

Although this is a relatively short sentence it embraces—much more than the nation has yet achieved or set out to achieve.

Some clarification of this general goal is in order. To maintain a democratic society, such as the United States professes to be, it is essential that each individual be provided with the *opportunity* to achieve maximum development. Without such opportunity open to each person a society would, in relatively short order, become stratified into various sub-grouping which, over time, would achieve differential positions of power, prestige, or status. Every person in the nation, regardless of background—social, economic, political, racial, ethnic, religious, or familiar—should, as an American, have the opportunity for the development of his capacities so as to be able to assume the obligations and responsibilities as well as the rights of American citizenship and to advance in the social, economic and political order to levels limited only by his personal capabilities.

A major tenet in the political creed of this nation has been the freedom of the individual. There is, of course, no such thing as absolute freedom possible in an organized society. As someone has wisely put it, "the freedom of a person to swing his fist stops at the tip of another person's nose." All human freedom is necessarily set in a social context and freedom, to practice, is often the product of the social constraints imposed. Freedom in an urban and metropolitan society consists in the widening of the range of, and maximization of the opportunities for, individual choice within the framework of a multiplicity of constraints.

Opportunity and freedom have long been recognized elements of the American democratic way of life and had their origin as goals in the pre-urban society. Both opportunity and freedom, in actuality as distinguished from principle, have in the urban society been impaired by the absence of security. Urbanism as a way of life has through increased interdependence—social, economic and political—increased the vulnerability of the individual to risks which often negate both his opportunity and his freedom. For example, the vulnerability of the urbanite to unemployment and interruption of his income flow may deprive him in a fundamental sense both of opportunity and freedom. Similarly, the insecurity associated with chronic poverty deprive the person both of opportunity and freedom. It is absurd to contend that opportunity and freedom are available to those steeped in poverty—disproportionately the nonwhite and other minority groups, the aged, the residents of depressed areas, the acute or chronically ill, the physical impaired or the parents of large numbers of children.

It is to be emphasized that the insecurities being discussed are those that arise, not by reason of the individual refusing to exercise his capabilities in the pursuit of life goals, but, rather, by reason of the play of forces in the urban environment beyond his control. The security that the American order should provide is security against the risks of the highly interdependent and vulnerable society—as manifest in extreme form, for example, through the great depression of the thirties.

Opportunity, freedom and security must be available to every American for human dignity is not possible without all of them. And concern with the status of the individual and human dignity is presumably a fundamental aspect of the American way of life. What is proposed is admittedly a far-reaching social goal with tremendous implications for increasing the role of government—federal state and local—in social and economic affairs. It is, in effect, a statement of the objective of the "Great Society" but, obviously, implies much more than anything that has yet been undertaken.

To achieve this general goal a series of sub-goals should be adopted as national policy and implemented at "all deliberate speed." These sub-goals may be set forth as follows.

It should be the aim of American society to:

1. Provide each child with a setting for effective socialization and formal education, adequate to enable him to assume the obligations, responsibilities, and rights of American citizenship and to enhance his life chances for opportunity, freedom and security;
2. Provide each inhabitant of this nation opportunity for maximum length of life in good health so as to permit achievement of the human potential;
3. Plan and exert the necessary control over the environment, including both the physical environment and the social milieu, and including management of air, water, housing, adverse population densities, recreational facilities and urban design, in general, and natural resources;
4. Provide every person with opportunity for employment commensurate with his education and skill, and to assure him of an adequate flow of income if such employment cannot be provided, preferably for services performed;