

# JOHN

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NAHRO National Housing Policy Forum  
February 14, 1967, Washington, D. C.

*During the National Housing Policy Forum conducted by NAHRO's Housing Division February 12-15 in Washington (see page 113), Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey spent almost an hour with Forum delegates. On the morning of February 14, he "dropped by" and talked informally and off the cuff about urban problems and programs, as recorded in the transcript of his remarks published on this and the following pages.*

I am very pleased—very, very much pleased—that the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials in their meeting here is joined with so many people associated with other activities related to the central purpose of housing and redevelopment. I know there are people here vitally interested in the quality of education. I know there are folks here today who are basically interested in what we call the War on Poverty. I know there are those here who have interests in job training. And not only job training but job placement. I know that throughout the audience there are people who have given a lifetime of commitment and service to the cause of human dignity, human rights, civil rights.

How encouraging it is that you should join together in common purpose. I say this in all sincerity, because there have been tendencies in the past for those of us who have a particular specialization to meet with our kind, so to speak. The redevelopment and housing people meet with redevelopment and housing people. The educators with educators. The social worker with social workers. The recreation worker with recreation workers. Fine—this is all to the good . . . provided that now and then we put these many professional groups together and start to think of the total community, rather than the separate parts.

We have this problem in government. Every once in awhile one gets the view down here in Washington that the respective departments of government are members of the United Nations, that they each have a separate sovereignty. I have spent a great deal of time trying to coordinate them. And I want to tell you that there have been occasions when the United Nations has seemed monolithic to me as compared to local government or federal government.

#### Action!

This is not all bad. I will tell you what's more important than coordination: *activation*. If you have enough competitiveness, enough action, you can afford to miss a little coordination. This is not to be interpreted as an argument against the central principles of sound public administration. The

elimination of duplication, the bringing about of coordination and cooperation: that we want. But, I don't want the word cooperation or coordination to be a substitute for activation, purposeful activity.

I have waited a long time in my life for many things to come true. It seems that now all of the eggs are hatching. I am feeling a wonderful spirit of achievement and accomplishment for our country. Let me tell you what I mean.

I started, in 1949, in the 81st Congress, introducing legislation providing for equal opportunity in employment, non-discrimination in employment: a whole civil rights program. I waited until 1964 for the achievement of that purpose and I had the opportunity to be floor leader for the passage of this legislation. We have learned a great deal in the intervening years and much has been accomplished at the local level where you live. We were able to put together a great coalition of conscience in this country, men and women in business and labor; in the professions; in local, state, and federal government; in the churches. With respect to the churches, I think it is fair to say that, without the efforts on the part of our great religious faiths, we could not have accomplished much of what has been done thus far, surely not in the field of civil rights.

I waited a long time to see federal aid to education. In 1949, I cast my first vote on an education bill: we passed it in the Senate; they killed it in the House. Two years later, they passed it in the House and killed it in the Senate. These bills were killed on the basis of either race or religion. Nobody ever got around to really voting for children: that was not seen as the issue. Finally, under the leadership of President Johnson, we decided that the purpose of government was to assure justice, tranquility, opportunity, liberty. We decided that we the people of these United States had a right to expect the Congress of the United States to do what it was ordered to do: to promote the general welfare. There are only two mandates in the Constitution, you know; just two things that we are required to do: provide for the common defense and promote the gen-

eral welfare. We have many people who are willing to provide for the common defense, which is what we ought to do. But they seem to forget the second half of the charge that was given us by the Founding Fathers.

So, I have lived to see the development of the Peace Corps; I have lived to see the passage of the civil rights legislation; federal aid to education; a greatly expanded urban renewal, urban development, and housing act.

#### Criticism

Many people have been highly critical of what they call the "bulldozer" philosophy of the 1949 urban redevelopment act. Let me say to the people who are critical of the bulldozer philosophy that we just weren't given any other tool to work with back in 1949. Through the 1954 urban renewal act, we got some additional implements—and our kit has grown steadily almost every year since then.

Urban renewal has been a great asset to this country. We have learned a great deal about what has to be done. We have had to learn by trial and error. We Americans are not victims of dogma and doctrine. We don't go around repeating dogma and doctrine as citizens in a police state are forced to do. We learn by doing and we learn a great deal by doing. We learn from bad mistakes, and we also learn from some fine accomplishments.

There is a great deal of criticism today of public housing. But I would like the record to show that there have been literally thousands, hundreds of thousands, of people in America who have had their first opportunity for wholesome and decent housing through public housing. And for those who were the critics, what were their alternatives when we fought for public housing? Their alternatives were to do nothing—or to say that it could be done by somebody else . . . and it wasn't done.

Now, this doesn't mean the urban development program of this government today is entirely public housing and urban renewal. These were the beginnings. The important thing in any program—any renaissance, renewal, reformation, redevelopment—is the *beginning*. We learn by trying. We learn by doing.

#### Everybody's in the Act

Only a few years ago we had opposition from many segments of our economy against launching a great program of redevelopment of our cities. Today everybody is in the act. I have lived to see the time when people really know they have cities. Yes, I have even lived to see the day when people recognize that there are *poor* living in our cities today—and in rural America.

So much has happened. The great thing that has happened is that we have awakened in America. We have awakened to our problems and our potentialities. We have awakened to our problems and our challenges, to our difficulties and our opportunities. If nothing else has happened in these last two or three years, and in the War on Poverty, we have at least accepted the fact of poverty: we have identified the disease and the virus of poverty. We know that the pain of it can be alleviated by political and economic opiates. But we're working toward the cure. This is something.

#### Togetherness

But we are not going to accomplish any of the things that we want to do unless we work together. Benjamin Franklin was right: you either hang together or you're going to hang separately. You either do things together or you're not going to do them at all. There isn't a single problem confronting this nation today of any size that doesn't require the combined resources of public and private endeavors of the American community. Not one. You can't solve the problems of water pollution by government. You can't solve the problems of slum clearance by government. You can't solve the problems of jobs and job opportunity by government. You can't name one single major problem that we can solve in Washington—or your state capital—or your city hall.

But, government working with the private sector, with private enterprise; government working with trade unions, voluntary organizations, churches, nonprofit corporations: this creates what I call an energized partnership of the American people. Working through their established institutions, public and private, they can solve any problem—any problem.

I happen to be chairman of the space council and we have no doubt, in this space council, that we can put a man on the moon. We have no doubt that we can have orbital flights around this earth. We have no doubt that we can repair space satellites in

space. We have no doubt that every goal that we have set down in our statement of goals for the year 1970, 1975, and the year 2000, we can accomplish, including interplanetary travel. We haven't any doubt at all. It is merely a matter of the mobilization of resources and manpower.

Now, any nation that can say to the world, and intend to keep its pledge, that, between now and 1970, it has the will, the know-how, the resources, the technology to put an American on the moon, I think that same nation ought to have enough get-up-and-go, enough technological ability, and the *will*, to put a man on his feet, right here on earth.

How are we going to put this man on the moon? By NASA? No. By one of the aircraft companies? No. By the university? No. By the Defense Department? No. It takes all of them. It takes everybody. And the great secret in the space program is management teamwork—and partnership—and the allocation of resources, with definite date objectives. This is the only way I know that we are going to be able to rebuild our cities where they need to be rebuilt.

We have learned something. We have learned that it isn't good enough to just have urban renewal. We need to have urban development. We know now we need rent supplements. There was a time when some of you worried that the rent supplement plan was directed against the public housing program. I have news for you. No matter how much you do in public housing and urban renewal, it won't be enough. You need allies. No matter how big a rent supplement program we have, it won't be enough. The private builder and the nonprofit sponsor need you. Our problems are so immense that what we need today is not disputes among people who ought to be partners but the need to clasp hands and to join in common endeavor and to say to one another welcome to the fight, welcome to the struggle.

We need to rebuild our schools. I've been reading many articles on *de facto* segregation in the north. We have it. Why is it that in the District of Columbia, where 60 per cent of the population is Negro, 90 per cent, plus, of the children in the schools are Negro children? We need to have quality education, super-quality education, to hold white people in our schools in the central city and to have such educational quality serve like a magnet to draw white families back to the central city. In many of

the schools of America, the average Negro, in 12 years of schooling, gets nine and one-half years of education, if he goes 12 years. You know what I think? I think the best schools, with the best teachers, with the best ratio of teacher to pupil should be in the central cities. They ought to be where our needy are—they ought to be designed to help the poor lift themselves out of the mire of their despondency.

#### Moral Enthusiasm Needed

Where is the enthusiasm among the moral community of America? Where is the righteous indignation of the moral community of America? Where is the righteous indignation in this moral community of America about the conditions that exist in many areas of our cities—and in our rural areas, where there is more poverty than there is in the cities, more people that are victims of poverty. And what are we going to do about housing in our rural areas? The rural poor are entitled to a decent place to live, just as are the urban poor. Or are cities going to get so bad that the rural poor won't come into them?

We have had some hearings down here in Congress about what we ought to do about cities. I'm all for these hearings. I was a Senator a long time and there is no greater enjoyment than having an executive branch official before you. When you lose an argument back home with your wife, you can always come down to Congress and get hold of some executive agent and give him the works. But, also, the hearing process is a vital process in the education of citizens and the formulation of public policy. Don't ever be critical of hearings that have a positive purpose. I only want to say this: that, in those hearings on urban problems, we have had people that say that what we need is 250 billion dollars; what we need is 750 billion dollars. We have people who tell us that we ought to do more. I want to tell you we ought to do more.

I want to tell you that we ought to be planning right now, and we are, for the day when we can cut our defense budget down 25, 30, 35 billion dollars. I want to know where you all are going to be when we do that. I was around here when we cut the budget after Korea. We had all kinds of slums in our cities then; we had all kinds of illiteracy; we had every problem then—even more than we have now. But do you want to know something? We didn't have anyone pro-

pose that we *not* cut the budget. We didn't have enough votes to pass a single new domestic program in Congress. And we didn't have too much enthusiasm out of the American community to do some of the things that you and I know should have been done. We didn't take the money we saved from the war in Korea and put it in the War on Poverty; not one bit. We didn't increase our expenditures; we decreased them.

Now, when I hold up my picket sign when this war in Viet Nam is all over—and it will be over, pray God; it is an agonizing, miserable struggle—and when that day comes and I get my picket sign out that reads “billions for housing,” “billions for education,” “billions for the poverty program”—I want to know where the followers are going to be. The last time I held a sign up like that, the followers were all in the weeds; you couldn't find them.

That will be the hour of decision, that will be the time for testing.

#### Look Ahead

But we need to plan, don't we? We need to look ahead. That is why the model city program is important. That is why urban development is important. That is why the whole struggle for the War on Poverty is important, not that we're armed to do now what we should, even though we are able to do a great deal, but so that we can do what's needed when we get a better chance.

You know, and I know, it's a long time between an idea and its consummation. You know and I know that there's a long lead-time between the passage of legislation and its implementation. I happen to believe that the greatest achievement of the 89th Congress is not so much what will happen during the year 1967 and the year 1968 under the programs adopted in 1966 but what will happen in the next decade, the next generation. Because the 89th Congress filled our storage house, our democracy storehouse, with tools to do the job of rebuilding and making a better America. It corrected many of the old grievances and cleared a course for the days ahead. So in the fields of recreation; of education; of model cities (where we have the possibility of not only the rehabilitation of physical structures, but hopefully, of human structure), we have something that we can do.

I said a while ago that we had those who wanted to go much further. Well, let me just say we have been doing

some things that are rather good. Already this coming year the federal government is going to spend 10.3 billion dollars in our highly urbanized metropolitan areas alone. This is an increase of about 3 billion dollars over the level just two years ago. Here is a partial breakdown:

- nearly 140 million dollars for water pollution control in urban areas;
- 550 million dollars for public housing and urban renewal;
- 100 million dollars for urban mass transit;
- 130 million dollars for new efforts to change blighted areas of cities into model neighborhoods;
- over 1 billion dollars for economic opportunity programs to combat urban poverty;
- over 2.2 billion dollars for public assistance;
- over 500 million dollars for job placement and manpower training;
- and over 1 billion dollars for broadening the elementary and secondary education opportunities for the disadvantaged in the cities;
- we're going to spend 25.6 billion dollars this year in the War on Poverty. The War on Poverty is not just OEO but includes Medicare, Social Security for those who are in the poverty category, and many other programs. The 25.6 billion dollars is up from less than 10 billion dollars in 1960. We haven't done nearly enough. But I ask you who has ever done better?

#### Your Problem . . .

Now, your problem is not to get 250 billion dollars out of this Congress. Your problem is to get 1.3 billion of new spending authority for urban renewal and public housing out of this Congress. Your problem is to get 412 million dollars in new authority out of this Congress for the model cities program.

The President has put into his budget every dollar for model cities authorized in the legislation. And what do I hear from the leaders in Congress on the Appropriations Committee: “cut it out”—cut out these spending programs, cut out the War on Poverty.

Your President has asked for 2.1 billion dollars for the Office of Economic Opportunity—one of the key elements in the War on Poverty. The request for 1968 is up from 1.6 billion in the current year. What did I hear on television last Sunday: “cut it out.”

I would like nothing better than to

be able to tell you that we could inject into the urban renewal and housing programs 1, 2, 3 billion more dollars. I would like to be able to tell you that. But you know the question you're facing: are you going to be able to get the 1.3 billion of new spending authority that is in the budget? That is what you had better bat and hack for. You had better go on home and talk to the preacher, the grocer, the druggist, the lawyer, anyone you can get to, the farmer, and tell him that he had better talk to his Congressman or we're going to be out of business.

This Congress has already given some indication that it is not going to go along with all the budget suggestions that have been made thus far. I have been told repeatedly that each of these programs will get from a 25 to 50 per cent cut, minimum, and that some of them will be knocked out.

So when someone gives a pie-in-the-sky lecture that what we need is another 250 billion dollars or another trillion (I have even heard an estimate that big) . . . or another 100 billion dollars—you can just take them off for a walk through the pastures—for reflection and meditation and philosophizing. Enjoy the walk on your toes. Breathe the fresh air. But know that the dream is not going to come true.

I call upon every one of the officers in this group and every one of you to help yourselves, help your community, and help your country. How do you do it? By moving along step by step, by moving along systematically, collectively, by not letting ourselves be diverted into some kind of way-out, far-out, no-man's land. Let's stick to the job and let's mobilize our forces: rent subsidies; rent supplements; the War on Poverty; public housing; yes, nonprofit corporations working to build houses for the needy, the elderly, the low-income groups; recreation; health facilities; neighborhood centers; lighting up our playgrounds; youth opportunity; and a host of programs that we can do much about. We don't have to do it all in Washington. Thank goodness, it doesn't all have to come from here. We don't want a big daddy government; we don't want a paternalistic government. But we want a government that is a part of a partnership of this country with its people.

I ask you to go home and become the people's representatives. Not only talk to your people—but talk to them about the urgent necessity of saving this country from blight, from despair, from bitterness, from violence.

MEETING OF  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT  
OFFICIALS

ADDRESS OF  
VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

February 14, 1967  
Washington, D C

REPORTED BY:  
SIMON BANKS,

## ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Thank you for your welcome. It is nice to be given a friendly and happy welcome when you start a day like this even though my day started somewhat earlier, but I had a very friendly beginning because my granddaughter is with me and that starts about 6:30 A.M., very friendly and lively (laughter). I came by this morning just for an informal visit. Some of you may have noticed that I was hurriedly looking over some notes here and that is just another way to tell you that I really didn't prepare my speech. I just wanted to jot down on the margins of some papers that I have for another meeting a few thoughts that I might express to you today. First, I am very pleased, very, very much pleased that the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment officials in their meetings today joined with so many people of other activities that are related to the central purpose of our housing and redevelopment efforts. I know there are people here vitally interested in the quality of education. I know there are folks here today that are basically interested in what we call the War on Poverty. I know there are those here who have interests in job training. And not only job training, job placement. I know that throughout the audience there

are people who have given a lifetime of commitment and service to the cause of human dignity, human rights, civil rights, whatever you wish to call it. And how encouraging this is that brethren should join together in common purpose and brethren and sister, I might add, and I said in all sincerity because there were tendencies in the past for those of us who had in particular specialization to meet with our kind, so to speak. The redevelopment and housing people were redevelopment and housing. The educators with the educator. The social worker with the social worker. The recreation worker with the recreation worker. And fine, this is all to the good providing that every so often we put these many professional groups together and start to think of the total community or rather than the separate parts. Now, we had this problem in government. Every once in awhile one gets the view down here, there is reason to get this idea, that the respective departments of government are members of the United Nations, that they each have a separate sovereignty. I have spent a great deal of time trying to coordinate. I want to tell you that the United Nations look like a monolithic occasion compared to job coordination, either local government or federal government. This is not all bad. I will tell you what's more important, activation.

If you have enough competitiveness, enough action, you can even afford a missile coordination and you will still be doing more than most of the coordinated ones are doing.

Now, this is not to be interpreted as an argument against the central principles of sound public administration. The elimination of duplication, the bringing about of coordination and cooperation, all of that we want. But, I don't want the word cooperation or coordination to be a substitute for activeness, a purposeful activity. In other words, be serious.

This morning, I can tell you that I come as one who lives in a redevelopment area down in Southwest Washington, and I like it. Last Sunday, I walked twenty-five or thirty blocks around that area. I had at least anywhere from ten to fifty young lads following behind me sort of like Pied Piper. I was having a running dialogue conversation with these youngsters, talking about where they lived, going by their apartments, their area, seeing new playgrounds under construction, and sensing the spirit of these youngsters who looked for a new day. Now I'm fortunate, I live in what they call a new luxury apartment. It must be because it costs plenty (LAUGHTER). I am sure it's luxury.

But, I am happy to tell you that it's a fully integrated neighborhood and I haven't had anybody tell me yet that my presence there has in any way downgraded the value of their property (APPLAUSE). Somebody asked me not long ago, "Mr. Vice President, how can you be happy and satisfied as the Vice President?" I guess those are supposed to be contradictory terms, that if you're Vice President you're supposed to be miserable, frustrated, inactive, and all the other descriptive words and phrases that have been attached to this position. Well, I am not, I am not at all unhappy. I am in fact quite filled with the spirit of what John Adams once spoke of in the early days of this Republic, I do not feel any real sense of frustration than anyone else ever does. There is so much more to do than we have time and resources to do. But, getting my relief so to speak by pitching in and doing what I can. I do not feel lost because I have been in this community a long time and I have been in public service now for over twenty years, and I like it very much. It is a way of life for me. In a very real sense a commitment to the service of servant for the people. I must say that public service today places tremendous demands upon all of us and if you're going to be in it you have to make up your mind that if your so-called private life to be

given up, you have to be willing to work long hours, to endure a certain degree of pain that comes from what may be unfair criticism, to recognize that you're going to make some mistakes and be properly chastized for those mistakes. But, this is the role of a public servant and for any of us that have been endowed as leaders, and I guess some of us have been, we must recognize that leadership is not a privilege or luxury, but is a burden and responsibility. And if you're unwilling to accept that definition of leadership you ought to give up the opportunity or the title.

Now, I waited a long time in my life for many things to come true and it seems that all of the eggs are hatching. And I just feel that wonderful spirit of achievement and accomplishment for our country. Let me tell you what I mean. I started in this Congress of ours in the 81st Congress in 1949 introducing legislation providing for equal opportunity in employment, non-discrimination in employment, whole civil rights program, I waited until 1964 for the achievement of that purpose, and I had the opportunity to be floor leader for the passage of this legislation. We have learned a great deal in the intervening years and much accomplishment has been made in the local level where you live. We were able to put together

a great coalition of conscience in this country, men and women in business and labor, professional, local, state and federal government, the churches. I think it is fair to say that without the efforts on the part of our great religious faiths we could not have accomplished much of what has been done thus far, surely not in the field of civil rights.

I waited a long time to see the federal aid to education. The first bill I ever voted for in 1949, we passed it in the Senate, they killed it in the House. Two years later they passed it in the House and killed it in the Senate. They either killed it on the basis of race or religion. Nobody ever got around to ever really voting for children. That is not enough. Finally, under the leadership of President Johnson we decided that the purpose of government was not race or religion, but the purpose of government was justice, tranquility, opportunity, liberty and that we the people of these United States had a right to expect the Congress of the United States to do what it was ordered to do to promote the general welfare. There are only two mandates in the Constitution, you know, just two things that you are required to do: provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. We have

many people who are willing to provide for the common defense, which is what we ought to do. But they seem to forget the second half of the charge that was given by the Founding Fathers. So I lived to see the development of the Peace Corps, I lived to see the passage of ~~the~~ civil rights legislation, federal aid to education, a greatly expanded urban renewal and development act, urban renewal development program, housing. I have been at your meetings on housing for the years gone by for all of you good friends out there from the public housing authorities. I can remember my own City of Minneapolis when we neither had state law nor local power to establish a housing authority. So I just established one anyway. Sometimes when you keep waiting for all these things to happen through the legislators and councils you just don't get it done. We established a housing committee. We started to house our veterans after World War II with no help from legal authorities from either state or city. But the legal authority of conscience, morality, and decency. We did it. We housed 8,000 of them. That was the beginning. Long last our Legislature in the State of Minnesota to pass an enabling act. We were able to enjoy the benefits of ~~the~~ programs known at that time as urban development

and public housing. We have come a long ways since those pioneering days. Now, many people are highly critical of what they call the bulldozer philosophy of urban renewal. Let me say the people who were critical of the bulldozer philosophy of urban renewal, they called it the bulldozer treatment, and just didn't give us any tools to work with. Urban renewal has been a great asset to this country. We learned a great deal about what had to be done. We had to do it by trial and error. We Americans are not victims of dogma and doctrine. We don't go around repeating dogma and doctrine as if it were forced upon us by a policy state. We learn by doing and we learn a great deal by doing. We learn from bad mistakes, and we also learn from some fine accomplishments. There is a great deal of criticism today of public housing. But I would like the record to show that there has been literally thousands, hundreds of thousands of people in America that have had their first opportunity for wholesome and decent housing through public housing. And for those who were the critics, what were your alternatives when we fought for public housing? Your alternatives were to do nothing or say that it could be done by somebody else, and it wasn't done.

Now, this doesn't mean the program of this government isn't today entirely public housing and urban renewal. These were the beginnings. All I'm saying is that is so easy to be

critical. It is so easy to point the finger. And yet, what was done was the beginning and the important thing in any program or renaissance, renewal, reformation, redevelopment is the beginning. We learned by trying. We learned by doing. Only a few years ago we had opposition from many segments of our economy for a great program of redevelopment of our cities. Everybody is in the act now.

Oh, I have lived to see the time now when people really know they have cities. Yes, I even have lived to see the day when people recognize that there are poor living in our cities and rural America today. I have been in the City of Washington, as I said, almost twenty years, and I want to tell you that it wasn't until the last three or four years that I ever heard anybody make a speech on poverty except a minister or rabbi or social worker. And now we understand that there are poor in our midst, that there are the needy, there are the disadvantaged, there are the hard core and unemployed, there are the people who have been lost. They are out of what we call the main stream of American life. They never even got close to the shoreline. So much has happened. A great thing has happened is that we have awakened in America. We have awakened to our problems and our potentialities. We have awakened to our problems and our challenges, to our difficulties and our opportunities.

And if nothing else happens in these last two or three years on the War on Poverty except the fact that we have identified it like a virus that would untouch only to be alleviated by opiates. The pain of it to be alleviated by political, economic opiates. We have at long last identified this disease and virus of poverty and we're working toward the cure. This is something. And that is why I am basically a happy man, an optimist knowing that I will live long enough to see all of these goals achieved. But knowing in at least my life, in my opinion I may be able to see one family, one person live a better life, that is a pretty achievement. If you can put that down in your own diary that on this day you helped one person lift himself out of the ditch of despair, if you can help one family come out of the darkness of slumism into the sunlight of opportunity and good living, if you can help one boy or one girl come out of ignorance and illiteracy into enlightenment learning, if you can put that down in your book today you qualify for being a great citizen. (APPLAUSE)

Now, we're not going to accomplish any of the things that we want to do unless we work together. All of these old sayings may seem to take on new meaning. I guess there isn't anything new in the world, that we have been told many times. I guess it's merely a matter of identifying things that seem to slip by us. But Benjamin Franklin was right, you either

think together or you're going to hang separately. You either do things together or you're not going to do them at all. There isn't a single problem confronting this nation today of any size that doesn't require the combined resources of public and private endeavors of American community, not one. You can't solve the problems of water pollution by government, you can't solve the problems of air pollution by government, you can't solve the problems of slum clearance by government, you can't solve the problems of jobs and job opportunity by government, you can't name my one single major problem that we can solve in Washington or your state capital or your city hall. But, government working with the private sectors, with private enterprises, government working with trade unions, voluntary organizations, churches, non-profit corporations. This creates what I call energized partnership of the American people working through their established institutions, public and private, can solve any problem, any problem.

Now, I happen to be chairman of the Space Council and we have no doubt in this Space Council that we can put a man on the moon, we have no doubt that we can have orbital flights around this earth. We have no doubt that we can repair space satellites in space. We have no doubt that every goal that we have set down in our statement of goals

for the year 1970, 1975 and the year 2000 we can accomplish them including interplanetary travel. We haven't any doubt at all. It is merely the mobilization of resources and manpower.

Now, any nation between now and 1970 can say to the world and keep its pledge that it has the will, the know-how, the resources, the technology to put a man on the moon, and America on the moon, I think that same nation ought to have enough get-up-and-go, technology and will to put a man on his feet right here on Earth (APPLAUSE). How are we going to put this man on the moon? By NASA? No. By one of the aircraft companies? No. By the university? No. By the Defense Department? No, it takes all of them. It takes everybody. And the great secret in the space program is management team work and partnership and the allocation of resources with definite dates objectives. This is the only way I know we are going to rebuild our cities where they need to be rebuilt. Now, let me put everything in perspective. We have beautiful cities. Most of our cities are lovely. Most areas in our cities are marvelous. Cities are cultural hubs. Cities are the reason for people coming to cities because they offer great opportunities for living, for learning, for business, for professional, for leisure, for

recreation, for enlightenment. The city is man's finest creation. But it has regretfully a spot in it like MacBeth, and we don't seem to be able to get rid of it and that little blémish is none other than the areas of the ghetto. Now, let's resolve this meeting this morning, because you're the front line fighters that these ghettos are going to be removed. That is, let's resolve that neighborhood rehabilitation can be accomplished just as you can rehabilitate a Gerogetown house or one of these fine homes up in Philadelphia up in the areas that were delapidated and rundown, you can rehabilitate neighborhoods. And let's make up our minds that we cannot only rehabilitate the neighborhoods, we can add vitality to them. Our great American city is too big. It needs to be broken down, or should I say designed into a cluster of viable neighborhoods where there are some central institutions like the great universities and great museums and great water systems, public facilities, where each neighborhood has within it the mixed educational health and cultural provisionals institutions within it that permits a total life and full life of inhabitants of that neighborhood. Let's not let our ghettos become the cheap flophouses of the cities. As a matter of fact, there is nothing worse than a

suburban community that has nothing but a high price bedroom for a city. We need to get communities where your children can live a full life, where you can live a full life, where there is neighborliness, where there is commerce, where there is public affairs, where there is culture, where there is education; not where we go on out and build ourselves a series of private motels and call it suburbia, or not where we permit the growth in the central city, cheap flophouses and call it a neighborhood. So, we have learned something. We have learned that it isn't good enough to just have urban renewal, we need to have urban redevelopment. We know now we need the rent subsidy. There was a time some of you worried that rent subsidy was directed against the public housing program. I have news for you. No matter how much you do in public housing and urban renewal, it wouldn't be enough, you need allies. No matter how much rent subsidy you have here, it won't be enough. They need you. Our problems are so immense we need today not disputes with people who ought to be your partners, but you need to clasp hands and join in common endeavor and say welcome to the fight, welcome to the struggle. We need to rebuild our schools.

I've been reading many articles on de facto segregation in the North, and we have it. Why is it in the District of Columbia schools where only 60 per cent of the

population is Negro, that 90 per cent or plus of the children in the schools are Negro children; I'll tell you why, because we need to have quality education, super-quality education to hold people into our schools and to the central city and have it like a magnet and bring them back. I listened yesterday to what's going on. The average Negro in the twelve years of schooling gets nine and one half years of education if he goes twelve years in many schools of the schools of America. You know what I think, I think the best schools where the best teachers with the best relationship of teacher to pupil, the best teaching machines, the finest facilities, the best audio-visual aids, the best recreation, the finest band, the finest extra-curricular activities, where should they be, not down in the high luxury apartments. Anybody that can afford to pay that price can afford to buy into some of these things on his own. They ought to be in the central cities. They ought to be where the people can't afford them the least with our needy, so that they can lift themselves out of the mire of their despondency. I've said this for twenty five years and I'm not about to change.

When I was Mayor of Minneapolis, what did I see, the finest schools in the richest areas of town, the poor

schools in the poorest areas of town, schools that ought to be condemned as fire hazards and weren't condemned. But if you had the nightclub in the well-to-do area of town you could have the help of the fire hazard or fire standard and condemned it. You couldn't afford those dear people going to a nightclub that wasn't just top rate. You can afford to have the children going to a school that has been condemned for twenty years. Why do we let it happen? Now, if some of our friends will get excited about the War on Poverty as they are on Viet Nam we'd have this war won right now. (APPLAUSE)

I'm not going to deny either right to get excited about both. My father taught me a long time ago a very fundamental lesson. He never ever in his life spoke to me about being out late. He was a positive man. My father never ever once scolded me, chastized me no matter what hour I came in, I hate to tell you how late it was, lest it gets back to some children. I'll tell you one thing, my father was the best getter-upper in the country.

(LAUGHTER) I don't want to deny a single person here the right to carry a sign, walk a picket line, to disagree with our Viet Nam policies. That's your right, that's your gift. I hope you would do it with good manners. That's your right

of petition, your right of free speech, your right of redress, But you also have not only some rights, you have some duties. And where is the enthusiasm among the moral community of America? Where is the righteous indignation of the moral community of America? Where is the righteous indignation in this moral community of America about the conditions that exist in many of our areas of our cities, and our rural areas where there is more poverty than there is in the cities, more people that are victims of poverty. And what are we going to do about housing in our rural areas? They are entitled to a decent place, too. Are we going to get so bad that they can't come into the cities? No, my friends, I don't think so. I'm here to give you the good news. We got work to do. We need the private sector. I want to make rebuilding cities profitable. I think we can. I think we have learned a great deal. If the Atomic Energy Commission can contract out with Union Carbide to do experimental work and development work in the field of atomic energy, then government can contract out with private contractors and private enterprise to do something about our cities. I think we can upgrade our job training. I think you ought to go back to your schools today and say, listen, are we retraining kids for jobs in

our country? Are we training them for real jobs or are we just going through the motions? What is going on with vocational education? And if our schools can't have vocational education, contract it out, industry they know how to do it. They know how to train workers. We contract out all sorts of things today. We didn't build Gemini space capsule in a government laboratory or in a public school, it was built at McDonnell Aircraft, contracted out. There were public people involved. I want to see a little competition on public education. I want to see it come alive. I never believed that the drop-out rate was just due to the children. Some of them have been pushed out. (APPLAUSE) So, let's get quality education. This is why we need the national teachers corps.

Now, I have just about three more minutes and I've got to run along. But, I want to end up on this. We have had some hearings down here in Congress about what we ought to do, and I'm all for these hearings. I was a Senator a long time and there is no greater enjoyment than having an Executive Branch official before you. When you lose an argument back home with your wife, you can always come down to Congress and get ahold of some executive agent and give him the works. But also the hearing process is a vital

process in the education of citizens and formulation of public policy. Don't ever be critical of hearings that have a positive purpose. I only want to say this, that in those hearings on our urban problems we have had people that say that what we need is \$250,000,000,000, what we need is \$750,000,000,000. I guess so. I can tell you right now that I need an awful lot. I said to my wife the other day, you sure must think I'm a young fellow. We just signed a thirty year mortgage, and with your encouragement, are you planning on my paying that? I don't know whether she thought I was going to pass along or not. It was a nice compliment in a subtle sort of way. (LAUGHTER) Even though it was expensive. We have people who tell us that we ought to do more. I want to tell you we ought to do more. I want to tell you that we ought to be planning right now and we are, for the day when we can cut our defense budget down twenty-five, thirty, thirty-five billion dollars. I want to know where you all are going to be when we do that. I was around here when we cut the budget after Korea, and we have had all kinds of slums in our cities then, we had all kinds of illiteracy, we had every problem then and even more than we have now. But you want to know something, we didn't have anyone, we didn't have enough votes to pass a single thing in

Congress, and we didn't have too much enthusiasm out of the American community to do some of the things that you and I know ought to be done. We didn't take the money we saved from the war in Korea and put it in the War on Poverty, not one bit. We didn't increase our expenditures, we decreased them.

Now, when I hold up my ticket when this war in Viet Nam is all over and it will be over pray God, it is an agonizing, miserable struggle, and when that day comes, and it will come, as surely as the sun rises in the East, and I get my ticket out and say, billions for housing, billions for education for education, billions for poverty program, I want to know where the followers are going to be. The last time I held a sign up like that they were all in a weeds, you couldn't find them (APPLAUSE). That will be the hour of decision, that will be the time for testing. But we need to plan, don't we? We need to look ahead. That is why the model city program is important. That is why urban redevelopment is important. That is why the whole struggle on War on Poverty is important, not so much what we're armed to do now even though we are able to do a great deal, but we're able to do when we get a better chance. And you know, and I know it's a long time between the idea and its consumation. You know and I know that it's a long need-time between

the passage of legislation and its implementation. I happen to believe that the greatest achievement of the 89th Congress is not so much what will happen under those programs adopted this year, not so much what will happen under those programs adopted in the 89th Congress in the year 1967 and 1968, but what will happen in the next decade, the next generation because the 89th Congress filled our storage house, our democracy storehouse with tools to do the job of rebuilding and making a better America, that is what it did. It corrected many of the old grievances and cleared a course for the days ahead, So in the fields of recreation, of education, of model cities, where we not only see rehabilitation of fiscal structures, but hopefully, of human structure, we have something that we can do.

Now, I said a while ago that we had those that wanted to go much further. Well, let me just say, we have been doing some things that are rather good. Already this coming year the Federal Government is going to spend 10 billion 300 million dollars in Urban areas along. This is an increase of over three billion dollars over the last two years. Here is a partial breakdown: nearly 140 million for water pollution control in Urban areas, 550 million for Public Housing and Urban Renewal in Urban area, 100 million for Urban mass transit, and 130 million

for new efforts to change areas into model neighborhoods; over one billion dollars to combat Urban poverty; over 2 billion dollars, 2 billion 200 million for public assistance; 470 million for job placement and retraining; a billion for secondary educational and opportunities for disadvantage in the cities. We're going to spend 25 millions of dollars this year in the War on Poverty in all of our programs.

The War on Poverty is not just OEO, Medicare, Social Security for those who are in the poverty category. 25 billion dollars is, my dear friends, up from 9 billion dollars in 1961. We haven't done nearly enough. But I ask you who has ever done better?

Now, your problem is not to get 250 billion dollars out of this Congress, your problem is to get another 5 billion dollars for Urban Renewal or Model Cities out of this Congress, your problem is when you get 400 million -- 412 million dollars out of this Congress for the model cities.

The President has put into his budget every dollar authorized in the legislation. And what did I hear from the leaders in Congress on the Appropriation Committee, "cut it out," cut out these spending programs, cut out the War on Poverty; your President has asked for 2 billion dollars." The War on Poverty for OEO that is just one item, up from a billion 6 last

year. What do I hear on television last Sunday, "cut it out, your President is asking for a vast increase in aid to education." What do I hear from some of the leaders, "cut it out."

My fellow Americans, I would like nothing better than to be able to tell you this morning that we could inject into Urban Renewal and housing programs 1, 2, 3 billion more dollars. I would like to be able to tell you that, but you know what you're facing. Are you going to be able to get the 550 million that is in that area; that is what you better bat and hack for. You better go on home and talk to the preacher, the grocer, the druggist, the lawyer, anyone you can get to, the farmer, and tell him that ~~he~~ better talk to his congressman or we're going to be out of business.

This congress has already given some indication that is not going to go along with all the suggestions that has been made thus far. I think those suggestions are very modest. My dear friends we are asking for a few extra teachers for the teacher Corps, for what? to send the best teachers in the neighborhoods where they're desperately needed. We're asking for a few more million dollars for job training, for what? to train the jobless, the jobless people who are a drain on themselves and on society. We're asking for a few million dollars for aid to education. We're asking for 400 plus dollars for Model Cities

to get it started. We're asking for some help in Child Nutrition, and I have been told repeatedly that each of these programs will get from 25 to 50 percent cut minimum and some of them knocked out. So when someone gives you this lecture about high in the sky, what we need is another 250 billion dollars or another trillion dollars, I even heard one that big, or another 100 billion dollars, you just take them off and walk through the pastures, reflexion and meditation and philosophize; enjoy the walk on your toes and just breath the freash air knowing that isn't going to happen, but it's a pleasant thought. And you come back and see me and walk down Pennsylvania Avenue, Constitution Avenue, up in Congress, the Senate, all that means is there will be tulips along the way and a few starlings, and then let's go on up to Congress and see what we can get, what the budget has in it.

I call upon every one of the officers in this group and every one of you hear to help yourselves, help your community, and help your country. How do you do it? by moving along step by step, by moving along systematically, collectively, by not letting ourselves be diverted into some kind of, you know, way out, far out, no-man's land. Let's stick to the job, and let's mobilize our forces: rent subsidies, Rent Supplement, War on Poverty, Public Housing, yes, non-profit corporations working

to build houses for the needy, the elderly, the low income groups, recreation, health facilities, neighborhood centers, lighting up our playgrounds, youth opportunity, and a host of programs that we can do much about, not all in Washington, thank goodness not all here. We don't want a big daddy government, we don't want a personalistic government, but we want a government that is a part of a partnership of this country with its people. And I ask you to go home and become the peoples representatives, not only to talk to your own housing authority people, but to talk to them about the urgent and necessity of saving this country from blight, from despair, from bitterness, from violence, from crime in our streets. And when you leave here, may I make one further suggestion, write to Mr. John McCone a rather conservative business man and a highly motivated public servant. He is not radical. Ask him for a copy of his speech before the advertising counsel of a few months ago.

John McCone said to me when I got through giving a speech like this he said the trouble with you Mr. Vice President is you're too conservative. (LAUGHTER) He said "and I mean it." He said "I don't believe you quite understand the dangers that are at our door steps. I don't believe that you and the American people quite understand that this slumism can spread like a cancer." And he gave a powerful speech. I read it last Sunday

that's why I'm all inspired again. I read it several times. Get it, look at it. See what happened in some of the areas of our great cities. See what can be done. See the new life that can come about and you will be just as happy as can be, and you will go out your work charged up and unafraid, willing to take on anything that comes along.

Well, those are my brief remarks that I was going to give you.

Points which may be mentioned in greetings to the National Housing Policy

Forum of NAHRO (This year's conference is entitled Critical Urban Housing Issues)

*(I've waited long time for many things)*

1. Criticism of local government has reached significant proportions during the last two years.

*Unit 8  
C.D.U.  
County  
Planning*

-- Much of this is justified and we do need reorganization of both state and local government.

-- Not enough recognition is being given to the progress we have been making.

-- Such innovations as our workable program are just beginning to take effect. Its requirement for citizen participation is becoming more realistic every month. Literally, every city in the country now has an advisory committee and those who are making effective use of it are making the greatest strides in urban development.

*Partnership  
Advisory  
Urban  
Develop*

-- The housing code enforcement requirement of the workable program as you all well know, is beginning to bring about basic changes. Most of our urban areas did not even have a housing code, let alone adequate enforcement. We have now moved beyond demanding existence of a Housing Code to assisting localities by loans and grants to achieve judicious enforcement of those codes.

*Housing  
Code  
enforcement*

-- Your management of the urban renewal programs and public housing projects has created a great deal that is good in this country. }

2. We should recognize that where criticism is due many of NAHRO's members have been calling our attention to these problems for many years.

- The blight of many of our public housing projects has been due to the deficiencies in the laws passed by Congress.
- The criticism "of over use of the Bulldozer" has validity, but the lack until very recently of effective programs to rehabilitate neighborhoods has been the fault of both Congress and State legislatures.
- Now we are attempting to remedy this deficiency with the "turn-key method of acquisition," leasing and scattered site selection programs, rehabilitation grants and loans, and the rent supplement program.

*Private*

Much of our effort is directed toward working with the private sector. This is one of the indispensable elements of most of the new programs.

3. An appeal for help in two areas should be made.

*Model Cities*

- To make the Model Cities Program work by getting them to cooperate with other governmental agencies.
- Getting their positive support for the President's budget requests to Congress.

*Educ*

4. The need for local cooperation by members of NAHRO.

*Recreation*

The solutions for solving our critical urban problems depend more and more on an interdisciplinary approach.

*Job Training*

- The members of NAHRO will play a key role, but only if they can successfully work with the governmental jurisdictions in the field of education, welfare and health.
- Much of our success will depend upon our ability to persuade and encourage the private sector to participate in our efforts to solve the critical urban problems.

-- Above all, these people should be told not to overlook the opportunity to seek assistance from their state governments.

} State Govt

-- There is a significant need for linking the planning and decision-making process in order to improve the capability of state government to coordinate Federal and state programs.

5. The need for support in the Congress of the United States.

-- We should explain to the NAHRO officials that we would all like to do much more in less time than our national resources will permit.

-- We should repeat to them what the President said in his State of the Union Message about our resources and our priorities:

"Our third objective is priorities, to move ahead on the priorities that we have established within the resources that are available.

"I wish, of course, that we could do all that should be done-- and that we could do it now. But the nation has many commitments and responsibilities which make heavy demands upon our total resources. No administration would more eagerly utilize for these programs all the resources they require than the administration that started them.

"So let us resolve, now, to do all that we can, with what we have-- knowing that it is far, far more than we have ever done before, and far, far less than our problems will ultimately require."

-- In connection with what we are already doing, during the coming year the Federal government will spend \$10.3 billion in our urban areas. This is an increase of \$3 billion over the last two years. A partial breakdown of this would be as follow:

- . nearly \$140 million for water pollution control in urban areas;
- . almost \$550 million for public housing and urban renewal;

Congress

- . about \$100 million for urban mass transit;
  - . over \$130 million for the new effort to transform blighted areas into model neighborhoods;
  - . over \$1 billion to combat urban poverty;
  - . over \$2.2 billion for public assistance;
  - . about \$470 million for job placement, retraining, and related employment security programs; and
  - . over \$1 billion for broadening the elementary and secondary educational opportunities of the disadvantaged.
- In order to secure these appropriations for urban areas, we will have to have all possible support. The reason for this is we simply do not have the votes we can count on in this Congress that we had in the last. Vigorous support from every NAHRO member is necessary. If instead, they devote their energies to pointing out deficiencies this will only aid the Congressman looking for an excuse to cut the President's request.
- You might also point out that it is unrealistic to think that significant sums of money can be shifted from other commitments-- space program, defense, debt service, etc.



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