

The Bar Cannot Run Away

by Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

Go T Run

There is no monopoly on wisdom in high places in government. We need to hear from you who work every day in the vineyards of justice. We need to hear from you trial lawyers who are competent, trained, and skilled; who are astute and sensitive observers of American society.

Today our nation is rent and torn by violence and disorder in many places. The violence and disorder that we read of, that we witness on television, may even touch our own communities—and our own lives.

We frequently speak of our rights as American citizens. We need people who know how to defend those rights, and at the same time how to teach people about their responsibilities. There are no freedoms without duties.

Citizenship in this great republic of ours is a high privilege. But it carries with it exacting responsibilities. Everything we do, every word we say, affects our own nation's destiny and that of the whole world.

Violent Change

Restlessness, disorder, and violence are all too prevalent in today's world, and not only in America. Most of the world is going through a period of turmoil, of violent and often revolutionary change.

A revolution of rising expectations is going on throughout the world—not just in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, but in the United States as well.

When we talk about "rising expectations," we must talk not only about Asia, but about Harlem, Detroit, Milwaukee, Birmingham, and other American cities. This is a fact of our times—in America as well as overseas. There is no way you or I can escape the impact of that fact.

Television has changed our living. No longer can poverty or wealth be hidden. The graphic impact of the TV screen has changed the thought patterns, habits, and indeed the cultures of nations and peoples.

The President has often spoken of the two Americas. There is the America of you and me and the great majority of our people—of people

who live a good life, who enjoy the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

But there is a second America—the other America of the sixth of our people who are poor. In it live millions of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans—yes, and "poor whites" of Anglo-Saxon stock.

There is a second trend we must all recognize—urbanization. Today, 75 per cent of Americans live in urban areas. By the end of the century, according to population projections, 85 per cent of our people will probably be living in large cities.

Testing Place

The city will be the testing place of our civilization and of the rule of law on which it rests. We will meet that test or fail it in our cities.

The cities need help. I speak to lawyers, because you have the training and experience and skill to help remake them.

We can't run away any longer. The suburb that we run to has the same problems as the city we left.

There is urgent need for state legislatures to grant to municipalities and metropolitan areas greater powers of self-government, greater powers to raise revenue. I stress also the importance of close cooperation between city and state, and between the federal government and the cities and states.

Partnership is essential. The old animosities, the old hostilities, the old demagoguery of pitting federal government vs. state government and state government vs. local government are dangerous and could be ruinous. Nobody wins and only our citizens can lose.

As a former city mayor, I can tell you that many city charters are totally inadequate as basic instruments of government. If there were half as much interest in America in the reorganization of metropolitan governments as there is in the reorganization of the federal government, we would be doing much better.

It seems to be more difficult to amend a city charter than to climb Mount Everest without an oxygen tank. The time is at hand for state and local governments to take a good look at their constitutions and char-

ters, their basic instruments of power and responsibility.

You lawyers understand such legal documents, you know how to write them, you know how to argue cases with great skill before judges and juries and committees. The bar must take the lead in this work.

Violence Condemned

It is apparent that the greatest danger to America at home today is an "ism" that has not often been identified and labelled. The "ism" that is really penetrating America at home is not communism, but slumism.

Slums are broken-down neighborhoods with broken people—people who are victims of deprivation, who have the feeling of being helplessly locked in, who are filled with the kind of bitterness and hopelessness that can grow to hate and then to violence. It is in these slums that the fate of our nation and our system of freedom, justice and democracy may be settled.

But the existence of injustice to our fellow human beings can never bring us to condone violence, lawlessness, hate, arson and murder. For this would be the beginning of the end of our free society.

What are you going to do about it? The government and the people need your advice, your counsel, your tremendous abilities as advocates and negotiators. The bar cannot run from these problems any longer.

The easiest thing in the world is to clean out a city block and reconstruct the buildings. The most difficult thing is to help the residents find a new and better life. That is why programs like Head Start, programs of education and recreation are so important.

Crime in the Streets

What is it that seems to cause the gravest concern today? It is what people call "crime in the streets." Some of it is due to racial tensions, some not. We know the facts, but we haven't been able yet to put them together in a pattern which seems to fit all the situations.

I have studied—as you all have, I am sure—the report of the National Crime Commission. I would like you to think for a moment of the themes that run through it. The obvious one,

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of crime prevention, is of paramount importance. Of equal weight, however, is the fact that our system of criminal justice must itself be just and have the respect and cooperation of all citizens.

Unless the critical shortage of trained people throughout the criminal justice system—police officers, case workers skilled and trained in the social service field, patrol officers—is corrected, unless there is greater respect for the law in this country, it will become more difficult every week and every month to maintain our system of justice.

These are major problems to which your organization ought to direct its attention.

Most important, substantially greater financial resources must be devoted to improving the entire criminal justice system.

Someone once said: "Money isn't everything." When I think of the economic loss that comes from violence and crime and what might have been if we had only taken preventive measures in time, I think how foolish the ideas of economy are.

My friends, let me leave you with a critical thought: there is no agreement on the causes of violence today, much less on how to prevent it.

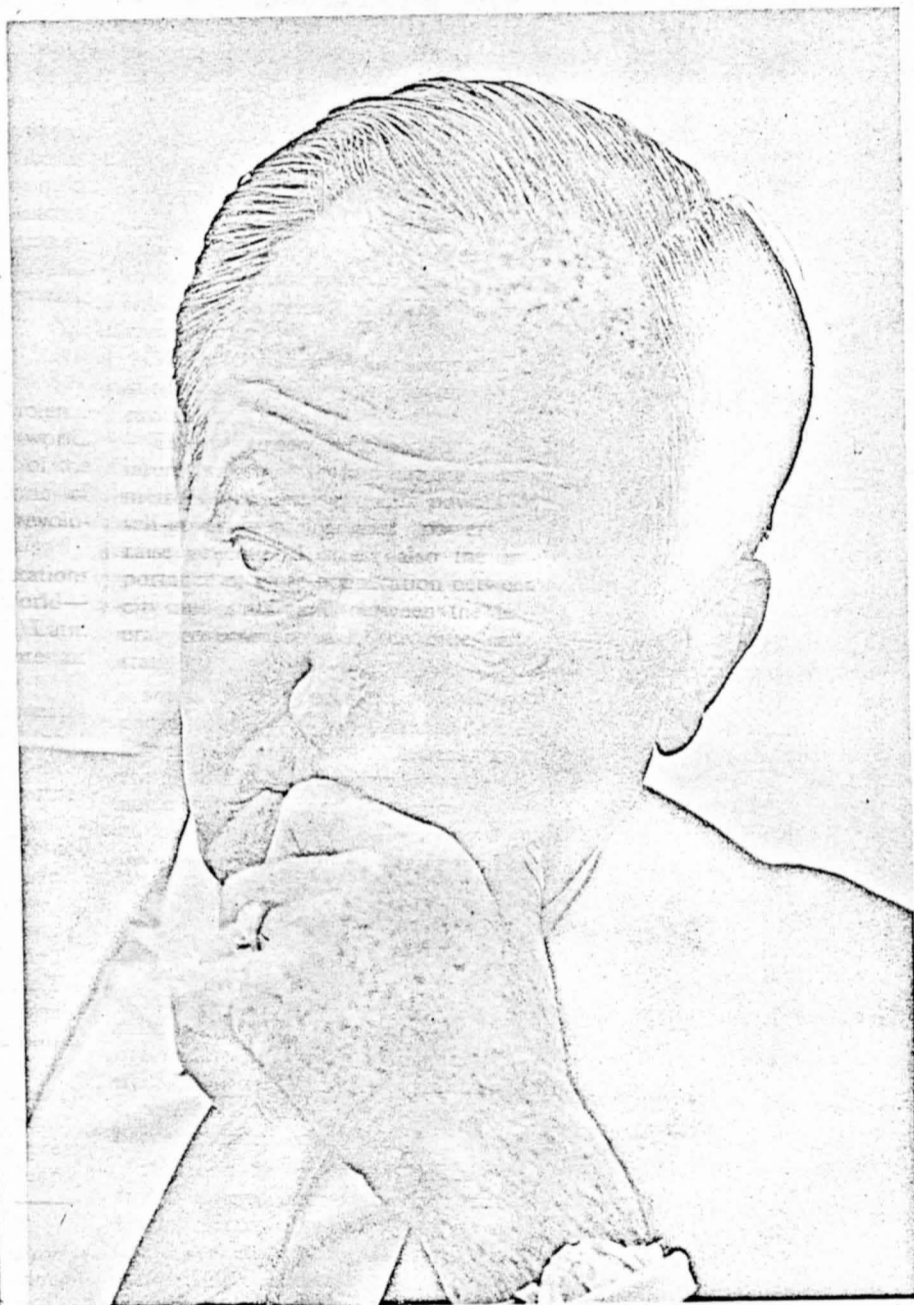
I am here to ask you of the trial lawyers to give your constructive thought to what causes this violence that seems to permeate the entire social structure of this nation, and what we should do about it.

Government alone cannot do this. You trial lawyers must help to do it, for you are committed to justice for all.

The fact that you have become lawyers, respected in your state, accepted in your nation, trusted by your clients, and honored by the courts, imposes a responsibility on you beyond that imposed on others.

I want the word to spread through your ranks that, just as you work for and defend the rights of the people of this country, so also you are going to talk to the people of their responsibilities. Above all, you are going to make it clear that this Republic is what we say it is: "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

It can be no less.



EXCERPTS OF REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY July 24, 1967
TO AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

(opening remarks)

. . .

Jury system, I know you support our jury system. You believe in the right of trial by jury and that in the long run that that system brings more justice to more people than any other system. I believe in the jury system, too. I have to plead my own case. I go out to the American Jury system and do my very best to plead not guilty and to generate as much sympathy as possible. You are the jury, and I am the defense lawyer and I will do my best to defend my case. I am here at my own invitation. That is one way sure to get your attendance. . . I do know you got together in Honolulu recently. On two other occasions, I have been invited. Each time I hoped that I could come . . . I intend to be in New England next week so I will not be able to be around but I happen to be here this weekend and I just happen to have stopped in, so lean back now, I am going to give it to you . . .

I want to talk to you about some items that are close to the work that I try to perform. I come to you because you are not just gifted lawyers but you are also good citizens, and if there ever was a time when the American people need to think through the American

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responsibilities of American citizenship, that time is now. When we speak of our rights as American citizens, we also need to have people who know how to defend those rights. Teach people about our responsibilities. There are no freedoms without duties. There is no law or leadership without heavy responsibilities of duties. There is no role of leadership without heavy responsibilities. I think this and what you do . . . This generation more than any other must accept the responsibilities of the freedoms and rights we carry . . . that means you are privileged to have a title that is the envy of the world. Better to be citizens of this republic than emperor or king or chairman or prime minister or whatever title, yet when one is a citizen of this country, he has responsibilities that are exacting.

Everything we do, everything we say, every act that we perform reflects upon our character and that of our nation.

I believe that Abraham Lincoln was right. He was a prophet as well as a president. He was a great prophet and a great president, and he said, "This is the last best hope on earth." He prefaced that when speaking of our own country by saying, "we shall either meanly lose it or nobly save it." I don't think it is child-like sentimentality to speak in those words. . .

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Freedom does not automatically survive -- it will only survive if we make it so. Freedom is a precious and fragile commodity, a very fragile plant, it requires constant care, constant nourishment, this is why the nation's have to . . .

Every so often, I learn from people and you do too, the Vietnamese are trying to do too much, spreading ourselves too thin. I am afraid that these are people with little faith, and more than ~~that~~ ^{that}, I regret to say people of little understanding. We cannot do that unless we fail to do everything worthwhile. What we must do, is what we must do. In order to give some sense of direction to the energies of mankind. Not because we are superior people, because we are not. Not because we are people chosen as an elite, because we are not. We are required to do great things in this world ~~we~~ and to make sacrifices at home because we are fortunate in goods, in riches. Much has been given and much is expected of it.

Now my friends about 2½ years the Pres. spoke at Howard Univ. He spoke of true America. The America that we enjoy.

There is a second America, the minority America. It is the minority of the poor, of the victims of degradation, inhabitation of the ghettos. The President went on to say you cannot have two Americas, one America and one citizenship. Rights and duties ~~must~~ belong to every citizen.

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You cannot have two kinds of citizenship, two kinds of America. One America - one citizenship and it must be an America and a citizenship of equal opportunities of equal protection of the law in which there are rights and duties to every citizen. And it is from that premise that we work today. It is kindly to say this because our nation today is ripped and torn by violence and disorder in many cities. And the violence and disorder that we now witness, see and read of, ~~of~~ so often touches our communities and our lives, is but a saturated expression of the lawlessness and disorder and violence and crime that is all too prevalent in our modern society. And not just in American society, there is a world in turmoil. A world in change and a violent revolutionary change.

And what we need more than anything else, my fellow Americans, is perspective. We need to put everything in its proper relationship. We need to remember that there are rising expectations not in Latin America, in Asia, but all over the world~~s~~ and in the United States as well. We need to remember that television has changed everything. You can no longer hide poverty or wealth. The picture has changed the graphic impact of the picture. The picture has literally changed the thought patterns and habits and cultures of nations and people. Many Americans like to indicate in their thinking that wiser pronouncements are in this period. That this is the period of pronouncements. The period of rising expectations and talk about Latin America,

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and Asia, rather than talking about Newark, or Cincinnati, Minneapolis, or Birmingham or some other place. Rising expectations represent a fact of our time and there is no way that you can escape that fact. Now there is something else that we should realize in our time. Organization.

People know this is a urban-oriented society. This is a society today in which 75% live in cities. Our population projections say that in ten years 80% will live in cities and by the end of the century 85% will be living in large cities. Actually, the city will be the test of this civilization. We can make it or lose it in our cities. We have the capacity of representative government in our cities . . .

This is not to say that those in rural communities will not have responsibilities or will be less tried and tested. It is only that when 85% of people live in cities, the fate of democracy will be settled there. Therefore, we need to learn how to govern these cities. As a former teach of political science, I could tell you the urgent need of state legislature to grant municipalities greater power of self-government, and we recognize the importance of cooperation between city and state . . .

It will be a testimony of man's creative ability. The ultimate in his character. Cities should be rich not only in culture but in simply things of life.

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And I speak to lawyers who can help make these cities.
You can't run away ~~any~~ longer!

The suburb that you run to has the same problems as the city that you left. Suburbs that were created 25 years ago now have the social strifes . . . we run and run away from our ~~people~~ problems only to find out we are in a vicious circle.

In my little town where we now live, Waverly, Minnesota, It did cause me to note the wonderful opportunity for a good life in rural America, providing that people in rural America do want to make it a good life. And whether or not it lives or dies, depends on whether you want that small community to. It comes down to the matter of where you want to live. The fact of rising expectations, large cities, the fact that these cities are in dire trouble and totally inadequate; and if there was half as much interest today in reorganization of local government as there is in reorganization of Federal government, we would have a much better America. The Federal government is constantly being reorganized under statutory laws granted by the Congress.

I have been mayor of a city for almost two terms, and it is more difficult to amend a city charter than it is to climb Mt. Everest without an oxygen tank.

The time is at hand for state and local government to take a good look at the basic power structure and the governing documents and the responsibilities, and

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and be more cognizant and demand a more working partnership among all levels of government.

Now, what is the fact that seems to grip most of us today? They call it crime in the streets. And this morning when I pick up the paper and read about all the violence, some of it due to racial tension, some of it not, there isn't anything about this we don't know in terms of some of the facts. We just haven't been able to put the facts together, to fit all the circumstances. I have, just as you have, the National Crime Commission Report, and ~~like~~ reports, it has its limitations and it also has its assets. But these are some of the facts: Over 7 million people come in contact with one of the agencies in the U. S. of criminal justice each year, and that means that you are involved, as a lawyer; over 400,000 are confined in any one day in correctional institutions, that is almost as many men as we have in Vietnam. The cost of operating them is over one billion dollars a year. The crime cost and poverty alone was running over three billion dollars in lost property before this recent trouble. The incidence of crime is highest in the ages 15-21. And the 15 year olds commit more of the crimes than anyother group in our nation (50% of burglaries). Most crimes of violence are committed by people who know each other against members of their own race. This is one of the manifestations of our present riot. Recently a few more are inter-racial.

The Crime Commission report has several themes to it and I want you to give your thought to ~~ix~~ these themes. Of course the obvious one is that crime prevention is most important. That is not new to you or anybody else, but we say it and don't always do all we ought to about it. The system of criminal justice it must have the respect and cooperation of all citizens. This takes a great deal of understanding and patience. People want to have people proven guilty before the trial. Even though the basis of our system of justice is that a man is innocent until proven guilty. Throughout the criminal justice system better trained people are desperately needed. There are critical shortages today of nearly everyone involved in the system of justice. Post offices all across America, a shortage. Either a shortage in terms of those who are authorized as compared to those who can be recruited. Or put in another way, you recruit fewer than the city council authorizes. And I predict to you unless something is done about this, unless there is greater respect for law in this country, it is going to be more difficult every week ~~ix~~ and every ^{month} ~~week~~ to get people of competence and of any ability to serve as a police officer. It is a major problem that this organization ought to direct its attention. We need more case workers, that are skilled in serving in the social services. More police officers that are trained and we need to take a good look at our own educational system, in terms of whether or not education is relevant to the needs of our people and to whether or not it provides the basic training for people to serve in this system of justice that is ours.

And I think it fair to say that the Crime Commission Report also emphasized that there is a far far range of treatment ^{than} that is needed ~~by~~ the present correctional system provided. The need of access to better information as used in research is vital and finally, that substantially greater financial resources must be devoted to improving the entire criminal justice system. Now that gets right down to it. Somebody once said, "money isn't everything," and another chap said, "yes, but it runs a close second best." You cannot have law enforcement, and an efficient system of justice, you cannot have good government at bargain-counter prices. Impossible. Utterly impossible. And when I think of the tragic loss that comes in a wave of violence and crime, and what might have been done had we taken steps ahead of time to prevent it, I think how foolish our ideas are or become.

Now we have programs in the government today, and I want to just call to your attention one act that I urge you to take a good look at and give it your support if you can, and if possible, your advice and counsel: the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. It passed out of the House Judiciary Committee. Congressman Celler and his committee have done a good job. It stands before House Rules Committee waiting for a rule to take it up to the House. The Senate as yet has not acted, it is still having hearings. I wish

that we could be as prompt in our action in Safe Streets and Crime Control Act as we were on the Anti-Riots Bill. Many people are not at all sure that that bill is going to be very effective, but we do know that the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act comes after years of research. It provides and establishes an office of law enforcement and criminal justice in the Department of Justice. It provides grants up to 90% to the savings of the city, and regional and metropolitan bodies to assist them to develop plans to improve their police force and correctional system. It provides grants up to 60% to ~~provide~~ support a school program. These are to encourage new programs against street violence, juvenile delinquency and organized crime. Here are some examples: better training for criminal justice personnel, special street lighting, and new public alarm system, two-way radio and multiple police networks, new informational techniques, and personnel. This is what is needed. We still operate our ~~police~~ law enforcement instrumentalities as if they were carried over from the 19th century. Half-force coordination, inadequate means of communication, lack of crime laboratories, lack of adequate for police personnel, and lack of personnel itself. That act provides grants up to 50% for the constructing of new physical facilities, crime laboratories, community correction centers, police academies. My goodness we spend a fortune in Westpoint, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, the Coast Guard, Merchant Marine Academy, to train people for our national security.

Our national security is threatened inside America as well as outside. (applause)

I submit that when we have police trying to serve that are better organized, professional competence, as their heritage, then there will be greater respect for the man who carries the badge. Just as there is greater respect for graduates from Westpoint in the Armed Services, or Annapolis, or Air Force, etc. Professionalism, effluence, The same act authorizes the Attorney General to make research grants up to 100% for public agencies, or institutions of higher education. To establish institutes for research and education in law enforcement and criminal justice. Now those are the main features of that bill, and yet it sits in the Congress. And we are hearing all kinds of things today from Washington, everybody has got a program about what we ought to do about the riots. Well my fellow Americans, there is a program in the Congress that still has not been acted upon. I am sure more needs to be done. I have never been one to say that what we propose now is enough, because we have to learn along the way. But I want to say that before we start to adopt some crash program, that you are not at all sure will work, it might not be bad, indeed I think it would be prudent to take the carefully measured steps that have already been placed before the Congress of the United States.

Such as, narcotics control, fire arms control legislation, juvenile correctional system, federal legislation such as I mention here for safe streets and crime control. The right of privacy. This period and this age. It is about time that the American people remembered that one of the reasons that this great republic was founded was that people that have the right to privacy, that their home was their castle, they were not supposed to be intruded upon at the will of private, personal or public instrumentality. And if there is any one thing of which I am proud about ^{for} ~~of~~ the President of the United States, is that in this Administration, he has insisted we are not going to have a lot troopers running around this country. There are ways and means and you know that the Governor of the United States has ways and means to use the devices that are necessary for the national security.

(applause)

Now my friends let me leave you with this.

There is no agreement on what our solutions are. I didn't come here to make a half-solution, if I did have one, I would be far too busy to be here with you. I am here to ask you to give your constructive thought to what causes this violence that seems to permeate the entire social structure of this nation. What do we do about it? We need your advice, we need your confidence. There is no high places in government. This is a government of the people, we need to hear from you who work every day in the vineyards of justice. You are competent,

trained, skilled lawyers who are sensitive of the social structure and the society of which you are a part. What is it that really causes it? What is it that we do to prevent it? What is it that we do to control it? We know, for example, that much of the violence of a racial type is the start, the trigger, seems to be when a police officer arrest a Negro or another member of a minority group . . .

(WCCO changed tapes)

. . . irresponsibility. I think it very important for members of the establishment, and that is who you are, because you are the educated, trained - I think it very important for you to ask what are the dangers involved here. People turn away from old established leadership and seem to fall into the hands of those who advocate militant violent action. In the Negro community in America, we have been blessed for years and years by unbelievable patience. Remember that men of the quality and character of Roy Wilkins are great citizens, just to mention one. I would put him down as one of the great living Americans, head of the NAACP, and he is no easy man, he is firm, strong and fights with all he has for his people. And the America. The real question is will this kind of leadership be able to survive unless we cooperate. Will the direct militant action take over, and if so, whose fault is it? Rather than if we really cooperated for it with a responsible, progressive leadership of the Negro community? Ask yourself that question. Or have we aided what happens now? I think we have got to meditate on that to ourselves. I want everyone of you good citizens here to read this column. I seldom advocate columns

to people (laughter), and I never found that columnists seems to have the good judgment to agree with me. Or may I say I never found myself to have good judgment reported by them. But this is one, by Richard Wilson, who is the chief of the Washington Bureau of the Minneapolis Tribune. It is called "Racial Turmult will Continue." It is one of the most thoughtful, constructive, and yet challenging columns I have ever read. I didn't get many answer, but I surely did have some questions brought to my attention again that demand answers. There are certain things that Mr. Wilson tells us . . . the Negro will continue to go to the cities. The cities will get bigger, the Negro population will get larger. There are certain other things that you and I know that many of these good people that come to the city are not prepared for urban life through no fault of their own. We have hundred and thousands of Americans who have been poorly prepared by this society for modern living in an industrialized city. They have been dumped on great cities. And mayors and city councilmen, and police officers, and Rabbis, Priests, and Ministers and social workers are struggling valiantly to try to find an answer. There are some things that we have to recognize. No matter how big a heart we have, no matter how much we may be troubled by the injustices that have been committed by ourselves and others, we cannot condone violence, lawlessness, hate, arson, murder; this cannot be tolerated in the society based upon law. It is the beginning of the end, if it is tolerated. It is the dry rock of a good society. And my fellow Americans, freedom does not mean _____.

My fellow American ..., my fellow American ... has not been ...
Protest does not encounter with it an inspiring a free society
inwhich there are procedures, or experience, protest is not
accomplished. There is a difference between dissent and destruction.
There is a difference between protest and violence, and that
difference is beyond this world...and the American people.

The best our prostrations and indeed even anger unless we are ready
to face our remedial tasks. And some are better informed that we
are always taken because of that old Chinese proverb: That the
first step is the longest journey. We'll have to make those
first steps, and here's the beginning. We've ~~alter~~ altered, for
example, in the Congress of the U.S. the program called Model cities.
That program was to be one, as it was the first one altered, over
3 Billion Dollars, over a period of 4 years. It was cut-back to
\$900 million in authorization.

For some of those today are critizing that we haven't an option
for all those single amendments, even status, and we're just being
cautious, gave over \$201,900,000,000. But the ... on the U.S. at
the request of the Congress the maximum amount that we could spend
on the war this year was \$650 million, for urban renewal and the
Model Cities program...\$400 million for Model Cities and \$250 million
for Urban Renewal, that's the most that the Congress would permit
the President to sign up for.

There is a sum total \$650 billion been reduced to \$225 billion
of the fate of what you hear today and see today. We have a little
sum of money \$40 million for a ^{Rest}~~little~~ supplement that will provide
some kind of decent housing for the poor in our big cities so that
they won't have to live in filth and degradation ^{because there is}~~and have~~ an

inadequacy of.....We haven't gotten a nickel. LWe asked for \$40 million for rat control program and it was laughed out of the House of Representatives. Ladies and Gentlemen the Rat Control Program is not a laughing matter it is a health matter. It is unbelievable that a Nation prides itself on toothpaste and deodorant can tolerate rats in the city.

May I say to my good friends in the Congress of the U.S. and our silent Congress of the U.S., that it is no laughing matter. In the slums and the tenements in some of our big cities where little children are literally eaten in their cribs and their beds by rats nibbling at their toes and their fingers. And they are sick and ~~dixing~~ dying from infection and cities say they are helpless because of inadequate for all the manifold and manifest responsibilities that are on these cities today. I sympathize with every Mayor in every city in every part of the U.S. he has a ~~whole~~ hopeless task, under present legal and financial order. And what happens? Somebody gets chewed in Congress and blasted out of the House of Representatives. We spend more money to control infestation in our graineries which is owned by the Federal Government, then we do on rat control for our babies. We spend more for control of the bollweevil than we do to control rats, then the same people who votes against rats, voted for control of the bollweevil.

If I seem a bit perturbed about it, I am. I think it is symbolic of the times and all we ask of the few who have been the fire that there is still something to talk about.

I ask you to let the Senate of the U.S. know that you care. And

this great nation of \$750 billion of gross national income can't afford a rat control program than I think we ought to close up shop. And I am going to appeal to all attorneys to continue to do what we set out to do. To continue to increase our educational culture. To continue to improve job-training. To continue our efforts to beat down discrimination in every facet of life. There seems to be no alternative^{than} to try to rehabilitate our slums, make them liveable.

And let me just say this to you, dear friends, that when you have a Negro population of being 11% of the labor force and 20% of the armed forces you have a problem and you have to recognize it and do something about it. When you have twice the unemployment among Negro teen agers that you do among white teen agers you have to recognize that there is a problem. And the real problem is lack of training, lack of education, lack of motivation, inadequacy of training, inadequacies of education, the poor schools are in the poor schools are in the poor districts. The best schools should be in the poor districts. This is the way that you change the difference, this is the way you change the neighborhood. The best teachers, the best classrooms, the most talented teachers should be taking care of the children with the least opportunities.

Their homes are the worst. Their parents, the parental responsibility seems to be the least. This educational business seems to be upside down. We have the best schools where the people have the most money. That's where the newer schools are; that's where the highest paid teachers are; that's where the extracurriculum activities are; yet in slums of our great American cities you have broken down old buildings that have been condemned for 20 years by the Fire Marshall.

Inadequacies of teachers, inadequacies of facilities, inadequacies of libraries, inadequacies of all the many things that are called upon to change them, can't be changed in Washington, unless you want changes where you live.

Remember that this Country is no better, than the town in which you live. America is not the Federal city. The Federal city is, at best, a blurred image of America. If there is going to be a better educational system in America, it is going to be because you helped make it, out of your town. And that you sent people to the legislature and the school boards and the Congress of the U.S. to help, but even then, that isn't enough. You must help yourself. Ladies and Gentlemen, there are Scandanavian countries that eliminate their slums with their per capita income, why can't we? There is something so unique about American society that we are to be forever plagued by filth in our cities. Cities that should build Fifth Avenues, and Park Avenues, and Lexington Avenues and ~~mix~~ unique networks are to be able to build decent places for people to live in.

And where there are ways and means, I happen to think it can't be done by government, alone, or governments that held ready for trying to build subsidies, grants

I know that it can't be done by talking about it, I know it has to be done by talking about convincing the people, and then doing it. And whatever the proposal is we have many public housing; but primarily private housing, this is a private kind. And I must say that if you have private people to come in there and help you make a profit, because you are now entitled as the banker, or the President of a corporation to be a social worker, with somebody else in mind. You will acquire, under your responsibility, to try to have faith in destiny. And that means that we should strive to treat our slums areas as if they were in a foreign country. Look what we do for other people.

(applause) ...to accompany in Latin America, or Asia and then after that on a maximum percent of 3% interest. In order to help an underdeveloped country develop, in order to help ~~the~~ people fill their longing expectations, you can do that for people you have never met, whose names you can't spell, whose countries you can't even identify on the map, why can't we do it for our own people right here? I think you have to start asking you for that. Your government has such a program as that in Washington, right now.

We need your help, in order to get it going.

The theme of our time is "opportunity." We are trying to add a new dimension to our American ~~people~~. Not just freedom, but
freedom

freedom with opportunity. The great poet, Thomas Wolfe, said in the '30's and that memorable: "To every man his chance. To every man the right to live and work and be himself. And to make of himself whatever his ambition and his manhood can make of him. To every man his shining opportunity. This is the promise of America." And that is the promise. "His shining golden opportunity." But an opportunity is a meaningless phrase unless that opportunity is surrounded by tools that make it possible, and give it meaning. We have been told repeatedly that education is the key to the gate of opportunity and it is.

My dear friends, sometimes you have to help people even open that gate once it is unlocked. I'll say to you right now, it will be to help people make something out of themselves as we have done over the past 200 years to hold some people down.

If we are as ingenious in our ways to find people jobs then we won't deny them. If we are as ingenious provide a person an opportunity because of his color as we are to deny him an opportunity because of his color. We who have made a great breakthrough in this cause of justice to which you were born have given you commitment.

For I come to you today to say that we must pursue a course that will make us pursue with more vigor. And to pursue it with greater stride.

We do have programs underway, new great programs, of Model Cities, of Urban Renewal, of crime and correction. We do have programs today of education, the like of which we have never known.

And I am proud to have been a part of it. Of job training, I headed the President's Youth Council. I work with young people all across the land. And we have reduced, for the first time, teenage unemployment. Go back to your Mayor and your home town and ask him whether or not he has a Mayor's Youth Council.

(WCCO ran out of tape on the last 5 minutes of speech)

Simon
Basis for Remarks to American Trial Lawyers
Association Convention

Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 24, 1967
July 23, 1967

MEMORANDUM for The Vice President

From Ken Gray

The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967 (HR 5037) is before the Rules Committee in the House now. It was reported by the Judiciary Committee last week. In the Senate, it is still having hearings. These are the main features of the President's recommendation:

1. Establish an office of law enforcement and criminal justice assistance in the Department of Justice.
2. Federal grants of up to 90% to states, cities and regional and metropolitan bodies to assist them to develop plans to improve their police, courts, and correctional systems.
3. Federal grants of up to 60% to support approved programs. These would encourage innovative efforts against street crimes, juvenile delinquency, and organized crimes. Here are some examples: better training for criminal justice personnel, special street lighting and new public alarm systems, two-way radio and multiple-channel police networks, coordinated information systems, new rehabilitation techniques and personnel.
4. Federal grants of up to 50% for the construction of significant new types of physical facilities on a regional or metropolitan basis. Examples: crime laboratories, community correction centers, police academy-type centers.
5. Authorize the Attorney General to make research grants of up to 100% to public agencies or institutions of higher education. These grants could be used to support research and education projects of regional or national importance, or they could be used to establish national or regional institutes for research and education in law enforcement and criminal justice.

*not agreement
on what causes
the violence,
much less how
to prevent it!*

*starts with
the aspect
of negro*

*Long run
our hope -
status of negro
can be raised
where negroes
be diffused
throughout
the community
not bunched
in ghettos*

*negroes continue
to be in
cities*

Those are the main features of this particular act. The President also had made recommendations on narcotics and narcotics control, on firearms control, on a unified Federal correctional system, special legislation to deal with organized crime, the right-of-privacy act on wire-tapping.

(X) Facts from the National Crime Commission report:

- └ Over 7 million people each year come into contact with one of the agencies of criminal justice in the United States. }
- └ 400,000 are confined on any one day in correctional institutions. }
- └ The cost of operating correctional services is \$1 billion a year.
- └ Crime costs to the economy are high. Property losses are about \$3 billion a year due to crime.

The incidence of crime is highest in the 15 to 21 age group. 15-year-olds commit more of the serious crimes than any other age group. More than 50% of arrests for burglary are of youths of 15.

Most crimes of violence are committed by and against people who know each other. Those who commit crimes of violence more commonly do so against members of their own race. Relatively few major crimes are interracial.

Six major themes of the Crime Commission report:

1. Crime prevention is of paramount importance.
(eliminate slums and ghettos, improve education, get jobs, provide opportunity)
2. The system of criminal justice must itself be just and it must have the respect and cooperation of all citizens.

3. Throughout the criminal justice system, better trained people are desperately needed. There are critical shortages of nearly everyone -- police officers, case workers, parole officers, teachers.
4. A far broader range of treatments is needed than the present correctional system provides.
5. Access to better information and to deeper research is vital.
6. Substantially greater financial resources must be devoted to improving the entire criminal justice system.

A note of reminder on the point of crime prevention -- the Housing and Urban Development appropriation will be considered by the Senate in a couple of weeks. The rent supplements request of \$40 million was completely deleted by the House. The President's model cities request of \$400 million was reduced to \$150 million. The urban renewal request for use in the model cities program was reduced from \$250 million to \$75 million.

70 Poor

9.9

12

25 Billion

\$ 650 million

no Rent Supplements ^{40 million}
no Rat Control Measures Consider

40 225 "

there appears to be no alternative to continuing the Programs designed to improve Educ, Employment, Training, housing - TO provide incentives for the poor, the hard core
negro make up 11% of labor force - but 20% of unemployed
negroes paid less
negro youth unemp. almost double, white

Answer - no other way but to improve
the living conditions

- Rehabilitate Slums
- Job Training + Educ
- Anti Poverty Program
- Erase discrimination
- combat Crime + Altruism in the
- Slums.

AMERICAN
RECEIVED

TRIAL

David W. ples. Tenny
LAWYERS ASSOCIATION

SEP 13 PM

OFFICE OF
VICE PRESIDENT



OFFICE OF THE
Director of Public Affairs and Education
RICHARD S. JACOBSON
6 BEACON STREET, SUITE 927, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02108
Telephone: 227-7426 (Area Code 617)

September 11, 1967

Hubert H. Humphrey
The Vice President of the United States
New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

My Dear Vice President:

As you may recall, I am planning to publish a synthesized version of your stirring address to the American Trial Lawyers Convention in Minneapolis in our national news magazine, TRIAL. I have had to cut the address considerably due to our limited space in the magazine.

Will you have one of your assistants review our shortened version? I hope you will give it your approval as soon as possible. I will be most grateful for your help as we fast approach our deadline. This will provide our members, who were unable to attend the national convention, the opportunity of reading a highly successful and pertinent oration and a particularly important one for every United States lawyer.

Incidentally, I am planning the cover of this issue around your address to our Convention.

It was a distinct and memorable pleasure to have met you in Minneapolis. I hope you will find time in the future to address our organization again.

Yours respectfully,

Richard S. Jacobson

Richard S. Jacobson
Director, Public Affairs and
Education

RSJ/fs

tvd:tae

SPC-67 American Trial Lawyers

July 24, 1967; Minneapolis

September 20, 1967

Dear Mr. Needham:

Enclosed is the edited version of the Vice President's remarks before the American Trial Lawyers Association Convention.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ted Van Dyk
Assistant to the
Vice President

Mr. Roger A. Needham
Associate Director
The Institute of Continuing Legal Education
Hutchins Hall
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

How Transcript

SPEECH OF VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS' ~~SUMMER~~ CONVENTION

July 24, 1967

Radisson Hotel, Minneapolis, Minn.

- - - -

Thank you very much, my good friends; Gene Rerat, my ~~colleague~~ and friend, long-time friend Si Weisman, and the officers of the American Trial Lawyers' Association, and I want to thank Mr. Lewis in particular for holding this platform. It seems like I interrupt all of his appearances here in the metropolitan area of the Twin Cities.

The other evening I was out to a dinner just about the time he was holding forth, and I came and I arrived here this morning and Mr. Lewis is speaking to you, again. I want you to know, Mr. Lewis, it's not personal; it's sheer coincident. I hope to see you out on the West Coast.

Your president, Mr. Cohen, and Mr. Langermann and all the officers, Mr. Snyder, Mr. Ames, Mr. Tomer, and others, I bring warm greetings this morning.

I notice that you have a precedents here. If it is not a precedent, at least it's a happenstance to which I allude with a certain degree of pleasure, and I would like to in some way indicate my support if you would like to make it a precedent where it is possible that your vice-president, Samuel Langermann, may become president of this organization. (Applause.)

I am not ~~an~~ one that feels there ought to be royal succession, but (laughter) in this democratic society, if you can work it out this way, it's okay with me. (Applause.) However, I am afraid that Mr. Langermann has many more friends than I have. He seems to be getting along very well.

~~I also want to pass along a comment to you on the jury system. I know~~ that the American Trial Lawyers' Association, as an association, and you as

individual members, strongly support our great jury system, and wisely so; and I know that you support every endeavor that is made to improve that jury system.

You believe in the right of trial by jury; you believe that in the long run and in the over-all that that system brings more justice and brings justice to more people than any other system. I sort of believe in the jury system, too. I have to plead my own case. That is the trouble of that system. I go out to the American jury every two to four years and do my very best to plead not guilty and ~~(laughter)~~ and hope fully to engender at least understanding among the jurors, sympathy if possible, and support as the ultimate objective.

So this morning, ~~if you should feel that you're being regaled of it, just remember: You have started the whole thing. You are the jury this morning, and I am the defense lawyer, and I will do my best to defend our case. I am here really at my own invitation. This is one of the sure ways to get to a meeting. Most people are very polite, and if you just insist enough, they will permit you to come; but on two other occasions, some of you may recall, that we hoped that we might get together.~~

~~I believe you met in Honolulu, if I am not mistaken. At least you met down in Miami, and on two occasions I had been invited to come to the American Trial Lawyers' Association and, maybe, three; and every time I had hoped that I could come, each time Gene Rerat would call me on the telephone, putting up the telephone bills, and his office is calling me on unofficial business, of course, at all times, saying: "Mr. Vice-President, we surely hope that you can come to the American Trial Lawyers' Association. We have a spot in the program for you," Si Weisman said, "Look, we wanted you here this week. We hoped that you might come to the banquet."~~

~~I am going to be in Massachusetts on Thursday night. I shall be in~~
 Rhode Island on Thursday afternoon. I intend to be in Connecticut and New
 Hampshire Monday, and Maine and New York between ~~Thursday~~ Thursday and Sunday
 night, so I will not be able to be around here the balance of this week; but
 I just happened to be around this weekend, and I happened to know that you
 were here, and I happened to recall what a wonderful organization you have
 and what fine friends I have in this organization. I just ~~happened~~ happened
 to stop in, so I am back now, and I am going to give it to you. (Laughter.)

~~I have to be a little careful because Charlie Boss of the Eighth Circuit~~
 has told me that time was limited, and I know it is. I have to be back in
 Washington, and I am going to take off in not too long a time from now. I
 want to talk to you about some items that are close to the work that I try
 to perform. I come to you because you are not ~~just~~ just gifted lawyers but
 you are also good citizens, and if there ever was a time that the American
 people needed to think through the responsibility of American citizenship,
 that time is now.

Rights and Responsibilities

We frequently speak of our right^s as American citizens, I also think we
 need to have people who know how to defend those rights, ^{and} Teach people about
 our responsibilities. There are no rights without responsibilities. There
 are no freedoms without duties. There is no role of leadership for a great
 nation like ours without heavy responsibility and numerous duty^{ies}.

I ~~think~~ believe that this generation, more than any other, needs to
 understand that the freedoms and rights carry with them responsibilities and
 duties; and ^{at} the citizenship in this great republic of ours is the highest
 honor that can be paid to any mortal. To be a citizen of the United States
 of America, ^{ce} that means that you are privileged to have a title that is the
 envy of the world. Better to be a citizen of this republic than emperor, or

king, or duke, or chairman or prime minister, or whatever title it may be. And yet, when one is a citizen of this country today, his responsibilities are indeed exacting. Everything we do, every word we say, ~~many~~ every act that we perform, reflect⁵ upon our own character, our own nation's destiny, and I think upon the whole world.

I believe that Abraham Lincoln was right; he was a prophet as well as the President. He was a great President and a great prophet; and he said, speaking of our own country, "This is the last best hope^c on earth," and he prefaced that by saying, "We shall either meanly lose it, or nobly save it," and I don't think that^{it} is child-like mentality to speak in those words because ~~the fact of the matter is,~~ if the cause of ~~for~~ freedom is to survive in this world of ours, at least in the foreseeable future, it will do so because we help make it survive. It does not automatically survive. Freedom is a precious and ~~it is~~ a very fragile commodity, in a sense, a very fragile plant. It requires constant nourishment, constant care, constant guardianship, constant stewardship, and this is why your nation has had to take on responsibilities at times that are most frightening.

Every so often ~~I run into people and~~ we are told that we are trying to do too much, spreading ourselves too thin. I am afraid they are people of little faith and, more than that, I regret, too, that they are people of little understanding. We can ^{not} do less ~~unless~~ we fail to do anything worthwhile. But we must do what we must do in order to give some sense of direction to the energies of mankind. Not because we are a superior people, because we are not. Not because we are a people that have been chosen as an elite, because we are not. We are required to do great things in this world, to make great sacrifices; to do great things at home and make great sacrifices at home, because we are fortunate in goods, in wealth, in position, in^h history,

in experience. We are rich in all of this and much has been given to us, and much is expected of us, and that speaks of the entire nation.

The Other America
 Now, my friends, ^{was} about two and a half years ago, almost three years ago, the President of the United States, speaking at Howard University in Washington, D. C.; ~~speaking there~~, he spoke to a great audience on a memorable occasion, commencement. And he spoke of our America, and then he spoke of the two Americas. The America that you and I enjoy, the America of the middle-income, the higher income of the affluent American, of the overwhelming majority, the America of four-fifths of the Americans, who live a good life, who enjoy those blessings, those inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and then he said, "There is yet a second ~~xxx~~ America; The other America, and that is the America of the minority, not just the black minority, sometimes it is a Mexican, sometimes it is a Porto Rican, and sometimes it is Anglo-Saxon, poor white. I is the minority of the poor."

It is the other America of the Poverty-ridden people, of the deprived, of the victims of deprivation, of the inhabitants of the ghetto, the rural ghetto as well as the urban ghetto; and the President went on to say, with Lincolnian understanding and Lincolnian statemanship, that this nation cannot be so divided, that you cannot have two kinds of citizenship, you cannot have two Americas. We have ~~xxx~~ one America, one citizenship and it must be an America and it must be a citizenship in which there are equal opportunities, equal protection of the law, in which there are rights and duties that belong to every citizen, and it is from that premise that we work today.

Now, this is timely to say because our nation today is rent and torn by violence and disorder in many instances, and the violence and disorder that we now witness and read of and see and often times touches our communities or our lives; but an exaggerated expression of the lawlessness and disorder and restlessness and violence and crime that is all too ~~xxx~~ prevalent in modern

society and not just in American society; there is a world in turmoil, a world in change, that violent revolutionary change; and what we need now more than anything else, my fellow Americans, is ^{er}perspective. We need to put everything in its proper relationship. We need, for example, to remember that there are rising expectations all over the world--not just in Africa, Asia, Latin America, but in the United States as well. We need to remember the ^{at}television has changed living. You can no longer hide poverty or wealth. The picture, the graphic impact of the picture, the tremendous impact of it, has literally ^lchanged the thought patterns, the habits, and indeed, the cultures of nations and peoples.

Many Americans like to indicate in their thinking and in their wiser pronouncements--and this is by ^{Toynbee,} ~~Finley~~ the great British historian--this is the period of rising expectations, and then they start to talk about Asia, Africa, rather than talking about Harlem or Detroit or Minneapolis or Birmingham or San Francisco or Cincinnati or some other place.

Rising expectations represent a fact of our time, and there is not ^{any} way that we can escape the impact of that fact.

Now, there is something else that I think we need to recognize, that has happened in our time. ^{Urbanization}Urbanization. People know that this is an urban-organized society, urban-oriented society, this is a society today in which 75 percent of our people live in cities, and in ten years 80 percent of our people will live in cities; and by the end of the century, 85 percent of our people, on population projections, will be living in large cities. Actually, this city is going to be the test of this civilization. We will make it or lose it in our cities. We will test the capacity of representative government to govern justly in our cities. This is not to say that those who live in rural areas have less responsibility or will be less tried and tested. It is

is only to say that when 80 to 85 percent of your people do live in the cities, the fate of the democracy will be settled there. Therefore, we need to learn how to govern these cities.

As a former teacher in Political Science, I could tell you the urgent need of state legislatures to grant unto municipalities and cities and metropolitan areas greater powers of self-government, greater powers of revenue raising, the importance of the closeness of co-operation between city and state, between Federal ~~and~~ city, Federal-state, and city. The partnership between state and local government is absolutely essential. We cannot survive unless it works. The old animosities, the old hostilities, the old ^ademagogery of pitting Federal government ^{against} and state government and state government against local government, that is ruinous, it is dangerous. ~~It~~ The only one that it ~~gawks~~ hurts is the citizen, all the people.

The fact is, though, that we are going to ~~be~~ have to learn in these cities and we are going to have to find ways and means to govern these cities. A city should be the finest testimony to man's creative ability. The city should represent the ultimate in man's capacity, the ultimate in his creativity, the ultimate in his character. The city should be rich, not only in culture, but in the simple, good things of life; and I speak to lawyers that can help make those cities ~~and~~ ~~make~~ remake them. Now, you can't run away any longer.

The ~~be~~ suburb that you run into soon has the same problem as the city you left. Suburbs that were created 25 years ago now have their inner city and their social strife, and we run, run, run away from our problems, only to find out we ~~be~~ have made the complete circle.

I know there is a great deal of space left in our country. I spoke out here at my little town where we now live, out at Waverly, Minnesota, Saturday,

and I know that there is a wonderful opportunity for the good life in rural America, providing the people in rural America want to make it a good life, and I said quite candidly and directly, which is ~~my~~ well, just sort of my way of doing it: "you can either live or die in a small community; ^{it} depends on whether you want that smaller community to be lively, to provide all of the possibilities of the good life or whether you want to have it just fade away." And, too, many of them are fading away, but it need not be so.

Cities in Trouble

We come to the matter now of where we are going to live; the fact of the rising expectations, the fact that most of us are going to live in the big cities, and what is the other fact: That these cities today are ⁱⁿ dire trouble, dire trouble. Many of their city charters are totally inadequate as a ^e basic instrument of government, totally inadequate, and if there was half as much interest in America on the reorganization of the metropolitan ⁿ government as there is the reorganization of the Federal government, we would have a much better America.

Your Federal government is constantly being reorganized under the statutory law granted by the Congress, But I served as mayor of the city for almost two terms, and ~~it~~ it is more difficult to amend the city charter, may I say, than it ^{is} to to climb Mount Everest ^s without an oxygen tank. Very difficult. So the time is at hand for state and local government to take a good look at the governing base, the basic documents, the instruments of power and responsibility, and then it is time for the Federal ~~gover~~ government to start to be more cognizant of the relationship between Federal, state, and local government; and it is time for all of us to demand a working partnership amongst all of these levels of government.

Crime

~~Now~~, what is the fact that seems to grip most of us today? Well, they call it crime in the street; and this morning when I picked up the morning

paper, listened to television--troubles, troubles, violence, violence, fires, riots. Some of it due to racial tension, some of it not. There isn't anything about this that we don't know in terms of some of the facts. We haven't been able, however, to put the facts together into a pattern which seems to fit all of the situations.

I have studied, as you have, I am sure, the National Crime Commission Report, and like all reports, it has its limitations and it also has its assets. But these are some of the facts. Over 7 million people each year come into contact with one of the agencies of criminal justice in the United States and that means that you are involved, as a lawyer, as an attorney. Over 400,000 of our citizens are confined in any one day in correctional institutions in the United States. That is almost as many men as we have in Viet Nam. Any one day, they are confined to correctional institutions.

The cost of operating these correctional institutions is over a billion dollars a year. The crime cost in property along ^e before recent violence was running over 3 billion dollars loss of property. The incidents ^{ce} of crime is highest in, believe it or not, the age ^s of 15 to 21; and the 15-year-olds commit more of the serious crimes than any other group in our nation. Fifteen-year-olds. More than 50 percent of arrests were ^{For} burglary. Our youth ^s of 15.

Most crimes of violence are committed against people who know each other. Those who commit crimes of violence more commonly do so against members of their own race and this is one of the manifestations of the present riots. Recently a few more of the major crimes are interracial.

Now, that crime commission report had several themes to it. I want you to give your thought to these themes. Of course, the obvious one, that crime prevention is of paramount importance. That is not new to you or to anyone else, but we all say it and on't do anything about it. The system of criminal

justice must, itself, be just and it must have the respect and co-operation of all citizens. This takes a great deal of understanding and patience. Many people want to have people proven guilty before the trial, even though the basis of our system of justice is that a man is innocent until proven guilty.

Throughout the criminal justice system better trained people are desperately needed, desperately needed. There are critical shortages of nearly everyone involved in the system of justice. Police officers, all across America, a shortage. Even a shortage in terms of those that are authorized as compared to those that can be recruited; or, put it another way, that you recruit fewer than the city council authorizes and I predict to you that unless something is done about this, unless there is greater respect for law in this country, that it is going to be more difficult every week and every month to get people of competence and of any ability to serve as a police officer.

This is a major problem that this organization ought to direct its attention to. We need more case workers that are skilled and trained in the social service field, more patrol^e officers that are trained, and we need to take a good look at our whole educational system in terms of whether that education is relevant to the need of our people and whether or not it provides some basic training for people that can serve in this system of justice that is ours.

I think it is fair to say that that Crime Commission Report also emphasizes that there is a far broader range of treatments needed than the present correctional system provides. The need of access to better information and to deeper research is vital, and finally that substantially greater financial resources must be devoted to improving the entire criminal justice system.

Now, that gets right down to it. Someone once said, "Money isn't everything," and another chap said, "Yes, but it runs a good second best." You cannot have law enforcement and efficient system of judgment; you cannot have good government at bar

have good government at bargain-counter prices. Impossible. Utterly impossible. And when I think of the tragic loss that comes in a wave of violence and crime and what might have been done if we had taken steps ahead of time to prevent it, I think how foolish our ideals are of economy.

Now, we have programs in the government today and I want to just call it to your attention, one act that I urge you to take a good look at and give us your support if you can, and possibly your advice and counsel: The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. It is passed out of the House Judiciary Committee. Congressman ^CSeller and his committee have done a good job. It stands before the House Rules Committee waiting for a rule to take it up in the House. The Senate as yet has not acted; ~~it is still having~~. I wish that we could be as prompt in our action on the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act as we were on the Anti-Riot Bill. Many members are not at all sure that that bill is going to be very effective. But we do know that the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act comes after years of research, provides and establishes an office of law enforcement and criminal justice in the Department of Justice. It provides grants up to 90 percent for the states and cities and regional and metropolitan bodies to assist them to develop plans to improve their police ~~force~~ ^S and correctional institutions. It provides grants up to 60 percent to support improved programs. This could encourage new effort against street crimes, juvenile delinquency, and organized crime.

Here are some examples: Better training for criminal justice personnel, special street lighting, ~~and~~ new public alarm systems, two-way radio and multiple channel police networks, ^Kco-ordinated ⁱinformation, new rehabilitation techniques, and personnel. This is what is needed in this country.

We still operate our law enforcement instruments as if they were a carry-over from the 19th century. For example: work co-ordination, inadequate modern means of communication, lack of crime laboratories, lack of adequate training for police personnel, and lack of personnel itself.

That act provides Federal grants up to 50 percent for the construction of certain new types of facilities, crime laboratories, community correction centers, police ^Cacademy~~type~~ type centers. My goodness, we spend a fortune on West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, the Coast Guard Academy, the Merchant Marine Academy to train people for ~~our~~ national security. Our national security is threatened inside America as well as outside. (Applause.) And I submit that when we have police training facilities that are meritorious, that are professionally organized, that ~~we~~ have professional competence as their ~~standing~~ character, then there will be greater respect for the man that carries the badge just as there is greater respect for a graduate from West Point in the Armed Services or Annapolis, or the Air Force Academy, or the Coast Guard, or the others. It is professionalism. The same Act authorized the Attorney General to make research grants up to 100 percent for public agency^{ies} or ~~institutions~~^{institutions} of higher education to establish institutes for research and education of ⁿour law enforcement and criminal justice.

Now, those are the main features of the bill and though it languishes in the Congress and we are hearing all kinds of things today from Washington, everybody has a program of what we ought to do about the riots. Well, my fellow Americans, there is a program in the Congress that still languishes there and has not been enacted. I am sure still there is more that needs to be doneⁿ. I am never one who said what you have proposed now is enough because we have to learn along the way, but I want to say that before you start to concoct some crash program that has never been tried and you are

not at all sure that it would work, it might not be bad--indeed, I think, it would be prudent and wise--to take the carefully measured steps that have been already placed before the Congress of the United States, such as, narcotics-control legislation, firearms-control legislation, unified Federal correctional system, special legislation such as I have mentioned here, for the Safe Streets and Crime control, the right of privacy.

The right of privacy. ^{In} This period and this age of snoopers, it is about time that the American people ~~be~~ remembered that one of the reasons that this great republic was founded ~~was~~ ^{so} that people could have the right of privacy, that their home was their castle, that they were not supposed to be intruded upon at the will of a private party, or a public instrumentality, and if there is ~~any~~ one thing that I am proud about for the President of the United States, it is the fact that he has insisted in this administration that we are not going to have a lot of snoopers running around this country. (Applause). There are many ways and means, and you know that the government of the United States has ways and means, to use the devices that are necessary for our national security for organized crime.

Your Help Needed
Now, my friends, let me leave you with this: There is no agreement on what are the causes of violence today, much less how to prevent it. I didn't come here with a pat solution. If I did have one, I would be far too busy to be here with~~you~~ you. I am here to ask you to give your constructive thought to what causes this violence that seems to permeate the entire social structure of this nation. What do we do about it? We need your advice. We need you counseling.

There is no omnipotence of wisdom in high places in government. This is a government of the people. We need to hear from you who work every day in the vineyards of justice, who are competent, trained, skilled lawyers, who

are astute, sensitive observers of the social structure and of the society of which you are a part.

What is it that really causes it? What is it that we ^{can} do to prevent it? What is it that we do to control it?

We know, for example, that ⁱⁿ much of the violence that we have seen of racial type, ~~seems to start~~ the trigger, the flash point, seems to be when a police officer arrests a Negro or other people of a minority group in one of the highly congested slum areas of our great cities. That seems to be the flash point. From there, it seems to get out of our hand. But having said that, that is as much as we know.

Some people say that all of it is due to inadequacy of the living conditions and maybe there is a great deal of merit to that. I tend to think that there is much merit to it, but is that all or is what we are seeing now related to more than things over and beyond the inadequacy or the deprivation that afflict so many of our fellow Americans? Is there a relationship to just plain lawlessness, irresponsibility, militant?

I think it is very important for the members of the establishment, and that is who you are, because you are the educated, trained, I think it is very important for you to ask what are the dangers involved here when people turn away from old established leadership and seem to fall in the hands of those who advocate direct action, militant, violent action? Remember this, in the Negro community, in America, we have been blessed for years and years with unbelievable patience; remember that men of the quality and character of a Roy Wilkins are great citizens, just to mention one. That doesn't mean you have to agree with his every pronouncement, but I would put him down as one of the great living Americans, the head of the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People, and he is no easy man. He is firm and strong and resolute and fights with all he has for his people, and for America.

But the real question is, will this kind of leadership be able to survive unless we co-operate? Will the direct action radicals and militants take over? And if so, whose fault is it? Has the white community really cooperated fully with the responsible, progressive, and enlightened leadership of the Negro community? Ask yourselves that question. Or have we aided and abetted what happens now? I think we have many things to ask ourselves.

I read a column in the morning Tribune of yesterday. I want everyone of you good citizens here to read this column. I seldom advocate columns to people, but (laughter) ~~I am not particularly--well,~~ let me put it ~~this~~ this way: I have never found that any columnist seemed to have the good judgment to always agree with me. ~~(laughter.) Or should I say, I have never found myself to have the judgment to agree with the,~~ but this one by Richard Wilson, who is the chief of the Minneapolis Tribune's Washington bureau, and it is called Racial Turbulence will Continue and it is one of the most thoughtful, constructive, and yet challenging and provocative columns I have ever read.

I didn't get many answers but I surely did have some questions brought to my attention once again that demand answers.

There are certain things that Mr. Wilson and others tell us, that the Negro will still continue to go to the city, the cities will get bigger, the Negro population will get larger. There are certain other things that you and I know; that many of these good people have come to the city ill-prepared for urban life through no fault of their own. Separate but equal was not equal. We have hundred^s of thousands, millions of Americans that ~~have been~~

that have been poorly prepared by this society through no¹ their own for modern living in an industrialized society and an urbanized culture. They have been dumped upon the great cities, and mayors, and city councilmen, Rabbis, priests, and ministers and social workers are struggling valiantly to try to find some answers.

There are some things I think that we have to recognize: no matter how big a heart we have, no matter how much we may be troubled by the injustices that may be committed by ourselves and others, we cannot condone violence, lawlessness, hate, arson, murder. This cannot be tolerated in a society based upon law. This is the beginning of the end of it if it is tolerated. It is the dry rot of a free society.

And, my fellow Americans, freedom does not mean license; protest does not encompass^{destruction} within it inside of a free society of which there are procedures, processes for expression. ~~Protest does not encompass destruction.~~ There is a difference between protest and violence and that difference needs to be understood clearly. ~~(Applause)~~

But it will do us little good to vent our frustrations and, indeed, even anger, unless we are willing to take some remedial steps and some of them are^{as} very small steps, but at least they ought to be taken, because^{as} that old Chinese proverb goes, and I only paraphrase it, "The first step is the longer journey." We have to make those first steps and it is the beginning, the Alpha.

A Program in Congress

We have offered, for example, in the Congress of the United States a program for model cities. That program was to be a one, as it was originally offered, of \$3 billion over a period of four years. It was cut back to \$900 million in authorizations. So, of those who today are ^{saying} ~~criticizing~~, we haven't

done enough, didn't offer a single amendment to even save it from being cut over \$2 billion back to \$900 million, but the President of the United States sent requests to the Congress the maximum amount that he could send under law this year for \$650 million for urban renewal and the model cities program. ^{Four hundred dollars} ~~\$400~~ million ² would go for the modern city; \$250 million for urban renewal. That is the most the Congress would permit the President to ^{ask} ~~ask~~ for. That has a sum total of \$650 million. It has been reduced to \$250 million in the case of what you see today and what you hear today.

We asked for a little sum of money, for ^{\$}40 million ~~dollars~~ for rent supplements to provide some kind of fairly decent housing for a few of our poor in our big cities so that they wouldn't have to be compelled to live in filth and degradation because there is an inadequacy of public housing. We haven't got even a nickle; we asked for \$40 million for a rat control program, and it was laughed out of the House of Representatives.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Rat Control Program is not a laughing matter. It is a health matter. It is unbelievable that a nation that prides itself on its tooth paste and deodorants can tolerate infestation of rats in its cities. ~~(applause)~~ ^{in the}

May I say to my good friends of Congress of the United States and outside of Congress, ~~of the United States~~, it is no laughing matter in the slums and tenements of some of our great cities, where little children are literally eaten in their cribs, and beds, by rats nibbling at their toes and at their fingers, and are sick and indeed die from infection, and cities stand helpless because of the inadequacy of revenue for all of ^{the} manifold and manifest responsibilities cast upon these cities today.

I sympathize with every mayor of every city in every part of the United States. His is a hopeless task under present legal and financial arrangements,

so the Federal government seeks to come in to help, and what happens? Somebody gets cute in Congress, laughs it out of the House of Representatives. We spend more money to control infestation in our graneries, of wheat that is owned by the Federal government, than we do on rat control for our babies in our cities. We spend more to control the boll ^{Weevil} ~~weevil~~ than we do to control rats, and the same people who voted against ^{control} rats, voted for control of ^{the} ~~the~~ boll ^{weevil} ~~weevil~~.

If I seem a bit ^e ~~p~~rturbed about it, I am. I think it is symbolic of the times and it only adds to the fuel and the fire and to the trouble because it gives the demigog^a something to talk about. I ask you to let the Senate of the United States know that you care. If this ^{great} ~~big~~ nation of 750 billion dollars gross national product can't afford a rat control program in its cities, then I think we ought to close up shop. (applause.)

Well, my friends, there seems to be no alternative but to continue to do what we set out to do, to continue to improve our educational structure, to continue to improve job training, to continue our effort to beat down discrimination in every facet of life. There seems to be no alternative to trying to rehabilitate our slums, make them liveable.

Let me just say this to you, dear friends, that when you have the Negro population being 11 percent of the labor force and 20 percent of the unemployed, you have a problem, and you have to recognize it and do something about it. When you have twice the rate of unemployment ~~among~~ among Negro teenagers that you do among white teenagers, that is a problem, and the real problem is lack of training, inadequacy of education, ^{the} poorer schools are in the poorer district. The best schools should be in the poorer district. This is the way you change the district. This is the way you change the neighborhood. The best teachers, the most gifted, talented, creative teachers should be where the children ^{have} ~~of~~ the least opportunity, where the homes are the worse, where parental responsibility seems to be the ~~last~~ least.

This educational business is upside down. We have the best schools where the people have the most money. Where many of the parents can send their children to private schools, that is where the newest schools are, that is where the highest paid teachers are, that is where the extracurricular activities are paid for and organized.

In the ghettos, and slums of our American cities you have broken-down old buildings that have been condemned for twenty years by the fire marshall, inadequacy of all of the many things that are needed.

I call upon you to change this. It can't be changed in Washington unless you want to change it where you live. Remember that this country is no better than the town in which you live. American is not the federal city, the federal city at best is a blurred image of America.

If there is going to be a better educational system, it is going to be because you helped make it ^{so} out in your town, and that you sent people to the legislature and to the school board and to the Congress of the United States to help, but even then that isn't enough. You must ~~help~~ help yourself.

Housing
Ladies and Gentlemen, if the Scandinavian countries can eliminate their slums with their per capita income, why can't we? Is there something so unique about American Society that we are to be forever plagued by filth and obsolescence in our cities? Cities that could build Fifth Avenue and Park Avenue and Lexington Avenue, and indeed, Nicollet Avenue, ought to be able to build decent places for people to live. Whatever way and means is required, let's do it. I happen to think it ^{can't} ~~can't~~ be done by government alone, but government could help. Tax incentive for the private builders, subsidies, grants. Lots of other people are subsidized.

I know it can't be done by talking about it. I know it has to be done by talking it up, convincing the public and doing it and whatever the

proposal is--we have many--some public housing, possibly, yes, some co-operative housing, yes. Primarily private housing. This is a private economy, and I must say that if you ask private people to come in they have to make a profit, because you are not entitled as a banker or as a president of a corporation to be a social worker with somebody else's money. You are required under your responsibilities to try to have safe investments; and that may mean, for example, that we start to treat our slum areas as if they were in a foreign country. Look at what we do for other people. Let's apply some of the techniques of foreign aid. ~~(Applause.)~~

You can give a 40-year loan to a country in Latin America or Asia and for the first five years have no payment or premium or interest and then after that a maximum of three per cent interest, in order to help an under-developed country to develop, in order to help people to fill their rising expectations. If you can do that for people that you have never met, whose names you can't spell, whose country you can't even identify on the map, why can't we do it for our own people right here? I think you have to start asking for that. Your government has such a program in Washington now. We need your help to move it, to get it going.

Now, I am going to conclude on this note. ^{Opportunity} The theme of our time is opportunity. We are trying to add this new dimension to American freedom, not just freedom, but freedom with opportunity.

The great poet and author, Thomas Wolfe, said in the thirties in that memorable bit of prose: "To every man his chance; to every man the right to live and to work and to be himself, and to make of himself whatever his vision and his manhood can make of him. To every man his shining golden opportunity."

This is the promise of America. Now, that is the promise of America, his shining golden opportunity, but an opportunity is a meaningless phrase

unless that opportunity is surrounded by the tools that make it possible, to give it meaning.

We have been told repeatedly that education is the key to the gate of opportunity and it is; but, my dear friends, sometimes you have to help people even open that gate once it is unlocked, and I will say to you right now that if we will be ingenious to help people make something out of themselves as we have been over the past two hundred years to hold some people down; if we will be as ingenious in our ways to find people jobs as we were to deny them; if we will be as ingenious to provide a person an opportunity because of his color as we were to deny him an opportunity because of his color, we will have made a great breakthrough ~~in~~ in this cause of justice to which you as lawyers have given your commitment. So I come to you today to say that we must pursue a course that we are presently on only to pursue it with more ^v vigor, to pursue it with ~~greater~~ greater strides. We do have programs underway, great programs, of model cities, of urban renewal, of crime prevention. We do have programs today of education, the likes of which we have never known and I am proud to have been a part of job training. I ^{was} ~~as~~ on the President's Youth Council and worked with young people all across this land and we were able to reduce, for the first time this year, teenage unemployment.

Go back to your mayor in your hometown and ask him whether or not he has a mayor's youth council. Ask him whether or not the schools are being kept open 12 months a year. They belong to you. Why shouldn't they be kept open? Open the gates, take the padlocks off the fences. There is more ^a vandalism on closed schools than there is wear and tear on a used school. (Applause)

Go back and ask your chamber of commerce and your trade unions whether or not they really worked to find jobs. Let's do what we ought to do because it is the right thing to do. Let's not wring our hands in despair of what is happening to us, let's make up our minds that we have overcome problems bigger than this, bigger than any violence that we now experience, any part of troubles that we now have. We have overcome these, and we can do it again, but it is going to require us to buckle down to the task.

It is going to require us to remember that the greatest danger to America at home today is an ism that has not been identified too often. I know many people say that the answer to communism is Americanism. I tend to believe that that depends on how you define all these things, but I will tell you about an ~~ism~~ ism that is really penetrating America and it is not communism. The ism that I worry about is slumism. Not only broken-down, and broken-down neighborhoods, but broken people, people that are victims of deprivation, people that have the feeling of helplessness locked in, people who are unemployed, filled with bitterness which grows to hate and then to violence. That is slumism. The ~~simplest~~ easiest thing in the world to do is clean out a city block and rebuild the buildings. The most difficult thing to do is to help find a new life. That takes infinite patience. It takes unbelievable skill, it takes God-like understanding, and we must start with our youngsters, with this generation. That is why programs like Headstart, that is why programs of education, that is why programs of advanced recreation, of student participation, that is why these things are so important; and, my fellow Americans, government alone cannot do this. You must do it. You are leaders. That is why you graduated from law school, and the fact that you did become a lawyer, respected in your state, accepted in your nation, trusted by your clients,

Edited Version

SPEECH OF VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BEFORE THE AMERICAN TRIAL LAWYERS ASSOCIATION

July 24, 1967

Radisson Hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota

I know that the American Trial Lawyers Association, as an association, and you as individual members, strongly support our great jury system.

I know that you support every endeavor that is made to improve that jury system.

You believe in the right of trial by jury. You believe that, in the long run, this system affords more justice to more people than any other system.

I believe in the jury system too. I have to plead my own case. I go out to my jury -- the American people -- every two to four years and do my very best in pleading my case. I hope to engender at least understanding among the jurors, sympathy if possible, and support as the ultimate objective. So this morning, just remember -- you are the jury, I am the defense lawyer, and I will do my best to plead my case.

I come to you because you are not only gifted lawyers, but also good citizens. If ever there was a time when the American people needed to think through the responsibility of American citizenship, that time is now.

Rights and Responsibilities

We frequently speak of our rights as American citizens. I think we need people who know how to defend those rights, and also how to teach people about their responsibilities. There are no rights without responsibilities. There are no freedoms without duties. There is no role of leadership for a great nation like ours without heavy responsibilities and numerous duties.

I believe that this generation, more than any other, needs to understand that freedoms and rights carry with them responsibilities and duties. Citizenship in this great republic of ours is a high privilege. But it carries with it exacting responsibilities. Everything we do, every word we say, affects our own nation's destiny, and -- that of the whole world.

I believe that Abraham Lincoln was a great President and a great

prophet. He spoke of our own country as "the last, best hope of earth," and he prefaced that by saying, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose (it)." If the cause of freedom is to survive in this world of ours, at least in the foreseeable future, it will be because we help make it survive. It will not automatically survive. Freedom is a precious but a very fragile commodity. It is a delicate plant, requiring constant nourishment and constant care. This is why our nation has had to take on great responsibilities.

Ever so often we are told that we are trying to do too much, spreading ourselves too thin. Those who say this, I regret to say, are people of little faith and little understanding. We cannot do less without failing to do anything worthwhile. We must do what we do in order to give constructive direction to the energies of mankind. Not because we are a superior people -- we are not. Not because we are a people who have been chosen as an elite -- we have not. We are required to do great things in this world -- and at times to make great sacrifices -- because we are fortunate in our wealth, in our history,

and in our experience. Much has been given us, and much is therefore expected of us.

The Other America

The President has often spoken of the two Americas. There is the America that you and I enjoy, the affluent America, the America of the overwhelming majority of our people -- the people who enjoy the good life and the "unalienable rights" of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." There is a second America -- the other America, the America of the sixth of our people who are poor. In it live millions of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and "poor whites" of Anglo-Saxon stock. It is the America of the poverty-stricken, of the victims of deprivation, of the inhabitants of urban and rural ghettos.

The President has said, with Lincolnesque understanding and statesmanship, that this nation cannot continue so divided -- that we cannot have two Americas or two kinds of citizenship. We must have one America and one kind of citizenship. It must be an America and a citizenship in which there

are equal opportunities and equal protection of the law, in which there are the same rights and duties for every citizen. It is on this premise that we must work today.

It is timely to say this, because our nation today is rent and torn by violence and disorder in many places. We read about it, we witness it on TV, and it may even touch our own communities and our own lives.

Restlessness, disorder, and violence are all too prevalent in the modern world, and not only in America. The world is going through a period of turmoil, of violent and often revolutionary change. What we need more than anything else is a sense of perspective. We need to remember that a revolution of rising expectations is going on throughout the world -- not just in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, but in the United States as well.

We need to realize the impact of television. Wealth and poverty can no longer remain hidden. The impact of the TV tube has changed the

thought patterns, the habits, and indeed the ways of living of whole nations and peoples. So, when we talk about rising expectations, we must talk not only about Asia and Africa but about Harlem, Detroit, Minneapolis, Birmingham, San Francisco, Cincinnati, and other American cities. Rising expectations are a reality of our time, and there is no way that we can escape the impact of that fact.

There is something else that has happened in our time that we need to recognize -- urbanization. This is an urban-oriented society, a society in which 70% of our people live in urban areas. By the end of this century, according to population projections, 85% of our people will be living in great metropolitan areas. Our cities are going to be the test of our civilization. The test of the capacity of our representative government will be to govern justly in our cities. This is not to say that those who live in rural areas have less responsibility or will be less tested. It is only to say that, when 80 to 85 per cent of our people live in the cities, the fate of our democracy will be

settled there. Therefore, we need to learn how to govern our cities.

As a former teacher of political science, I could tell you of the urgent need for state legislatures to grant municipalities and metropolitan areas greater powers of self-government and greater powers for revenue-raising. I could stress the importance of close cooperation between city and state, between the Federal government and the cities and states. The partnership between state and local government is absolutely essential. We cannot function unless it works. The old animosities, the old hostilities, the old demagogueries of pitting the Federal government against state government and state government against local government are dangerous and could be ruinous.

We are going to have to find ways and means of governing our cities. The city should represent the ultimate in man's capacity, the ultimate in his creativity, the ultimate in his character. The city should be rich not only in culture, but in the simple, good things of life. I speak to you as lawyers

who can help make our cities and remake them. We can't run away any longer. The suburb that we run to soon has the same problems as the city we left. Suburbs that were created 25 years ago now have ~~their~~ own inner cities and their own social strife. So we run, run, run away from our problems, only to find out we have run full circle and run right up against them once more.

I know there is still a great deal of space left in our country. I spoke out at the little town where we now live -- Waberly, Minnesota -- a few days ago. I know that there is a wonderful opportunity for the good life in small-town America, if only the people of rural America want to make small-town life good. I said quite candidly and directly, as is my way of speaking:

"Small communities can either live or die. It depends on whether you want your community to be lively, to provide all of the possibilities of the good life - or whether you are willing to let it just fade away." Too many of them are fading away, but it need not be so.

Cities in Trouble

There is the fact of rising expectations. There is the fact that most of us are going to live in big cities. There is another fact -- these cities today are in trouble, dire trouble. Many city charters are totally inadequate as basic instruments of government, totally inadequate. If there were half as much interest in America in the reorganization of metropolitan government as there is in the reorganization of the Federal government, we would have a much better America.

Your Federal government is constantly being reorganized under the statutory authority granted by the Congress. But I served as mayor of Minneapolis for almost four years, and I found that it was more difficult to amend the city charter than to climb Mount Everest without an oxygen tank. The time is at hand for state and local governments to take a good look at their constitutions and charters, their basic instruments of power and responsibility. It is time for the Federal government to be more cognizant

of the relationships between Federal, state and local government. It is time for all of us to demand a working partnership among all these levels of government.

Crime

What is the thing that seems to cause us the gravest concern today?

It is what people call "crime in the streets." When I picked up the morning paper and listened to television, the news was of troubles, violence, fires and riots. Some of it was due to racial tensions, some of it not. There isn't anything about this that we don't know in terms of the facts. We haven't been able, however, to put the facts together into a pattern which seems to fit all of the situations.

I have studied -- as you have, I am sure -- the National Crime Commission Report. These are some of the facts in it. Over five million people each year come into contact with one of the agencies of criminal justice in the United States. That may mean that you come into the picture as a lawyer. At any one time, over 400,000 of our people are confined

in correctional institutions in the United States. The cost of operating these correctional institutions is over a billion dollars a year. The cost of crime in property loss alone has been running over three billion dollars a year. The incidence of crime is highest in the 15 to 21 age group. The incidence of burglary, larceny, and auto theft is highest in the 15 to 17 age group.

Most crimes of violence are committed between people who know each other. Those who commit crimes of violence more commonly do so against members of their own race.

The Crime Commission report had several themes. I want you to give some thought to these themes. One obvious one is that crime prevention is of paramount importance. That is not new to you or to anyone else, but we all say it and don't do much about it. The system of criminal justice must itself be just, and it must have the respect and co-operation of all citizens. This takes a great deal of understanding and patience. Many

people want to have defendants presumed guilty before the trial, even though the basis of our system of justice is that a man is presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Throughout the criminal justice system, better-trained people are desperately needed. There are critical shortages in nearly all personnel categories involved in the system of justice. There is a shortage of police officers all across America. Not only do we not have enough -- we cannot even come up to the numbers that have already been authorized. I predict that, unless something is done about this, unless there is greater respect for law in this country, it is going to be more and more difficult to get people of any competence and ability to serve as police officers. This is a major problem that this organization ought to direct its attention to.

We need more case workers who are skilled and trained in the social service field, more trained parole officers. We need to take a good look at our whole educational system in terms of whether it is relevant to the

needs of our people and whether it provides the basic training for people who can serve in our system of justice.

I think it is fair to say that the Crime Commission Report also emphasizes that a far broader range of treatment is needed than the present correctional system provides. The need for access to better information and to deeper research is vital. Finally, substantially greater financial resources must be devoted to improving the entire criminal justice system. Now, that gets right down to cases. Someone once said, "Money isn't everything," and another said, "Yes, but it runs a good second best." You cannot have law enforcement and good government at bargain-counter prices. It is impossible -- utterly impossible. When I think of the tragic loss that results from a wave of violence and crime -- when I think what might have been done if we had taken steps ahead of time to prevent it -- I think how foolish our ideas of economy are.

We have programs against crime in the government today.

I want to call to your attention one proposal that I urge you to take a good look at and to give us your support if you can, and possibly your advice and counsel -- the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act of 1967. It has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee. Congressman Celler and his committee have done a good job. It is before the House Rules Committee, waiting for a rule to take it up in the House. The Senate has not as yet acted on it. I wish that we could be as prompt in our action on the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act as we were on the Anti-Riot Bill. Many Congressmen are not at all sure that bill is going to be very effective. But we do know that the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act comes before the Congress after years of research. It establishes an Office of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice in the Department of Justice. It provides grants up to 90 percent for states and cities and regional and metropolitan bodies to

assist them to develop plans to improve their police forces and correctional institutions. It provides grants up to 60 percent to support improved programs. This could encourage new effort against street crimes, juvenile delinquency, and organized crime.

Here are some examples: better training for criminal justice personnel, special street lighting, new public alarm systems, two-way radio and multiple channel police networks, coordinated information, new rehabilitation techniques, and personnel.

This is what is needed in this country.

We still operate our law enforcement agencies as if they were a carry-over from the 19th century. For example, we have inadequate modern means of communication, lack of crime laboratories, lack of adequate training for police personnel, and lack of personnel itself.

The Act provides Federal grants up to 50 percent for the construction of certain new types of facilities, crime laboratories,

community correction centers and police academies. We invest in West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, and the Coast Guard Academy to train people for national security.

But our national security is threatened inside America as well as outside. I submit that, when we have police-training facilities that are professionally organized, that have professional competence as their goal, then there will be greater respect for the man who wears the badge just as there is great respect for a graduate from West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, or the Coast Guard Academy.

The same Act authorized the Attorney General to make research grants up to 100 percent for public agencies or institutions of higher education to establish institutes for research and education on our law enforcement and criminal justice.

Now, those are the main features of the bill. Though it still languishes in Congress, we are hearing all kinds of other

ideas. Everybody has a program for what we ought to do about the riots. Well, there is a program already in the Congress that still languishes there and has not been enacted. I am sure there is still more that needs to be done. I am never one to say that what we have proposed now is enough, because we have to learn along the way. But I do want to say that, before we start to concoct some crash program that has never been tried and that we are not at all sure would work, it might not be bad--indeed, it would be prudent and wise--to enact the carefully-prepared measures that have been already placed before the Congress of the United States, such as narcotics control, firearms control, a unified Federal correctional system, the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, and measures to assure the right of privacy.

In this age of snooper, it is about time that the American people remembered that one of the reasons that this great republic

was founded was so that people could enjoy the right of privacy-- that this right was not to be intruded upon at the will of any private party or public instrumentality. If there is any one thing for which I am proud of the President of the United States, it is the fact that he has insisted in this Administration that we are not going to have a lot of snoopers running around this country.

Your Help Needed

There is no agreement on the causes of violence today, much less on how to prevent it. I didn't come here with a pat solution. If I did have one, I would be far too busy to be here with you. I am here to ask you to give us the benefit of your constructive thought. What causes this violence that seems to permeate the entire social structure of this nation? What do we do about it? We need your advice. We need your counsel.

We claim no omniscience, no monopoly of wisdom in high places in government. This is a government of the people. We need to hear from you--you who work every day in the vineyards of justice, who are competent, trained, skilled lawyers, who are astute, sensitive observers of the social structure and of the society of which you are a part.

What is it that really causes this violence? What is it that we can do to control it? What is it that we do to prevent it?

We know, for example, that in much of the racial violence we have seen the trigger, the flash point, seems to come when a police officer arrests a Negro or other member of a minority group in one of the highly congested slum areas of our great cities. That seems to be the flash point. From there, it seems to get out of hand. But, having said that, this is as much as we know.

Some people say that it is due to the inadequacy of slum living conditions, and maybe there is a great deal of truth in that. I tend to think so. But is that all, or is what we are seeing now related to something over and beyond the deprivation that afflicts so many of our fellow-Americans? Is there an element of irresponsibility or just plain lawlessness?

I think it is very important for the members of the establishment--and that is who you are because you are educated and trained--I think it is very important for you to ask yourselves what are the dangers involved when people turn away from their old established leadership and seem to fall into the hands of those who advocate direct action--militant and violent action? Remember this--in the Negro community, we have been blessed for years and years with leaders of unbelievable patience: Remember that men of the quality and character of a Roy Wilkins are great citizens,

just to mention one. You don't have to agree with his every pronouncement--but I would put him down as one of the great living Americans. As leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he is no easy man to deal with. He is firm and strong and resolute and fights with all his might-- for his people and for America.

But the real question is, will his kind of leadership be able to survive unless we cooperate with it? Will the direct-action radicals and militants take over? And, if so, whose fault is it? Has the white community really cooperated fully with the responsible, progressive, and enlightened leadership of the Negro community? Ask yourselves that question. Or have we aided and abetted what happens now? I think we have many things to ask ourselves.

I recently read a column in the Minneapolis TRIBUNE yesterday by Richard Wilson, the chief of its Washington Bureau.

It is called Racial Tumult Will Continue and it is one of the most thoughtful, constructive--and yet challenging--columns I have ever read.

There are certain things that Mr. Wilson and others tell us. The Negro will still continue to go to the city, the cities will get bigger, the Negro population will get larger. There are certain other things that you and I know. Many of these good people have come to the city ill-prepared for urban life through no fault of their own--separate but equal was not equal. We have millions of Americans who have been poorly prepared for modern living in an industrialized society and urban culture. They have been dumped upon the great cities, and mayors, city councilmen, rabbis, priests, ministers and social workers are struggling valiantly to try to find some answers.

There are some things I think we have to recognize. No matter how big a heart we have, no matter how much we may be

troubled by the injustices that may have been committed by ourselves and others, we cannot condone violence, lawlessness, hate, arson, murder. They cannot be tolerated in any society based upon law.

Freedom does not mean license. Protest does not encompass destruction from inside of a free society in which there are regular procedures for the expression of grievances. There is a difference between protest and violence, and that difference needs to be understood clearly.

But it will do us little good to vent our frustration and anger, unless we are willing to take some remedial steps. Some of them may be small steps, but at least they ought to be taken. There is an old Chinese proverb: "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step." So we must take that first step.

A Program in Congress

We have offered, for example, in the Congress of the United

States a program for model cities. That program was to be one, President Johnson originally proposed last year, of \$3 billion over a period of five years. The Congress cut it back to \$900 million authorization for two years. The President this year sent a request to the Congress for the maximum amount that he could ask under last year's authorization--\$650 million for urban renewal and the model cities program. Four hundred million dollars would go for the model cities program, \$250 million for urban renewal--a sum total of \$650 million. The House of Representatives reduced that to \$250 million.

We asked for \$40 million for rent supplements to provide decent housing for some of our poor in our cities, so that they wouldn't have to live in filth and degradation because there is inadequate public housing. We didn't even get a nickel from the House.

We asked for \$40 million for a Rat Control Program, and it was laughed out of the House of Representatives. The Rat Control Program is not a laughing matter. It is a health matter. It is unbelievable that a nation that prides itself on its toothpaste and deodorants can tolerate the infestation of its cities by rats. It is no laughing matter in the slums and tenements of some of our great cities, where little children are nibbled by rats in their cribs.

If I seem a bit perturbed about it, I am. I think it is symbolic of the times. It only adds fuel to the fire, because it gives the demagogue something to talk about. I ask you to let the Senate of the United States know that you care. If this great nation of almost \$800 billion gross national product can't afford a rat control program in its cities, then I think we ought to close up shop.

Education

There seems to be no alternative to continuing what we set out to do, continuing to improve our educational structure, our job training programs, our effort to beat down discrimination in every facet of life. There seems to be no alternative to trying to rehabilitate our slums to make them liveable.

When you have the Negro population making up 11 percent of the labor force and 20 percent of the unemployed, you have a problem, and you have to recognize it and do something about it.

When you have twice the rate of unemployment among Negro teenagers as among white teenagers, that is a problem. The real problem is lack of training, inadequacy of education. The poorer schools are in the poorer districts, whereas the best schools should be in the poorer districts. That is the way you can change the district. That is the way you can change the neighborhood. The best teachers--the most gifted, talented, and creative teachers--should be where the children have the

least opportunity, where the homes are worst, where parental responsibility seems to be weakest. Our educational system is upside down. We have the best schools where the people have the most money, where many of the parents can send their children to private schools. That is where the newest schools are, that is where the highest-paid teachers are, that is where ample extracurricular activities are organized and paid for.

In the ghettos and slums of our American cities there are old and broken-down school buildings that have been condemned for twenty years. There is lack of all of the many things that are needed.

I call upon you to change all this. It can't be changed in Washington unless you want to change it where you live. Remember that this country is no better than the town in which you live. If there is going to be a better educational system, it is going to be because you helped make it so out in your town, and because you sent people to the legislature and to the school board and to the Congress of the

United States to help. Even that isn't enough. You yourself must help.

Housing

If the Scandinavian countries can eliminate their slums with a per capita income substantially lower than ours, why can't we? Is there something unique about American society that we are doomed to be forever plagued by filth and obsolescence in our cities? The people who build Fifth Avenue and Park Avenue and Lexington Avenue--and indeed, Nicollet Avenue--ought to be able to build decent places for people to live. Whatever the ways and means required--let's do it! It can't be done by government alone, but government could help with tax incentives for the private builders, with subsidies, and grants. After all, lots of other people are subsidized.

I know it can't be done by talking about it. I know it has to be done by talking it up, by convincing the public and by doing it. There are many proposals--public housing, some cooperative housing, but

primarily private housing. If we ask private enterprise to come in, they have to make a profit because a banker or a president of a corporation is not entitled to act as a social worker with somebody else's money. They are required because of their responsibilities to make safe investments. That may mean, for example, that we start to treat our slum areas as if they were in a foreign country. Look at what we do for other people. Let's apply some of the techniques of foreign aid at home.

We can give a 40-year loan to a country in Latin America or Asia, and for the first five years no payment of premium or interest is required, and then after that a maximum of three percent interest. We do this in order to help an under-developed country to develop, in order to help people to fulfill their rising expectations. If we can do that for people whom we have never met, whose names we can't spell, whose country we can't even identify on the map, why can't we do it for our own people? I think you have to start asking for that.

Opportunity

Now, I am going to conclude on this note. The great theme of our times is opportunity. We are trying to add this new dimension to American freedom--not just freedom, but freedom with opportunity.

That great American author of a generation ago, Thomas Wolfe, has written these memorable lines: "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity--to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him--this is the promise of America."

This is the promise of America--this "shining golden opportunity." But opportunity is meaningless unless you have the equipment to take advantage of it, to give it meaning.

We have been told repeatedly that education is the key to the gate of opportunity, and it is. But sometimes you have to help

people to open that gate even when it is unlocked. I will say to you right now that, if we could be as ingenious in helping people to make something out of themselves as we have been over the past two hundred years in holding some people down; if we could be as ingenious in finding people jobs as we were in denying them; if we could be as ingenious in providing a person opportunity because of his color as we were in denying him opportunity because of his color, we would have made a great breakthrough in this cause of justice to which you as lawyers have made your commitment.

So I come to you today to say that we must pursue the course that we are presently pursuing, but with even greater vigor. We do have programs under way, great programs--model cities, urban renewal, crime prevention. We do have programs of education today such as we have never known before. I am proud of my part in creating our great job-training programs. As Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I have worked with young people all across

this land. We were able to make a real impact this year on teenage unemployment.

Go back to your mayor in your home town and ask him whether or not he has a mayor's youth council. Ask him whether or not the schools are being kept open twelve months a year. They belong to you. Why shouldn't they be kept open? Open the gates, take the padlocks off the fences! There is more vandalism against closed schools than there is wear and tear in a school that is being used.

Go back and ask your chamber of commerce and your trade unions whether or not they really worked to find jobs. Let's do what we ought to do because it is the right thing to do. Let's not wring our hands in despair about what is happening to us. Let's remember that we have overcome problems bigger than this, bigger than any violence that we are now experiencing, bigger than any troubles we now have. We have overcome these, and we can do it again--but we must buckle down to the task.

Remember that the greatest danger to America at home today is an "ism" that has not been identified too often. I know many people say that the answer to communism is Americanism. But I will tell you about an "ism" that is really penetrating America, and it is not communism. The "ism" that I worry about is slumism--not only broken-down neighborhoods, but broken people, people who are victims of deprivation, people who have the feeling of being helpless and locked in, people who are unemployed, filled with bitterness which grows to hate and then to violence. That is slumism.

The easiest thing in the world to do is clean out a city block and rebuild the buildings. The most difficult thing to do is to help build a new life. That takes infinite patience. It takes unbelievable skill, it takes great understanding. We must start with our youngsters, with this generation. That is why programs like Head Start, that is why programs of education, that is why programs of recreation are so important.

Government alone cannot do this. You must do it. You are leaders. That is why you graduated from law school. The fact that you did become lawyers, respected in your states, accepted in your nation, trusted by your clients, honored by the courts--that fact imposes a responsibility on you far beyond that of others. That is why I came here this morning. I want the word to spread through the American Trial Lawyers Association, the defenders of the people. I want the word to spread through your ranks that you are going to defend the people of this country, that you are going to defend their rights, that you are going to work for their rights, that you are going to talk to them of their responsibilities--but, above all, that you are going to see to it that this Republic is what we say it is: "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

It can be, it must be, no less.

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