

A view on public responsibility under the reign of *Free Expansionism*

This opinion paper is for concerned public responsibility managers involved with the planning of significant telecommunication developments during the current era of *Free Expansionism*. The views exposed in this paper are those of the undersigned and are not necessarily those of Swissphone.

Swissphone was founded in 1969 to develop and manufacture alarming service terminals for use by western European fire brigades and other served users of alarming service radio networks. Swissphone is a private enterprise owned by Mr. and Mrs. Helmut Köchler. E. Dervichian has been in the service of Mr. H. Köchler since 1987 and before that worked ten years as a radio communication engineer in Belgium.

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I INTRODUCTION

Herein, *the exercise of public responsibility under Free Expansionism* refers to the responsibility for planning significant telecommunication developments during the current *Free Expansionism* era established for the sake of growth, competitiveness and employment as ways forward into the 21st century.

This opinion paper's originality resides in the fact that its source is not a lawyer, nor a politician, nor a regulator or economist but a telecommunication engineer. It's worth pointing this out because should someone be in need of drastic surgery, is it not natural to ask for a surgeon rather than a lawyer? And, in such case, is not an experience surgeon likely to be more dependable than just a handful of inexperienced theorists?

Public responsibility in Network Planning

1 NATURE OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

It is populations, their densities and respective zones of influence, which condition political decisions, and in this context, *public responsibility* is responsibility arising out of political decisions.

1.1 PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN TELECOMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENTS

Throughout Europe, the exercise of *public responsibility* is becoming more and more legalistic and thus, apolitical. This is the case within the telecommunication sector where, since the recent downfall of PTT service monopolies, certain *network planning* responsibilities have been diffused towards the corporate sector through a new *multiple network planning* method.

2 NETWORK PLANNING

Western European telecommunication developments are primarily the result of a historically grown situation arrived at through 133 years of *network planning*.

2.1 NETWORK PLANNING METHOD DURING THE PTT MONOPOLY ERA

Throughout the Post, Telephone and Telegraph (PTT) service monopoly era the reference for PTT network plans was the International Telecommunication Union. Under these conditions, *network planning* was considered to be; '*a complex multitask activity involving many interrelated and iterative aspects*' that, after 118 years of practice, came to be defined as:

Network planning consists of the use of scientific methods for optimising the investments and for dimensioning the equipment in a unified way for the whole country, in order to meet realistic objectives previously defined by the highest level authorities. (General Network Planning - GAS3, ITU, Chapter II: General Survey of Network Planning Concepts, Definition of network planning, Page 7, Geneva 1983).

2.2 NETWORK PLANNING AFTER THE DOWNFALL OF THE PTT MONOPOLY

After 1997 many member countries of the Conférence européenne des administrations des postes et des télécommunications (CEPT) rescinded this very carefully thought out method of *central network planning* and replaced it with the following *multiple network planning* methodology:

Multiple network planning must consist of the use of arbitrary methods for stimulating private capital investments in order to meet hyped growth targets previously estimated by slap dash consultants and sanctioned by an independent regulatory authority whose task it is to design and alter conditions of competitiveness.

2.2.1 ON THE COMPETITIVENESS OF EUROPEANS

Essentially, *multiple network planning* consists of the use of arbitrary methods for attaining conditions of *competitiveness*.

Fortunately, the *competitiveness* of western Europeans is not what lawmakers imagine it to be. For instance, it is not so long ago when those who bought a Japanese car were scorned and even had to pay additional taxes designed to keep competitiveness out of European motor vehicle markets. And since then, has European aversion to competition really changed?

No! Indigenous suppliers still make best efforts to foil competition. From 1945 through to 1985, competition was averted with government subsidies, development bank loans and/or protectionist measures whereas now it is avoided through collaboration aimed at developing common components, bearable selling prices, use of standardised parts and/or general distribution outlets.

In Europe, it is the common consent to collaborate that improves things, not competition. To a European with civicism competition has a stench of the annihilation of others without any urge to collaborate. Those who still advocate competition rules don't (yet) know what these imply. This is also often the case of corporations guilty of not collaborating in good faith. Of course, these vociferously complain of unfair competition, thereby reinforcing the myth of competitiveness.

What of the served general public while civilised suppliers of goods and/or services work to avoid competition?

Until the 1980's, western Europeans couldn't put up with any competition. They instead relied on Welfare State provisions. But in the long run Welfare State provisions resulted in high interest rates and galloping inflation. High interest rates in reaction to excessive public debt and, galloping inflation on account of printing money to partially offset; public debts, invest in unemployment, pay pensions and a host of other Marxist gratuities designed to eradicate: poverty, private enterprise and, above all, the 'exploitation' of man by man.

2.2.3 ON THE MYTHS OF GROWTH, COMPETITIVENESS AND EMPLOYMENT

At the end of the 1980's Welfare States, all with one consent, abandoned the pursuit of the myths¹ of 'Peace', 'Prosperity for All' and of 'Equality' to pursue instead the myth of Growth, the myth of Competitiveness and, the myth of Employment² according to the modern doctrine of *Free Expansionism*.

The impact of this unanimous change condition from *Marxism* to *Free Expansionism*³ on national telecommunication markets is summarised in Figure 1 below.

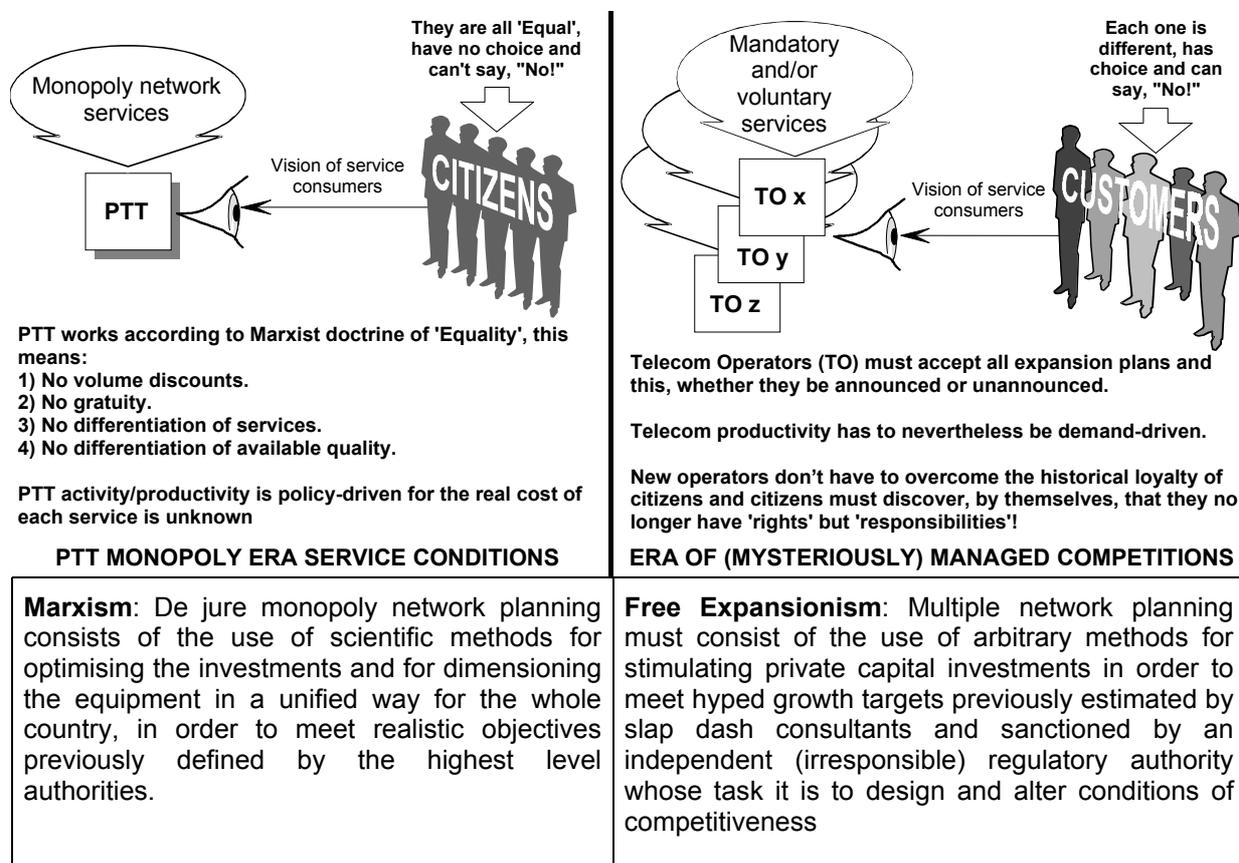


Figure 1: Transition from *Marxism* to *Free Expansionism*

1 See Annex 1: The western European myths of Peace, Prosperity for All and, Equality.

2 White Paper on growth, competitiveness, employment. The challenges and ways forward into the 21st century, COM (93) 700 final. The European Commission, Brussels, 5 December, 1993. (1st EC paper on *Free Expansionism*).

3 Copy of EC's doctrine on *Free Expansionism*: <http://europa.eu.int/en/record/white/c93700/contents.html>

In view of actual telecommunication developments:

- a) *Growth* was invented to cover-up the Welfare State's indebtedness and to attract private capital for the sake of fuelling the unstoppable overspending of western European governments. Of *Free Expansionism's* three myths, *Growth* is the worst as the future is about doing far, far, more with far less.
- b) *Competitiveness* is also a myth. (If it exists, it may do so between ageing baboons seeking to settle a question of dominance over a large troop of younger baboons). However, this myth is seductive as it implies a 'freedom of choice' which, for politicians, is also the sentiment that conveniently trumps the vain Marxist pursuit of *Equality*.
- c) *Employment* is a myth to whosoever considers variations in shareholder value to be the result of mandatory *transparent* bookkeeping exercises.



Figure 2: Baboon (*Papio ursinus*). These live in well-organised troops herded by large dominant males responsible for keeping order between quarrelsome members, if any.

3 CONSEQUENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMISSION TELECOMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

For as long as European Commission development policies favour competition over collaboration in good faith, there shall be no executable European agenda on any new significant future telecommunication development.

3.1 IMPACT ON THE NETWORK OF THE FUTURE

First, I must say what I don't believe. I don't believe the network of the foreseeable future will be any other than the one already existing today. There are two reasons for holding this point of view:

1. The halt to significant developments due to current thoughts traumatised by the restructuring of service markets and by the failure of the sector's idols, first within the main body of rising dot-com stars, then amongst 'outperforming' operators and presumably, in future, on account of the defrauding 3G development doctrine.
2. The second is more important; it is because telecommunication is, above all, a human endeavour. Historically, communication engineering and service provisioning has hardly ever been a business; these have always been global undertakings advanced through subsidies and corporation rather than through economic determinism.

Note: Prior to the downfall of PTT monopolies, some economic determinists insisted the cost of forbidding competition was greater than the cost of enforcing competition. Presumably, they will soon be insisting on the opposite. If they do, we have to forgive them because, by definition, such *economists* are busybodies who don't know that they don't know.

Second, I must tell you what I do believe. I believe network planning depends on stability, an adequate knowledge of the present and forecasted resources and installations in each given area and, knowledge on the nature of telecommunication networking.

3.1.1 STABILITY

Significant telecommunication developments are first of all characterised by their *longevity* and thus depend on *stability*.

By *longevity*, one must understand thirty to seventy years, if not more. To appreciate this consider telegraph and public land mobile network (PLMN) service developments: Telegraph service developments, begun in 1844, were thought doomed upon the introduction of the telephone service in 1877 but nevertheless telegraphy continued to serve until the late 1990's.

Developments for actual PLMN services, popularly known as GSM services, began in 1978 with a strategic planning decision to reserve two bands of 25 MHz at around 900 MHz for pan European mobile services. This decision primed the widespread willingness to collaborate on the development of an international PLMN service technology with which commercial services started in 1992. Hence, it took fourteen years of intense collaboration to arrive at a commercial service proposition with GSM and, like its predecessors, GSM will have to do until more affordable

substitutes are offered or, until GSM's use of the frequency spectrum is deemed harmful and unsafe, whichever comes first.

3.1.1.1 THE ATTRIBUTES OF STABILITY

The attributes of stability are *collaboration*, *predictability* and *respect for private enterprise*.

About *collaboration*: a historical perspective of telecommunication developments reveals collaboration has been, and always will be, more constructive than the unnecessary obstructions (and industrial annihilations) resulting from reckless experiments to enforce competition.

About *predictability*: without predictability the unavoidable and necessarily long haul towards any significant telecommunication development is doomed to failure yet the doctrine of *Free Expansionism* abhors predictability.

About *respect for private enterprise*: since their application of *Marxism*, States have loathed private enterprise and have worked in favour of bureaucracies and corporations as these also disregard private enterprise. Indeed, today's huge bureaucracies and corporations comfort each other with the cosy idea that they don't have bodies to be punished or souls to be damned.

Due to their manifest abhorrence of *collaboration*, *predictability* and *respect of private enterprise*, modern telecommunication market expansionists and subservient corporations are both sources of risks that need to be thoroughly understood.

3.1.2 KNOWLEDGE OF RESOURCES AND ON THE NATURE OF NETWORKS

Besides stability, network planning also depends on an adequate knowledge of the present and forecasted resources and installations in each given area and, knowledge on the nature of telecommunication networking.

However, without *stability* there's no need to discuss these items at any length except to say; the indispensable understanding of the nature of telecommunication networking is elusive to opportunists.

4 FREE EXPANSIONISM

Eurocompatible nations adopted *Free Expansionism* in the 1980's with the goal to each be rid of their *public responsibility* to provide telecommunication services by the end of 1997 and, thereafter to burden the private sector with the cost and risks of introducing, amongst other: Broadband-ISDN, UMTS, TETRA and TEN services.

In every European country, *Free Expansionism* was carried into effect through the adoption of various astute acts made to legitimise the tyranny of administrative rule.

4.1 INTENT

The intent of transferring the public responsibility for telecommunication developments from the state to capital market funded corporations was to:

- i) Segregate the state from the ever increasing costs and debts arising out of de jure monopolies (By way of an example, see: citation below), and;

Zum Schluss bemerkte Manfred Nagel, dass die Privatisierung der Telecom PTT eine unerwartete Lösung für das Problem der Kapitalgewinnung für die Pensionskasse des Bundespersonals anbiete.

Source: *Liberalisierung der Telekommunikation Die Zeit drängt*,
Protelecom, Bulletin, 1996/3

Manfred Nagel a fait remarquer que la privatisation de Télécom PTT apporterait une solution inespérée au problème de la couverture du capital de la caisse de pension du personnel fédéral.

Source: *Libéralisation des télécommunications, Le temps presse*,
Protelecom, Bulletin, 1996/3

- ii) If possible, increase productivity (without any effort on behalf of the state, hence *Free Expansionism*) to slow down the state's inexorable impoverishment. For this reason the doctrine of *Free Expansionism* includes the power of confiscation as well as a fabulous wish list of significant, non-demand driven, future developments like: Broadband-ISDN, UMTS (now '3G'), TETRA and the implementation of TENS.

This intent, and resulting regulation, provides the key to understanding the risks prevailing through the European telecommunication industry on account of the expansionism wanted before 2008.

4.2 STRUCTURE OF THE PLAN

Under the reign of *Free Expansionsim*, the network plan of each *Eurocompatible* nation consists of a Strategic Plan segregated from risks in the Implementation Plan. As shown in Figure 3, the Implementation Plan includes Long-term plans (30-40 year master plan), Medium-term plans (10-20 year projects) and Short-term plans (annual programmes covering a maximum of three years).

The formulation of these plans and also their relation with actual developments have to be updated whenever changes occur in regulations, technology, costs, demand, resources or on account of events of force majeure. In a multiple network environment, this unavoidable task invariably depends on the close collaboration of operators. However, for the time being, this very consequential good neighbour approach is forbidden since to Free Expansionists collaboration is collusion.

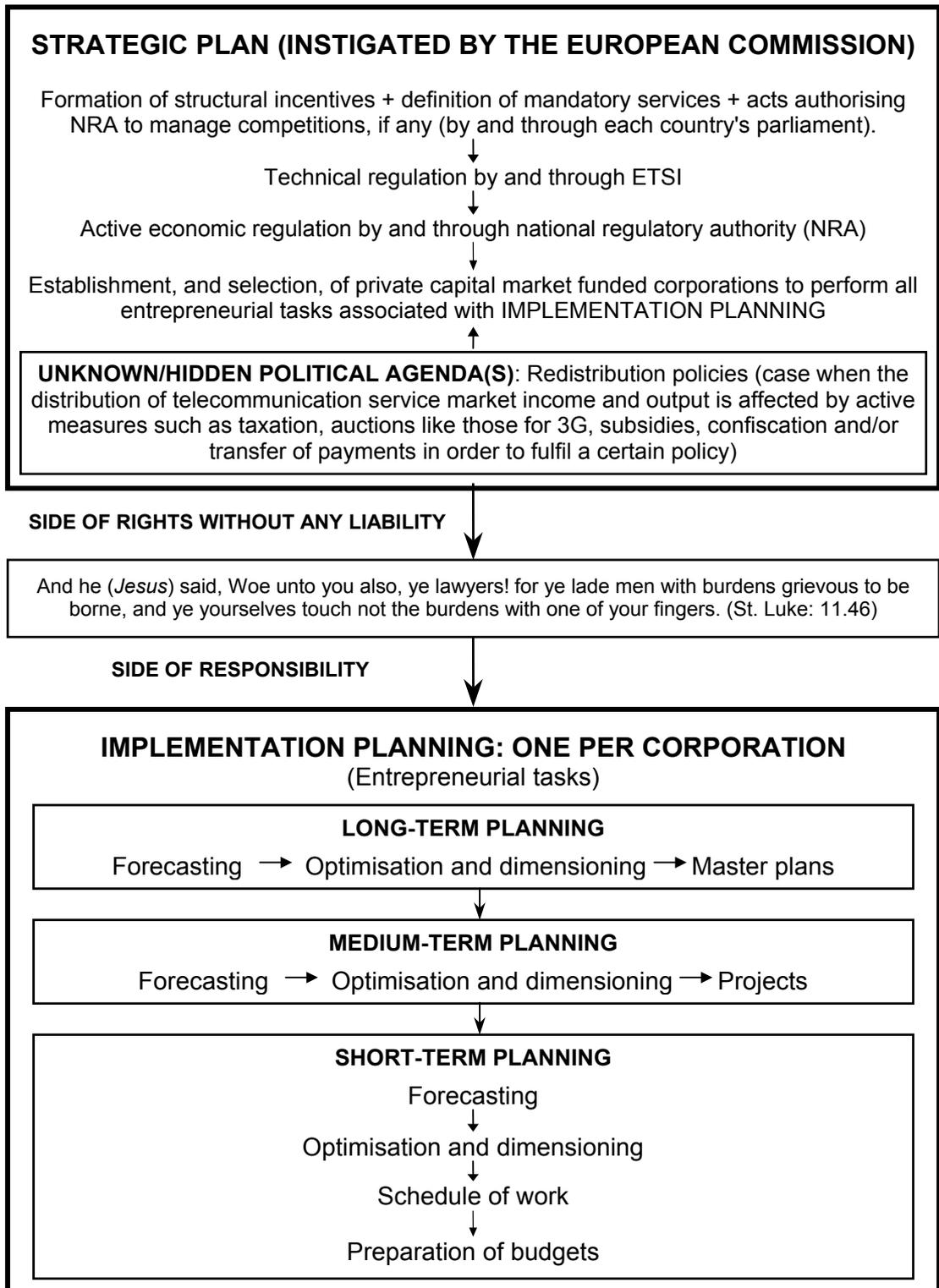


Figure 3: Relationships between the telecommunication development plans of a Eurocompatible nation during the present planning period i.e., from 1990 until 2008.

5 THE REAL TROUBLE WITH THE SPIRIT OF OUR TIMES

The real trouble with *Free Expansionism* is that it contradicts all the virtues of Christianity.

It's not here the intent to proclaim merits of Christianity (that's done in the Biblical book of *The Acts* and those that follow) but to point out *public responsibility* fails wherever Christian Spirituality is cast aside in favour of myths. This was clearly demonstrated in antichrist Germany, the USSR and through the recent collapse of the religion of Karl Marx before it came to be replaced by that of *Free Expansionism*.

5.1 THE PROBLEM WITH THE DOCTRINE OF FREE EXPANSIONISM

The motive force that so effectively propagated the spread of Marxism, under the guise of human justice, was envy. The motive force propagating the spread of *Free Expansionism*, under the guise of everyone's right to a freedom of choice, is avarice.

Free Expansionism doesn't work. It is premised on volumes and volumes of acts that each further disregard the peace received from God our Father through the grace of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. This fact is surprising since several European countries acknowledge God, the Father of Jesus Christ, through their Constitution. What does this mean? That these countries also inspire to become lands of heathens? God forbid.

5.2 THE SOLUTION

Western European countries recognising God through their constitution are Denmark, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Norway, Poland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, which has no constitution.

All people with the noble Christian attitude can only pray our leaders diligently regain the wisdom of their forefathers and refrain from walking in the counsel of the ungodly.

6 CASE STUDY COUNTRY

Unless otherwise stated, the case studied country discussed so far is Swissphone's country, that is to say: Switzerland. This does not exclude the further reasoning herein from consideration by other European countries, as Switzerland claims to be *Eurocompatible* in regard of its actual telecommunication development methods.

6.1 THE INADEQUACY OF SWITZERLAND'S CURRENT STRATEGIC PLAN

Without presenting any alternative, the following asserts Switzerland's 'Eurocompatible' strategic planning outlook and wanted further developments thereof for the sake of overcoming Swisscom's manifested hard-heartedness in reaction to miscarried competition rules. These wanted further developments, if enacted, shall introduce a far more insidious *property law dilemma*¹ than that ever experienced with *Marxism*.

- ¹ The *property law dilemma*: If we start to make laws on account of the good fortune of each *individual* (person or company) where will law making stop? Is not the inheritance, or legal acquisition, of each *individual* his to keep and to dispose of as he pleases? If yes, who is to say the contrary? What new foe shall overcome us to disrupt our ancient freedoms of ownership?

Der neue europäische Rechtsrahmen (Eidgenössisches Departement für Umwelt, Verkehr, Energie und Kommunikation Bern, Juli 2002)

Am 1. Januar 1998 wurde der Fernmeldemarkt in der Schweiz und in der Europäischen Union für den freien Wettbewerb geöffnet. Seither verzeichnet er vor allem wegen der Konvergenz von Telekommunikation, Rundfunk und Informationstechnologien ein rasches Wachstum. Darum begann die Europäische Kommission 1999 eine vollständige Überarbeitung des gemeinschaftlichen Rechtsrahmens für Telekommunikation, der ursprünglich für die Umstellung vom Monopolbetrieb auf den Wettbewerb entwickelt worden war.

Ein Ziel dieser Revision in der Europäischen Union ist die Vereinheitlichung des Rechtsrahmens: Die Vielzahl der bisher bestehenden Vorschriften wird in sechs Richtlinien, einer Verordnung und einer Entscheidung zusammengefasst (vgl. Ziffer 5). Auch wenn der Übergang zum Marktregime bisher erfolgreich war, soll der neue Rechtsrahmen der Liberalisierung und Harmonisierung des Binnenmarkts neuen Antrieb verleihen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt nun auf der Öffnung der letzten Meile für den Wettbewerb (Entbündelung des Teilnehmeranschlusses). Daneben wurden die Befugnisse der Kommission für die Kontrolle der Entscheide von nationalen Regulatoren verstärkt (Vetorecht der Kommission bei bestimmten nationalen Beschlüssen). Die wichtigste Neuerung ist der Übergang vom System der Einzelgenehmigung zum System der Allgemeingenehmigung, was den Zugang der Anbieterinnen zum Markt für elektronische Kommunikationsnetze und -dienste stark erleichtert. Die Verwendung von Funkfrequenzen und Nummern bleibt jedoch der Erteilung von Sonderrechten unterworfen.

Der im Frühling 2002 verabschiedete neue europäische Rechtsrahmen muss von den Mitgliedstaaten bis im Sommer 2003 in nationales Recht umgesetzt werden¹. Obwohl die Schweiz weder in der Europäischen Union noch im Europäischen Wirtschaftsraum Mitglied ist, hat sie ein klares Interesse daran, ihre Fernmeldegesetzgebung an jene der Nachbarländer anzupassen. Dies war einer der Gründe für die Gesamtrevision des FMG von 1997. In einem Bereich, der mehr als alle anderen von der zunehmenden Globalisierung der Wirtschaft geprägt ist, bleibt die Übereinstimmung unserer Gesetzgebung mit der EU-Rechtsordnung ein vorrangiges Ziel.

**Le nouveau cadre réglementaire européen (Département fédéral de
l'environnement, des transports, de l'énergie et de la communication Berne,
juillet 2002)**

Le marché des télécommunications a été ouvert à une pleine concurrence le 1er janvier 1998, tant en Suisse que dans l'Union européenne. Il est toutefois en plein développement, notamment du fait du phénomène de la convergence entre les secteurs des télécommunications, de la radiodiffusion et des technologies de l'information. C'est pourquoi la Commission européenne a initié en 1999 une révision complète du cadre réglementaire applicable aux communications électroniques, conçu à l'origine pour gérer la transition du monopole à la concurrence.

La révision entreprise par l'Union européenne a pour but de systématiser le cadre réglementaire en regroupant les nombreuses dispositions applicables dans six directives, un règlement et une décision (cf. ch. 5). Si elle tient compte du passage progressif à une situation de concurrence effective, elle tend également à donner un nouvel élan à la libéralisation et à l'harmonisation du marché intérieur. C'est ainsi que l'accent est mis sur l'ouverture à la concurrence du dernier kilomètre ou *last mile* (dégrouper de la boucle locale). Par ailleurs, sans aller jusqu'à la création d'un régulateur européen, les pouvoirs de la Commission dans le contrôle des décisions des autorités réglementaires nationales sont accrus (droit de veto de la Commission sur certaines décisions nationales). L'innovation la plus significative consiste sans doute dans l'abrogation du système des licences individuelles et le passage au régime de l'autorisation générale, facilitant ainsi considérablement l'accès des fournisseurs au marché des réseaux et des services de communications électroniques. L'utilisation des radiofréquences et des numéros restera toutefois soumise à l'octroi de droits spécifiques.

Adopté au printemps 2002, le nouveau cadre réglementaire européen devra être transposé dans les droits nationaux des Etats membres d'ici l'été 2003¹. Bien que n'appartenant ni à l'Union européenne, ni à l'Espace économique européen, la Suisse a un intérêt évident à adapter sa propre législation sur les télécommunications à celle de ses voisins. C'est l'une des raisons qui ont amené à la révision totale de la LTC en 1997 et la compatibilité de notre législation avec celle de l'Union européenne reste prioritaire dans un domaine plus que tout autre soumis au phénomène de la mondialisation croissante de l'économie.

7 RECOMMENDATION AND: OVER-AND-OUT!

Given the strategic plan to deconsecrate Swisscom's property and to savour the feeble gratification of EC styled *Free Expansionism*, concerned public responsibility managers are encouraged to avoid the proposed *property law dilemma* and to consider what have been, and will always be, the long-term merits of collaboration in good faith.

Thank you for bearing the thoughts of your own concerns with mine.

Eduard Dervichian

A view on public responsibility under the reign of *Free Expansionism*

Annex 1: The western European myths of Peace, Prosperity for All and, Equality (what we firmly believed in before *Free Expansionism*).

Adapted from the writings of Edouard Dervichian (1902-1987) and including Lyndon Baines Johnson's *Great Society* speech delivered in Michigan U.S.A

1 Agnosticism

Agnosticism is the major, fundamental, phenomenon of the last century. It was not the affair of a few or an elite; it was a general phenomenon affecting all layers of the population. It was not scepticism; it was affirmed atheism and intolerance. In most cases however it is empty-minded living. We are not atheists, instead we don't believe in anything anymore: not in God, nor in the devil, nor in the nation, nor in the political party. We only believe in a glass of beer after work.

There was a long period of confirmed believe during which cathedrals, churches, monasteries and convents were built. Then heaven was a certainty; we couldn't imagine heaven didn't exist. We believed for a long time, and right until very recently.

Agnosticism made rapid progress after Darwin and Marx. Darwin who was not a Marxist and, who never declared himself to be an atheist but who was cause for a lot of atheism was carried by the wave of Marxism. They were successive waves, the wave of evolution, the wave of atheism, the wave of Marxism, all as powerful as the waves of an ocean.

After the Second World War, Christianity collapsed but its traditions remained. To these many are still conforming, especially for weddings, funerals, Christmas, Easter etc. but, most do so by force of habit, not out faith in God.

The disintegration of faith has sapped our morality which had has a base Christianity. It left young and old troubled. It created a huge vacuum. This vacuum came to be partially filled by the myths of 'utopia': The myth of peace, the myth of prosperity for all and the myth of equality.

2 The myth of peace

The pre-eminent myth of the last century was the one of peace, durable permanent, peace for always, peace between nations, peace amongst all. We wanted to believe in it. It was the theme of all political parties, of all election speeches.

How we believed in political outpours for peace while they were being contradicted by incessant violence, the production of arms not only for defence but also to be sold to aggressive nations, even to nations at war so as to stir more hostilities? Indeed, last century's pacifist speeches were of an incredible make-believe.

3 The myth of prosperity for all

The United States had the "Great Society" of President Johnson, a society where no one would be hungry; no one would live below the bar of poverty.

The "Great Society" extending out of Roosevelt's "New Deal" was invented to counter socialism and communism. Enormous, unsustainable, dimensions were given to "welfare" such that the Americans evolved towards socialism, as welfare is the essence of socialism. But, it's well known, the Americans practice socialism without knowing it. After Johnson, it was necessary to come down a peg for there was still a great deal of poverty.

4 The myth of equality

Inequality is in nature. Nature wants inequalities. Inequality is part of the dynamism of change and of the struggle for survival.

Equality is impossible in advanced societies because their complexity makes up their wealth and at the same time is a source of inequalities.

Playing on one of man's most despicable vices, envy and, on one of his most noble aspirations, the one of justice, demagogues distorted the notion of equality to human justice to reduce it into equality to consumption.

All attempts to establish equality have failed because equality is unnatural.

4.1 A secondary effect due to our tendency towards equality

Equality to material and service consumption is a myth and of all myths it is the vilest since it is founded on human envy.

The myth of peace is excusable since war is horrific and thus we like to be appeased with pacifist speeches.

The myth of prosperity for all is also excusable since it is a cruelty to be poor and it's nice to think that we could, instead, be rich.

What is absurd is to think we will be prosperous by working less, or not at all, and it is a perversity to make anyone believe this as it is being done today.

It's important to note that only western Europeans fall for the lie that prosperity is better distributed by doing less work.

Lyndon Baines Johnson's Great Society speech delivered in Michigan U.S.A

The Great Society

May 22, 1964

President Hatcher, Governor Romney, Senators McNamara and Hart, Congressmen Header and Staebler, and other members of the fine Michigan delegation, members of the graduating class, my fellow Americans:- It is a great pleasure to be here today. This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said, "In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school."

Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours. I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son's education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him.

I have come today from the turmoil of your Capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country.

The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a Nation.

For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.

Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled **growth**. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an **end to poverty and racial injustice**, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

The Great Society is a place where **every child** can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. **It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.**

But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society - in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms.

Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans - four-fifths of them in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, high-ways, and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States.

Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life." It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today. The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated.

Worst of all, expansion is eroding the precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference.

Our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders. New experiments are already going on. It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life.

I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life.

This is the place where the Peace Corps was started. It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people.

A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the "Ugly American." Today we must act to prevent an ugly America.

For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted.

A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal.

Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million more than one-quarter of all America - have not even finished high school.

Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it. And if we cannot educate today's youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. College enrollment will increase by more than 3 million.

In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. **Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.**

But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation.

These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems.

But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America. I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings-on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society.

The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

Woodrow Wilson once wrote: "Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time."

Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.

So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin? Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?

Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace - as neighbors and not as mortal enemies?

Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

There are those timid souls who say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will, your labor, your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society.

Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country.

They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.

Thank you. Goodby.