

was needed, and they have not been able to obtain from reluctant Congresses even the full amount that they have asked for. This has been especially true in the most recent years, when our national priorities have been getting more and more seriously out of order.

It is a sense of urgency that is essential—a sense of urgency in the administration, a sense of urgency in the Congress, a sense of urgency in State and local governments, a sense of urgency in the people. Lieut. Gen. James M. Gavin, USA (ret.), felt it when, with Arthur Hadley, he wrote in *Saturday Review* February 24, 1968:

In the urban ghetto, migrants slowly begin to leave—if they have not already—what we like to think of as “our America”. They become among those uncounted by the census. Denied participation in the American dream, they become ‘they’ and ‘them’. So the cities—and, through them, the nation—tragically divide into “we” and “they”. And inflaming this division to the raw edge of violence is the fact that overwhelmingly “we” are white and “they” are black. This underculture of poverty has now gone on for so long that the Negro poor are already practically a separate society. They are not yet a separate nation with aspirations different from our own. But unless we both work together—“we” and “they”—America will in fact divide more fatally than at any time in our history.

I wish there were some eloquence I could use, some fact I could cite, some verbal Pearl Harbor I could deploy, so that all Americans would rise and say: “That is true, I personally must do something about it.” The riots in Watts and Detroit are there for all to look at. A recent report to President Johnson by a White House-appointed board of experts opened with the words: “You are the last President to have the option of governing one nation.” I would not be that definite. But I do not believe that the report—at this writing, unreleased—exaggerates by much.

Time is, indeed, running out. History will judge our generation of Americans by what we do in human terms with the vast wealth at our command. Its judgment will be deservedly harsh if we, who are closer than any people ever were to the possibility of creating a paradise on earth, permit our country, instead, to become a social jungle.

PLANNING THE DEMOCRATIC FUTURE

To cope with the distress and injustice in our midst—with poverty, our deteriorating cities, our sick, our unemployed, the disaffection of our young, the insecurity of our aged—we must lift these problems to the center of our concern.

We must appreciate the fact that not gold or the dollar or our balance of payments, but the people of this country, constitute our fundamental security, our fundamental investment, our fundamental hope. Their education, skills, discipline, commitment, well-being, aspiration are the bedrock of our economy and the wellspring of our way of life.

We must, secondly, see in their true magnitude and full dimensions the wealth and economic capabilities of this Nation. There exists no historical or contemporary parallel to the human and technological resources we command. To paraphrase the poet, the fault lies not in our resources but in ourselves, if we fail to realize our promise.

So great is our present productivity that, despite all the inefficiencies of our economy, our current Gross National Product stands at \$4,000 per person, or \$16,000 for a family of four. Yet the GNP, thus evenly parceled out, is a statistical abstraction that hides the mocking realities of poverty, deprivation, unemployment, frivolous luxury, and senseless waste.