

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR CITIES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States



Excerpts of addresses by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey to the Congress of the Cities in Boston, [July 31] August 7, 1967, and the National Convention of the National Association of Counties in Detroit, August 8, [2] 1967.

Today I speak to you not as a former mayor, not as a former United States Senator, or even as your Vice President. I come to you not as a partisan, but as a concerned American, a fellow citizen. Our Nation is in trouble. We meet today at a time when the fabric of American democracy is strained and torn in many places. We face nothing less than a national crisis.

An American Crisis

Why? Because we are an urban nation. Seventy percent of our people now live in cities, and the figures indicate that by the year 1977, 80 percent of our people will be living in cities. What happens in our cities happens to America. It is by the quality of life in our cities that the character of our civilization will be judged. It is in our cities that American democracy will either succeed or fail, survive or perish.

It is the crisis of a nation which must now determine whether or not the American dream—the dream of a free and equal people, living together in happiness and harmony—will be or will not be achieved.

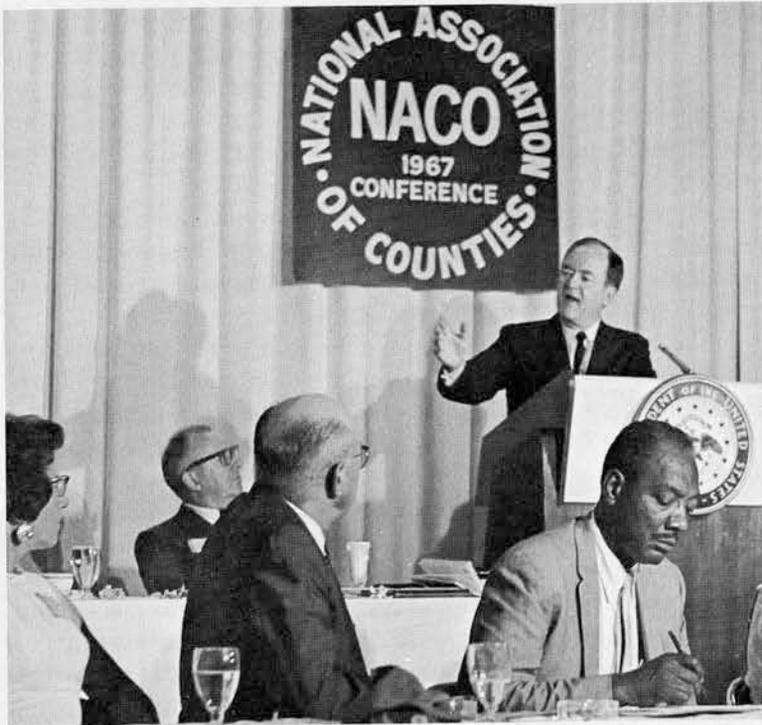
Make no mistake: People all over this world are watching us. A few may be taking pleasure from it. But most are watching because our crisis is, in fact, their crisis. They are watching because the American dream is, in fact, their dream.

This is a time in our history when we must squarely face up to the responsibilities of American citizenship. We all jealously guard our rights as Americans. We point with great pride to our abundance of our national economy. But every right carries with it a commensurate responsibility. There is no freedom without duty. There is no role of leadership without responsibility. As our rights expand, and our material wealth increases, so also do the responsibilities and the duties, not just of governmental officials, but of every American.

Abraham Lincoln put it well when he spoke in another time of crisis. He said, "No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation. . . ." And then those immortal

words that every school child remembers, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth." Those are not words of mere sentimentality, they are words of prophecy.

Do these institutions that we cherish so much really serve the interests of the people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of American society today? Unless we can answer with a resounding "yes," history will and must record that we did not nobly save, but rather meanly lost our democratic heritage.



What We Must Do

If we presume to stand in this world as the friend and helper of new nations, we must demonstrate our capacity and willingness to help our own people.

If technical assistance and long-term, low-interest loans are needed for overseas development, surely they are needed here at home.

If massive investment of private capital is needed in the new nations, it is needed in America's slums and rural poverty areas.

Our goal in America, as everywhere, must be not merely welfare and compassion, but opportunity and human dignity.

We must set priority on such fundamentals of nation-building as decent shelter and housing, jobs for those willing and able to work, education and training.

And whatever it will take to get the job done, we must be willing to pay the price.

Law and Order

There are three things we can and must do.

The *first* is to re-establish law and order in this country. We believe in constantly evolving social progress. But it is part of the creed of this land that our progress shall be peaceful. It is also part of our creed that justice shall be served. There is no justice for anyone—least of all for the oppressed citizen of the ghetto—in senseless violence and lawlessness. And therefore we who bear public responsibility, owe it to those we serve that law and order shall prevail.

I know of no statement better than that issued by four of America's most responsible civil rights leaders—Dr. Martin Luther King, A Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young, Jr.:

"Killing, arson, looting, are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke, and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people."

There can be no freedom, no representative government, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior. Where the law of the jungle rules, the 99 percent of our citizens who are innocent victims of the violent few can enjoy no protection.

The injured have no avenue of appeal where mob rule prevails. Under these conditions, society itself dissolves and representative government is in peril.

Eradicating the Slums

The *second* thing we must do is the hard, frustrating work

of rooting out the conditions which have led to the slum and the life of physical and spiritual poverty within it.

This crisis consists of much more than lawlessness, violence, and looting. Perhaps it can best be described with simple words like hopelessness and despair. These words express a widespread pattern of inadequate opportunity, of frustrated ambitions.

Rising Expectations

It is, in fact, a feature of the revolution of rising expectations which we so readily acclaim in other nations and so slowly accommodate in our own. Paradoxically, the troubles in some ways are a result of progress, because as things seem to get better, there is always a period of restlessness and turbulence.

For the last 15 years the United States has made unprecedented progress in the whole area of human rights and civil rights. The legal right of every American to vote has been assured by Federal law. Segregated schools have been declared unconstitutional. Public accommodations have been made legally available to all. But do these liberties really have substance for all of our citizens? Do they guarantee real individual opportunity, the starting point of the great American dream?

Remember that, coupled with this precious freedom, there must be the opportunity to make something of that freedom. Far too often, the promise of legal rights has only made the lack of real opportunity more bitter and more frustrating.

What do fair employment practices mean to a man who can't get a job or who lacks the skills to even hold a decent job? What does school desegregation mean when education in many of our cities, without regard to region, is inadequate? What does the promise of open housing mean when a poor family can't even find decent low-income housing in most of our cities?

These rights, when they yield no practical benefits, can mean more frustration, less sense of personal dignity, more hostility, and less identification with the value of the larger and richer society. There was a time when the poor suffered quietly. They were out of sight, out of mind, many of them

lost, in a sense. But those were the days before television.

The Impact of Television

Television has changed America. You can no longer hide the good or the bad. We are going through a period when, for the first time, Americans are seeing a war fought on television. And the same television that brings the war news also brings a vivid portrayal of what goes on in this country. So the child of the slums knows how you live, how I live, where we live, the fun that we have, the jobs that we have, the incomes that we have, and the dreams that we have.

Today every slum child watching television is forcefully reminded that there is another America, different from his own, and to him it is an America from which he is practically excluded.

The Neglected Slum

We all know that in the slums, the garbage pickup is at best infrequent, if it occurs at all. I said to a group of my colleagues in government only two days ago in Washington, "Get in your car and go to Southeast Washington, and then go to Northwest Washington. They are both in the Federal City. Take a look at the streets. Take a look at the sidewalks. Take a look at the garbage. Why is it that in Northwest Washington there are receptacles for scrap papers and none in Southeast Washington? Why is it in Northwest Washington the streets can be clean and the sidewalks can be solid and stable, and in Southeast Washington the streets are in havoc? There are people living in both places."

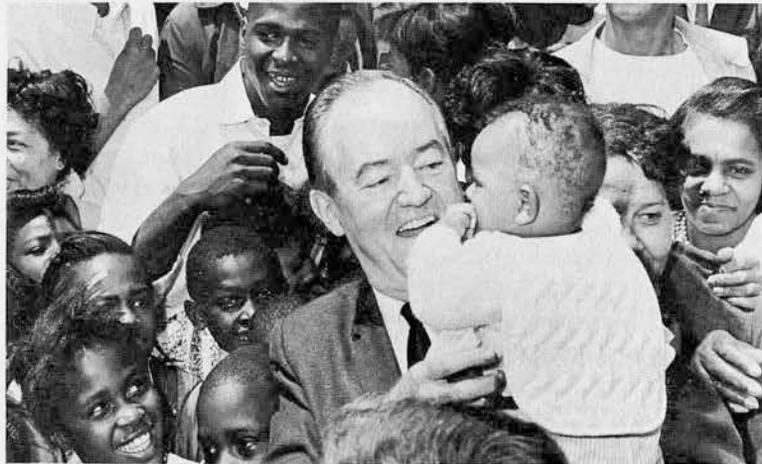
You know that, in the slums, the streets are dirtier than anywhere else in the city and less frequently swept. And in the Northern cities, the snow is often plowed away last in these areas. The incidence of crime there is the highest, but the vigor of law enforcement there the least. Housing is decrepit, obsolete, broken down. If we were as interested in enforcing our building codes as we are in our traffic laws, if we would put as many tickets on the landlord who refuses to take care of his house as required by the law as we do for the fellow that overparks his car downtown, we would have different cities. Make no mistake about it.

There can be no question that, if the fundamental economic, educational, and social ills which undeniably exist in some of our urban slums were cured, the agony of frustration and hopelessness which now exists for some would be largely eliminated.

Let me make myself crystal clear: if there were no disorders, if there were no violence, if our cities rested in total calm, the slum would remain a blight on the conscience of each of us. It is the scarred countenance of America.

There is no room for slumism and all it stands for—for poverty, for crime, for ignorance, for disease, for a family of ten in one room, for segregation and discrimination, for bitterness and despair.

How do we square the slum—this ghetto of people outside American society—with our Constitution, with our Bill of Rights, with any of the things we believe in?



Opening the Ghetto

If this is so, then how do we break open the ghetto? How do we let in the light and air of hope and opportunity? How do we let out the people trapped within it? Here are a few suggestions: jobs, education, training and retraining, decent, low-cost housing, convenient mass transit; creative use of tax and other incentives to bring private investment into the center city; crime control, recreation, health services; participation by people in the life of their community.

It means getting trained people, with their sleeves rolled up, into the problem areas to help these new American immigrants become real citizens. And it means the creative, carefully conceived programs we certainly must have to get the job done.

A Beginning

I don't mean to suggest that nothing has been done to meet this crisis. Much has been done. Job Corps, VISTA, Head Start, Upward Bound, Model Cities, Medicare, the Youth Opportunity Campaign—all these things have been added to our vocabulary, and to our society, in a period of literally a few months.

With the measures passed by the historic 89th Congress, we have the basic building blocks with which to eliminate the slum and build a stronger nation. But what has been done and is being done is clearly not enough. At best it is only a beginning on which to build, on which to grow.

Support for Legislation

I would like to suggest that the first thing that we can do to build further is to make sure that the legislation now before the Congress—and there is a long list of it—be promptly enacted, and that the outstanding requests for Federal funds to be shared with cities and States be promptly granted.

Let's look at crime for just a minute. Is there anything we can do about it? Law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility, but it is also the responsibility of all of us. The police power rests with the States under our Constitution, but that doesn't exonerate anyone from ultimate responsibility. The President of the United States proposed months ago the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. This proposal came from the report of the National Crime Commission.

This bill will provide Federal grants to support local programs of crime prevention, police training, and improved correctional facilities. It is designed to help extend adequate police coverage to all of the neighborhoods in our cities, so that the law will be both adequately enforced and worthy of respect.

The President has also proposed a sale of firearms control

bill, and narcotics control legislation. What kind of nonsense is it when anyone is able to go out and buy automatic weapons? I like to hunt pheasants, but I have never known a submachine gun to get one. Our firearms controls are totally inadequate. And narcotics legislation needs to be strengthened in light of the surge of dope peddling and addiction in this country. I doubt if there is one mayor who considers this legislation unnecessary. These bills must be enacted, and we need your help.

There are key existing programs which need to be funded to make substantial contributions. Take the sad case of rent supplements. We asked for a modest program and we got nothing. And what do rent supplements do? They permit private housing for the poor, worthy of human dignity. But Congress has refused to appropriate a penny.

Take the case of metropolitan development grants. Congress gave not a cent. The request for urban research funds was chopped off by 75 percent. Now, if you know all of the answers for your city, we don't need any urban research funds; but we just don't know all the answers.

The request for urban information and technical assistance funds was reduced by two-thirds, and this is money for smaller cities which can't afford to buy the high-priced talent that is frequently required for urban planning.

The President requested an extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, but neither House has acted on the bill at all. You would think there were no poor!

Open housing, whatever your views may be, is entitled to a hearing.

Rat Control

The House of Representatives just eleven days ago had an opportunity to do something that would be of practical importance. But the rat extermination measure was laughed out of the House of Representatives.

We appropriate millions of dollars for the screw worm and boll weevil, but when did calves and cotton become more important than children? The Commodity Credit Corporation and the Department of Agriculture and the Congress see to it that we don't have too many mice and rats in our grain. But that same Congress was unwilling to appropriate

one nickel to see to it that rats would be kept out of the tenements and the slums, although we know how to do it. I think it is time that you become somewhat righteously indignant.

But we have a chance. The Senate is going to consider this bill, and I want you to be heard. A nation that prides itself on deodorants and toothpaste and cigarettes ought to be able to do something about rat legislation. I have never been for rats of any kind in any way. You can take a strong stand against rats.

Model Cities

Then there is the Model Cities Act—I would like to call it the New America Act—a Marshall Plan for urban America.

I think, though, that very few people realize what this Model Cities Act is all about. It offers a framework within which we can create the grand design for a totally new urban America. It's like a basic structure, a constitution for a new city.

This act provides for major private sector entry into housing for the poor, genuine participation of neighborhood residents in directing community rebuilding, comprehensive planning for blending physical and social development, and unique breakthroughs for applying space technology and the so-called "systems approach" to the cities—in other words, the most modern and progressive measures for urban development.

It provides for a working partnership between all levels of government and private enterprise. We can't really do anything in this country unless we put everybody together on the same team. Government can't do it alone.

This act does for the cities, my dear friends, what the National Aeronautics and Space Act did for the space program. This is your act. Go to work on it. It can provide for the rebirth of our cities, their physical structure and human structure.

The House of Representatives cut two-thirds of the funds requested by the President for this unique national program. The request wasn't too big in the first place; it was bare-bones minimum. Two-thirds of it has been cut out. I want to

know if you are going to do something about getting it restored. Any nation that can afford to put a man on the moon can afford to put a man on his feet right here on earth. I don't want to be misunderstood. I think we can do both. And if I can get as much enthusiasm from our people for a Model Cities program as we have for the lunar program, we'll have things moving.



We're in competition with the Russians to get to the moon. What about being in competition with the whole world to make the finest society that mankind ever dreamed of on the face of this earth right here in the United States of America?

I feel that a sense of urgency is lacking on Capitol Hill. Join us now in insisting that this sense of urgency be paramount in the hearts and the minds of every single member of the Congress of the United States.

I believe that this delay, this go-slow, take-it-easy, hold-off-and-take-another-look attitude aids and abets frustration in our urban slums. It denies to every level of government the tools and the resources required to combat slumism. And, my fellow Americans, if we can get as excited about the curse and the evil of slumism as we do about communism, then we are going to make progress.

But even all these programs—given full funding—will be only shovelfuls of sand on a forest fire if they are not administered with energy and imagination.

As you know, all these new programs require State, local, and private cooperation and participation. The problems of America today are so big—so complex—that *all* our governmental and private resources must be brought to bear upon them, in the most efficient way possible—and on a continuing basis. These problems cannot be solved with the tools and the methods of yesterday. They require modern-day efficiency in both government and private enterprise.

You can improve cooperation with regional and local offices of all Federal agencies to insure that all programs in your area are coordinated to produce the greatest possible impact.

As part of this, States and counties, cities and villages must reexamine their structures. Constitutional reform and modernization of county and municipal government are no longer subjects for academic debate and editorial discussion. They are imperatives if our democracy is to survive.

What Can Be Done Now

Finally, there are things we can do right now with the resources we have at hand. During the last few months, many of you have received from me, as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, bulletin after bulletin about your appointing a Youth Opportunity Council. The young people of your city need you. We have reported to you imaginative programs which are working well across the cities, and you have received those bulletins. I hope you haven't filed them away. I know you get a lot of mail. But take a look at them.



We have suggested ways in which public facilities, such as National Guard armories and other facilities, can be used by you. The National Guard has restated its rules and regulations. That armory in your town is available to you for a recreation program.

We have strongly urged that Youth Councils in our cities and counties continue to function throughout the year, that summer job programs be expanded and extended to provide free-time employment for youngsters throughout the year.

Job Opportunity

Your police, fire departments, and sheriffs' offices can hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged areas of your communities.

Let me say a word here about Civil Service regulations. They are not handed down from Heaven. They're written by some lawyer. They can be rewritten. Everybody doesn't need a college degree. Everybody doesn't need a high school diploma. There are some people that have done quite well even without them. There is a difference between education and good sense. Some people are undereducated but still have a lot of sense. Look for these people. Find them, and bring them into your services.

Police Relations

You can reeducate your present police force in community relations. Tie your college in with your police department. And if you don't have one available right there at hand, go to your State university. Ask it to set up a police training course. Every State university in America could have a training course for police officers as a part of good community life. Put our universities to work. These are all paid for by you and the other taxpayers. The men on those campuses are experts, many of them. They want to help. Get in touch with them. You can request—and I might add, in a very plaintive voice, you can demand—from your community more police and more support for your police. Let's ask the American community to respect the police officer. He has the toughest job in the world. And let's train this police officer. Let's give him a sense of dignity and self-respect. Let him know that the community is be-

hind him. Let's try to build conditions in our community so that he doesn't always have to be the law enforcement man, but rather one that helps promote law observance.

There is no way to have better policing than to have a man on the beat who gets to know what is going on in that community. You need people in contact with people. You need the police officer out there on that beat who can go talk to the priest or the minister or the rabbi or the community worker or to the parents before the trouble sets in, rather than your just waiting until the car comes roaring in, sirens shrieking, red light ablaze, and two officers jump out. Then, you've got trouble.

I know it takes more men; I know it is going to cost more money. But it will be a wise investment.

You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation that community service officers be added to your urban police forces. You can and should recruit returning Negro veterans into your community services. They are fine men, well trained. Recruit them into the whole spectrum of community services, not just police services.

You can establish realistic lines of communication with the minority leadership in your communities. In all too many cases, we have abetted men of violence by our reluctance to deal with men of reason.

Your can urge your local business communities to help establish training programs, and see to it that these job training programs really meet the needs of industry in your area. Check on these three programs: your Neighborhood Youth Corps, your industrial training program, and your on-the-job training. Are all positions filled? Are the programs running smoothly? Unemployed young people need jobs—jobs in private industry which will give them self-respect and income.

Schools ought to be in service 12 months a year. I predict there would be a whole lot less vandalism and property destruction of a school that is put to use than one that is padlocked.

If you find problems, I ask you once again, if you don't know where else to call, call the general practitioner of the Federal Government, the Vice President of the United States. I don't claim to be an expert, but I do know how to

open letters, and how to read the mail and answer the telephone, and I do know where the Government is and where it operates and how it operates. I want to help you. I want to be your "business agent" in the National Government. And I think I can help you if you will work with me.

Human Relations Commissions

County and metropolitan human relations commissions are important. I am told there are only six county human relations commissions with staffs in the entire Nation. Staff that commission. Have it work with others throughout your metropolitan area.

Councils for Civil Peace

And in this regard there is something else that can be done right now.

I would like to propose today that all 50 States consider formation of Councils for Civil Peace at the State and, where possible, the metropolitan level.

A State Council for Civil Peace could include representation from all racial and religious groups in the State, the State attorney general's office, the National Guard, law enforcement agencies, and officials of local government.

It could provide a State community relations service designed to prevent violence, and to gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have gone unheard. It could set up a coordinated early-warning system so that coming disorders might be detected in advance and, perhaps, be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network.

A Council for Civil Peace could provide, for those who would be the innocent victims of violence, an opportunity to forestall that tragedy and to bring to bear their knowledge, their information, and their sense of citizenship.

A State Council for Civil Peace would, in short, help give every American State and community the means to assure law and order to its own citizens.

It would be just as valuable that States take the initiative in forming Metropolitan Councils for Civil Peace—with the same broadly based representation—to do the same job on a community basis. This would be especially important in

those areas where a major metropolitan complex crosses two or even three State boundaries.

Under existing programs, Federal funds could be applied for to help such councils when organized on a metropolitan basis.

All of these are things we can do to build the better communities we would want to build even if there were no trouble.

Reporting Our Progress

I want you to ask your newspapers to help you. If they will be as busy reporting what you are doing for youths as they are what the youths are doing when they get in trouble, you will have a well balanced presentation.

Everybody has a public responsibility today. The communications media have a responsibility to accentuate the positive, to help rebuild America, not just to report its inadequacies. If the American people knew as much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia as they do about some of these other persons that are out causing trouble, then we would have a different picture. This one man alone, as Mayor Tate can tell you, has helped save the lives of literally thousands of people through job training. But you have to search and search to find out much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan. Instead, H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael get the news.

A National Responsibility

When I think about the responsibilities of city government, I can't help but be reminded of the words of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, who said, "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

That philosophy applies very well today. We want all of our neighborhoods to be wholesome and healthful, to have good public services, public schools, hospitals, and community agencies. But where there are poor people living in poor housing and in poor neighborhoods, that is where the greatest effort must be concentrated. It is they who need the best schools, the best public transport, the best housing code and

sanitation enforcement, and the best street lighting. It is they who have been most deprived of opportunity, and who require our greatest efforts.

The crisis we face is a crisis for all America. Responsibility for it and the obligation to overcome it bear equally on every citizen in these 50 States, black or white, Republican or Democrat, rich or poor. For whose fault is it when our cities bleed and burn? Whose fault is it when the American child drops out of school? Whose fault is it when a willing and able-bodied man doesn't get work? The answer, my friends, is that it is the fault of every one of us. It is the fault of the racial extremist who incites to riot. It is the fault of the looter and the sniper, the criminal who denies his neighbors the right to live in peace. And it is the fault of governments who do too little and too late.

Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, once said, "Evil triumphs where good men fail to act." We need to act. Ghettos—I hate the word—have no place in America. They are the very antithesis of this Nation, of an open society, of freedom of choice, of freedom of movement. Ghettos are prisons. They make democracy a frail pretense.

In a broader sense, the ghettos, however, are intensification of the blight which affects our total urban life: the blight of congestion, of dirt, of polluted water and air, tension, crime, and slums; the blight from which the affluent seek to escape in the suburbs. Are these choking and dying cities an adequate expression of American civilization in the last third of the Twentieth Century?

The Question

Finally, there is the inevitable question: Are we going to make it through this crisis? I think we are.

The whole story of our America has been the story of a people which has always overcome all obstacles in its searching for a more just and perfect Union. There have been dark moments, but we have always prevailed. And I do not believe that, at this moment, we shall fail.

I have faith, too, in the courage and good sense of the people who today remain still trapped within the walls of poverty and despair. I do not believe they will fall victim to the demagogues and agitators who would tear down what



men of peace have built with their life blood over generations.

This is not the time for promises, postponement, and delay. It is a time for healthy, constructive, prompt action.

This is no time for hate and revenge. It is a time for reconciliation and cooperation.

Now is the time when every American—black, white, rich, poor, North, South—must stand up and be counted for the kind of country he believes in.

My good friend, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, wisely said what I leave for you as a message of hope and promise. "America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual secession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom."

Our commitment to the building of free, safe, and just communities must be no less than the commitment we have made in the past to military defense of our country, to the exploration of outer space, to the rebuilding of a devastated Western Europe after World War II.

But even as we embark on such an effort, we must realize that it will be a long and difficult one. The injustices of one hundred years will not be wiped away in five, and the

behavior patterns of a lifetime will not be changed in a month or two.

The ghetto of the heart, mind, and soul, as well as the physical ghetto, will not dissolve in the warmth of good intention and wishfulness. It will be eradicated only when each of our citizens stands equal and proud before the law and his neighbors. It will be eradicated only when the people trapped within it are able to lift themselves into self-sustaining, productive citizenship.

I have said that it is the American dream which is being tested today.

That dream lives, even in the hate and fever of our slum street, deep in the people who dwell there. And it lives, too, in impoverished rural America where the life can be depressing and grinding for the rural white as it is for the urban Negro. (For if the urban Negro is an immigrant, the impoverished rural American is in a sense a refugee.)

The American dream has lived and has been nourished by the difficult, step-by-step, day-by-day patient, persevering progress made over many generations.

Laws have been passed. Promises have been made. Hopes have been raised and raised again. Programs have been started. Restlessly and relentlessly, we have moved forward.

Now we are at the testing place. We are at the place where jobs, where housing, where education must be available for those who seek them not in a token, but in a real way.

Hopes raised must not be dashed. Expectations risen must not be left to wither. The dream of our country must not be denied.

And if we do succeed—and I believe we shall—the light that will shine forth in the world once again from America will not be the light of a nation aflame, but the light that has shone forth from the beginning from a people whose message to the world has been, and remains, this: “Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, / The wretched refuse of your teeming shore, / Send those, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me; / I lift my lamp beside the golden door.”

Those are the words inscribed on our Statue of Liberty.

Now is the time to live by them.

HUD SP/MP-54

July 31



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 113

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1967

No. 119

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY DID NOT SAY CONGRESS HAS ABETTED RIOTS—HE SAID FAILURE TO ACT ON URBAN PROGRAMS HAS ABETTED FRUSTRATION AND DENIED GOVERNMENT URGENTLY NEEDED TOOLS

(Mr. FRASER (at the request of Mr. TIERNAN) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Vice President HUMPHREY addressed the convention of the League of Cities in Boston yesterday on our urban crisis.

I am concerned that some of the headlines in the newspapers and some of the television coverage gave the impression that the Vice President said the Congress is abetting riots.

The Vice President did not make this charge—and I think all of us know him too well to believe that he would make so simplistic an analysis of this complex and serious situation. He said to the mayors that the reluctance of the Congress to act on pending urban measures is one of the factors that abets frustration and denies to all levels of government the tools that they urgently need to do the job.

In his speech to these leaders of more than 1,500 local governments, the Vice President primarily stressed his belief and the Federal Government's determination that violence and riots cannot be tolerated.

Indeed, a principal theme of the Vice President's speech was that the riots will be stopped and order will be restored, and that the "malicious individuals who spark disorders will be found and prosecuted."

He went on to say that there should be no ill-founded compassion for the rioters because, "there can be no freedom, no equal opportunity, no social justice in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior."

Second, the Vice President pointed out that the administration and the Congress have made substantial efforts to make our cities more livable. In effect, he said the Congress has done much but that there is still much more to be done. He said, and from all reports the mayors vigorously agreed, that action on pending measures such as model cities, rent supplements, and the Crime Control Act is urgently needed.

I repeat, the Vice President said that the apparent reluctance of the Congress to act on pending measures abets the frustration in the ghettos and denies to State and local governments the tools they need to improve the conditions of life there. He did not say that Congress has abetted the riots.

Further, the Vice President listed for the mayors actions which they can take such as expanding their youth opportunity programs, and recruiting additional leadership from business and industry.

The full transcript of the Vice President's address to the League of Cities shows that he made a careful analysis. He emphasized two key responses in this crisis. These are, according to the Vice President, firm action to crush the riots and enforce the law, and second, firm action by all levels of government to cure the fundamental economic, educational, and social ills which exist in our urban slums and which create frustration and hopelessness.

I insert in the RECORD the full transcript of the Vice President's address:

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES CONVENTION BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, BOSTON, MASS., JULY 31, 1967

I think most of you know that when I come to you at gatherings such as this, I generally am in a rather effervescent spirit and all too often regale you with a certain amount of Midwestern humor, some of which is not always apropos to the occasion. But today I feel the times and circumstances necessitate a much more sober and reflective posture, and so I am going to forego the pleasure of the joy and the frivolity and the light touch, and get right down to business.

I am in Boston, Massachusetts, Boston of Bunker Hill and Boston of the Tea Party, Boston that means so much to the history of this Republic. It is a great city of industry, of culture and of learning. I am in the presence of Mayors and city officials who have conducted themselves with honor and distinction. Some of these Mayors of great cities will address you later—Mayor Lindsay of New York, our friend Mayor Tate of Philadelphia, and others. And may I just for a moment in this public forum pay my respects to the Mayor of New York for his leadership, for his willingness to serve his country at the call of his President. May I also say, Mayor, what I have wanted to say for some time, that I consider your "Summer Youth Program" one of the finest, if not the finest, in the nation. I salute you for it, sir.

Today I speak to you not as a former Mayor, even though on other occasions I have surely used that fulcrum for my position of strength with you, if any. I speak to you not as a former United States Senator or even as

your Vice President. But I come to you not as a partisan either, but as a concerned American, a fellow citizen. The simple truth is that our nation is in trouble, serious trouble. We meet today at a time when the fabric of American democracy is strained and torn in many places. And that strain is greatest in our cities, which means that we face nothing less than a grave national crisis.

Why? Because we are an urban nation. Seventy per cent of our people now live in cities, and the figures indicate that by the year 1977, eighty per cent of our people will be living in cities. So what happens in our cities happens to America. And it is by the quality of life in our cities that the character of our civilization must be judged. It is in our cities, in your cities, in your towns that American democracy representative government, will either succeed or fail, survive or perish. And the picture before us this morning in the cities of America gives us little cause for rejoicing. This is a time in our history when we must squarely face up to the responsibilities of American citizenship. Oh, we all jealously guard our rights as Americans, and we talk of those rights. We point with great pride to our abundance of our national economy. But let me underscore at this moment that every right carries with it a commensurate responsibility. There is no freedom without duty. There is no role of leadership without responsibility. And as our rights expand, and our material wealth increases, so also do the responsibilities and the duties, not just of the Mayors or the governmental officials, but of every American.

Abraham Lincoln put it well when he spoke at a time of another crisis. He said, "No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation. . . ." And then those immortal words that every school child remembers, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth." Ladies and gentlemen, those are not words of mere sentimentality, they are words of prophecy. The fact of the matter is that our democratic institutions public or private, federal government, city governments, state governments, county governments, are constantly being tested, and today are being tested in the refiner's fire.

The question is bluntly posed: Do these institutions that we cherish so much really serve the interests of the people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of American society today? Now unless we can answer with a resounding "yes," history will and must record that we did not nobly save, but rather meanly lost our democratic heritage.

Now, the challenge before American cities is in two parts, as I see it. There is, of course, the immediate, critical problem of lawlessness—looting, arson, violence, riots. And then there is the fundamental problem of what has brought us to our present state, and what must be done about it.

Now, with regard to the former, let me read to you once again this forceful and courageous statement by the nation's foremost responsible Civil Rights leaders. "Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts, and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such action." Listen to these words. "There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people." I think those words well describe the situation.

Now you know and I know and the rioters themselves need to know that riots will be crushed, if not by local police alone, or by the combination of local and state police, than if need be by the National Guard or by Federal troops. Order will be restored in this land, and those malicious individuals who spark and incite riots and violence will be found and will be prosecuted. Rioters and riots must not be rewarded by misplaced compassion, but rather suffer the stern judgment of an outraged community and the law.

Now the fundamental responsibility of government at all levels is the maintenance of public order, and that responsibility will be met. You will help meet it. The Governors will help meet it. The President and the Government of the United States will help meet it.

Now the cost may be high, and it is. The price in human suffering may be great, and it is. But that price will have to be paid, for there can be no freedom, no representative government, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior. Where the law of the jungle rules, the ninety-nine per cent of our citizens who are innocent victims of the violent few can enjoy no protection. You have your responsibility to that ninety-nine per cent for their protection.

The injured can have no avenue of appeal where mob rule prevails. Under these conditions the society itself dissolves and representative government is in peril. Let's not underestimate what is happening in our country. These are times that try men's souls.

Now what I have said is true, but my fellow Americans, I am ashamed to have to say it. My words, and I think they are true words, are themselves a symptom of the crisis which has now been reached in urban America. This crisis consists of much more than lawlessness, violence and looting. Perhaps it can best be described with simple words, like hopelessness and despair. It expresses a widespread pattern of inadequate opportunity, of frustrated ambitions.

It is, in fact, a feature of the revolution of rising expectations which we so readily acclaim and proclaim in other nations, and so slowly accommodate in our own. And, paradoxically, the troubles in some ways are a result of the progress, because as things seem to get better, there is always a period of restlessness and turbulence.

My fellow Americans, I have used an analogy which I want to share with you about this situation. I travel a great deal by plane as many of you do. But my granddaughter, whenever she sees a plane go by, she says, "That's Papa." She thinks I live up there. And to some degree she is quite an accurate observer.

But every time that I plan to travel on that plane, I turn on the "Today" show in the morning and look at that weather map and its record of the low pressure systems and the high pressure systems. And it will show, for example, a new high pressure system coming in from our neighbor to the North, Canada. It sweeps across the country meeting as the weatherman says that static low pressure system which seems to hang over the mountains.

Ladies and gentlemen, you and I know that that means turbulence. You and I pray for the fact that we have a good aircraft in which to fly, that the pilot knows his business, that the co-pilot is tending to his business, that the navigator is a competent man, and that the entire apparatus, personnel and all, is in tip top shape. We know just as surely as we board the plane that, with all that we may do, with radar and so forth to avoid it, we are going to go through a period of turbulence.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a great change taking place in America. A new high pressure system of social opportunity and social justice is beginning to move across America, and the low pressure system, stagnant, weighted down with smog and fog, is hanging over the mountains. And as the new system passes through it, there is turbulence. Ladies and gentlemen, that is what is happening in America.

This is not to be looked upon with despair, but with hope. But we must also make sure that the craft in which we fly, the ship of state, in this instance the plane, to use the analogy, is strong and worthy, and that we chart our course the best we can for a safe landing.

We are building a new America, and in the building of a new America, old things must give way. So what I speak of then is progress.

For the last fifteen years the United States has made unprecedented progress in the whole area of human rights and civil rights. The legal right of every American to vote has been assured by Federal law. Segregated schools have been declared unconstitutional and outlawed. Public accommodations have been made legally available to all. That's the law. But do these liberties really have substance? Or should I put it this way? Do these liberties really have substance for all of our citizens? Do they guarantee real individual opportunity which is the starting point of the great American dream?

Remember, that coupled with this precious freedom there must be the opportunity to make something of that freedom. Far too often the promise of legal rights which bewitches those of us in government has only made the lack of real opportunity more bitter and more frustrating.

What do Fair Employment Practices mean to a man who can't get a job or who lacks the skills to even hold a decent job? What does school desegregation mean when education in many of our cities, without regard to region, is inadequate? What does the promise of open housing mean when a poor family can't even find decent low income housing in most of our cities? And, my fellow Americans, we are not much better along in providing low income housing for our needy people today than we were ten years ago. Oh, we've made progress, but we have more people.

These rights when they yield no practical benefits, these legal rights, can mean more frustration, less sense of personal dignity, more hostility, and less identification with the values of the larger and richer society. You see, there was a time when the poor suffered quietly. They were out of sight, out of mind, many of them lost, in a sense, in rural America. But those were the days before television.

Television has changed America. You can no longer hide the good or the bad. We are going through a period when, for the first time, Americans are seeing a war fought on television. And the same television that brings the war news also brings the vivid portrayal of what goes on in this country. So the child of the slums knows how you live, how I live, where we live, the fun that we have, the jobs that we have, the incomes that we have, and the dreams that we have.

Today every slum child who ever watches television is forcefully reminded that there is another America, different from his own, a different society, and to him it is an America from which he is practically excluded.

Now we do not need riots, however, to tell us what is wrong in our urban slums. Nor do the conditions in urban slums justify violence. We all know these things, and I talk to you now as just a fellow citizen that has traveled around the country. You know as much about it or more than I. We all know that in the slums, gentlemen, the garbage pick up is at best infrequent if it occurs at all. I said to a group of my colleagues in government only two days ago in Washington, "Get in your car and go to Southeast Washington, and then go to Northwest Washington. They are both in the federal city. Take a look. Take a look at the streets. Take a look at the sidewalks. Take a look at the garbage. Why is it that in Northwest Washington you can have receptacles for scrap papers and in Southeast Washington none? Why is it in Northwest Washington the streets can be clean and the sidewalks can be solid and stable, and in Southeast Washington the streets are in havoc? There are people living in both places." So I emphasize my point.

You know that in the slums the streets are dirtier than anywhere else in the city, and less frequently swept. And in these areas in the Northern cities the snow is often plowed away the last. The incidence of crime there is the highest; and the vigor of law enforcement there the least. Housing is decrepit, obsolete, broken down. And I am going to say to you what I have said before. If we were as interested in enforcing our building codes as we are in our traffic laws, if you would put out as many tickets on the landlord who refuses to take care of his house as required by the law as you do for the fellow that overparks his car downtown, you'd have a different city. Make no mistake about it.

You see, the people themselves tell us what is needed. They know that sometimes public transportation is not adequate. I see my good friend here, Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis, who I think has done one of the most creditable jobs of any Mayor and I salute him. Mayor Naftalin met last week with some of the residents of the North Side, and those residents adopted a list of what they called demands which were presented to him, and this is what they asked for. An expanded human relations course for city policemen, along with expanded employment opportunities for minority groups in the police and fire departments; increased job training and greater employment opportunities; a policy of recruiting school teachers from minority groups; and the teaching of minority group history in the schools.

That last point, by the way, is rather important. History lends dignity.

Fair rents, better housing; better parks and street lighting were also listed. Now these were put in the form of demands, but they are really not unreasonable requests.

Some of them have already been met. They apply in nearly every one of our major cities today, and a host of reports have cited these points.

These needs, however, in no way justify riots, looting and arson. I think we have to be clear in our thinking about this. But there can be no doubt that they provide a combustible environment in which a spark, an act of criminal violence can burst into the flame of social disorder and social disaster.

I think it would be very interesting to get from this great assemblage of top grade public officials what it is you think the cause of the riots is. I have so many things that

run through my mind. I know so much and yet so little. And a man's judgment is no better than his information. Everybody seems to have their own point of view. But we need to somehow or another catalog it, bring it together, which I will mention to you in a moment.

There can be no question that if the fundamental economic, educational and social ills which undeniably exist in some of our urban slums were cured, the agony of frustration and hopelessness which now exists for some would be largely eliminated.

May I say once again at this point, the American Negro family over the years has been a very patient family, and the individual has been a very patient individual. I do not want this fine assembly of public officials to put together the handful—and a very small handful it is—of those who lead and precipitate violence in one package with those who are fearful, who are the victims of that violence, who are trying to do a good job, and who are trying to be good citizens. These riots are not racial. These riots are injuring Americans, some of whom happen to be of a different color. No group of people in the world needs and wants better police protection, more law and order, than the poor and needy, and many of these happen to be our Negro families, our Negro Americans.

Now I don't mean to suggest that nothing has been done to meet this crisis. To the contrary, you've done a great deal. The Federal government has initiated large and comprehensive programs of urban renewal, aid to education, manpower training, war on poverty, health services and community development. As I said to a group this morning, we have in our present fiscal year budget approximately \$25½ billion for Federal aid to the poor. We have \$10 billion, identified in an analysis by the Bureau of the Budget that will go into our cities and urban counties. Much has been done. More than ever before. And you who are leading these cities are giving greater leadership than ever before.

The Job Corps, VISTA, Head Start for the pre-schoolers, aid to education—these and many other federal programs, in cooperation with state and local government, are designed specifically to alleviate the poverty in our cities and are now in operation. But I must say again that what has been done and is being done is clearly not enough. At best it is only a beginning on which to build, on which to grow. But we must proceed with what we have.

I'd like to suggest that the first thing that we can do to build further is to make sure that the legislation now before the Congress—and there is, friends, a long list of it—be promptly enacted, and that the outstanding requests for Federal funds to be shared with cities and states be promptly enacted.

This isn't politics. This isn't partisanship. Many of you Mayors are elected on a non-partisan basis. When your city is poor, you're poor. When your city is wracked with violence, it doesn't make any difference about your politics. Violence has taken place in cities with Democratic Mayors and Republican Mayors and Democratic Governors and Republican Governors. Politics has no place in this, unless you want to be a demagogue. This is an American problem. It belongs to all of us.

I feel that a sense of urgency is lacking on Capitol Hill. And what I say here, I have said there. I appeal to you, the vanguard of this great urban life, to join us now in insisting that this sense of urgency be paramount in the hearts and the minds of every single member of the Congress of the United States.

I happen to believe that this delay, this go-slow, take-it-easy and hold-off-and-take-another-look attitude aids and abets frustration in our urban slums. It denies to you, it denies to every level of government, the tools and the resources required to combat

slumism. And my fellow Americans, if we can get as excited about the curse and the evil of slumism as we do about Communism, then we are going to start to make progress.

Slumism is the number one challenging problem in America today. It aids and abets all of our problems. The children of slumism are crime and ignorance, unemployment, disease and poverty.

Let's look at crime now for just a minute. Is there anything we can do about it? Well, law enforcement is essentially a local responsibility, but it is the responsibility of all of us. The police power rests with the States under our Constitution, but that doesn't exonerate anyone from ultimate responsibility. The President of the United States proposed months ago what we call The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. This was a Presidential proposal, but it came from the report of the National Crime Commission itself, a nonpartisan Commission.

Now this bill is designed to help you, Mr. Mayor. It will provide federal grants to support local programs of crime prevention, police training, improved correctional facilities. You are the one that is responsible for local law enforcement. I remember when things went wrong when I was Mayor, they didn't look around at Washington too much. They got at me first. And you'll be right there. You won't be forgotten. Don't worry.

This bill is designed to help you extend adequate police coverage to all of the neighborhoods in your city, so that the law will be both adequately enforced and worthy of respect.

The President has also proposed a sale of firearms control bill, and narcotic control legislation. What kind of nonsense is this that anyone is able to go out and buy automatic weapons? I like to hunt pheasants, but I've never known a submachine gun to get one. Our firearms controls are totally inadequate. And narcotics legislation needs to be strengthened in light of the surge of dope peddling and addiction in this country. I doubt if there is one Mayor in this room who considers this legislation unnecessary. These bills must be enacted, and we need your help.

And then there are key existing programs which need to be funded, which could make substantial contributions. Take the sad case of rent supplements. We asked for a modest program and we got nothing. And what do rent supplements do? Well, first of all, for those of you who think that public housing is not what you want, it permits private housing for the poor, worthy of human dignity. But Congress has refused to appropriate a penny.

Take the case of Metropolitan Development Grants. Congress gave not a cent. The request for Urban Research funds was chopped off by 75 percent. Now if you know all of the answers for your city, we don't need any urban research funds. But we just don't know all the answers.

The request for urban information and technical assistance funds was reduced by two-thirds, and that is money for the smaller cities where you can't afford to buy the high priced talent that is frequently required for urban planning.

The President requested an extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, but neither House has acted on the Bill at all. You'd think there were no poor.

Open housing, whatever your views may be, is entitled to a hearing.

The House of Representatives just 11 days ago had an opportunity to do something that would be of pragmatic and practical importance. Oh you know, you've heard about it, the rat extermination measure. And it was laughed out of the House of Representatives. Well, ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you something, we see to it that we have a program for rodent control in graineries, in grain bins. Oh yes, the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Department of Agriculture and the Congress see to it that we don't have too

many mice and rats in our grain. But that same Congress was unwilling to appropriate one nickel to see to it that rats would be kept out of the tenements and the slums, when we know that we know how to do it. I think it is time that you became somewhat righteously indignant.

We appropriate millions of dollars for the screw worm and boll weevil, but when did calves and cotton become more important than children? And to the Mayors of the smaller communities where the rat problem is not significant, let me tell you that it is a problem in Chicago, Detroit and Washington, and in Philadelphia and New York and Los Angeles and San Francisco. And when you start to demolish many buildings under urban renewal the rats spread even to your house, so don't be too fussy. You may have a visitor.

Well, we've got a chance. The Senate is going to consider this bill, and I want you to be heard. A nation that prides itself on deodorants and toothpaste and cigarettes ought to be able to do a little something about rat legislation. I've never been for rats of any kind in any way. You can take a strong stand against rats.

Now let's take a look at another measure, called the Model Cities Act. Oh I know that everybody says, well this is old hat. It isn't old hat. You haven't tried it on yet. You've heard a lot about it. And there are 193 applications right now pending in Washington and more to come. What I think, though, is that very few people seem to realize what this Model Cities Act is all about. It offers a framework within which we can create the grand design for a totally new urban America. It's like a basic structure, a constitution for a new city.

I'd like to call it the New America Act, because most Americans are going to live in cities.

It provides for a working partnership between all levels of government and private enterprise. We can't really do anything in this country unless we put everybody together on the same team. Government can't do it. The Federal government, state or city government can't do it alone. You know that. And private enterprise is unable to do it alone many times because what we're asking them to do is not profitable. And you know when you run a corporation, it is a little bit different than running a social welfare agency. The people that run these businesses have a fiduciary responsibility. They have a responsibility to the stockholders, and you can't expect them to go in and work and clean up your slums and do what needs to be done unless there is some possibility of a modest reward for effort and material.

Well, the Model Cities Act says let's work together. This Act does for the cities, my dear friends, what the National Aeronautics and Space Act did for the space program, if you'll go to work at it. And I notice that some of you were a little bit unhappy about the amount we spent in space. Listen, accentuate the positive. This is your Act. Go to work on it. You'll make the space program look like it is lost in space, if you'll get going on Model Cities. It can provide for the rebirth of our cities, their physical structure and human structure.

Well, in this session of Congress we've had a host of proposals made to help restore the slums, for a major private enterprise effort for housing of the poor, for genuine participation of the neighborhood residents in community rebuilding, for comprehensive planning for the blending of physical and social development. All of this is in this Congress, bill after bill, and also the unique breakthroughs for applying space technology to our cities. Now all of these things are part and parcel of the Model Cities Program, and it is all there. We don't need new legislation, dear friends, any more than you need a new Constitution of the United States. The Model Cities Program is for the cities what the Constitution of the United States is for the basic fundamental law of this nation. You can build with it; you can work

with it. But you've got to put it to work. And I want to tell you a 200-pound man that hopes to be an athlete cannot afford to be anemic. And the Model Cities Program's hemoglobin count is mighty low. It is at a dangerous level. Pernicious anemia has set in.

The House of Representatives cut two-thirds of the funds requested by the President for this unique national program—two-thirds. And by the way, the program wasn't funded too big in the first place. The budget request was bare bones minimum. Two-thirds of it has been cut out. I want to know if you're going to do something about getting it restored. Any nation that can afford to put a man on the moon can afford to put a man on his feet right here on earth, and you know it. I don't want to be misunderstood. I think we can do both. And if I can get as much enthusiasm out of our Mayors and our people for a Model Cities Program as we have for the lunar program, we'll have things moving.

We're in competition with the Russians to get to the moon. What about being in competition with the whole world to make the finest society that mankind ever dreamed of right here on the face of this earth? Right here in the United States of America. What makes you think we can lead the rest of the world to a better life if we can't lead our own people? What makes you think we can combat poverty in Asia if we can't combat it right here in the United States of America?

Well, I know that progress is going to be slow. It never goes as fast as we want. Maybe there is good reason for it, because we need to take a good hard look. Jobs, schools, housing, hospitals—these things can't be accomplished overnight. But we need to dream big dreams and we need to get excited about them. We can't be deterred by the size and the complexity of the task. There is always somebody telling you, "Oh, it is just too much for me." Tell him to move over. Get him a ticket to the ballgame. Just say, "Look, we've got work to do."

We cannot allow public revulsion against the lawlessness of the few to impede our efforts for the many. And I know there are going to be many people who will say, "Well we're not going to do a thing, because look, they've got riots." Those are the same ones before that didn't want to do anything. They've just got a new argument.

I wish to make this prediction, that if we stop now, we can look forward to nothing but catastrophe. There are some things, however, that all of us can do and we can do quickly to produce some immediate results. During the last few months many of you have received from me as the Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, bulletin after bulletin about your appointing a Youth Opportunity Council. I hope you have. If you haven't, do so. The young people of your city—the needy young people—need you. And by the way, you need them. They'll make you feel better. Whenever I get thoroughly disgusted and discouraged in Washington, I go out and meet some of the young people of this land. They make you feel good, because they are the hope.

We have suggested ways in which public facilities, such as National Guard armories and other facilities, can be used by you. The National Guard has restated its rules and regulations. That armory in your town is available to you for a recreation program. The parks are available to you to be used for your youth program. Mr. Mayor, don't ask the Federal Government to do something until you've tried it yourself.

If you really believe in local government—and most of us mouth it day in and day out, and I've done a fair share of it, bowing down in reverence to local government and local responsibility and individual responsibility—I ask this question: What have we done back home? Schools can be pressed into service. What makes you think that schools

ought to be a nine months proposition? Schools ought to be in service twelve months a year. My dear friends, I predict there will be a whole lot less vandalism and property destruction of a school that is put to use than one that is padlocked. Talk to your school board. Oh, I know it costs a little more money. It costs some money to stay well. It costs some money to see a good doctor. It just costs some money to be a good citizen.

We have reported to you imaginative programs which are working well across the cities, and you have received those bulletins. I hope you haven't filed them away. I know you get a lot of mail. I realize that. But take a look at them.

We have strongly urged that your youth councils continue to function throughout the year, that a summertime program be expanded into a year round program. Now these successful youth programs require plenty of imagination and not much money.

I want you to ask your newspapers back home to help you. If they'll be as busy reporting what you are doing for youths as what the youth are doing when they get in trouble, you'll have a well balanced presentation. And you ought to talk to the Editor, you ought to talk to the TV producer, the radio man. Talk to them; talk to the disc jockeys and get them in. Ask them, "What are you doing to help here?"

Everybody has a public responsibility today. And I say it from this platform that the media has a responsibility with the Mayors to accentuate the positive, to help rebuild America, not just to report its inadequacies. If the American people knew as much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia as they do about some of these other persons that are out causing trouble, then you would have a different picture. This one man alone, as Mayor Tate can tell you, has helped save the lives of literally thousands of people through job training. And you've got to search and search to find out much about Reverend Leon Sullivan. But Rap Brown and Stokely, they get the news. By the way, if you don't have an OIC in your community, that ingenious concept of training and retraining for the young hard core, unemployed, you write to the Reverend Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia or to Hubert Humphrey.

These programs are doing things, and this is the good news of our day. They need your encouragement.

Now what else can you do? I said that if you don't have the material that you think that you need on this youth program, write to me. I'm deeply involved in it.

You can and you must make sure that your police and fire departments hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged sections of your cities. Oh, I know it is a problem to recruit, but I'm going to be honest with you. If you're half as ingenious hiring people from minority groups as we were in discriminating against them for years, you'll find them. You'll find them.

Let me say a word about Civil Service regulations. They're not handed down from Heaven. They're written by some lawyer. They can be rewritten. Everybody doesn't need a college diploma. Everybody doesn't need a high and school degree. There are some people that have done quite well even without them. I'm not advocating it, but you can search them out. My father didn't graduate from college. He has done almost better than anybody that I have ever met. He had character. He had sense. There is a difference between education and good sense. Some people are just under educated, but still have a lot of sense. I repeat. Look for these people. Recruit them. Find them. And bring them in to your services.

You can reeducate, too, your present police force in community relations. Tie your university and your college in with your police department. And if you don't have one available right there at hand go to

your state university. Ask them to set up a police training course. It doesn't need to be the special province of a half dozen colleges or universities across the country. Every state university in America could have a training course for police officers as a part of a good community life for the American people. Put our universities to work. They ought not to be meadows of meditation. That's not in the script. These are all paid for by you and the other taxpayers. The men on those campuses are experts, many of them. They want to help. Get in touch with them. Ask them. You can request—and I might add in a very plaintive voice, you can demand—from your community more police and more support for your police.

I call upon every Mayor in this audience to go home now and have an honor day for your police department.

Let's start to respect this police officer. Let's ask the American community to respect this police officer. He has the toughest job in the world. And let's train this police officer. Let's give him a sense of dignity and self-respect. Let him know that the community is behind him. Let's try to build conditions in our community so that he doesn't always have to be the law enforcement man, but rather one that helps promote law observance.

Can I just get rid of another little old prejudice of mine? We put most of our police officers in automobiles and they cruise and cruise and cruise, and the only time anybody ever sees them is when somebody is in real trouble. I know it takes more men; I know it is going to cost more money. But it will be a wise investment. There is no way to have better policing than to have a man on the beat that gets to know what is going on in that community. Oh, I know it is old fashioned, but it still makes sense.

I have drawn my fair share of public administration charts in my lifetime. They are good to teach from, but seldom do you use them as you should. You need people in contact with people. You need that police officer out there on that beat, who can go talk to the priest or the minister or the rabbi or the community worker or to the parents before the trouble sets in, rather than just waiting until the cars come roaring in, sirens shrieking, red light ablaze and two officers jumping out. Then you've got trouble. This is just my suggestion. Many of you have already taken it. But I know of no better way than direct communication.

You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation that community service officers be added to your urban police forces. You can and should recruit returning Negro veterans into your community services. They are fine men, well trained. I mean recruit them into the whole spectrum of community services, not just police services. Look for them. They're there. When your cousin wants a job, tell him to wait awhile. Take a look for the other fellow. And by the way, we all have that problem.

You can improve cooperation with regional and local offices of the Federal government agencies, and they have been instructed to work with you. If they are not, write me. They are supposed to be working with you.

You can urge business and labor to work in cooperation with city officials to establish job training programs, and job training programs that have relevance to the industry in your area. How many of these programs are now in operation? Are their lists full? We know there are training positions, under Federal government today, programs which are not fully occupied. Make a note right now to check on these programs, your Neighborhood Youth Corps, your industrial training programs, your On-The-Job Training Program. Are the positions filled? Are the programs running smoothly?

If you find problems, I ask you once again, if you don't know where else to call, call the general practitioner of the Federal government, the Vice President of the United States. I don't claim to be an expert, but

I do know how to open letters, and do know how to read the mail and answer the telephone, and I do know where the government is and where it operates and how it operates. I want to help you. I want to be your business agent in the National Government. And I think I can help you if you'll work with me.

Well, I've kept you long. But this is a message that I've wanted to get to you. You can establish realistic lines of communication, and you must, with the minority leadership in your cities. I think I am about to utter a profound truth to you, that in many cases we have aided and abetted men of violence by our reluctance to deal with men of reason. All too often we have ignored the patient counsel of those leaders who know most about the conditions that we are trying to correct, and then trouble comes. We need their help, these men of reason, and we need their guidance. And it is up to you to ask for it, to look for them, to find out who they are, and to work with them.

You also can make sure that you are fully utilizing the human resources of the anti-poverty programs. Contrary to the ridiculous charges that this program has encouraged violence, the truth of the matter is that in city after city, with almost no exception, members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, the neighborhood center programs, and the police cadet programs have done a magnificent job in preventing outbreaks and in calming them after they have started.

These disadvantaged young men and women can serve as special patrols, as special emissaries or special aides in a wide variety of ways. In all of the dozens of cities that have been wracked with violence this summer, there has hardly been a single incident in which a Head Start center, a health center, a community action headquarters, a neighborhood center, or a youth opportunity center has been vandalized or burned. I think that tells us something.

One of the most important actions that you can take is checking on the effectiveness of these programs. Needless to say, sometimes they are not as effective as we would want them. At all levels of government, we must be sure that we do not continue to rely on old remedies when new and better ones are available.

I am originally a pharmacist, and there used to be a period of time years back that the old folks would have up there on the shelf what they called the Quassia Cup. That was the Quassia bark filled with a lot of stagnant water. When it started to taste bad enough, you drank it. It was supposed to cure your ills. It didn't. It killed many people. But it didn't cure any ills.

We're away from that day. We are away from the day when you poured turpentine on every wound. Now you start to use Penicillin and the myecin drugs and the new vaccines. Mayors, my fellow local officials, we must also apply all the new techniques of community development and government to our problems.

I'd like to suggest to the League of Cities, therefore, this proposition. Will you consider in this Convention establishing a special working group on community security to identify those programs and approaches which have proven particularly useful in other cities or in your city in calming tensions and in quelling violence?

Let's start to communicate with each other and pool our information together, but not just in Washington where Mayor Lindsay and Governor Kerner will be heading up this fine Commission. I ask you to do this and have a group that can work with the Federal agencies, with the Justice Department, the FBI, and all the other law enforcement instrumentalities, as well as with the community agencies.

When I think about the responsibilities of city government, I can't help but be reminded of the words of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, who said these words. "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

Now that philosophy applied very well today. We want all of our neighborhoods to be wholesome and healthful, to have good public services, public schools and hospitals and community agencies. But where there are poor people living in poor housing and in poor neighborhoods, that is where the greatest effort must be concentrated. It is they who need the best schools, the best public transport, the best housing code and sanitation enforcement, and the best street lighting. It is they who have been most deprived of opportunity, and who require our greatest efforts.

The crisis we face is a crisis for all America. Responsibility for it and the obligation to overcome it bears equally on every citizen in these fifty States, black or white, Republican or Democrat, rich or poor. For whose fault is it when our cities bleed and burn? Whose fault is it when the American child drops out of school? Whose fault is it when a willing and able bodied man doesn't get work? The answer, my friends, is that it is the fault of every one of us. It is the fault of the racial extremist who incites to riot. It is the fault of the looter and the sniper, the criminal who denies his neighbors the right to live in peace. And it is the fault of governments who do too little and too late.

Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, once said, "Evil triumphs where good men fail to act." We need to act. Ghettoes—I hate the word—ghettoes have no place in America. They are the very antithesis of this nation, of an open society, of freedom of choice, of freedom of movement. Ghettoes are prisons. They make democracy a frail pretense.

So let us solemnly resolve in this Convention assembled to abolish ghettoes from our cities. Indeed I would like to banish the word from the English language. It is repulsive, repugnant, ugly. In a broader sense, the ghettoes, however, are only an extension of the blight which affects our total urban life, or affects at least a terribly critical part of it: the blight of congestion, of dirt, of polluted water and air, tensions, crime and slums, the blight from which the affluent seek escape by running away to the suburbs. Are we going to turn over these great cities to mob rule by running away? Are these choking and dying cities an adequate expression of American civilization in the last third of the Twentieth Century? I think not. And let's resolve to say no, to mobilize the necessary resources to create the parks, the transport, the housing, and all the other facilities needed to provide every American a promise of this good America.

My good friend, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, wisely said last Friday night what I leave for you as a message of hope and promise. "America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual secession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom." America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual secession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom. The Governor spoke profound truth.

At this time we need to recognize more than ever before that we are one people. We must work not with black power or white power, but with citizens' moral power. We must work together as Americans to create a society where there is not a white suburb or a black ghetto, where economic fear and irrational tensions and racial prejudice do not exist, where there is one citizenship—not Negro American, not white American, not Catholic American, Protestant American, Jewish American—but where there is one citizenship, citizen of the United States of America.

Thank you very much.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

LEAGUE OF CITIES

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

JULY 31, 1967

John Collins
Mayor Tallyson

I speak to you not as a former Mayor, ^{former} Senator
or ^{as you are} Vice President. I come to you not as a
Partisan but a concerned American. Our nation is
We meet today at a time when the fabric of ^{is in} trouble

American democracy is strained, and indeed torn in many
places. ~~The~~ ^{that} strain is greatest in our cities, which means
that we face nothing less than a grave national crisis.

For we are an urban nation. ^{70%} Seventy per cent
of our people now live in cities, and the figure will be 80 per
cent ten years from now.

It is by the quality of life in our cities that the
character of our civilization must be judged. It is in our
~~your cities~~
cities that American democracy will succeed or fail.

And the picture before us in the cities *of*
today gives little cause for rejoicing.

↳ This is a time in our history when we must
squarely face up to the responsibilities of American citizenship.

We all jealously guard our rights as Americans; we all point
with pride to the abundance which our nation has produced.

↳ *But Rights carry with them responsibilities.*
↳ But there is no freedom without duty. There is
no role of leadership without heavy responsibility. And as
our rights expand and our ~~great~~ ^{duties} material wealth increases,
so also do the responsibilities and/ of every American grow.

↳ Listen to the words of Abraham Lincoln, spoken
in another time of crisis: "No personal significance or
insignificance can spare one or another of us. The firey
trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or
dishonor, to the last generation... We shall nobly save or
meanly lose the last, best hope on earth."

It is not childish sentimentality to repeat these words today, because the fact of the matter is that our democratic institutions -- public and private ... spiritual and economic ... city governments, county and state governments, and the federal government itself -- are being tested.

The question is bluntly posed: Do these institutions really serve the interests of people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of American society today?

Unless we can answer with a resounding "yes," history must record that we did not nobly save, but meanly lost our democratic heritage.

The challenge before American cities today is in two parts. There is an immediate problem of lawlessness, crime, ^{looting, arson} violence and riot; and then there is the fundamental problem of what has brought us to our present state and what must be done about it.

With regard to the former, let me read you this forceful and courageous statement by the nation's four most responsible civil rights leaders:

"Killing, arson, looting, are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke, and call specifically for such action. [There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people."] (Dr. Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney M. Young, Jr.)

You know, and I know, and the rioters themselves ^{need to} ~~must~~ know that riots will be crushed, if not by local police, then by the National Guard or by federal troops. *Every law enforcement agency, police, courts, & troops must be*
Order will be restored. Those malicious individuals who spark ^{riots and violence} ~~disorders~~ will be found and prosecuted.

Rioters and Riots must not be rewarded by misplaced compassion but ~~judged by State~~ rather suffer the stern judgement of law, ~~and~~

∟ The fundamental responsibility of government at all levels -- maintenance of public order -- will be met.

∟ The cost may be high; the price in human suffering may be great. But that price will be paid.

For there can be no freedom, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior.

When the law of the Jungle
rules the
The 99 per cent of our citizens who are innocent victims of the violent few can enjoy no protection.

The injured can have no avenue of appeal. The society itself dissolves. *Representative Government is in perils*

What I have just said is true, but I am ashamed to have to say it. My words are themselves a symptom of the crisis which has now been reached in urban America.

This crisis consists of more than lawlessness, violence and looting. Perhaps it can be best described with simple words, like hopelessness and despair. It expresses a widespread ^{pattern} of inadequate opportunity and frustrated ambitions.

It is a feature of the revolution of rising expectations which we so readily acclaim in other nations and so slowly accommodate in our own.

And, paradoxically, it is in some ways a result of progress.

For the last 15 years, the United States has made unprecedented progress in the field of civil rights.

The legal right of every American to vote has been assured. Segregated schools have been outlawed. Public accommodations have been made legally available to all.

But do these liberties really have substance for all our citizens? Do they guarantee real individual opportunity, which is the starting point of the great American dream?

↳ Far too often the promise of legal rights has only made the lack of real opportunity more bitter and more frustrating.

↳ What do fair employment practices mean to a man who lacks the skills to hold a decent job?

↳ What does school desegregation mean when education is inadequate?

↳ What does the promise of open housing mean to a poor family when they can't find decent low-income housing?

↳ These rights, when they yield no practical benefits, mean more frustration, and less sense of personal dignity; more hostility, and less identification with the values of the larger, richer society.

↳ There was a time when the poor suffered quietly-- out of sight, out of mind. But those were the days before

television. ↳ Today every slum child who ever watches television is forcefully reminded that there is another, different ~~different~~ society

from which he is excluded, whatever his rights may be.

⌈ We do not need riots to tell us what is wrong in our urban slums. We all know that in the slums

~~the~~ garbage pick up is at best infrequent when it occurs at all

-- the streets are dirtier than anywhere else in the city

-- the snow is plowed away last

-- the incidence of crime is highest and law enforcement ~~is~~ the worst.

-- housing is ~~not~~ decrepit, ~~and~~ *obsolete, and broken down*
the schools, frequently, old and inadequate

-- public transportation is ~~not~~ inadequate

⌈ The people themselves tell us what is needed.

I was in Minnesota early last week. Some residents of the North Side of Minneapolis adopted a list of demands which were presented to the mayor. This is what they asked for:

└-- An expanded human relations course for city policemen along with expanded employment opportunities for minority groups in the police and fire departments;

└-- Increased job training and greater employment opportunities;

└-- A policy of recruiting school teachers from minority groups, and teaching of minority group history in the schools;

-- Fair rents and better housing;

-- Better parks and street lighting.

└ These are not unreasonable demands. They are much the same as those heard by the McCone Commission in Watts, and by the Civil Rights Commission in Cleveland even before the Hough riots of last year. ^{yet} They apply in nearly every one of our major cities today.

↳ These needs in no way justify riots, looting, and arson. But there can be no doubt that they provide the combustible environment in which a spark of criminal violence can burst into a flame of social disorder.

↳ And there can be no question that if the fundamental economic, educational and social ills, which undeniably exist in our urban slums were cured, the agony of frustration and hopelessness which now exists would be largely eliminated.

↳ I do not mean to suggest that nothing at all has yet been done. On the contrary, the Federal government has initiated large and comprehensive programs of urban renewal, aid to education, manpower training, war on poverty, health services and community development. Much has been done. - *More than ever before* and Many cities are now carrying out well balanced programs of urban renewal and human resource development.

Already there are 193 requests for assistance under the Federal Model Cities program.

↳ The Job Corps, VISTA, the Head Start Program for pre-schoolers, aid to secondary education--these and many other Federal programs, designed specifically to alleviate poverty in our cities, are now in operation.

↳ But what has been done, and what is being done, is clearly not enough. At best it is only a beginning which gives us something to build on.

↳ I would like to suggest that the first thing we can do to build further is to make sure that legislation now before Congress is enacted and that outstanding requests for funds are met.

Action in Congress this year has been inexcusably slow in bills and appropriations which would substantially aid our cities. A sense of urgency is lacking.

↳ The delay, the "go slow, take it easy" attitude aids and abets frustration in our urban slums. ↳ It denies government-- Federal, state, and local--the tools and resources required to combat ^{the evildoer} slumism--crime, ignorance, unemployment, disease and poverty.

↳ Let us start with crime.

President Johnson has proposed, on the basis of extensive study, the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act.

↳ This is a priority bill if ever there was one. It would provide Federal grants to support local programs for crime prevention, police training and improved correctional facilities.

↳ This bill is designed to help you, Mr. Mayor-- the man responsible for local law enforcement--to deal with crime on the streets. ↳ It is designed to help you extend adequate police coverage to all neighborhoods in your city, so that the law will be both adequately enforced and worthy of respect.

↳ The President has also proposed firearms and narcotic control legislation. I doubt if there is one mayor in this room who considers this legislation unnecessary.

↳ These bills must be enacted. You should insist on them. + you can help

↳ And there are key existing programs which might be funded and which can make a substantial contribution.

↳ Take the sad case of the rent supplements.

The President requested an appropriation of 40 million dollars to help secure decent housing for 44 thousand more urban families.

↳ Congress has refused to appropriate a penny.

↳ Take the case of metropolitan development grants.

Congress gave not a cent.

--Urban research funds: 75 percent chopped off.

--Urban information and technical assistance:

two-thirds denied.

--The Economic Opportunity Act: Neither house of Congress has yet passed a bill authorizing its continuation.

--Open housing: No hearings even scheduled.

RATS
L The House of Representatives just last week had an opportunity to pass a ~~40 million dollar~~ rat control measure that might have prevented tens or hundreds of American children from being cruelly maimed or even killed.

In a nation which prides itself on its deodorants scum worm + bow-weil. and its toothpaste, that fundamental health bill was cynically laughed out of the House of Representatives.

L Finally, Mr. Mayor, there is the Model Cities Act.

L You have heard a great deal about it. Many of you have your first applications under this Act being reviewed in Washington right now. — 193 Applications.

What I think few people realize is that the Model Cities Act really offers a framework within which we can create the grand design for a totally new urban America.

↳ Indeed, this law should be called the "New America Act."

↳ It provides for a working partnership of all governments, private enterprise and voluntary agencies. ~~In it we do~~ we do now have an instrument through which we can achieve the rebirth of our cities.

↳ In this session of Congress, and in the public press, proposal after proposal has been made to authorize massive restoration of slum neighborhoods; major private enterprise effort for ~~sector entry~~ into housing for the poor; genuine participation of neighborhood residents in directing community rebuilding; comprehensive planning for blending physical and social development; unique breakthroughs for applying space technology to the cities.

This is it!

we do

Just

They really

↳ All of these things are part and parcel of the Model Cities program. Why not fund it adequately and put it fully into operation now? - Get to work - ~~SB~~

↳ The House of Representatives cut two-thirds of the funds requested by President Johnson for this creative national program. Those funds must be restored.

↳ Let the nation focus its attention on the roll call for this measure, for it will separate those who are willing to rise to the challenge of urban America, and those who are content to sit and wring their hands.

↳ This program is the best we have, and we have no alternative but to push it ahead with unflinching determination.

↳ Progress will necessarily be slow because the task is enormous. Jobs, schools, housing, hospitals-- these things cannot be manufactured overnight.

↳ But we cannot be deterred by the size and complexity of the task. we cannot allow public revulsion against the lawlessness of a few impede our efforts.

↳ If we stop now, we can look forward to nothing less than catastrophe.

↳ Meanwhile, ~~however~~, there are some things that you yourselves can do in your own cities which would produce immediate results.

↳ During the last few months you have all received memoranda and letters from me in my capacity as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity—the latest is dated today. We have suggested ways in which public facilities like National Guard armories and schools can be pressed into service to provide recreational opportunities for use this summer.

↳ We have reported imaginative programs which are working well in cities across the country.

Y.O.C

↳ We have strongly urged that your Youth Councils continue to function throughout the year, that summer job programs be expanded and extended to provide free-time employment for your youngsters throughout the year.,

↳ Successful youth programs require plenty of imagination, but not too much money. Are you doing all you can right now? The Council on Youth Opportunity is ready to help in any way it can.

↳ You can and must make sure that your police and fire departments hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged sections of your cities. You can re-educate your present police force in community relations.

↳ You can and should recruit returning Negro veterans into your community services. ~~How many have you recruited already? How many men will be available next month?~~

You can request - yes demand - from your community more police and support for your police - (Police on the beat.)

L You can adopt the Crime Commission
 recommendation that "community service officers" be
added to urban police forces. ~~These officers would be unarmed;~~
~~their duties would be to investigate, to listen, to serve more~~
~~than to enforce.~~

Urban

*You can enlist your universities & colleges
in your urban progress programs.*

L You can improve cooperation with regional
and local offices of federal agencies to insure that all
 programs in your cities are coordinated to produce the
 greatest possible impact.

L You can urge your local business communities *and labor*
 to work in cooperation with city officials to establish ^{Job} training
 programs. How many training programs are now in operation?
Are they full? Do they really meet the needs of industry in
your area?

and - Make a note right now to check on these three
 programs: your Neighborhood Youth Corps, your industrial
training program, and your On-the-Job Training. Are all
positions filled? Are the programs running smoothly? If

you find problems, just call my office. We can help.

↳ You can and must establish realistic lines of communication with the minority leadership in your cities.

↳ In all too many cases we have abetted men of violence by our reluctance to deal with men of reason. All too often we have ignored the patient counsel of those leaders who know most about the conditions we are trying to correct. We need their help and guidance now, and it is up to us to ask for it and act on it.

↳ You can also make sure that you are fully utilizing the human resources of the anti-poverty program. Contrary to some ridiculous charges that this program has encouraged violence, the truth of the matter is that in city after city, with almost no exceptions, members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, of VISTA, of neighborhood center programs, have done magnificent work in preventing outbreaks and in calming them after they have started. These disadvantaged men and women can serve as special patrols, as special

emissaries, as special aides in a wide variety of ways.

~~I think it is quite significant that~~ in all of the dozens of cities wracked with violence, there has been not a single instance in which a Head Start Center, health center, neighborhood center, Community Action Headquarter, or Youth Opportunity Center has been vandalized or burned.

~~and~~ One of the most important actions you can take is to keep checking on the effectiveness of your programs.

At all levels of government we must be sure that we do not continue to rely on old remedies when new and better ones are available.

~~In this connection,~~ I would like to suggest that the League of Cities ~~might~~ consider establishing a special working group on community security to identify those programs and approaches which have proven particularly useful in calming tensions and quelling violence during the recent rioting. - a group to work with the Federal + State agencies.

↳ When I think about the responsibilities of city government today, I am reminded of the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

↳ That philosophy applies very well today. We want all neighborhoods to be wholesome and healthful, to have good public public services, schools and hospitals.

↳ But where there are poor people, living in poor housing in poor neighborhoods--that is where the greatest effort must be concentrated.

↳ It is they who need the best schools, the best *Public* transport, the best housing code and sanitation enforcement, the best street lighting. It is they, who have been most deprived of opportunity, who require our greatest efforts.

The crisis we face today is a crisis for all America. Responsibility for it, and the obligation to overcome it, lies equally on every citizen of these fifty states, black or white,
rich or poor.

For whose fault is it when our cities bleed and burn?

Whose fault is it when an American child drops out of school?

Whose fault is it when a willing and able-bodied man does not work?

The answer, my friends, is that it is the fault of every one of us.

It is the fault of the racial extremist who incites to riot.

It is the fault of the looter and the sniper who deny their neighbors' right to live in peace.

It is the fault of governments who do too little,
too late.

It is the fault of decent men of good will who
fail to act. (*Evil Triumphs when good men fail to Act*)

~~It is the fault of all of us.~~

↳ Ghettos have no place in America. They are
the very antithesis of the open society, of freedom of choice
and freedom of movement. They make democracy but a
frail pretense.

↳ So let us solemnly resolve to abolish ghettos
from our cities; indeed let us banish the word from our
language.

But in a broader sense, the ghettos are only
an extension of a blight which afflicts our total urban life
today.

--A blight of congestion, dirt, polluted
water, tension, crime, and slums.

--A blight from which the affluent seek escape in suburbs--in running away.

Are these choking, dying cities an adequate expression of American civilization in the twentieth century?

Let us now resolve that the answer must be no. Let us mobilize the necessary resources to create the parks, the transport, the housing and all the other facilities which will make it possible for every citizen of urban America to find fulfillment in his work and in his leisure.

~~And let us make sure that this will be a civilization in which distinctions based on color vanish.~~

My good friend, Governor Otto Kerner, wisely said last Friday night that "America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual succession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom."

At this time, more than any other, we must recognize that we are a single people. We must work, not with black

power or white power, but all Americans together, to create
a society

--where there is no white suburb or black ghetto;

--where economic fear and the irrational tensions
of racial prejudice do not exist;

--where there is one citizenship, Citizen of the
United States--not black, not white, but American.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

Ted Van Dyke

Below transcript for your files.

ADDRESS TO THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES CONVENTION
BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

~~VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY~~ Boston, Mass. July 31, 1967

~~Thank you, Mayor Tolafson, my friend Mayor Collins, and
my friends the Mayors and local government officials of all these great
fifty states of the United States of America, and distinguished guests.~~

I think most of you know that when I come to you ^{at gatherings} ~~on occasions~~
such as this, I generally am in a rather effervescent spirit and all too
often regale you with a certain amount of Midwestern humor, some of
which is not always apropos, ~~to the occasion.~~ But today I feel the times
and circumstances necessitate a much more sober and reflective posture,
and so I am going to forego the pleasure of ~~the joy and the frivolity and~~
the light touch, and get right down to business.

I have been introduced by one of the truly outstanding public
servants of the nation, a gentleman whom I respect and admire, a man
who has served his country and his city and state faithfully and well. I
am in Boston, Massachusetts, Boston of Bunker Hill and Boston of the
~~Boston~~ Tea Party, Boston that means so much to the history of this
Republic ^{It is} a great city of industry, of culture, ^{and} of learning, ^{its} and a history
~~that is as much a part of America as the Constitution itself. And I am~~
in the presence of Mayors and city officials who have conducted them-
selves with honor and distinction, ^{SOME OF THESE} Mayors of great cities, and one of
those Mayors will address you ^{later} -- Mayor Lindsay of New York, ~~Mayors~~
~~of other great cities who will speak to you, our friend Mayor Tate of~~
Philadelphia, and others. And may I just for a moment in this public
forum pay my respects to the Mayor of New York for his leadership, for

his willingness to serve his country at the call of his President, ~~and~~
may I also say, Mayor, what I have wanted to say for some time, that
I consider your "Summer Youth Program" one of the finest, if not the
finest, in the nation, ~~and~~ I salute you for it, sir.

Today I speak to you not as a former Mayor, even though
on other occasions I have surely used that fulcrum for my position of
strength with you, if any. I speak to you not as a former United States
Senator or even as your Vice President. But I come to you not as a
partisan either, but as a concerned American, a fellow citizen. The
simple truth is that our nation is in trouble, serious trouble. We meet
today at a time when the fabric of American democracy is strained and
~~torn~~, torn in many places. And that strain is greatest in ^{our} ~~its~~ cities,
which means that we face nothing less than a grave national crisis.

Why? Because we are an urban nation. Seventy per cent of
our people now live in cities, and the figures indicate that by the year
1977, eighty per cent of our people will be living in cities. So what
happens in our cities happens to America. And it is by the quality of life
in our cities that the character of our civilization must be judged. It is
in our cities, in your cities, in your towns that American democracy,
representative government, will either succeed or fail, survive or perish.
And the picture before us this morning in the cities of America give us
little cause for rejoicing. This is a time in our history when we must
squarely face up to the responsibilities of American citizenship. Oh, we

all jealously guard our rights as Americans, and we talk of those rights. We point with ^{GREAT}justifiable pride to ^{the}our abundance of our national economy. But let me underscore at this moment that every right carries with it a commensurate responsibility. There is no freedom without duty. There is no role of leadership without responsibility. And as our rights expand, and our material wealth increases, so also do the responsibilities and the duties, not just of the Mayors or the governmental officials, but of every American.

Abraham Lincoln put it well when he spoke ^{at}in a time of another crisis. He said, "No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation." ^{and} And then those immortal words that every school child remembers, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth." ^{and} And ladies and gentlemen, those are not words of mere sentimentality, they are words of prophecy. The fact of the matter is that our democratic institutions public or private, federal government, city governments, state governments, county governments, ^{are}are constantly being tested, and today ^{being}being tested in the refiner's fire.

The question is bluntly posed: do these institutions that we cherish so much really serve the interests of the people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of American society today? Now unless we can answer with a resounding "yes," history will and must record that

we did not nobly save, but rather meanly lost our democratic heritage.

Now, the challenge before American cities is in two parts, as I see it. There is, of course, the immediate, critical problem of lawlessness ~~of crime~~, looting, arson, violence, riots. And then there is the fundamental problem of what has brought us to our present state, and what must be done about it.

Now, with regard to the former, let me read ^{to} you this forceful and courageous statement once again by the nation's foremost responsible Civil Rights leaders. "Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts, and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such actions." Listen to these words. "There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and ^{its} the people." I think those words well describe the situation.

Now you know and I know, and the rioters themselves need to ~~and must~~ know, that riots will be crushed, if not by local police alone, ^{or} then by the combination of local and state police, ^{these} if need be ^{by} the National Guard, ^{or by} and if need be, ~~by~~ Federal troops. Order will be restored in this land, and those malicious individuals who spark and incite riots and violence will be found and ~~must be~~ and will be prosecuted. Rioters and riots must not be rewarded by misplaced compassion, but rather suffer the stern judgment of an outraged community and the law.

Now the fundamental responsibility of government at all levels is the maintenance of public order, and that responsibility will be met.

You will help meet it. The Governor [^] will help meet it. The President and the Government of the United States will help meet it.

Now the cost may be high, and it is. The price in human suffering may be great, and it is. But that price will have to be paid, for there can be no freedom, no representative government, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule [^] and criminal behavior. Where the law of the jungle rules, ^{the} ninety-nine per cent of our citizens who are innocent victims of the violent few can enjoy no protection. You have your responsibility to that ninety-nine per cent for their protection.

The injured can have no avenue of appeal where mob rule ^{Under these conditions} prevails. [^] The society itself dissolves and representative government is in peril. Let's not underestimate what is happening in our country. These are times that try men's souls.

Now what I have said is true, but my fellow Americans, I am ashamed to have to say it. My words, and I think they are true words, are themselves a symptom of the crisis which has now been reached in urban America. This crisis consists ^{of} much more than lawlessness, [^] and violence and looting. Perhaps it can best be described with simple words, like hopelessness and despair. It expresses a widespread pattern of inadequate opportunity, of frustrated ambitions. [^] It is, in fact, a feature of the revolution of rising expectations which we so readily acclaim and proclaim in other nations, and so slowly accommodate in our own. And, paradoxically,

the troubles in some ways are a result of the progress, because as things seem to get better, there is always a period of restlessness and turbulence.

My fellow Americans, I have used an analogy which I want to share with you about this situation. I travel a great deal by plane as many of you do. But my granddaughter, whenever she sees a plane go by, she says, "That's Papa." She thinks I live up there. And to some degree she is quite an accurate observer. But every time that I travel on that plane, I ^{turn on} ~~take a look at~~ ^{the} "Today" show in the morning and look at that weather map, and ^{its} ~~frequently I see the sign in the weather map of~~ ^{record of} ~~what they call~~ the low pressure system and the high pressure system. And it will show, for example, a new high pressure system ~~frequently~~ coming in from our neighbor ^{Canada. It} ~~from Canada~~ to the North, ~~and sweeping~~ across the country, meeting, as ~~what~~ the weatherman says, that static low pressure system which seems to hang over the mountains. Ladies and gentlemen, you and I know that that means turbulence. You and I pray for the fact that we have a good aircraft in which to fly, that the pilot knows his business, that the co-pilot is tending to ^{his} ~~business~~, that the navigator is a competent man, and that the entire apparatus, personnel and all, is in tip top shape. We know just as surely as we board ~~that~~ ^{the} plane that, with all that we may do, with radar and so forth, to ~~deflect~~ ^{avoid it,} and to be diverted around it, that we are going to go through a period of turbulence.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a great change taking place

in America. A new high pressure system of social opportunity and social justice is beginning to move across America, and the low pressure system, stagnant, weighted down with smog and fog, is hanging over the mountains. And as ^{the new system passes} ~~we pass~~ through it, ~~or as it moves~~ ~~out to sea~~, there is turbulence. Ladies and gentlemen, that is what is happening in America.

This is not to be looked upon with despair, but with hope. ^{we must also} ~~But also may I say to~~ make sure that the craft in which we fly, the ship of state, in this instance the plane, to use the analogy, is strong and worthy, and that we chart our course the best we can for a safe landing.

We are building a new America, and in the building of a new America, old things must give way. So what I speak of then is progress.

^H For the last fifteen years the United States has made unprecedented progress in the whole area of human rights and civil rights. The legal right of every American to vote has been assured by federal law. Segregated schools have been declared unconstitutional and outlawed. Public accommodations have been made legally available to all. That's the law. But ^{do} these liberties really have substance, ^{? Or} ~~but~~ should I put it this way? Do these liberties really have substance for all of our citizens? Do they guarantee real individual opportunity which is the starting point of the great American dream?

Remember ^{that} coupled with this precious ~~word~~ ^{these} freedom must be ^{the} ~~the word~~ opportunity to make something of that freedom. Far too often

the promise of legal rights which bewitches those of us in government, ^o
~~this is what we think are the rights,~~ has only made the lack of real
opportunity more bitter and more frustrating.

What do Fair Employment Practices mean to a man who
can't get a job or who lacks the skills to even hold a decent job? What
does school desegregation mean when education in many of our cities,
~~North and South,~~ without regard to region, is inadequate? What does
the promise of open housing mean ~~to a poor family~~ ^{a poor family} when ~~they~~ can't even
find decent low income housing ~~in most of our cities?~~ And, my fellow
Americans, we are not much better along ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ providing low income housing
for our needy people ~~and our poor people~~ today than we were ten years
ago. Oh, we've made progress, but we have more people. ~~Everything~~
~~is relative.~~

These rights when they yield no practical benefits, these
legal rights, can mean more frustration, ~~and~~ less sense of personal
dignity, more hostility, and less identification with the values of the
larger and richer society. You see, there was a time, ~~and listen to me~~
~~here,~~ ^{they were} when the poor suffered quietly. ^N Out of sight, out of mind, many
of them lost, in a sense, in rural America. But those were the days before
television. ^{TT} Television has changed America. You can no longer hide/
the good or the bad. We are going through a period ~~of time~~ when, for the
first time, ~~the~~ Americans are seeing a war fought on television. And the
same television that brings the news ^{war} also brings the vivid portrayal of
_^

what goes on in this country. So the child of the slums knows how you live, how I live, where we live, the fun that we have, the jobs that we have, the income that we have, and the dreams that we have.

Today every slum child who ever watches television is forcefully reminded that there is another America, different from his own, a different society, and it is an America to him from which he is practically excluded.

Now we do not need riots, however, to tell us what is wrong in our urban slums, ~~nor do riots justify~~ nor do the conditions in urban slums justify violence. We all know these things, and I talk to you now as just a fellow citizen that has traveled around the country, and you know as much about it or more than I. We all know that in the slums, gentlemen, the garbage pick up is at best infrequent if it occurs at all. I said to a group of my colleagues in government only two days ago in Washington, "Get in your car and go to Southeast Washington, and then go to Northwest Washington. They are both in the federal city. Take a look. Take a look at the streets, Take a look at the sidewalks. Take a look at the garbage. Why is it that in Northwest Washington you can have receptacles for scrap papers and in Southeast Washington none? Why is it in Northwest Washington the streets can be clean and the sidewalks can be solid and stable, and in Southeast Washington the streets are in havoc. There are people living in both places." So I emphasized my point.

You know that in the slums the streets are dirtier than anywhere else in the city, and less frequently swept. And in ^{these areas in} the Northern cities the snow is often plowed away the last. The incidence of crime ^{there} is the highest;

And law enforcement the least. Housing is decrepid⁺, obsolete, broken down. And I am going to say to you what I said before, ^{these} if we were as interested in enforcing our Building Code ^{have} as we are ⁱⁿ our traffic laws, if you ^{would} put out as many tickets on the landlord ^{who} that refuses to take care of his house ^{as required by} under the law as you do for the fellow that ~~drives his car and~~ ^{his car} overparks downtown, you'd have a different city. Make no mistake about it.

You see, the people themselves tell us what is needed. They know that sometimes public transportation is not adequate. I see my good friend here, ~~the~~ Mayor ^{NAFTALIN} of Minneapolis, who I think has done one of the most creditable jobs of any Mayor and I salute him. ~~And the~~ Mayor ^{NAFTALIN} met last week with some of the residents of the North Side, and those residents adopted a list of what they called demands which were presented to him, and this is what they asked for ^{an} an expanded human relations course for city policemen, along with expanded employment opportunities for minority groups in the police and fire departments; increased job training and greater employment opportunities; a policy of recruiting school teachers from minority groups; and ^{the} a teaching of minority group history in the schools.

That last point, by the way, is rather important. History lends dignity.

Fair rents, ~~and~~ better housing, better parks, ^{and} street lighting, ^{were also listed.} Now these were put in the form of demands, but they are really not unreasonable requests. Some of them have already been met. They apply in nearly every one of our major cities today, and a host of reports have cited these. ^{points}

These needs, however, in no way justify riots, looting and arson. ~~And~~ I think we have to be clear in our thinking about this. But there can be no doubt that they provide a combustible environment in which a spark, ^{an act of} a criminal violence ~~by criminals~~, can burst into the flame of social disorder and social disaster.

I think it would be very interesting to get from this great assemblage of top grade public officials what it is you think the cause of the riots is. I have so many things that run through my mind. I know so much and yet so little. And a man's judgment is no better than his information. Everybody seems to have their own point of view. But we need to somehow or another catalog it, bring it together, which I will mention to you in a moment.

There can be no question that if the fundamental economic, educational and social ills which undeniably exist in some of our urban slums were cured, ~~that~~ the agony of frustration and hopelessness which now exists for some would be largely eliminated.

May I say once again at this point, the American Negro family over the years has been a very patient family, and the individual has been a very patient individual. I do not want this fine assembly of public officials to put together ^{the} (in one package) a handful ^{and} a very small handful it is ^{of} those who ~~incite, who~~ lead and precipitate violence with those who are fearful, who are the victims of that violence, who are trying to do a good job, ^{and} who are trying to be good citizens. These riots are not racial.,

These riots are injuring Americans ^{some of whom} who happen to be of a different color, ~~some of them, but Americans.~~ And ~~no~~ group of people in the world needs and wants better police protection, more law and order, than the poor and the needy, and many of ^{these} ~~them~~ happen to be our Negro families, our Negro Americans.

Now I don't mean to suggest that nothing has been done. ^{to meet this crisis.} To the contrary, you've done a great deal. The federal government has initiated large and comprehensive programs of urban renewal, aid to education, ~~and~~ manpower training, war on poverty, health services and community development. ^{as} I [^]said to a group this morning, we have in our present fiscal year budget approximately ³⁵⁻ \$24-1/2 billion for aid to the poor. ^{We have} \$10 billion which we have ^{identified} ~~earmarked~~ in an analysis ^{by} of the Bureau of the Budget, ^{will} that ~~goes~~ into our cities and counties ^{urban} for the ~~rehabilitation and redevelopment of those areas.~~ Much has been done. More than ever before. And you who are leading these cities are giving greater leadership than ever before.

The Job Corps, VISTA, ~~the~~ Head Start for the pre-schoolers, ~~the~~ aid to education--these and many other federal programs, in cooperation with state and local government, are designed specifically to alleviate the poverty in our cities and are now in operation. But I must say again that what has been done and is being done is clearly not enough. At best it is only a beginning on which to build, on which to grow. But we must proceed with what we have.

I'd like to suggest that the first thing that we can do to build further is to make sure that the legislation now before the Congress[^] and there is ~~a package of it my dear friends~~, a long list of it[^] ~~that that legis-~~ ~~lation~~ be promptly enacted, and that the outstanding requests for federal funds to be shared with cities and states be promptly enacted.

This isn't politics. This isn't partisanship. ^{Many} ~~Most~~ of you Mayors are elected on a non-partisan basis, ~~at least many of you are.~~ When ^{your city is} ~~you are~~ poor, you're poor. When your city is wracked with violence, it doesn't make any difference about your politics. Violence has taken place in cities with Democratic Mayors and Republican Mayors and Democratic Governors and Republican Governors. Politics has no place in this, unless you want to be a demagogue. This is an American problem. It belongs to all of us.

~~And I have a feeling that there is~~ a sense of urgency that is lacking on Capitol Hill. And what I say here, I have said there. ~~And~~ I appeal to you, the vanguard of this great urban life, ~~I appeal to you to~~ join us now in insisting that this sense of urgency be ~~a paramount fact~~ in the hearts and the minds of every single member of the Congress of the United States.

I happen to believe that this delay, this go ^{slow} ~~and take-it-~~ easy and hold-off-and-take-another-look attitude aids and abets frustration in our urban slums. It denies ^{to} you, it denies ^{to} every level of government, the tools and the resources required to combat slumism. And my fellow

Americans, if ^{we} you can get as excited about the curse and the evil of slumism as ^{we do about} you are of Communism, then we are going to start to make progress.

Slumism is the number one challenging problem in America today. It aids and abets all of our problems. ~~Slumism~~, the children of slumism are crime and ignorance, unemployment, disease and poverty.

Let's ^{LOOK AT} ~~start with~~ crime now for just a minute. ^{IS THERE} Anything we can do about it? Well, law enforcement is essentially a local responsibility, but it is the responsibility of all of us. The police power rests with the state under our Constitution, but that doesn't exonerate anyone from ultimate responsibility. The President of the United States proposed months ago what we call The Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. This was ~~not~~ a Presidential proposal, but it came from ^{the report of} the ^{National} Crime Commission ~~reports~~ itself, a bipartisan, nonpartisan Commission.

Now this bill is designed to help you, Mr. Mayor. It will provide federal grants to support local programs of crime prevention, police training, improved correctional facilities. You are the one that is responsible for local law enforcement. I remember when things went wrong when I was Mayor, They didn't look around at Washington too much. They got at me first. And you'll be right there. You won't be forgotten. Don't worry.

This bill is designed to help you extend adequate police

coverage to all of the neighborhoods in your city, so that the law will be both adequately enforced and worthy of respect.

The President has also proposed ^{a sale of} firearms control, and ^{bill} narcotic control legislation. What kind of nonsense is this that ~~you~~ ^{anyone} are able to go ~~on~~ out and buy ~~yourself~~ automatic weapons? I like to hunt pheasants, ^{but} I've never known a submachine gun to get one. ~~And~~ ~~our laws and~~ ~~our~~ firearm ^{controls} are totally inadequate. And narcotics legislation needs to be strengthened in light of the surge of dope peddling ^{and} ^{addiction} in this country, ~~and addiction~~. I doubt if there is one Mayor in this room who considers this legislation unnecessary. These bills must be enacted, and we need your help.

And then there are key existing programs which need to be funded, which could make substantial contributions. Take the sad case ^{of} ~~for example~~, of rent supplements. We ~~didn't~~ ^{ask} for ^{a modest program} ~~much~~ and we got nothing. And what do rent supplements do? Well, first of all, for those of you who think that public housing is not what you want, it permits private housing, ^{for the poor} worthy of human dignity. ^{But} Congress has refused to appropriate a penny. Take the case of Metropolitan Development Grants, Congress gave not a cent, ^{The request for} Urban research funds, ^{was chopped off by 75 percent,} Now if you know all of the answers for your city, we don't need any urban research funds. ~~But if you know all the answers I'd like to meet you in a telephone booth, and there would be plenty of room for more.~~ ^{But we} We just don't know all the answers. ~~Seventy~~

TT The request for
~~five per cent was chopped off.~~ Urban information and technical assistance *funds*
was reduced by
^ two-thirds ~~denied~~, and that is money for the smaller cities where you
can't afford to buy the high priced talent that is frequently required for
urban planning. *TT The President requested an extension of* *but*
The Economic Opportunity Act, *TT* neither House has acted
on the Bill at all. You'd think there were no poor. Open housing, what-
ever your views may be, *^* it is entitled to a hearing.

The House of Representatives *just 11 days ago* ~~last week~~ had an opportunity to
do something that would be of pragmatic and practical importance. Oh
you know, you've heard about it, the rat extermination measure. And it
was laughed out of the House of Representatives. Well, ladies and gentle-
men, let me tell you something, we see to it that we have a program for
rodent control in graneries, in grain bins. Oh yes, the Commodity Credit
Corporation and the Department of Agriculture and the Congress see to it
that we don't have too many mice and rats in our grain. But that same
Congress was unwilling to appropriate one nickel to see to it that rats
~~w~~ould be kept out of the tenements and the slums, when we know that we
know how to do it. I think it is time that you became somewhat righteously
indignant.

We appropriate millions of dollars for the screw worm and
boll weevil, but when did calves and cotton *become* ~~get~~ more important than children. *?*
And to the Mayors of the smaller communities where the rat problem is
not significant, let me tell you that it is a problem in Chicago, Detroit
and Washington, and *in* Philadelphia and New York and Los Angeles and San

Francisco. And when you start to demolish ^{MANY BUILDINGS} under urban renewal ~~many~~ of the buildings, the rats spread even to your house, so don't be too fussy. You may have a visitor.

Well, we've got a chance. The Senate is going to consider this bill, and I want you to be heard. A nation that prides itself on deodorants and toothpaste and cigarettes ought to be able to do a little something about rat legislation. I've never been for rats ~~anyway~~ of any ^{IN ANY WAY,} kind. You can take a strong stand against rats.

Now let's take a look at another ^{measure} bill, called the Model Cities Act. Oh I know that everybody says, well this is old hat. It isn't old hat. You haven't tried it on yet. You've heard a lot about it. And there are 193 applications right now pending in Washington and more to come. What I think, though, is that very few people seem to realize what this model cities act is all about. It offers a framework within which we can create the grand design for a totally new urban America. It's like a basic structure, a constitution for a new city. I'd like to call it the New America Act, because most Americans are going to live in cities. It provides for a working partnership between all levels of government and private enterprise. We can't ^{really} do anything in this country ~~any more~~ unless ^{we} you put everybody together on the same team. Government can't do it. The federal government, state or city government can't do it alone. You know that. And private enterprise is unable to do it alone many times because what we're asking them to do is not profit ^{able.} rewarding. And you know when you run a corporation, it is a little bit different than running a social welfare

agency. The people that run these businesses have a fiduciary responsibility. They have a responsibility to the stockholders, and you can't expect them to go in and work and clean up your slums and do what needs to be done unless there is some possibility of a modest reward for effort and material.

Well, the Model Cities ^{Act} says let's work together. ^{THIS} ~~The Model Cities Act~~ does for the cities, my dear friends, what the ^{National Aeronautics and} Space Act did for the space program, if you'll ~~go to~~ work at it. And I notice that some of you were a little bit unhappy about the amount we spent in space. Listen, accentuate the positive. ^{this is} ~~It's~~ your act, and go to work on ^{it} ~~that~~. You'll make the space program look like it is lost in space, if you'll get going on Model Cities. It can provide for the rebirth of our cities, ^{their} physical structure and human structure.

Well, in this session of Congress we've had a host of proposals made to ^{help} ~~restore, massive restoration~~ of the slums, ^{for a} major private enterprise effort for housing of the poor, ^{for} genuine participation of the neighborhood residents in community rebuilding, ^{for} comprehensive planning for the blending of physical and social development, all of this is in this Congress, bill after bill, and also the unique breakthroughs for applying space technology to our cities. ^{IT} Now all of these things are part and parcel of the Model Cities Program, and it is all there. We don't need new legislation, dear friends, any more than you need a new Constitution of the United States. The Model Cities Program is for the

cities what the Constitution of the United States is for the basic fundamental law of this nation. You can build with it; you can work with it. But you've got to put it to work. And I want to tell you a 200-pound man that hopes to be an athlete cannot afford to be anemic. And the Model Cities Program, ^s ~~its~~ hemoglobin count is mighty low. It is at a dangerous level. Pernicious anemia has set in.

The House of Representatives cut two-thirds of the funds requested by the President for this unique national program--two-thirds. And by the way, the program wasn't funded too big in the first place. ^{The budget request} ~~it~~ was bare bone minimum. Two-thirds of it has been cut out. I want to know if you're going to do something about getting it restored. ~~Listen,~~ any nation that can afford to put a man on the moon can afford to put a man on his feet right here on earth, and you know it. I don't want to be misunderstood. I think we can do both. And if I can get as much enthusiasm out of our Mayors and our people for a ^{Model} cities program as we have for the lunar program, we'll have things moving.

We're in competition with the Russians to get to the moon. What about being in competition with the whole world to make the finest society that mankind ever dreamed of right here on the face of this earth? Right here in the United States of America. What makes you think we can lead the rest of the world to a better life if we can't lead ~~your~~ our own people? What makes you think we can combat poverty in Asia if we can't combat it

right here in the United States of America? Well, I know that progress is going to be slow. It never goes as fast as we want. Maybe there is good reason for it, because we need to take a good hard look. Jobs, schools, housing, hospitals, these things can't be accomplished overnight. But we need to dream big dreams and we need to get excited about them. We can't be deterred by the size and the complexity of the task. There is always somebody telling you, "oh, it is just too much for me." Tell him to move over. Get him a ticket to the ballgame. Just say, "look, we've got work to do, ~~and~~ we cannot allow public revulsion against the lawlessness of the few to impede our efforts for the many. And I know there are going to be many people ~~that~~ ^{who will} say, "well we're not going to do a thing, because look, they've got riots." Those are the same ones before that didn't want to do anything. They've just got a new argument.

I wish to make this prediction, that if we stop now, we can look forward to nothing but catastrophe. There are some things, however, that all of us can do and we can do ~~it~~ ^{to} quickly ~~and~~ produce some immediate results. During the last few months many of you have received from me, as the Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, bulletin after bulletin about you ^{re} appointing a Youth Opportunity Council. I hope you have. If you haven't, do so. The young people of your city, the needy young people, need you. And by the way, you need them. They'll make you feel better. Whenever I get thoroughly disgusted and discouraged in Washington, I go ~~on~~ out and meet some of the young people of this land.

They make you feel good, because ^{THEY ARE} ~~there is~~ the hope.

We have suggested ways in which public facilities, ~~like~~ ^{SUCH AS} National Guard Armories and other facilities, can be used by you, ~~and~~ the National Guard has ~~reorganized~~ restated ~~all of~~ its rules and regulations. That ~~Armory~~ in your town is available to you for a recreation program. The parks are available to you to be used for your ~~peoples~~ ~~or~~ youth program. Mr. Mayor, don't ask the federal government to do something until you've ^{tried} ~~done~~ it yourself.

If you really believe in local government, ^{and} most of us ~~we~~ mouth it day in and day out, and I've done a fair share of it, bowing down in reverence to local government and local responsibility and individual responsibility, ^I ask this question: What have we done back home? Schools can be pressed into service. What makes you think that schools ought to be a nine months proposition? Schools ought to be in service twelve months a year. My dear friends, I predict there will be a whole lot less vandalism and property destruction of a school that is put to use than one that is padlocked. Talk to your ~~School Board~~. Oh, I know it costs a little more money. It costs some money to stay well. It costs some money to see a good doctor. It just costs some money to be a good citizen.

We have reported to you imaginative programs which are working well across the cities, and you have received those bulletins. I hope you haven't filed them away. I know you get a lot of mail, ~~and it~~

~~does come out under the franking privilege~~, I realize that. But take a look at ~~it~~, ^{them}.

We have strongly urged that your ~~Youth Councils~~ continue to function throughout the year, that a summertime program be expanded into a year round program. Now these successful youth programs require plenty of imagination and not much money.

~~I paid tribute to the Mayor here of New York~~. I want you to ask your newspapers back home to help you. If they'll be as busy reporting what you are doing for ~~the~~ youth as what the youth are doing when they get in trouble, you'll have a well balanced presentation. And you ought to talk to the Editor, you ought to talk to the TV producer, the radio man ~~and~~ talk to them; talk to the disc jockeys, ^{and} get them in. Ask them, ^{!!} what are you doing to help here? ^{?"} ^A Listen, everybody has a public responsibility today. And I say it from this platform that the media has a responsibility with the Mayors to accentuate the positive, to help rebuild America, not just to report its inadequacies. If the American people ^{WIKNEW} ~~would know~~ as much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia as they do about some of these other persons that are out causing trouble, then you would have a different picture. This one man alone, as Mayor Tate can tell you, has literally helped save the lives of thousands of people through job training. And you've got to search and search to find out much about Reverend Leon Sullivan. But Rap Brown and Stokely, they get the news. By the way, if you don't have an OIC in your community, that ingenious concept of training and retraining for ^{-tho} ~~young people~~, the hard core, unemployed, you write to the

Reverend Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia or to Hubert Humphrey, ~~Vice President of the United States.~~

These programs are doing things, and this is the good news of our day. ~~And~~ they need your encouragement.

Now what else can you do? I said that if you don't have the material that you think that you need on this youth program, write to me. I'm deeply involved in it. ⁴ You can and you must make sure that your police and fire departments hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged sections of your cities. Oh, I know it is a problem to recruit, but I'm going to be honest with you. Listen, if you're half as ingenious hiring people from minority groups as we were in discriminating against them for years, you'll find them. You'll find them.

Let me say a word about Civil Service regulations. They're not handed down from Heaven. They're written by some lawyer. They can be rewritten. ~~They can be rewritten.~~ Everybody doesn't need a college diploma. Everybody doesn't need a high school degree. There are some people that have done quite well even without them. I'm not advocating it, but you can search them out. My father didn't graduate from college. He has done almost better than anybody that I have ever met. He had character. He had sense. There is a difference between education and good sense. Some people are just ^{under} ~~overly~~ educated, ^{but} ~~and~~ ^{still} ~~don't~~ have ^{a lot of} ~~much~~ sense.

no FF
I repeat. Look for these people. Recruit them. Find them. And bring them in to your services. *FF* You can reeducate, too, your present police force in community relations. Tie your university and your college in with your police department. And if you don't have one available right there at hand, ~~your university or college~~, go to your state university, ask them to set up a police training course. It doesn't need to be the special province of a half a dozen colleges or universities across the country. Every state university in America could have a ~~police~~ training course for police officers as a part of a good community life for the American people. Put our universities to work. They ought not to be meadows of meditation. That's not in the script. These are all paid for by you and *other* the taxpayers. The men on those campuses are experts, many of them. They want to help. *Get in touch with* ~~Contact~~ them, ask them. You can request, *— —* and I might add in a very plaintive voice, ~~you can demand from your community~~ more police and more support for your police. *FF* ~~And~~ I call upon every Mayor in this audience to go home now and have an honor day for your police department.

Let's start to respect this police officer. Let's ask the American community to respect this police officer. He has the toughest job in the world. And let's train this police officer. Let's give him a sense of dignity and self-respect. Let him know that the community is behind him. And let's try to build conditions in our community ~~which make~~ ~~it~~ so that he doesn't always have to be the law enforcement man, but rather

one that helps promote law observance.

Can I just get rid of another little old prejudice of mine?

We put most of our police officers in automobiles and they cruise and cruise and cruise, and the only time anybody ever sees them is when somebody is in real trouble, ~~a street fight~~. I know it takes more men; I know it is going to cost more money. But ~~I'm here to tell you that~~ it will be a wise investment. There is no way to have better policing than to have a man on the beat that gets to know what is going on in that community. Oh, I know it is old fashioned, but it still makes sense.

~~FF~~ I have drawn my fair share of public administration charts in my lifetime. They are good to teach from, but seldom do you use them as you should.

~~no FF~~ You need people in contact with people. You need that police officer ~~there~~ ^{OUT} on that beat, ~~that~~ ^{who} can go talk to the Priest or the Minister or the Rabbi or the community worker ~~and to~~ ^{or} the parents before the trouble sets in, rather than just ~~having to~~ ^{ing} wait until the cars come roaring ~~on~~ ^{SHREIKING,} in, sirens ~~ablazing,~~ ^{ablaze} red light ~~aflicking,~~ and two officers ~~get~~ ^{jumping} out ~~and~~ ^{then} you've got trouble. This is just ~~one of~~ my suggestions. Many of you have already taken it. But I know of no better way than ~~communi-~~ ^{direct} cation.

You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation that community service officers be added to your urban police forces. You can and should recruit returning Negro veterans into your community services. They are fine men, ~~trained~~ ^{well}. I mean ~~the~~ ^{recruit them into} whole spectrum of

community services, not just police services. Look for them. They're there. When your cousin wants a job, tell him to wait awhile. Take a look for the other fellow. And by the way, we all have that problem.

You can improve cooperation with regional and local offices of the federal government agencies, and they have been instructed to work with you, and if they are not, write me. They are supposed to be working with you.

You can urge business and labor to work in cooperation with city officials to establish job training programs, and job training programs that have relevance to the industry in your area. How many of these programs are now in operation? Are their lists full? ~~I want you to know that we have in the federal government today programs which are not fully occupied, the so-called positions for training.~~ *We know these are training positions, under ~~positions~~ programs* Make a note right now to check on these programs, your Neighborhood Youth Corps, your Industrial Training Program, your On-The-Job Training Program. Are the positions filled? Are the programs running smoothly? If you find problems, I ask you once again, if you don't know where else to call, call the general practitioner of the federal government, the Vice President of the United States. I don't claim to be an expert, but I do know how to open letters, and do know how to read the mail and answer the telephone, and I do know where the government is and where it operates and how it operates. I want to help you. I want to be your business agent in the national government. And I think I can help you if you'll work with me.

Well, I've kept you long. But this is a message that I've wanted to get to you. You can establish realistic lines of communication, and you must, with the minority leadership in your cities. I think I am about to utter a profound truth to you, that in many cases we have aided and abetted men of violence by our reluctance to deal with men of reason. All too often we have ignored the patient counsel of those leaders who know most about the conditions that we are trying to correct, and then trouble comes. We need their help, ^{from} these men of reason, and we need their guidance. And it is up to you to ask for it, to look for them, to find out who they are, and to work with them.

You can also make sure that you are fully utilizing the human resources of the ~~Anti-Poverty Programs~~. Contrary to the ridiculous charges that this program has encouraged violence, the truth of the matter is that in city after city, with almost no exception, members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, the ~~Neighborhood Center Programs~~, ^{and} the ~~Police Cadet Programs~~ have done a magnificent job in preventing outbreaks and in calming them after they have started.

These disadvantaged young men and women can serve as special patrols, as special emissaries or special aides in a wide variety of ways. In all of the dozens of cities that have been wracked with violence this summer, there has ^{hardly} not been a single incident in which a ~~Head Start Center~~, a ~~Health Center~~, a ~~Community Action Headquarters~~, a ~~Neighborhood Center~~, or a ~~Youth Opportunity Center~~

has been vandalized or burned. I think that tells us something.

One of the most important actions that you can take is ^{CHECKING ON} ~~keeping check~~ of the effectiveness of these programs. Needless to say, sometimes they are not as effective as we would want them. At all levels of government, we must be sure that we do not continue to rely on old remedies when new and better ones are available.

I am originally a pharmacist, and there used to be a period of time ^{years back} that the old folks ~~years back~~ would have up there on the shelf what they called the ^{QUASSIA} Quasha Cup. That was the ^{QUASSIA} Quasha bark filled with a lot of stagnant water. When it started to taste bad enough, you drank it. It was supposed to cure your ills. It didn't. It killed many people. But it didn't cure any ills.

We're away from that day. We are away from the day when you poured turpentine on every wound, ^{Now} and you start to use Penicillin and the myecin drugs and the new vaccines. ~~My~~ Mayors, my fellow local officials, we must ^{also} ~~apply~~ ^{also} the new techniques of community development and government ~~to~~ to our problems.

I'd like to suggest, therefore, to the League of Cities this proposition, ~~if you will~~ ^{if you will} consider in this Convention establishing a special working group on community security to identify those programs and approaches which have proven particularly useful in other cities or in your city in calming tensions, ^{and} in quelling violence, [?] ~~during the recent~~ rioting.

Let's start to communicate with each other and pull ^{our} ~~this~~ ^{information} together, ~~catalog our information~~ ^{but}, not just in Washington where Mayor Lindsay and Governor Ke^oerner will be heading up this fine Commission. ~~This is the subject, by the way, of our conversation the other day.~~ I ask you to do this and have a group that can work with the federal agencies, with the Justice Department, the FBI, and all the other law enforcement instrumentalities, as well as ^{with} the community agencies.

When I think about the responsibilities of city government, I can't help but be reminded of the words of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, who said these words. "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much, it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little." ^H Now that philosophy applies very well today. We want all of our neighborhoods to be wholesome and healthful, to have good public services, public schools and hospitals and community agencies. But where there are poor people living in poor housing and in poor neighborhoods, that is where the greatest effort must be concentrated. It is they who need the best schools, the best public transport, the best housing code and sanitation enforcement, and the best street lighting. It is they who have been most deprived of opportunity ^{and}, who require our greatest efforts.

^H The crisis we face is a crisis for all America. Responsibility for it and ^{the} obligation to overcome it bears equally on every citizen in these fifty states, black or white, Republican or Democrat, rich or poor. For whose

fault is it when our cities bleed and burn? Whose fault is it when the American child drops out of school? Whose fault is it when a willing and able bodied man doesn't get work? The answer, my friends, is that it is the fault of every one of us. It is the fault of the racial extremist who incites to riot. It is the fault of the looter and the sniper, the criminal who deny ^{his} their neighbors the right to live in peace. And it is the fault of governments who do too little and too late.

Edmund Burke, the great British statesman, once said, "Evil triumphs where good men fail to act." We need to act. Ghettoes--I hate the word--ghettoes have no place in America. They are the very antithesis of this nation, of an open society, of a freedom of choice, of freedom of movement. Ghettoes are prisons ~~of people~~. They make democracy a frail pretense. So let's ^{we} solemnly resolve in this Convention assembled to abolish ghettoes from our cities. Indeed I would like to banish the word from the English language. It is repulsive, repugnant, ugly. In a broader sense, the ghettoes, however, are only an extension of the blight which affects our total urban life, or affects at least a terribly critical part of it, the blight of congestion, of dirt, of polluted water and air, tensions, crime and slums, the blight from which the affluent seek escape ~~to the~~ ^{by} ~~suburbs~~ ^{to the suburbs} in running away. Are we going to turn over these great cities to mob rule by running away? Are these choking and dying cities an adequate expression of American civilization in the last third of the Twentieth Century? I think not. And let's resolve to say no, ^{to} Mobilize the necessary resources

to create the parks, the transport, the housing, and all the other facilities needed to provide every American a promise of this good America.

My good friend, Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, wisely said last Friday night what I leave for you as a message of hope and promise. "America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual secession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom." America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual secession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom. The Governor spoke profound truth.

At this time we need to recognize more than ever before that we are one people. We must work not with black power or white power, but with citizens' moral power, ^{we must} work together as Americans to create a society where there is not a white suburb or a black ghetto, where economic fear and irrational tensions and racial prejudice do not exist, where there is one citizenship, ^{or} not Negro American, not white American, not Catholic American, Protestant American, ^{or} Jewish American, ^{or} but where there is one citizenship, citizen of the United States of America.

Thank you very much.



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