THE COMPLEX TANGLE OF NARROWLY-FOCUSED SOCIAL PROGRAMS ADOPTED BY CONGRESS OVER THE YEARS AND GIVEN TO US TO ADMINISTER-- PROGRAMS WHICH THE CONGRESS REFUSES TO REPEAL OR REDUCE DESPITE OUR URGENT PLEAS.

THE BASIC RATIONALE FOR THE STRUCTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE IS AS VALID TODAY AS IT WAS WHEN HEW WAS ESTABLISHED BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER 22 YEARS AGO--AND THAT WAS TO BRING TOGETHER THE ENTIRE FIELD OF HUMAN RESOURCE PROGRAMS SO THAT PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS COULD BE DEALT WITH IN AN INTEGRATED AND COMPREHENSIVE WAY. WHEREVER THAT PRINCIPLE HAS FAILED OF ITS PURPOSE, IT HAS BEEN BECAUSE OF THE HODGE-PODGE OF CATEGORICAL AID LAWS THAT CONGRESS KEEPS ADDING AND REFUSES TO REPEAL, AND WHICH REQUIRE HEW TO DEAL IN NARROW, ISOLATED, AND FRAGMENTED FASHION WITH HUMAN NEEDS. WHAT WE REALLY NEED IS NOT TO CHOP HEW UP INTO MORE ADMINISTRATIVE PIECES BUT TO SEW IT TOGETHER WITH BETTER SOCIAL LAW.

WELFARE WOULD BE A GOOD PLACE TO BEGIN. IT IS A CONFUSED TANGLE OF CASH STIPENDS THAT VARY FROM STATE TO STATE AND EVEN AMONG LOCALITIES. AFFIXED TO THIS JUMBLE IS A SERIES OF OTHER SEPARATE PROGRAMS SUCH AS FOOD STAMPS, MEDICAID, HOUSING SUBSIDIES AND AN ARRAY OF OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES.

THE TOTAL IMPACT OF ALL THIS IS INEQUITY FOR RECIPIENTS, UNMANAGEABILITY FOR ADMINISTRATORS, AND OUTRAGE FOR THE TAXPAYER. AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED, WELFARE OFFERS INCENTIVES FOR PEOPLE NOT TO WORK. IT ALSO ENCOURAGES FAMILY BREAK-UP. ALL OF THIS RUNS DIRECTLY COUNTER TO THE VALUES OF OUR SOCIETY.

A LIBERAL HARVARD SOCIOLOGIST QUOTES A LIBERAL BOSTON NEWSPAPER ARTICLE ABOUT THE CASE OF A MASSACHUSETTS MOTHER ON WELFARE. SHE AND HER SIX CHILDREN ARE RECEIVING WELFARE GRANTS, TAX BREAKS, FOOD STAMPS, AND A VARIETY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICES THAT, TOGETHER, EQUAL AN ANNUAL EARNED INCOME OF \$20,000 AND FOUR STATES HAVE EVEN MORE LIBERAL BENEFITS THAN MASSACHUSETTS. QUITE A FEW WORKING AMERICANS MIGHT FEEL THAT IF THEY CAN OBTAIN \$20,000 A YEAR IN LEGAL BENEFITS FOR THEIR FAMILY BY NOT WORKING AND BY HAVING THE FATHER ABSENT, THEY SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SUCH AN OFFER.

BUT SUCH AN OFFER, I SHOULD ADD, IS NOT WITHOUT ITS PRICE IN PERSONAL FREEDOM. THE FACT IS, THIS WELFARE MOTHER'S CONSIDERABLE INCOME FROM THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE SPENT LARGELY AS THE GOVERNMENT SAYS. ONLY \$7,188 IS IN CASH, AND THAT TOO MUST BE ACCOUNTED FOR IN SOME FASHION TO A SOCIAL WORKER. THE REMAINDER IS NOT IN CASH BUT IN GOVERNMENT-CONFERRED BENEFITS-- FREE MEDICAL CARE, FREE DAY CARE AND FREE EDUCATION AT A PRIVATE SCHOOL FOR THREE OF HER CHILDREN. THESE ITEMS ALONE WOULD COST INCOME-EARNING FAMILIES \$8,750 A YEAR WERE THEY TO CHOOSE TO SPEND SO CONSIDERABLE A PORTION OF THEIR INCOME FOR SUCH PURPOSES.

THE LESSON IS PLAIN ENOUGH: WHEN BENEFITS ARE AS HIGH AND AS UNCOORDINATED AS THAT, AND WHEN THERE ARE SO MANY INDUCEMENTS TO GO ON WELFARE, THERE IS NO REAL INCENTIVE TO LEAVE THE WELFARE ROLLS, EVEN THOUGH THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLS OVER THE FAMILY BUDGET DENY ALL REAL PERSONAL FREEDOM AND DECISION BY THOSE RECEIVING WELFARE.

THERE IS A WAY TO END THE WELFARE MESS, AND IT IS BY ADOPTING A COMPLETELY NEW SYSTEM THAT WOULD BE COORDINATED AND ADMINISTERED THROUGH OUR TAX SYSTEM. WE SHOULD ABOLISH AFDC, FOOD STAMPS AND SSI RIGHT NOW, AND SUBSTITUTE A SIMPLE CASH GRANT, BASED ON NEED, MEASURED BY INCOME, AND PAYABLE ONLY TO THOSE WHO MEET A STRONG WORK REQUIREMENT IF THEY ARE ABLE TO WORK.

THOSE WITH INCOMES ABOVE THE FIGURE SET BY CONGRESS WOULD PAY TAXES. THE AMOUNT OF CASH SUPPLEMENT RECEIVED, LIKE THE AMOUNT OF TAXES PAID TODAY, WOULD VARY WITH THE INCOME LEVEL OF THE FAMILY. THIS PROGRAM COULD BE FINANCED LARGELY BY ELIMINATING THE PRESENT WELFARE CASH ASSISTANCE, FOOD STAMPS AND SSI PROGRAMS AND THE NEW WELFARE PROGRAMS THE CONGRESS ADOPTED EARLIER THIS YEAR. THOSE PROGRAMS, A \$50 BONUS FOR EVERYONE ON SOCIAL SECURITY AND AN EARNED INCOME CREDIT, WERE ADOPTED IN A SINGLE AFTERNOON WITHOUT AN HOUR OF COMMITTEE HEARINGS OR DEBATE. TOGETHER THEY ADDED ANOTHER \$4.2 BILLION TO OUR WELFARE BILL.

A COMPLETELY NEW APPROACH TO WELFARE IS NEEDED BECAUSE THAT IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN ESCAPE THE PRESENT WELFARE JUNGLE AND HAVE A PROGRAM THAT:

--WOULD TREAT EQUALLY EVERYONE ACTUALLY IN NEED;

--WOULD ELIMINATE THE INCENTIVES WE NOW HAVE TO GO ON WELFARE AND STAY THERE; AND

--WOULD END THE INTRUSIVE SOCIAL-WORKER APPROACH OF DEMANDING TO LOOK AT AND CONTROL EVERY WELFARE RECIPIENT'S PERSONAL BUDGET, AND MUCH OF HIS PERSONAL LIFE.

THIS LATTER POINT IS CRUCIAL IF WE ARE TO SUSTAIN THE PERSONAL FREEDOMS WE HOLD DEAR IN THIS COUNTRY. A WELFARE STATE INEVITABLY PLUNGES US INTO A MORASS OF ATTEMPTED SOCIAL ENGINEERING. SO INSTEAD OF SIMPLY TRYING TO ALLEVIATE REAL NEED AND ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO GO BACK TO WORK, WE TRY TO REGULATE ALL KINDS OF PRIVATE MATTERS.

ONE CASE IN POINT CAME TO LIGHT LAST WINTER WHEN THE SUPREME COURT RULED THAT UNRULY SCHOOL CHILDREN CANNOT BE SUSPENDED WITHOUT DUE FORMALITIES AND HEARINGS. THIS EFFECTIVELY DIVESTS SCHOOL PRINCIPALS OF THEIR DUTY TO ENSURE THE ORDERLY CLASSROOMS SO ESSENTIAL TO EFFECTIVE LEARNING FOR THE MAJORITY OF SCHOOL CHILDREN. IN SECURING THE DUBIOUS RIGHTS OF A FEW, THIS DENIES THE RIGHTS OF THE MANY.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF QUESTIONABLE SOCIAL ENGINEERING IS THE NARROW, MECHANISTIC WAY WE ARE FORCED TO BUS CHILDREN TO ACHIEVE RACIAL BALANCE. THE AIM OF FULLY INTEGRATED EDUCATION IS DESIRABLE, INDEED NECESSARY. I HAD THE BENEFITS OF BEING EDUCATED IN WHOLLY INTEGRATED CLASSROOMS FROM THE OLD FREDERICK BURKE SCHOOL AND POLYTECHNIC HIGH SCHOOL HERE IN SAN FRANCISCO ALL THE WAY THROUGH THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL. BUT THAT INTEGRATION WAS ATTAINED AT THE SAME TIME OTHER EQUALLY VALUABLE ATTRIBUTES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION WERE ACHIEVED: QUALITY EDUCATION, PARENT PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOLS, AND THE PUBLIC SUPPORT SO NEEDED FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION. THESE OTHER VALUES, IN ADDITION TO THE VERY REAL VALUES OF INTEGRATION, HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED, TOO, FOR WHEN FANATICS ON EITHER SIDE TAKE OVER THE SCHOOL CHILD IS THE ONE PRIMARILY INJURED.

STILL ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS QUESTIONABLE SOCIAL ENGINEERING BY INEFFECTIVE AND MEDDLESOME GOVERNMENT CONCERNS THE PROGRAM TO END HIRING DISCRIMINATION IN COLLEGES. IT HAS TAKEN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA OVER A YEAR TO PREPARE THE MOUNTAIN OF PAPERWORK THAT DEPARTMENT OF LABOR REGULATIONS, NOT OURS, REQUIRE FOR THIS PROGRAM. YET THE NET EFFECT OF THIS HERCULEAN EFFORT WILL ONLY BE TRIVIAL IN TERMS OF INCREASING REAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES AND WOMEN.

I THINK THESE LABOR DEPARTMENT HIRING REGULATIONS, WHICH OUR DEPARTMENT MUST ADMINISTER, ARE WHOLLY INAPPROPRIATE FOR COLLEGES. THEY VERY NEARLY CAUSED A COMPLETE CUT-OFF OF VITAL FEDERAL AID TO 30 COLLEGES A FEW WEEKS AGO. IT WAS ONLY BY DINT OF SOME LAST-MINUTE, PATIENT--AND IF I DO SAY SO RATHER SKILLED WORK-- THAT WE WERE ABLE TO AVERT A FINANCIAL CATASTROPHE FOR THESE COLLEGES.

IN CITING ALL THESE EXAMPLES OF HOW THE GOOD INTENTIONS OF GOVERNMENT SO FREQUENTLY COME TO BAD ENDS, I AM NOT PLEADING THE CASE AGAINST GOOD INTENTIONS. WHAT I HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTING TO DO IS TO ILLUMINATE HOW FUTILE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IT IS FOR A DISTANT GOVERNMENT TO CONCENTRATE ON NARROW STATISTICAL MECHANISTIC GOALS AND THEREBY LOSE SIGHT OF THE REAL GOALS: EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY AND BETTER SCHOOLS FOR ALL.

JUSTICE LOUIS BRANDEIS ONCE SAID, "EXPERIENCE SHOULD TEACH US TO BE MOST ON OUR GUARD TO PROTECT LIBERTY WHEN THE GOVERNMENT'S PURPOSES ARE BENEFICIENT. THE GREATEST DANGERS TO LIBERTY LURK IN INSIDIOUS ENCROACHMENT BY MEN OF ZEAL, WELL-MEANING BUT WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING."

THOSE WORDS HIT THE MARK. THOSE "WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING" INTERPRET EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN A NARROW, EGALATARIAN SENSE. THEY ARE HYPNOTIZED BY THE GAME OF NUMBERS.

THIS IS EGALATARIAN TYRANNY, NOT EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MEANS THE RIGHT TO COMPETE EQUALLY FOR THE REWARDS OF EXCELLENCE, NOT SHARE IN ITS FRUITS REGARDLESS OF PERSONAL EFFORT.))

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, BASED ON EXCELLENCE, BENEFITS ALL. BY REWARDING EXCELLENCE, WE SHARE IN THE FRUITS OF THAT GENIUS. THE EGALATARIANS MISS THIS POINT. THEY WOULD DIVIDE THE WEALTH EQUALLY, OVERLOOKING THE CRUCIAL FACT THAT ALL HUMAN PROGRESS THROUGHOUT HISTORY OWES ITS ORIGINS TO THE TALENTED AND THE ENTERPRISING. WE MUST KEEP A SYSTEM THAT ALLOWS US TO DEVELOP AND USE THE TALENTS AND EXCELLENCE OF ALL, NO MATTER WHAT THEIR ORIGIN. BUT IF WE PRACTICE INVERSE DISCRIMINATION IN THE NAME OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, WE MAY DEPRIVE THE COUNTRY OF SOME OF THE REAL GENIUS AND TALENT WE DESPERATELY NEED.

OF COURSE WE MUST PROTECT AND HELP THE POOR AND THE MOST VULNERABLE MEMBERS OF SOCIETY. BUT IF WE DO NOT PERSEVERE IN THE QUEST FOR EXCELLENCE, THEN OUR REWARD WILL BE A DEARTH OF EXCELLENCE. THOSE WHO HAVE ESCAPED THE GRAY, FACELESS MASSES OF THE WORLD'S CLOSED SOCIETIES UNDERSTAND THAT FACT. WE, WHO HAVE PERHAPS TAKEN THE NEED FOR QUALITY FOR GRANTED FOR SO LONG, SEEM NOW TO BE IN DANGER OF FORGETTING ITS IMPORTANCE.

OUR COUNTRY WAS BUILT BY PEOPLE OF ENERGY, DARING AND INGENUITY--THE EDISONS, THE WRIGHT BROTHERS, THE HELEN KELLERS, THE FULTONS, THE CARNEGIES, THE GREAT MUSICIANS AND ARTISTS AND COUNTLESS OTHERS BRIMMING WITH DREAMS AND FILLED WITH THE COURAGE TO REACH OUT AND REALIZE THOSE DREAMS WHATEVER THE ODDS.

THEIR KIND OF DARING WAS NURTURED IN A SOCIAL CLIMATE THAT REWARDED RISK TAKERS AND PRACTICAL VISIONARIES. IF WE NOW PROCEED MINDLESSLY TO CHANGE THAT CLIMATE TO ONE FAVORING A FACELESS GRAY EGALATARIANISM, WE WILL HAVE LOST ALL THAT HAS MADE AMERICA GREAT AND ENABLED US TO HELP SO MUCH OF THE WORLD.

THE REAL SOCIAL AGENDA OF AMERICA, STILL UNFINISHED, IS TO DISCOVER AND REWARD EXCELLENCE WHEREVER WE FIND IT--UNDER A BLACK SKIN, A WHITE SKIN, IN A FEMALE OR MALE, IN A CATHOLIC, A JEW, A PROTESTANT OR AN AGNOSTIC. THAT IS THE REAL PURPOSE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY.

IF WE FAIL TO SEE THIS AS OUR REAL AGENDA, WE RISK DELIVERING OUR DESTINIES OVER TO THE COLD AND LIFELESS GRIP OF A DISTANT EGALATARIAN GOVERNMENT WHOSE SOLE PURPOSE IS TO ENSURE AN EQUALLY MEDIOCRE EXISTENCE FOR EVERYONE, ACHIEVED AT THE COST OF PERSONAL LIBERTY.

TO AVOID SO MEAN A FATE, WE NEED MEN AND WOMEN WITH VISION. MORE THAN THAT, WE NEED SUCH PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND THE WORKINGS OF GOVERNMENT.

FOR IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT MERELY TO PERCEIVE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND EGALATARIANISM. ONE MUST ALSO ACT ON THAT PERCEPTION.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT IS AND CAN BE AN HONORABLE PROFESSION. OR IT CAN BE JUST AS DIRTY A BUSINESS AS WE LET IT BECOME. HOW HONORABLE IT IS DEPENDS ON HOW MANY HONORABLE MEN AND WOMEN PARTICIPATE. THE FEWER WHO DO, THE LESS LIKELY IT IS THAT WE SHALL HAVE CLEAN POLITICS AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT.

FINALLY, PERMIT ME A BRIEF PERSONAL WORD: MY CAREER OF PUBLIC SERVICE HAS BEEN FILLED WITH GREAT SATISFACTIONS. THERE HAVE BEEN FRUSTRATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES OF COURSE, BUT I CAN COMMEND TO YOU, WITHOUT RESERVATION, THE ULTIMATE SATISFACTIONS AND JOYS OF PUBLIC SERVICE. NO OTHER WORK OFFERS THE EXCITING KNOWLEDGE THAT YOUR EFFORTS MAY HELP SOME WHO NEED HELP THE MOST AND THE EQUALLY IMPORTANT BELIEF THAT YOU ARE HELPING, IN HOWEVER SMALL A WAY, TO KEEP AMERICA AND ALL THAT IT STANDS FOR STRONG AND FREE.

WE NEED PEOPLE OF ENERGY AND ABILITY, TALENT AND ENTHUSIASM AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT--AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, WHERE DEMOCRACY'S ROOTS ARE SUNK, AND AT THE TOP WHERE THE SCOPE FOR ACTION IS SO GREAT.

SO MY MESSAGE TODAY IS A SIMPLE ONE, AND ONE WHICH I
WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE WITH YOU: GET INVOLVED IN AMERICA, TAKE
PART--DON'T SIT ON THE SIDELINES OR WATCH FROM THE STANDS.
JOIN IN, AND MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD, AND WE WILL HAVE NOTHING
TO FEAR IN THE FUTURE--INDEED WE MAY ALL SEE THE HOPE AND THE
DREAMS OF AMERICA FULFILLED IN OUR LIFETIME.

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