

[Aug. 2]

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.

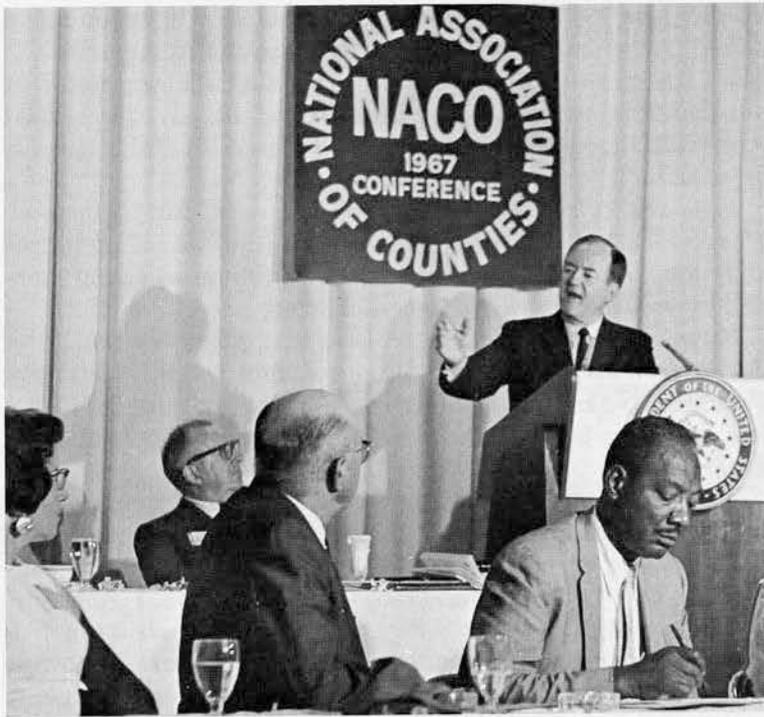
Make no mistake: People all over this world are watching us. A few may be taking pleasure from it. But most are watching because our crisis is, in fact, their crisis. They are watching because the American dream is, in fact, their dream.

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

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

AUGUST 2, 1967

my Escort Committee
Jan Aldredge - Atlanta
Richard Coffey - Trenton N.J.
Covey Fowler -
Columbiana Ala.
Bernie Hellenbrand
* President Ed Munro -
(King County, Seattle, Wash.)

I speak to you today not as a former mayor,
former Senator, or even as your Vice President. I come
to you not as a political partisan, but as a concerned American.

Our nation is in trouble.

Today, in this city, all of us are compelled to
face an American crisis. It is the crisis of a nation which,
by its actions, 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 our American crisis. A small few may be taking pleasure
from it. But by far the most are watching because our crisis is,
in fact, their crisis.

↳ They are watching because the American dream is, in fact, their dream.

↳ They are watching because they know ~~in their hearts~~ that if we -- in this richest and most powerful country ever known to man -- cannot surmount our crisis, there is *little* ~~certainly no~~ hope for fulfillment of the dream in their own nations.

↳ In this century -- and most rapidly since World War II -- the downtrodden and striving people of this world have come to the city. They have come to Rio de Janeiro. They have come to Lima. They have come to Chicago and New York and Detroit. *and elsewhere*

↳ And, in their coming, this wave of immigrants has been channeled into, and helped further create, the ghetto and the slum on a scale almost forgotten in our own country since the early days of the Industrial Revolution.

But, as this audience well knows, this is a crisis not only of our cities -- although that is where we see and feel its symptoms. It is a crisis, too, affecting many rural areas where the poor and deprived are all but invisible and inaudible to the ^{more prosperous} ~~affluent~~ majority of Americans.

yes Wherever there is despair and fear, chronic unemployment and illiteracy, broken-down neighborhoods or the sharecropper's shack, the vitality of America is being drained ... the full promise of America is being denied.

Now is a time when we must look ^{at} ~~within~~ ourselves,

It has become all too easy in these past few years to think of our nation as rich and powerful, and many other parts of the world as poverty-ridden and weak. And in doing so, we have overlooked the fact that conditions exist in America to match those in the most backward slums, villages and countrysides of Asia, Africa or Latin America.

As the President pointed out to this nation in his memorable address at Howard University: There are two Americas. There is the America that you and I know in our everyday life. There is also the America of poverty.

And as we have awakened to the necessity of helping the underdeveloped nations and peoples of the world, we must also awaken to the necessity of helping those who live outside the mainstream of our own American prosperity and well-being.

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

As 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 and underdeveloped nations, so is it 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.

Now, what?

* * *

↳ There are three things we can, and must, do.

The first part is to re-establish law and order in this country by whatever legal means it takes to do it.

↳ We believe in social progress. America is permanent, 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.

~~But~~ 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.

And I know of no statement which says it 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."

↳ It is time for some plain talk about the methods and the motives of those who have been inciting violence and preaching hate.

Do they really believe that violence and hatred can lead to anything but more violence and hatred?

↳ Do they think for one minute that injustice can be remedied by injustice?

↳ Do they think gunfire ... the burning of schools ... the literal destruction of neighborhoods can bring any change but change for the worse?

↳ We have seen extremist demagogues at work in this country before.

↳ We have seen people interested more in personal power than in the welfare of the people they would use and deceive to gain that power.

And I have a message for those who would turn Americans against each other: We recognize you for what you are. -- destroyers, haters, and enemies of freedom.

↳ This is America. This is not a totalitarian state.

↳ We have a means and a process of change. It is the democratic process. It does not always work as quickly or efficiently as we would like. But it does work.

↳ And we will not stand by and see that precious process subverted by those who would substitute the rule of the jungle for the rule of law.

↳ Make no mistake about it. The rule of the jungle *must not* will not prevail.

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

* * *

The second thing we must do is to get at 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.

∟ And here let me make myself crystal clear:

If there were no disorders ... if there were no violence ...
if our cities rested in total calm, ^{the slums -} the slum would remain a blight on the conscience of each of us. It is the dirty face -- the scarred countenance of America.

∟ There is no room in America for the conditions of the slum. There is no room for slumism and all it stands for -- ~~for~~ poverty ... ~~for~~ crime ... ~~for~~ ignorance ... ~~for~~ disease ... ~~for~~ a family of 10 in one room ... ~~for~~ segregation and discrimination, bitterness and despair.

- all of this is un-american - wrong - terribly wrong!

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

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

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? *well, here are a few suggestions -*

Jobs.

Education.

Training and retraining.

Decent, low-cost housing.

Convenient mass transit.

Public Transportation,

~~Creative~~ ^{The} use of tax and other incentives to bring private investment into the central city.

Crime control.

Recreation.

Health services.

and Participation by ^{the} people in the life and decisions 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 ^{designed} ~~we certainly~~ must have to get the job done.

↳ We have a good start at the federal level.

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 but a} ~~literally~~, of a few months.

↳ The President ^{has} recommended almost 26 billion dollars for federal programs directly helping the poor, and building opportunity, for fiscal year 1968.

~~That sum was some 3.6 billion dollars above fiscal 1967~~ and almost three times that requested only six years ago.

↳ Our federal programs for health, and ~~for~~ education, are two to three times what they were before the 1960's. *We are*

With the measures, ^{many of them} ~~particularly~~, passed by the historic 89th Congress, we have the basic building blocks with which to ~~eliminate the slum~~ and build a stronger nation.

But
~~Now these programs, and others to supplement~~
must be put to work -
~~them, need help.~~

As a minimum first step, we must make sure
that legislation now before the 90th Congress is passed
and that outstanding requests for funds are met.

↳ Let us start with crime.

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

also firearms
The President has also proposed ~~firearms~~ and
narcotic control legislation. *This legislation strengthens*
local government - strengthens law enforcement,
You need these bills and they need your support.

And there are other programs which need support:
Rent supplements ... metropolitan development grants ...
urban research funds ... urban information and technical
assistance ... the Economic Opportunity Act ... low income
housing ... rural development ... *Yes even* rat control.

Then there is the Model Cities Act -- I like
to call it the New America Act.

This Act provides for ~~major private sector entry~~ ^{a working Partnership}
of all levels of government ~~with~~ ^{Private}
into housing for the poor ... genuine participation of
~~enterprises and voluntary agencies. It~~
neighborhood residents in directing community rebuilding ...
~~is an instrument through which we~~
comprehensive planning for blending physical and social
~~can achieve the rebirth of our cities -~~
development ... unique breakthroughs for applying space
~~and the rehabilitation of our~~
technology and the so-called "systems approach" to the
~~people.~~
cities -- in other words, the most modern and progressive
measures for urban development.

⌞ America needs a fully-funded Model Cities program ...
and I ask your help in seeing that America gets it.

⌞ But even all these programs -- given full funding --
will be only shovelsful of sand on a forest fire if they are not
carried through and administered with energy and imagination.

As ~~you know~~ ^{and} 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.

These problems cannot be solved with the tools and the methods of yesterday. They require modern-day efficiency in both government and private enterprise.

As part of this, states and counties, cities and villages must re-examine their structure.

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.

* * *

Finally, there are things we can do right now with the resources we have at hand.

You have received materials from me today in my capacity as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. We have reported imaginative programs which are working well in communities across the country. I hope you will put some of them to use to fit the circumstances in your own communities.

We have suggested ways in which public facilities like National Guard armories ^{camp} and schools can be used this summer.

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 your youngsters throughout the year.

1 million jobs

↳ Your police and fire departments, and sheriff's offices, can hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged areas of your communities. You can re-educate your present law officers in community relations.

↳ You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation that "community service officers" be added to police forces.

↳ You can recruit returning Negro veterans into your county community services.

↳ 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.

↳ You can urge your local business communities ^{and labor groups} to help establish training programs, and see to it that these job-training programs really meet the needs of industry in your area. (Omaha, Houston, Chicago)

↳ 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? ↳ Unemployed young people need jobs -- jobs in private industry which will give them self-respect and income.

↳ You can ^{+ must} 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.

↳ And, then, there is the all-important business of cooperation -- cooperation across old jurisdictional lines -- that I mentioned earlier.

↳ 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.

When you return from this conference, staff that
commission. Have it work with others throughout your
metropolitan area.

↳ There are imperatives for sharing governmental
responsibilities in many other areas. We have too few
working metropolitan councils of government. In many
places, new state legislative authority is needed to make
metropolitan-area cooperation workable.

↳ Parks and recreation, educational centers of
excellence, transportation to jobs -- yes, crime prevention
and law enforcement -- must be planned and administered
on a metropolitan basis.

↳ 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 state and,
where possible, 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 began. ↳ It could establish a central communications network.

↳ A Council for Civil Peace could provide a way and a means for those who would be the innocent victims of violence to have 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 in all but the most extreme conceivable emergencies -- in which the protection guaranteed under the Constitution by the federal government would, of course, be available.

↳ 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~~ ^{are}
~~applied for~~ ^{available} to help such councils when organized on a metropolitan basis.

and more can and
All of these are things we can do to build the
Should be done to build better communities.
~~better communities we would want to build even if there~~

were no trouble.

* * *

↳ 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 who have always overcome all obstacles in their search 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's blood over generations.

~~This is not the time for ^{fake} 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. *and we start here in Detroit*

↳ 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. *You must help!*

↳ 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.

↳ A Marshall Plan for the impoverished areas of America? Yes, call it that if you wish.

↳ Or call it the American Plan, ~~or the Plan~~ for a New Day.

∟ But even as we embark on such an effort, we must realize that it will be a long and difficult one.

∟ The injustices of a 100 years will not be wiped away in 5, 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 said at the beginning that it is the American Dream which is being tested today.

↳ That Dream lives, even in the hate and fever of our slum streets, down deep in the people who dwell there.

↳ And it lives, too, in impoverished rural America where life can be as 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 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.

Yes, jobs for those who need and want and can work ... decent housing for those whose families do not have it ... quality education for children and young people who need it most -- these are the things that every American should be able to look ahead to.

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.

#

Detroit, Michigan

August 2, 1967

Thank you

Thank you very much, my good friend, Ed Munro. I was hoping that you would brag on me for a few minutes but he just put me on quickly and wanted me to get to work.

First of all, may I extend a word of thanks and appreciation to the Officers of the National Association of Counties, to the NACO organization, to my escort committee, to their ladies, and I hope that my friends from the other forty-nine states won't mind if I just say hello to my fellow Minnesotans since I don't get to see them very often. I lost most all the friends that I had in Washington last night when I was cheering for the Twins out at the ball game, so tonight I take a very neutral stand on baseball issues. I said to a reporter last evening that I had a national outlook on the American League, and I take an American outlook on the National League.

I didn't come here this evening to take your time in jest or storytelling. I think many of you know that these are very trying times. I came to this great auditorium tonight in the company of one of my good friends and one of the great Mayors of one of the great cities, Jerry Cavanaugh. This evening I have met with the civic leaders of this community, with the Governor of this great state, with the Mayor of this fine city, and you can well imagine that we've discussed critical problems that affect the lives of not only the people here in this great metropolitan area but throughout our nation. So while it is generally my custom as Bernie Hillenbrand knows to spend some time with a wonderful audience like this in good friendly fellowship just getting acquainted, enjoying one another, I hope tonight you will permit me to proceed on a note of very serious consideration about problems of common concern.

Now I don't speak to you this evening as a former local government official. I never had the good fortune to be a county official, even though I was the Mayor of a great city in Hennepin County, nor do I come to you as a former United States Senator or even as your Vice President, and I surely do not come to you as a political partisan, but rather as a concerned American, a deeply troubled and

concerned citizen of this country. And why, you know the answer - our nation is in trouble, and I want to talk to you about our country. I can think of no better audience to share these thoughts with. Today, in this city all of us are compelled to face what we must term an American crisis. It is the crisis of a nation which by its actions and its deeds must now determine whether or not in our time the American dream, the dream of a free and equitable people living in happiness and harmony will be or will not be achieved. Whether or not we will be able to promote and to attain a more perfect union, to insure domestic tranquility and justice. Now, make no mistake about it, my fellow Americans, people all over the world are watching us, watching our American crisis. Oh, there is a small number who may be taking some pleasure from it, but by far most of these people are watching us, because our crisis is in fact theirs. They too are involved. They are watching because the American dream, as I described it, is in fact their dream. They are watching us because they know that if we, the richest and most powerful country ever known to man, cannot surmount our crisis, there is little hope for the fulfillment of the dream in their own nations.

Now, a fact of our time needs to be recognized. In this century and most rapidly since the end of World War II the downtrodden, the poor, the striving people of the world, have moved like a mighty tide to the cities. This is worldwide. They come from the back country, indeed, along the Amazon to Rio Di Janero, Brazil. They come out of the mountains from Lima, Peru. I've been there; I've seen them. And they have come from other parts of America to Chicago, to New York, to Detroit, to Philadelphia, to Cleveland, to Los Angeles and elsewhere. And in their coming, this wave of immigrants within a country has been channeled into and helped to further create the ghetto, an ugly word, the ghetto and the slum on a scale almost forgotten in our own country since the earliest days of the industrial revolution.

Now this is the fact, the sociological fact of our time. But as our audience well knows, this crisis is not only for our cities, although it has been there where we can feel and see its symptoms most vividly. It is a crisis too that affects many of our world areas where the poor and the deprived are all but invisible, lost in the landscape and inaudible, lost in the distance, inaudible and invisible to the majority of us that are relatively prosperous Americans. The truth is that the poverty in rural America exceeds that of urban America. Yes, wherever there is despair and fear, wherever there is chronic unemployment and illiteracy, wherever there is broken down neighborhoods and the sharecroppers shacks, the vitality of our America is drained, weakened, and the full promise of America is being denied. That's why what I speak of tonight is our problem, not somebody else's. It belongs to everyone of us, and the fault of the crisis belongs to all of us.

I think it is time, therefore, that we take a good look at ourselves, and of course what we see is not all bad by a long way. There is much to be proud of, much to be pleased with, and much that we know can be better. I think that our President cited the problem for us in rather dramatic words when he spoke at Howard University a little over two years ago in a memorable address. There he said in his own words: "There are two Americas", and he spoke of that other America. There is the America that you and I know in our everyday life, the America that I knew in a little town in South Dakota and later on in Minneapolis, the America that gave me a college education and lots of opportunity. And then there is that other America that is inhabited by about one-sixth of our population, the America of poverty. Now, as we have awakened to the necessity of helping the underdeveloped nations and peoples of the world, and we have, we've poured out billions, I suggest that we must also awaken to the necessity and indeed the justice of helping those who live within America yet who live outside the mainstream of our own American prosperity and wellbeing. If we presume to stand in this world as the friend and the helper of

the new nations, the developing nations, the underdeveloped, I suggest most responsibly that we must be able to demonstrate our capacity and our willingness to help our own people. Nobody will ever believe that we can help the poor in the far away places of the world successfully until we have demonstrated unqualifiedly that we know how to do it right here at home.

What I am suggesting to you, my fellow Americans, is this, and I happen to be one that believes that we need a foreign aid program as a part of our national security, I happen to believe what that great prince of the church who said that where there is constant want there is no peace, I happen to believe that the greatest threat to peace is want and suffering. And therefore I do believe that our nation must help those who are less fortunate in other areas of the world within the limits of our ability and resources. But I also suggest to you that the same conditions that afflict many people in other parts of the world, the conditions of ignorance and illiteracy and unemployment and despair and hopelessness also afflict our own in some parts of our America, and therefore we need to apply some of the same generosity, some of the same methods, some of the same philosophies, some of the same techniques to the underdeveloped areas of America that we have applied to the underdeveloped areas of the world.

Now what do I mean by this, and by the way it is good investment, the technical assistance and longterm low interest loans are needed for overseas development in areas of the world that most of us have never visited, and in places the names of which we can scarcely spell; surely then they are needed and justified here at home. If massive investment of private capital is needed in the new and the developing nations of the world, capital that is insured by your government against risk, so may I suggest that it is needed in American slums and the rural poverty areas of this nation so that we can build them into being a part of the America, of which you and I are a part. Our goal in America as everywhere then must not be merely

welfare and compassion but opportunity and human dignity. There aren't enough resources manmade to extend enough welfare to all of the world's poor. There aren't enough dollars in America to extend all of the welfare that some people think ought to go to the poor. But there are ways and means known by this audience and audiences like this to help rehabilitate people so that they can help themselves, so that they can stand tall in their own right and have their own opportunity, create their own wealth through their own work, through their own endeavors. I think that we must set priorities on our own nationbuilding just as we do elsewhere. And what are some of those priorities. You know they are so obvious that I sometimes wonder why we even mention them. The priorities that you have in your life, a decent place to sleep and eat, shelter. And I leave it to this audience, if a little country like Norway with only one-seventh of its surface arable and tillable, a nation that depends primarily upon its merchant fleet and its exports to live, if it can abolish poverty and slums and provide for everyone of its citizens a decent home in which to live and do so and still preserve self respect, self reliance and human dignity, don't tell me that the richest nation on the face of the earth can do less. I don't believe it. So a priority is decent housing and shelter, and by the way this is not new. The late Senator, Robert Taft, one of the authors of the Housing Act of 1949, listed this down as a basic right of every American, "the right to decent housing" said the conservative Robert Taft. I wish some of us conservatives and liberals would have taken him seriously. And what is another priority; what would you want - jobs for those who are willing and able to work. And yet on our street corners, my dear friends, I see them every day, stand idle youth. We tried our best to make a dent in this unemployment of young people. My fellow Americans, a young nation, a prosperous young nation has the highest rate of juvenile unemployment of any industrialized nation on the face of the earth, your nation, mine, of any of the industrialized ones. As high in the negro youth as 25%; as high in the white youth

as 18%. We cut it 1% this year through let me say unbelievably intensive efforts. I know because I shared the President's counsel in this effort. And then what is that other priority; what do you want for your loved ones - education - good education and training. What is a job? What does it mean if you are unable to fulfill it? What do unfair employment practices mean if you are not skilled? What does the right of an education mean if there is not a good school? You see there isn't a single thing that we are talking about or thinking about tonight for somebody else that isn't something that we have already tried for ourselves. And I am here to tell you that whatever it will take to get this job done, we must be willing to pay the price, because there can't be two Americas and have an America at peace. There cannot be two nations in one country. I am still an oldfashioned patriot, and I've used this so many times that you I am sure are weary of me saying it, but I take very seriously our Pledge of Allegiance, and I see our blessed flag here on this platform, and I think most of us take that very much for granted too. Well that flag represents a lot of hope in this world. It doesn't represent just three colors. It represents hope, and it represents what this nation fought for and what its heroes died for, one nation under God, not under the association of counties or the federal government or the Chamber of Commerce or the AFL-CIO, but one nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. Now, that's the whole package, right there, that's a succinct, concise statement of what it's all about. We fought a terrible war to decide that question, and we are still in the process apparently of making the ultimate decision. So now what about it all. Well, I think that there are a few things we can do, and I want to suggest them to you.

First of all, the obvious in this troubled time of our national life. The first thing is to reestablish law and order in this country by whatever legal means it takes to do it, and that involves you and it involves me. We believe in social progress.

We believe in social change. And America is a permanent 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, but I submit to you that there isn't justice for anyone, least of all the oppressed citizen of the city or urban poor and the rural poor, in senseless violence and lawlessness. And therefore we who bear public responsibility and who are in this room tonight, we owe it to those we serve to see to it that law and order shall prevail, and I know of no statement that says it better than that issued by four of America's leading civil rights leaders, responsible leaders: Dr. Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young, Jr. And listen to the words of these men, many of whom you have differed with, often you've differed, but they said it. And these words should be seared into our conscious. "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". Those are the words of men troubled, concerned about their people, about our country.

I think it is time for plain talk about the methods and motives of those who have been inciting violence and preaching hate. Do they really believe that violence and hatred can lead to anything but more violence and hatred? Do they think for one moment that injustice can be remedied by more injustice? Do they think that gunfire, the burning of schools and buildings, the literal destruction of neighborhoods can bring any change but change for the worse? We've seen extremist demagogues at work in this country before. It is not a new experience. We've seen people interested more in personal power than in the welfare of the people they would use or deceive to gain that power. And I have a message tonight from this platform for those who would turn Americans against Americans. My words are we recognize you for what you are - destroyers, haters, demagogues, enemies of

freedom. You need to know that this is America, and this is not a totalatarian state. Hate has no place in the America that you and I love and know.

And to those that are dissatisfied let me say we have a means and a process for change. It is the democratic process guaranteed by law. It doesn't always work as quickly or as efficiently and effectively as we would like, but it does work. As the late and beloved Winston Churchill once said "Democracy is the worst form of government, except all others." It does work, and we will not stand by and see that precious process subverted by those who would substitute the rule of the jungle for the rule of law. And make no mistake about it my fellow Americans, speaking for your government, the rule of the jungle must not, and it will not prevail. The fundamental responsibility of government at all levels, federal, state and local is the maintenance of public order, and that responsibility will be met. There can be no freedom in violence. There can be no justice in hate, and there can be no representative government in mob rule.

The second thing that we must do is get at this hard, frustrating work of rooting out the conditions that have lead to the slums and the life of physical and spiritual poverty in it. And I want it quite clear that I do not equate rioting with the problems of the slums or the poor. I made that clear in the statement of the four leaders that I quoted a while ago. Let me make this crystal clear. If there were no disorders at all, if there were no violence, if our cities rested in total calm, the slum, the ghetto would remain a blight on the conscious of everyone of us. It is the dirty, scarred face of the countenance of America. I don't think we ought to have to have sinister forces compel us to do what is right. I'll never forget the words of John Kennedy when he said that we didn't need communism and the threat of communism to remind us to do some of the things that we were doing. We ought to do the things that we are doing because they are the right thing to do, and I speak to you tonight about what we ought to do, because it is right to do it, because it is what you want for yourselves, because it is what our religious, political

philosophy teaches us is the right thing to do. There is no room in America for the conditions of the slum. It's a violation of everything we stand for. There is no room for what I call "slumism" and all that it stands for, and slumism is more than dilapidated, obsolete buildings, its hopeless people, its poverty, crime, ignorance, disease, a family of 10 in one room, segregation, discrimination, bitterness and despair. And I stand on this platform tonight and say that this is unamerican and more than that it is wrong, it is evil, it is terribly wrong, and no man who worships in a synagogue or a church can justify it for one minute. America doesn't need black power or white power; what it needs is the conscience of citizen power, the moral conscience of a people determined to live a better life. My good friend and the distinguished Governor of Illinois, Otto Kerner, speaking to America last Friday night, as I heard him on television sheerly by accident, said these words and they penetrated my mind and heart and I wrote them down. Listen to what he said, "America does not seek separatism, segregation or spiritual secession. Any man who preaches these doctrines is an enemy of freedom." This man is a patriot. I think he is also a wise man. Now if this is so, then the question I put to the house is how do we break open this prison of slumism, how do we let in the light and the air of hope and opportunity, how do we let the people out who are trapped in it? And my dear friends, they are as trapped as a dope addict, they are as crippled as one who has been maimed, they need help. Well, I've got a few suggestions although they are not so new - jobs, jobs before the trouble, not after. I don't believe in rewarding riots. Jobs before the trouble, education, all that any child can possibly absorb. Training and retraining, decent, wholesome, lowcost housing, public transportation, tax, the use of tax and other incentives to bring private investment into the central city. And might I digress for a moment, we have no right to expect American business to act like it's a social worker. The men who are in charge of many of these great corporations do not own them, they have a fiduciary responsibility.

They are in charge of other people's investments. They are entitled to have a bare chance to make a reasonable profit on investment even as they do good for the community. You see, I've never believed that making profit and also contributing to social progress were opposites or in conflict. They can be partners. Yes, there needs to be crime control, by far much better law enforcement, recreation and health services, and above all participation of the people of the area in the decisions of their community so that they become part of what they call us - the establishment. Now, it means also getting trained people, with their sleeves rolled up, into the problem areas to help these new American immigrants become real citizens, because these people I speak of are like immigrants, and it means carefully conceived programs designed to get the job done, and if they don't work get rid of them. That's an old American habit. We don't have any dogma. We do that and use that which works best. If it doesn't work, we have no shame in casting it aside. Now, I think we've made a good start, but there is much more to do. We made a start at the federal level. You've done so at the local and state government level. I could just list off some of the new words in our vocabulary, like job corps, vista, headstart, upward bound, model cities, medicare, youth opportunity program - all of these words and names have come into our vocabulary in a very short period of time, and they've all had some beneficial effect. I've heard people say, and they've said from this platform that we haven't done enough. Whoever has? I've tried to be a good father to my family, and I doubt that I've done enough. I tried to provide well for my family; I know I've not been able to do it well enough, nor my father before me, but we try, and we continue to do better hopefully each generation. The President has recommended, and some of you will stand aghast when I mention this figure, because you will say it is far too much and others tell me it is far too little, but the record speaks for itself; he has recommended in the budget for this coming fiscal year almost \$26,000,000,000 for federal programs directed towards helping people to get on their feet,

helping the poor, building opportunity. That is almost three times the amount that was requested only six years ago, and to those who say it isn't enough I say talk to those who think it is too much. And what about our federal programs of health and education. They are two to three times what they were in the early 1960s. Many of the measures of course that I speak of were passed by the Eighty-ninth Congress. We built a structure. It was like the steel framework of a huge building designed to build a stronger nation. Now we must put in the parts, make the programs operative, put them to work, and we are, but we need help. As a minimum first step I've suggested from another platform in Boston just two days ago that we must make sure that the legislation that is now pending before that Ninetieth Congress is passed, that the outstanding request for funds, none of which are exorbitant, are met.

Let's start with one that is right close to you. Crime. Now I thought that most people were against crime. I think you can take a firm stand on that without running any political risk. Well, let us take a look at it. President Johnson has proposed after extensive study not by the President but by the top men in our nation in the field of law enforcement what we call the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. Who is it designed to help? You. You, Mr. Commissioner. You, Mr. Mayor. It is designed to strenghten your police departments, your sheriff's office, to improve your facilities, to modernize them, to help improve correctional institutions, and yet it languishes in the committees of Congress unpassed, and the crimes rate goes up and up. And law enforcement, my fellow Americans, is primarily a local responsibility. I doubt that you really want a national police. Most countries that have them seldom remain democratic.

And then there is legislation to control firearms. Let me repeat what I said at another platform. I've seen very few pheasants that have been shot down by a submachine gun. I like to go bird hunting. I enjoy it, but I don't think I need an

automatic rifle. I don't think I need a submachine gun to do it. And yet, the facts are that there are more firearms being sold in America today of that nature than ever before in our history. Why? You are asking for trouble.

And what about narcotic control legislation with no prediction of becoming more commonplace? Now this legislation is designed to strengthen the hands of local government to protect the citizenry. These are your bills, and we need your help. We need it soon lest we fail. And then there are other programs, many of which are controversial I know, rent supplements, metropolitan development grants, urban research funds for some of the smaller communities that don't have the funds for themselves, technical assistance, the Economic Opportunity Act, low income housing, rural development and even rat control. Now that legislation has been given a lot of comment lately, and I think it deserves another one. This is another issue on which you can take a forthright stand. I never liked rats, any kind, and I don't think you do. But you know I hear some people say why does the federal government have to become involved? For the simple reason that local governments frequently do not have the resources that are necessary for many of the things that they are called upon to do. Anybody who has served in local government knows the pinch that is upon the local establishment for revenues to take care of even such modest things up in my part of the country as snow removal. Ask any City Mayor, Councilman or Commissioner. We spend a great deal of money to make sure that the rats or the mice don't eat the wheat in our grain bins for the Commodity Credit Corporation more than we ask for in this program to help people. But my fellow Americans, the danger of rat infestation and the spread of disease in the large cities of America due to rodents is a serious danger, and I don't think a bill like that ought to be laughed out of Congress, I really don't. For those who laugh at it, let them come to Detroit, let them go to New York, let them go to Chicago, let them see the babies that I've seen in hospitals who have had their fingers eaten

away by rats. A nation that is willing to spend millions on the eradication of the boll weevil and the screw worm ought not to stand and laugh out of Congress a bill that tries to do a little something about the eradication of a rat that affects the health and wellbeing of hundreds of thousands of people. Yes, it's something to become a little indignant about, because I think it indicates an attitude that's not wholesome. And then America needs to take a good look at all the legislation that we have for our great cities that are today choking in traffic, choking in smog, faced with insuperable problems of crime control, and we have such legislation. We call it the Model Cities bill; I'm not sure that's such a good name. I think there may be other names we could put to it, but I'll tell you this, that it has the structure for the rebuilding of American cities. It is like the Constitution of the United States. If properly applied and adapted to the conditions of our times, it fits the bill. But all of these programs that I have talked to you about will only be a shovel full of sand on a forest fire unless there is a will to administer them and a will to back them and to implement them. All of these new programs require state, local and county cooperation, private cooperation. There isn't a one of them that can work from the federal level, not one of them. You've got to be in on the act. The problems in America are so big today, whether it's traffic, or whether it's safe water, clean air, housing, whatever it is, they are all so complex that all of our governmental and private resources must be brought to bear upon them in the most efficient way possible. How do you think we ever put a man in outer space? How do you think we able to put 12 successful gemini flights into orbit - by just saying we'll book that out with a balloon company, we'll put in an order to one of the catalogue houses, or we'll give it to a University or we'll let the Federal government just do it? Not on your life. I'll tell you what we did. We mobilized the resources of industry, we mobilized the resources of the universities and the scientific community, we mobilized thirty billion dollars worth of capital, we hired the finest technicians that the world has. We put it together in a massive organization in order to put two men in orbit

and hopefully to put a man on the moon. My dear friends if we can provide a clean environment for a man to go to the moon, we ought to be able to provide a way for a fellow to get with reasonably clean air from his office to his home or from his workshop to his home right here on earth.

You see, what I'm trying to say to you is that we can't do the things that we need to do today with the old tools. They require modern day efficiency in both government and in industry. And I could add, just as an afterthought, that requires a little constitutional reform, and sometimes the modernization of county and municipal government. I know that's difficult, I tried it for four years as Mayor. I'll tell you, it's easier to get a camel through a needle's eye, than it is to amend a City Charter. But I still say that if we can bypass Venus, if we can probe to the depths of the oceans, we ought to be able to modernize our city governments and our local governments so that they are compatible with the present living conditions. If not, democracy won't survive.

And finally let me say this. There are things that we can do right now if we never passed another bill and if we never had another resource we can do it. And you know what I find, I find that many of the things we need to do and want to do, we have the tools to do it with in our hand or in the shops, so to speak, if we'll but reach for them. The people are there. The resources are there. Now some of you have received materials from me today. I hope, anyway, you have. In my capacity as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, we have reported to you imaginative programs which are working well in communities across this country. We suggested ways in which public facilities like the National Guard Armories and the National Guard Camps can be put to use. I can give you case in point, if my friends are here from Arkansas. One of the big camps down there, Camp Robinson, was opened just a few weeks ago with thirteen to fourteen hundred boys and girls going to that encampment. And Camp Roosevelt, forty miles

out of Washington, the oldest Boy Scout Camp in America, is going to be closed. It was named after Theodore Roosevelt. They said we couldn't get the money. I went out and raised the money. Ask and it shall be given, seek and ye shall find. Just pester people long enough, and something will happen. That is another thing they could have added. Seventeen hundred little boys out of the slum areas of Washington, D. C., who have never been to a camp in their life, are in Boy Scout Camp, and they will be in Boy Scout troops. We recruited more Boy Scout troops in one weekend by this program than they have been able to get in many a year. It can be done. It didn't take a lot of money. All kinds of things are happening. Down in Houston - I am sure some of our friends are here from Houston, the Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce had a job fair one day and found thirteen hundred jobs for disadvantaged boys and girls. My friends from Nebraska here, Omaha has one of the finest programs of youth employment in America. It is a prize program. My friends from Chicago, Cook County, their urban progress centers, which are taking the old Navy pier and warehouse and converting it into a gymnasium in which seven thousand kids from the slums are getting recreation every single day under the fire department. The fire department does it free of charge. Policemen and firemen giving of their efforts, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the big brothers, I could name them by the dozens. I've been working with them all year. I just ask for them to do it. Friends, we have millions of boys and girls in recreation today on playgrounds, in camps, that were not there a year ago, because we cared, we tried.

So, I want you to go home now and take a good look to see whether you have a youth council at your county level or particularly at your town level, your city, and see that these programs are operating all year. Your police and fire departments, here's another thing that we can do - your sheriff's office, can hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged areas of your communities. You can

reeducate too some of your present law enforcement officers in community relations. You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation about community service officers to be added to police forces. And let me give you one other good suggestion. You can recruit returning negro veterans from Vietnam into your community services. They have given a mighty good account of themselves on battlefields, and when they return to civilian life they are entitled to a break. What is more, we need them.

And then working together, we can improve cooperation between regional and local offices of all the federal agencies, and if you have trouble write to your Vice President. I'll try to do something about it. And you can urge your local business and labor groups to help establish training programs, job training programs, and see to it that these job training programs really meet the needs of industry in your area. I don't know how many of you in your area ever heard of OIC. I take the chance once again to speak from this platform about the Reverend Leon Sullivan, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a friend of mine, Pastor in a little negro church, who decided that he was going to do something, and he collected money from his parishoners, poor as they were, and started in the basement of that church a little workshop, started to train the hard core unemployed, the ones that nobody ever seems to touch. A little bit later the Chamber of Commerce in Philadelphia heard about it and said they were going to help. A little bit later the Ford Foundation heard about it and said "we're going to help". A little bit later the Government of the United States heard about it and said "we're going to help". But it is primarily privately financed with some government help, and there are sixty-eight of these centers across America. In the first year in Philadelphia this one minister - what a man, I know him, I'll tell you he's a man - this one man trained two thousand hard core unemployed negro youths that had never had a job in their lives and added five million dollars in earned income to the economy of Philadelphia. Now that's doing something. You ever want to get a real speaker, you get that fellow. He makes the rest of us look like we are tonguetied. And besides he's a doer.

There's something else that we ought to do. You ought to check in your home town. What about your neighborhood youth corp, your industrial training program or on-the-job training program, are they all filled? Are the programs running smoothly? Are the unemployed young people getting jobs in private industry? That's where they ought to be. They ought to have the self respect that comes from working for private industry. You can also help establish realistic lines of communication with the minority leadership in your communities. I think it is time to have said this, and it's a little late. In all too many cases, many of us have aided and abetted the men of violence by our reluctance to deal with the men of reason. Let's not wait any longer. And then there's the all important business of cooperation at all levels of government. County and metropolitan human relations commissions are important. And there are the imperatives for sharing governmental responsibilities in many areas.

Now, I want to talk to you about one specific proposal tonight and then leave this with you. I would like to propose from this platform as a suggestion. It may not be all that it should be, but it is my suggestion. We need to think out loud; we need to talk to each other. In all of the fifty states we consider formation of councils for civil peace at the state and where possible at the metropolitan level. Now, what do I mean by a council for civil peace. Well it should include representation from all of the racial and religious groups, the state Attorney General's office, the National Guard, law enforcement agencies, and the officials of local government. It could provide a state community relation service designed to prevent violence and to gain community cooperation and to hear the voices of those who have gone unheard. It could set up a coordinated early warning system so that the coming disorders might be detected in advance and perhaps be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network for emergencies. And my friends, let me digress for

a moment. I know of instances, I won't tell you where, where the State Police, the County Police and the local police were on three separate wavebands. They couldn't communicate with each other. They could just as well had one of them from Tanzania, one of them from Thailand and a third one from Brazil. They would all be speaking the same language, but we couldn't tune in. You can't coordinate anything that way. A council for civil peace could provide a ways and a means for those who would be the innocent victims of violence to have the opportunity to forestall that tragedy and to bring to bear their knowledge, their information, their sense of citizenship. A state council for civil peace would in short help give every American, every state and every community the means to assure law and order to its own citizens, to coordinate all of the facilities for law and order and for social justice, to insure law and order in all but the most extreme conceivable emergencies in which the protection guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States by the Federal government would of course be available, as was necessary here in this great city. It would be just as valuable that the state take the initiative in forming metropolitan councils for civil peace, with that 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 conflict crosses two or even three state boundaries. And that does happen. Federal funds, by the way, are available to help such councils when organized on a metropolitan basis. All of these things and more we can do without any new authority or new law or even new money. And all of them should be done not because of the threat of violence but because it makes for a better America and a better community, a better way to mobilize our resources. Are we going to get through this crisis then? I think so. I am an optimist, and I think history is on my side. The whole story of this great America has been a story of a people who have always overcome all their obstacles in the search for a more just and perfect union. That's the way it all started.

"We the people of the United States do establish and ordain a more perfect union". There have been dark moments in our history, but we prevailed. I have faith too and the courage and sense of the people today who are the victims of slums, who are trapped in the walls of poverty and despair. They want to do right. Let the word go from this platform that the overwhelming majority of the people, who are trapped in our slums, want to be good citizens and have been in most instances good citizens. Let us not condemn the many for the sins of the few. Let us be ever grateful for the patience, for the forbearance of those who have had to bear so much over so long and receive so little. I don't believe that these people will fall victim to the demagogues and the agitators who would tear down what the men of peace have built up through generations, because they know that this is no time for hate and revenge, and so do you. It is a time for reconciliation, for cooperation, and as I heard the minister of my church say "for understanding and love". I heard a wonderful sermon not long ago. I generally don't invoke this sort of talk, as I am a little suspicious of people who do, but once in a while a message gets to you and it touches your heart, and I'll mention it to you. I heard the minister of my church give a sermon on this title: "The way you treat people is the way you treat God". And I happen to think that makes an awful lot of political and religious and social sense. I don't know how to better explain what I am trying to say to you - that our job is to work with people. When people come alive, the city comes alive. When people cleanse themselves, so to speak, of despondency and despair, the slum begins to disappear. Invest in human resources. You can't go wrong, because the power that is ours is not in buildings or things, it is in brainpower, willpower, moral power, knowledge, information, youth, people. So my message is that it's time for every American, black or white, rich or poor, north or south, to stand up and be counted for the kind of a country in which he believes. And I think that you know the kind of country that you love.

Our commitment to the building of the free, safe and just communities must be no less than the commitment we made in the defense of our country, the military defense, no less a commitment than we have to exploring space, no less commitment than we made to rebuilding the devastated Europe of World War II. We had a Marshall Plan for Europe, impoverished areas of Europe. Well maybe we need an American plan for a new day, for the impoverished areas of this country. But, even as we embark on such an effort, I think that we need to realize that it will be a long and painful and costly one. The injustices of better than a hundred years will not be wiped away in five or ten, and the behavioral patterns will not be wiped out in a month or a year. The ghetto of the heart and the mind and the soul as well as the physical ghetto will not dissolve in the warmth of good intentions. 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 and productive citizenship. Yes, that American dream that I talked about is being tested today, and that American dream has lived and been nourished by the difficult step-by-step, day-by-day patient, persevering progress made over generations, and we are now at the testing place. We are at the place where jobs and housing and education are the tests, and might I add that we cannot fail. Hopes raised must not be dashed. Expectations risen must not be left to wither. The dream of our country must not be denied. We owe too much to the world. And if we succeed, and I believe we shall, ah the light will literally shine forth from this republic, shine forth into the world once again from the America, and it will be the light of a nation, a flame, but the light that has shown forth from the beginning from a people whose message has been and remains this, and I thought this was appropriate. I visited the Statue of Liberty not long ago. I love to go there. I guess it is just like a childish dream being realized again and again in one's maturity. And on that Statue of Liberty is that plaque and the immortal words of Emma Lazarus. And my fellow Americans we'd either better

believe what it says or take it down. There is one thing that an American can never afford to be - a hypocrite. We can afford to stumble, we can afford occasionally to make a mistake, we can even afford to be wrong, but we cannot ever permit ourselves to be hypocritical. And that plaque stands there facing the whole world, and it is known in every country of the world, but it really speaks not so much to the people in foreign lands as it does to our own people within America, our own Americans. And the Goddess of Liberty that symbolizes this great country and all that it stands for with the torch held high, with that magnificent countenance of justice and tranquility and hope, that Goddess of Liberty has these words as her message: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send those the homeless, the tempest tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door." Those are words my fellow Americans meant for you and for me in our times. Those are not words for people from other shores alone. They belong to my family. They belong to God's children. They belong to the least of these, and they belong above all to this country and all that it will ever mean, the chance for every man to be himself and to make of himself whatever his wisdom and his virtue can. This is the promise of America.

Thank you very much.

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Thursday AM's
1967

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES
DETROIT, MICHIGAN
AUGUST 2, 1967

I speak to you today not as a former mayor, former Senator, or even as your Vice President. I come to you not as a political partisan, but as a concerned American. Our nation is in trouble.

Today, in this city, all of us are compelled to face an American crisis. It is the crisis of a nation which by its actions, 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 our American crisis. A small few may be taking pleasure from it. But by far the most are watching because our crisis is, in fact, their crisis.

They are watching because the American dream is, in fact, their dream.

They are watching because they know in their hearts that if we -- in this richest and most powerful country ever known to man -- cannot surmount our crisis, there is certainly no hope for fulfillment of the dream in their own nations.

In this century -- and most rapidly since World War II -- the downtrodden and striving people of this world have come to the city. They have come to Rio de Janeiro. They have come to Lima. They have come to Chicago and New York and Detroit.

And, in their coming, this wave of immigrants has been channeled into, and helped further create, the ghetto and the slum on a scale almost forgotten in our own country since the early days of the Industrial revolution.

But, as this audience well knows, this is a crisis not only of our cities -- although that is where we see and feel its symptoms. It is a crisis, too, affecting many rural areas where the poor and deprived are all but invisible and inaudible to the affluent majority of Americans.

Wherever there is despair and fear, chronic unemployment and illiteracy, broken-down neighborhoods or the sharecropper's shack, the vitality of America is being drained . . .the full promise of America is being denied.

Now is a time when we must look within ourselves.

It has become all too easy in these past few years to think of our nation as rich and powerful, and many other parts of the world as poverty-ridden and weak. And in doing so, we have overlooked the fact that conditions exist in America to match those in the most backward slums, villages and countrysides of Asia, Africa or Latin America.

As the President pointed out to this nation in his memorable address at Howard University: There are two Americas. There is the America that you and I know in our everyday life. There is also the America of poverty.

And as we have awakened to the necessity of helping the underdeveloped nations and peoples of the world, we must also awaken to the necessity of helping those who live outside the mainstream of our own American prosperity and well-being.

If we presume to stand in this world as the friend and helper of the 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, so is it 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.

Now, what?

* * *

There are three things we can, and must, do.

The first part is to re-establish law and order in this country by whatever legal means it takes to do it.

We believe in social progress. America is permanent, 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.

And I know of no statement which says it 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."

It is time for some plain talk about the methods and the motives of those who have been inciting violence and preaching hate.

Do they really believe that violence and hatred can lead to anything but more violence and hatred?

Do they think for one minute that injustice can be remedied by injustice?

Do they think gunfire . . . the burning of schools . . . the literal destruction of neighborhoods can bring any change but change for the worse?

We have seen extremist demagogues at work in this country before.

We have seen people interested more in personal power than in the welfare of the people they would use and deceive to gain that power.

And I have a message for those who would turn Americans against each other: We recognize you for what you are -- destroyers, haters, and enemies of freedom.

This is America. This is not a totalitarian state.

We have a means and a process of change. It is the democratic process. It does not always work as quickly or efficiently as we would like. But it does work.

And we will not stand by and see that precious process subverted by those who would substitute the rule of the jungle for the rule of law.

Make no mistake about it. The rule of the jungle will not prevail.

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

* * *

The second thing we must do is to get at 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.

And here 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 dirty face -- 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 10 in one room . . . for segregation and discrimination, bitterness and despair.

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

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

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?

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 central 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.

We have a good start at the federal level.

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, literally, of a few months.

The President recommended almost 26 billion dollars
for federal programs directly helping the poor, and building
opportunity for fiscal year 1968.

That sum was some 3.6 billion dollars above fiscal 1967 --
and almost three times that requested only six years ago.

Our federal programs for health, and for education,
are two to three times what they were before the 1960's.

With the measures, particularly, passed by the historic
89th Congress, we have the basic building blocks with
which to eliminate the slum and build a stronger nation.

Now these programs, and others to supplement them, need help.

As a minimum first step, we must make sure that legislation now before the 90th Congress is passed and that outstanding requests for funds are met.

Let us start with crime.

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

The President has also proposed firearms and narcotic control legislation.

You need these bills and they need your support.

And there are other programs which need support:

Rent supplements . . . metropolitan development grants . . . urban research funds . . . urban information and technical assistance . . . the Economic Opportunity Act . . . low income housing . . . rural development . . . rat control.

Then there is the Model Cities Act -- I like to call it the New America Act -- *a Marshall plan for ^{urban} America*

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... 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.

America needs a fully-funded *long term* Model Cities program...and I ask your help in seeing that America gets it.

But even all these programs--given full funding--will be only shovelsful of sand on a forest fire if they are not carried through and 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.

As part of this, states and counties, cities and villages must re-examine their structure.

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.

* * *

Finally, there are things we can do right now with the resources we have at hand.

You have received materials from me today in my capacity as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. We have reported imaginative programs which are working well in communities across the country. I hope you will put some of them to use to fit the circumstances in your own communities.

We have suggested ways in which public facilities like National Guard armories and schools can be used this summer.

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 your youngsters throughout the year.

Your police and fire departments, and sheriff's offices, can hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged areas of your communities. You can re-educate your present law officers in community relations.

You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation that "community service officers" be added to police forces.

You can recruit returning Negro veterans into your county community services.

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.

You 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.

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? Unemployed young people need jobs -- jobs in private industry which will give them self-respect and income.

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.

And, then, there is the all-important business of cooperation -- cooperation across old jurisdictional lines -- that I mentioned earlier.

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.

When you return from this conference, staff that commission. Have it work with others throughout your metropolitan area.

There are imperatives for sharing governmental responsibilities in many other areas. We have too few working metropolitan councils of government. In many places, new state legislative authority is needed to make metropolitan-area cooperation workable.

Parks and recreation, educational centers of excellence, transportation to jobs -- yes, crime prevention and law enforcement -- must be planned and administered on a metropolitan basis.

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 state and, where possible, 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 began. It could establish a central communications network.

A Council for Civil Peace could provide a way and a means for those who would be the innocent victims of violence to have 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 in all but the most extreme conceivable emergencies -- in which the protection guaranteed under the Constitution by the federal government would, of course, be available.

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.

* * *

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 who have always overcome all obstacles in their search 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's 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.

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. *We have that commitment in the Model Cities Act. It is for our cities*
a Marshall Plan for the impoverished areas of America;
Yes, call it that if you wish.

Or call it the American Plan, or the Plan for a New Day. →

But even as we embark on such an effort, we must realize that it will be a long and difficult one.

The 89th Congress, by adopting the President Johnson's model cities act, have already given us most, if not all, the mechanism we need to carry out the Plan.

The injustices of a 100 years will not be wiped away in 5, 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 said at the beginning that it is the American Dream which is being tested today.

That Dream lives, even in the hate and fever of our slum streets, down deep in the people who dwell there. And it lives, too, in impoverished rural America where life can be as 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 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.

Yes, jobs for those who need and want and can work...decent housing for those whose families do not have it...quality education for children and young people who need it most-- these are the things that every American should be able to look ahead to.

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.



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