

on the revenue side. For what else are the notorious tax loopholes which annually add to the riches of many of the richest among us and cost the Government billions of dollars?

We can do these things, and more, to check the creeping demoralization of our national spirit and make this Nation whole. We can change our priorities and thereby divert resources to more essential purposes. We can manage our economy to assure optimum growth, in order to meet whatever commitments, at home or abroad, we deem essential.

Let us not delude ourselves, however, that these changes can be made by continued recourse to the slapdash, piecemeal, business Keynesianism of the recent past, in which our essential benchmark has been gross national product, whether increases in GNP came from more napalm and cigarette advertising or from cleaner air and better education. We need to plan according to a standard of social accounting in which our performance is measured not by the buying and selling of the market but by such progress as the number of mothers and babies we save at childbirth; the number of dropouts we prevent or lure back to school; the number of decent homes we build in decent neighborhoods; the number of children we rescue from malnutrition in Mississippi or India; the number of job opportunities we create; the number of sick we heal; the number of poor, here in America and throughout the world, we help in their efforts to raise themselves above the degrading experience of economic and spiritual poverty.

To plan for the purpose of improving the quality of life, government must do more than step in when the private sector falters; we must accept the need for a continuing, conscious guidance of investment and resource allocation in the public and private sectors, with decisions democratically involving the regular participation of all functional groups in the society. It is only through this kind of deliberate, comprehensive yet democratic planning that we can have assurance that both private and public needs will be met.

Large corporations not only plan, they are essentially planning organizations. Democratic states, however, rarely went beyond piecemeal planning except for the emergencies of war—until the devastation and massive dislocation of societies and economies brought on by the Second World War forced at least the beginnings of comprehensive forms of planning on the nations of Western Europe. The United States encouraged such planning as a necessary counterpart of the Marshall plan, and cooperated in creating not only national but international planning through the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

We have also encouraged forms of national planning as a condition for allocation of our foreign aid in underdeveloped countries. We continue, however, to live by the delusion that the United States is the sole exception to the general rule that complex, dynamic, advanced industrial (or post-industrial) societies must plan or invite equally complex troubles.

The troubles we thus invited are upon us. They cannot be papered over with good intentions or camouflaged by a bland recital of our wealth and achievements. We will not be saved by past accomplishments, only by present decision and effort.

We must translate our good intentions into appropriate priorities. We must plan to fulfill the promise of American life, or all our