

New Communes 37 #4
1-4-6-
Comm. of Tennessee

1 It is my distinct privilege this morning to present
2 someone to you who doesn't need really any introduction. I
3 can not resist, however, recalling that I think one of the
4 speakers yesterday said that Lincoln Steffens said that a
5 mayor, after he was elected, should not run for re-election --
6 and incidentally after a mayor had been re-elected four times --
7 but he should, after his first election, run for and be elected
8 to the Senate.

9 It happens our speaker this morning was at one time
10 a professor of political science and I am sure encountered that
11 advice because he didn't follow it exactly, but almost. He ran
12 successfully twice, was elected Mayor of Minneapolis, and then
13 he was elected to the Senate. And since that time, we have
14 all known him to be one of the most knowledgeable men in many
15 areas in this country, and certainly probably the most articulate
16 public figure in this country.

17 The Vice President of the United States.

18 (Standing ovation.)

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Secretary
20 Weaver.

21 I think I should let the audience know what I said
22 to our distinguished Secretary. I said his introductions are
23 getting better all the time. I only hope I can appear on
24 several more programs with you, Bob, particularly at this early
25 hour, which is not exactly my brightest part of the day. You

1 make me feel better.

2 There are two kinds of people, day people and night
3 people. You are talking to a night man.

4 (Laughter.)

5 But I realize that in order to give some balance to
6 this entire conference, to give some emphasis to the rural
7 part, you had to start early. You should have called on me
8 about one o'clock this morning and I would have been in much
9 better fettle.

10 I have looked over the program of the Symposium and
11 must say that it sort of overwhelms one, particularly when you
12 realize the competence and the professional quality of those
13 who have already addressed you and will be speaking to you.
14 It was with deep regret that I found myself unable to attend
15 yesterday's sessions, because I know that I would have had a
16 rich and rewarding experience in learning. One of the real
17 problems of government today is we are so busy getting our-
18 selves ready to tell you what we already know that we don't
19 have time to find out what you know so we can tell somebody else
20 what you already know. And this is getting to be a more com-
21 plicated problem and one in greater depth every year.

22 I doubt that I have a single thing new to tell you
23 this morning, but being a refugee from the classroom and having
24 observed through those few short years of teaching that most
25 people learn through osmosis, that education is in substance a

1 great deal of repetition, and possibly there are some -- I
2 know nobody in this room -- who are slow learners and need to
3 be reminded again and again, I will go over material which has
4 been worked and reworked in hopes that someone may not have
5 been listening too well during the earlier sessions and will
6 go away saying "Wasn't that interesting." If you can do that,
7 I will feel that the morning was reasonably well spent.

8 This subject of the communities of tomorrow is no
9 longer an academic subject. The real fact is that tomorrow
10 was yesterday. We are already losing ground. The communities
11 of tomorrow should have been planned a long, long time ago,
12 and because they were not, we find ourselves today literally
13 being run over by an urban crisis, and we find in the last
14 few days, from the report of the Commission on Rural Poverty,
15 that we are literally being plowed under in some areas of
16 America with the staggering problems of economic and social
17 nature in rural America.

18 For some reason or another, when it comes to our
19 social problems and our economic problems, we have an extra
20 large dose of what we call the cultural lag. We just don't get
21 at it soon enough. And what we are here to do in a very real
22 sense is to take some knowledge action. The reflections and the
23 observations of the people in this audience are desperately
24 needed. I do not say that there is a sterility of thought or
25 of creativity necessary on matters of urban and rural life; I

1 will only say this, that the concrete and the brick of the city,
2 intensified in its ugliness at times by the slum, have far out-
3 stripped our capacity to find decent living space and whole-
4 some conditions for the people who are to inhabit those cities.
5 And our nostalgic memories of beautiful rural America, with
6 the clear sky, with the morning dew, and the evening sunset,
7 are really just memories of the past when it comes to taking a
8 look at the economic and social conditions of today.

9 So with that sort of less-than-joyful picture, may I
10 just venture a few thoughts this morning. I want you to know
11 that essentially I am an optimist about our country, and I
12 have a right to be, because this great nation of ours has sur-
13 vived many a crisis, and it has been capable in the past of
14 doing what people have termed the impossible. I really believe
15 that this generation and the ones yet to come are going to be
16 tested as no others, because we are really getting down now to
17 the point where we can not run away from our problems, where
18 the vast expanse of America, even though much of it is still
19 unoccupied, is nevertheless under constant observation because
20 of the media and the science and technology of our time. There
21 is very little or no place to hide. You can't hide the mis-
22 takes any longer, nor can you hide your neglect. They have
23 caught up with us. So maybe we had better start to do some-
24 thing about it.

25 Now, Americans have built a great nation because

1 they have been willing to look outward, look outward to broad
2 horizons and beyond -- beyond the oceans and beyond the Appa-
3 lachian, beyond the Plains.

4 We have really carried our heads high. We are a
5 people of the horizon, so to speak, always reaching out. Our
6 philosophical and spiritual horizons have been just as vast as
7 the land that we speak of -- the horizons of freedom to worship
8 and to write, and to speak, to teach, and to think as we choose
9 And these spiritual and physical horizons have been able to
10 produce, I think, a new kind of man so to speak, one that had
11 unbounded faith in his capacity to overcome any obstacle, and
12 also one that was open, open in thought and conscience, and
13 open in spirit.

14 I think this is really the reason for the greatness
15 of the nation that is ours and of the people that inhabit it.

16 Thoreau put it somewhat modestly when we think of it
17 in today's terms. He said, "Our horizon is never quite at our
18 elbows."

19 He wanted some wriggle room, so to speak, for minds
20 and body and spirit.

21 Many of us, it is true, have been prevented from
22 reaching those vast horizons, but at least they have been there,
23 and we knew it -- a stimulus to, and a source of hope for the
24 future.

25 Today, however, many Americans find their horizons

1 constricted. The elbow room seems gone. Far too many of our
2 fellow Americans feel that they are, in a sense, encased. They
3 are restricted within their very narrow limits of their immed-
4 iate physical environment as well as their social and economic
5 opportunities. They feel in a prison -- sometimes the prison
6 of poverty, sometimes the prison of discrimination, often-
7 times the prison of neglect.

8 Many who live in the inner cities are hemmed in by
9 the dirty tenement walls. Their spiritual horizons are
10 crushed by broken homes, and all too often for a nation as
11 rich as this, restricted by grossly inadequate education -- not
12 just quantity of education, but quality. Every time I mention
13 the word "education" I think of what we need to do with it. I
14 am not sure of all we need to do with it, but something is
15 wrong. Education ought to be the music of a man's life. It
16 ought to be the art of his soul -- and it isn't in too many
17 places in this great land of ours. It has been routinized,
18 mass produced, stamped out in a single model. And as one who
19 has given a great deal of time as your Vice President to the
20 problems of our young people, as the Chairman of the President's
21 Council on Youth Opportunity, I can not help but reflect on
22 what we call the school drop-out problem. And I have said,
23 without trying to be cute, that sometimes it is not drop-out
24 at all, it is push-out, left-out, just plain out -- education
25 with little or no relevancy to the needs of the body, mind, or

1 soul. And if that is the case -- and it is in far too many
 2 instances -- then we need to bestir ourselves. We need to
 3 have as much experimentation in education as we are having
 4 today in fields of medicine and science and technology and
 5 elsewhere, and the willingness to pay the price.

6 Well, the ability of many Americans to look to the
 7 future, as we know, is often curtailed by the necessity of sub-
 8 sisting for today. Their plains are littered alleys, their
 9 oceans polluted water, their space the noxious product of
 10 industrial smokestacks.

11 I would remind this audience that the creed that has
 12 inspired this nation since its independence was not life,
 13 security, and survival. It was life, liberty, and the pursuit
 14 of happiness. There is a great deal of difference between
 15 security and liberty. They are not necessarily in competition,
 16 but security to be meaningful must be in freedom, and survival
 17 is not enough for God's finest creation, man. Survival may be
 18 all right for a plant or an animal, but not for human kind.

19 It is the pursuit of happiness -- and I have often
 20 thought of how perceptive our founding fathers were in the
 21 writing of that Preamble of the Declaration of Independence,
 22 the meaning of those precious words of life, and life that
 23 took on some meaning because it had liberty, and life and
 24 liberty that added up to the pursuit of happiness -- not life,
 25 security, and survival, which is what some people seem to be

1 willing to settle for.

2 It is not enough just to have minimum standards, a
3 minimum education, minimum housing, minimum transportation,
4 minimum health. This is a country that ought to have as its
5 guideline and standard maximum. We don't have a minimum em-
6 ployment act. We have a full employment act -- maximum employ-
7 ment. And we ought to be thinking in terms of the maximum good
8 things of life. At least that ought to be our horizon, our
9 standard. People who start with their standard as minimum, all
10 too often have their eyes glued to the ground rather than to
11 the heavens.

12 Now, when I describe some of the problems of our
13 cities, I do not want to ignore the fact of the greatness of
14 our cities or of our country -- the magnificent libraries and
15 cultural institutions and universities, the fine hospitals and
16 the beautiful trade centers. There is so much that is beauti-
17 ful and good. All the more reason that that which is ugly is
18 so bad.

19 I often feel that one of the real problems of today
20 about the slum is that for the first time the slum dweller can
21 see how the rest of humanity lives. He feels set apart, set
22 upon. The most powerful instrument of change, and possibly of
23 revolution and violence, is the television. Nobody any longer
24 can be hidden away. The good and the bad is there, the real
25 story of life -- not Hollywood in its make-believe movies, but

1 the highlands of Vietnam and its real war -- not Hollywood with
2 its badmen on the screen in the movie, but the violence of a
3 riot in your home. It is changed. You see it really happen.

4 And I believe that not only are we today the victims
5 of rising expectations, which is a phenomenon which is not
6 related only to Asia and Africa and Latin America, but to our
7 own people, but we also are the victims of contrast, living,
8 vivid contrast. And when the few amongst us can see how well
9 the many live, and see what is available, is it any wonder that
10 people reach out and sometimes reach out in the most socially
11 undesirable manner?

12 None of this is to be interpreted as to condone vio-
13 lence or crime, but it is a relevant factor that this audience
14 and men and women of equal competence ought to consider.

15 That doesn't mean you do away with the television or
16 the camera. It means that you change the scenery, that you re-
17 build the cities and rescue the human beings -- not that you put
18 a cap on the lens, but rather that you wish the dirty face of
19 our social countenance. And if we do that, then we will, I
20 think, inspire people to do better.

21 It is very difficult to inspire mankind by negative
22 thought, by ugliness, by all that which, in a sense, causes you
23 to reject what is there.

24 Most people are inspired by the dream of a better day,
25 and inspired, too, by the noble action of a better man or a

1 better woman.

2 Well, those are just some of my fleeting thoughts
3 this morning. I often say that when I get ready for a con-
4 ference like this, I am generally so busy I don't get enough
5 time to think about it because I have the phones ringing and
6 the letters to answer, and people to see, and staff to argue
7 with, trying to maintain at least some feeling that I am still
8 in charge of what little I have to be in charge of, fighting a
9 rear-guard, most of the time, and it is so good to be here to
10 be released so I can think out loud with you.

11 Some people say this results in rather long speeches,
12 and they are right -- (laughter) -- but it is a good way to
13 think and to study. If you don't have time to read the book,
14 sometimes you ought to meet the author. And if you do not have
15 time to refine your dissertation you should give it to somebody
16 in its rough form and let them work you over after you have
17 left, and refine the remarks. And I am going to run out of the
18 room shortly so there will be no pain to me.

19 Well, let's talk more about our people.

20 Many who live in the suburbs, while they have more of
21 what they think are creature comforts, find those suburbs be-
22 coming obsolescent, too. They have at their backs the blighted
23 city they have just left, and before them a vast expanse of
24 split-level, all too often synthetic sameness. If you want to
25 do one little thing here, why don't you tell builders to stop

1 chopping down every tree they see? That would be a very con-
2 structive resolution out of a conference of this kind.

3 The bulldozer has a place in modern society but it
4 doesn't need to take over the whole landscape. When I have
5 seen what they did out here in Montgomery County when I first
6 came to Washington -- beautiful trees. And somebody got hold
7 of a bulldozer. I am sure it was a fellow who had never had
8 that much power in his hands before -- (laughter) -- and they
9 just took out every tree and leveled off the ground and put up
10 the brick and the concrete and said, "It is housing."

11 It wasn't housing; it was shelter. The best housing
12 is under God's mantle of trees and brush and flowers, and there
13 isn't any reason that man shouldn't be able to mix his own tech-
14 nology with that which nature has given and make it a decent
15 place to live.

16 The educational and economic horizons in our suburb
17 areas are open to them as never before, but one has the feeling
18 at least I did when I lived in the suburbs -- that the long ride
19 home in the rush-hour traffic takes the edge off. I am a
20 pharmacist originally. I think one of the best ways to reduce
21 the consumption of tranquilizers is to reduce the long ride to
22 and from work -- and that isn't just trying to be clever. You
23 can be a man filled with compassion, love and affection for
24 one's brother and nation -- love thy neighbor -- but by the
25 time you get home you will be lucky if you even like your

1 family.

2 (Laughter.)

3 And surely anybody that plans to get to the moon and
4 back safely ought to be able to get from downtown Washington
5 out to Rockville, or over to Fairfax.

6 It is really amazing that we can fly from Washington,
7 D.C. to Philadelphia, which I will do this morning in just a
8 very few minutes -- it will take me about 35 minutes at the
9 most -- and it took me 40 minutes to come in from Chevy Chase
10 and breathing, breathing, breathing -- if you call it that -- I
11 think you will soon be able to swim through it.

12 (Laughter.)

13 These are real serious problems of comfort, health,
14 beauty, and I think temperament. I am convinced that part of
15 the violence in American life which is all too much a charac-
16 teristic of our life -- and it is -- we are quite a violent
17 people -- is in this day and age somewhat related to the tre-
18 mendous tensions under which we live -- not so much under
19 which we work. Once you get to work it is rather pleasant.

20 (Laughter.)

21 It is the getting there that knocks you off and the
22 going home that is sure to get you.

23 Now, many who live in the small towns in the rural
24 areas find that they can not even enjoy their extensive physi-
25 cal horizons because the beauty of the countryside isn't what

1 it was cracked up to be.

2 Most of the poets that wrote of the countryside wrote
3 in another century. Some of the poets that are writing today -
4 I can't understand quite what they are writing about, or maybe
5 I do and I just don't want to believe it.

6 The reports of the President's Advisory Committee on
7 Rural Poverty -- I just lost the poets' votes there a moment
8 ago -- the report of the President's Advisory Committee on
9 Rural Poverty which was released over the weekend, notes that
10 one rural American in four lives in poverty.

11 That report was a document of "must" reading for the
12 American people. But you know I must tell you in all candor
13 that I find most of the reports and the polls are just about
14 what we knew before we got them. I don't need to read a public
15 opinion poll to know when we are in trouble politically. I
16 used to find out by going home and talking to my mother. She
17 was Madam Public. I could tell just about how well we were
18 doing. And you don't have to be a Mr. Gallup or a Dr. Harris
19 to find out. If you really want to find out how you are doing,
20 go out and see my neighbors at Waverly. They will tell you in
21 a way that doesn't fool you at all. They come right to the
22 point.

23 I have lived in rural America. I have seen the
24 shabby buildings. I have had the privilege of being the son of
25 a rural American businessman. You don't need to tell me about

1 when farm prices are down. I don't have to read Orville Free-
2 man's documents. As much as I do and as much as I admire our
3 Secretary, I can tell by the cash register. It is just that
4 simple. The old measurements still tell you the truth.

5 As a matter of fact, I am beginning to think that
6 the old Indian knew more about the weather than the meteorolo-
7 gist. The difference is that the meteorologist now gives it
8 on a percentage basis. He is never quite wrong. He says it
9 is 10 per cent possible, 70 per cent possible that it will
10 rain. Wouldn't it have been wonderful when I was in the Senate
11 if I could have voted on a bill and said "I will give you a
12 70 per cent vote on that bill" or "a 10 per cent vote on that
13 article."

14 (Laughter.)

15 I would have been the most popular Senator. Trouble
16 was, they only gave me two options, aye or maybe, and they
17 wanted maybe.

18 The Commission estimates that one out of five rural
19 Americans is unemployed. The average rural youngster gets
20 about two years less of education than his city cousin -- and
21 there is the question of its quality. One-third of all rural
22 homes need either major repairs or replacement.

23 Generally when we are talking about housing, we are
24 talking about cities. One of the problems of this nation's
25 capital is that it is totally urban oriented, the Eastern

1 Seaboard. I don't know why. So many of us are country boys,
2 but when we think of housing in America we are not really
3 thinking of housing out in the countryside. If you are reading
4 the papers that come here, you are thinking of housing in New
5 York City, or occasionally you may even venture as far west as
6 Cleveland.

7 I met a person the other day who said he had traveled
8 a great deal to the west. I said "Where were you?" He replied,
9 "Buffalo." It is a fact that with all the communication we
10 have it takes a cataclysmic catastrophe on the West Coast to
11 make a small headline on the East Coast.

12 You know this is a fact, the problem of communication.
13 And when we speak of poverty, until this rural poverty report
14 came out, we were talking about the poverty in the ghetto.
15 When we speak of health needs, we were talking about the health
16 needs of the people in the tenement areas. When we spoke of
17 inadequacies of education it was generally the inadequacy of
18 the urban society.

19 Well, my fellow Americans, it started out with the
20 embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord, not the heart-
21 broken brokers of Wall Street. This nation started out with
22 farmers. And I think we need some perspective. And the Com-
23 mission on Rural Poverty has given us the shock treatment which
24 may offer us some perspective. They have told us that there is
25 something else going on except in the cities. This shouldn't

1 in any way put the cities in second place. To the contrary;
2 there isn't any conflict of interest here. What there is here
3 is competition of trouble. And we ought to remember that the
4 trouble is generally rather widespread.

5 Rural America has half the doctors and less than a
6 third of the dentists that minimum standards would require.

7 Now, we know these facts and the question is: What
8 do we do about it?

9 The result is that over half a million rural resi-
10 dents are drawn or forced into urban areas each year -- most
11 not because they choose to go, not because they are pursuing
12 horizons of hope, but because they are forced to go.

13 I believe that every American ought to have freedom
14 of choice -- real choice. That is the essence of democracy.
15 And that doesn't mean a choice that comes by compulsion or a
16 choice that is forced upon him by sheer survival necessity.

17 And in that context I was not surprised to see re-
18 cently -- maybe my good friend, Mayor Naftalin, has told you
19 about this -- a poll that appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune
20 a few weeks ago showing that a great many of the urban resi-
21 dents in our state would far prefer to live in a small town or
22 on the farm. They would prefer to be away from the traffic
23 congestion, but that preference is not made real because there
24 is not the same opportunity.

25 True, grinding poverty of the purse is on its way

1 cut in America, at least to a degree or it is being reduced.

2 But the poverty that afflicts this country is not
3 just the poverty of the purse, my fellow Americans. If that
4 were the case we are rich enough to overcome it next year.
5 There are many ways to overcome the poverty of the purse. I
6 noticed where the President of the Ford Motor Company recom-
7 mended negative income tax last week. I noted the president
8 of the Ford Motor Company, not a social worker, not a radical --
9 he recommended it. I don't know whether it is the right way
10 or not but he recommended it. And it is a modern American way
11 write a check. We have overcome many problems, we think, with
12 that; we have taken care of the problems of our children --
13 which we really haven't -- by just giving them money. When you
14 don't have time to be a good parent, just write them a check.
15 When you don't have time to take care of the difficulties and
16 complications of international relations, write a check --
17 check-book living. Poverty of the purse -- the checkbook can
18 overcome it.

19 But what about the poverty of the spirit? What about
20 the poverty literally of the mind, the intellect, the poverty
21 that comes with despair and hopelessness and fear and frus-
22 tration? That is the real poverty, and that is the one that
23 has to be conquered.

24 So this poverty of the purse we seem to be getting
25 somewhat under control. At least we feel that we have the

1 beginnings.

2 Seven years ago, 21 per cent of the American famil-
3 ies lived in poverty. Statistically we now know that this is
4 down to about 15 per cent. The number of non-white families
5 earning over \$7,000 has doubled in that period. And the number
6 of white families, of course, has gone up in even larger pro-
7 portion.

8 More Americans are going to college than ever before.
9 More are eating better, dressing better, driving cars, using
10 telephones, owning homes than ever before -- and I like it.
11 Those are good signs.

12 All of these have meant unprecedented and undreamed-
13 of comfort for men but it has not necessarily meant broader
14 horizons or greater happiness.

15 A few years ago a Pulitzer Prize-winning poet wrote
16 of his fellow Americans: "We cannot bear the stars anymore,
17 those infinite spaces. The open road goes to the used car lot."

18 Well, sometimes people are rather cynical. I doubt
19 it is that bad. Perhaps things are not yet as bad as that for
20 the vast majority of us. But what about tomorrow? What about
21 the communities of tomorrow? Will our horizons still be or
22 once again be beyond our elbows, as Thoreau put it?

23 Thomas Huxley, who visited this country a year ago --
24 and this is one of my favorite little bits of secular scrip-
25 ture -- wrote: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree

1 impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such.
2 Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation.
3 The great issue is what are you going to do with all these
4 things?"

5 He put it right in the nutshell, right there. What
6 are we going to do with all these things? What are we going
7 to do with this economy of \$800 billion GNP?

8 Somebody told me the other day that since 1961 we
9 had added almost \$300 million to our gross national product in
10 real prices, in real income. And yet people go around saying,
11 "We can't afford this and we can't afford that." You know what
12 I have found out? We can generally afford what we want to.

13 I have been in the government long enough to find out
14 that when people want more country clubs, they get them. When
15 they want more taverns, they get them -- more race tracks, they
16 get them. The question is: Do they really want better housing
17 for somebody else? Do they want better schools?

18 I think we are beginning to show that we do. It is
19 the matter of will and determination, not resources. We have
20 the resources. It is a matter of priorities and decisions. We
21 have the technology. And how can we use this unparalleled
22 material wealth we now possess to expand the horizons of every
23 American?

24 That is the problem you are wrestling with. We need
25 your help. This is not just a talk session. This is a session

1 for guidance and counsel.

2 Let me offer what I consider a brief checklist of
3 things I think this nation will have to achieve if its commun-
4 ities of tomorrow are going to provide horizons that are truly
5 up to our traditional American standard, and should I say our
6 traditional American ideals.

7 First -- the very first thing we have to provide --
8 a truly open society with equal opportunity for all, regardless
9 of race or creed, in every community.

10 Now, you have to start with that or you are running
11 up-hill all the way and falling into ditches.

12 An open society in which there can be mobility and
13 freedom of choice is going to have to mean open housing. Only
14 about 50 American cities have very open housing laws today, and
15 it is my considered judgment that until we have open housing,
16 most of the social problems we are wrestling with today in our
17 great urban areas will be unsolved. There has to be freedom of
18 movement.

19 We are going to have to overcome the vestiges of dis-
20 crimination in employment and promotion policies in industry
21 and organized labor.

22 And I might add that as the tragic struggle is being
23 fought in Southeast Asia, we need to ask ourselves some very
24 basic questions. Our men in command of regiments and brigades
25 and companies with ranks of lieutenant and captain and major

1 and colonel -- are they to come home and because of race be
2 relegated to second-class positions in life or be accepted on
3 merit? Are we going to admit that the only part of American
4 society which is democratic is the military? This is democracy
5 upside down.

6 I think that we had better be thinking about this. I
7 hear some of my friends talk about the military industrial com-
8 plex. Well, the military is doing a pretty good job of pro-
9 viding equal opportunity. The military has done more to bring
10 about open housing than all the civilians put together. The
11 military is doing something about promotion on the basis of
12 merit.

13 I sometimes shake my head and wonder where I am.
14 Here we are in what we call the greatest democracy on the face
15 of the earth and the one institution in this democracy that
16 practices democracy is the military -- at least when it comes
17 to merit.

18 I don't have all the answers but I sure know the
19 problems. And I do know that will has something to do with it.
20 And I also know that it proves that law has something to do
21 about it, because the military gets a lot of this done because
22 it has authority. So when I hear people say that you don't
23 need law, I say "You may not need it, but it helps."

24 So let me emphasize that the ending of discrimination
25 is a practical necessity if many of our communities of today

1 are going to develop into the kind of thriving communities we
2 would like them to be for tomorrow.

3 This isn't anything, now, just for intellectual gym-
4 nastics or just a Sunday afternoon discussion with the local
5 minister. We are talking about the practicalities now of
6 economic and social life. When today's manager or entrepre-
7 neur or corporation, looks for a town in which to establish a
8 new factory, he is unlikely to choose one where local govern-
9 ment and the courts tolerate injustice, where discriminatory
10 labor practices and housing practices may prevent him from
11 winning federal contracts -- federal contracts are a big share
12 of the business in this country today -- and where his Negro
13 executives will not find adequate housing or decent schools for
14 their children.

15 So if you really want your communities now to blossom
16 get rid of the weeds that you thought were your flowers and
17 start to open up that garden for the growth of that which is
18 good and beautiful -- people who are blossoming with their own
19 ability and capacity.

20 Second, we must guarantee a quality education for
21 every American child.

22 Now, I know this term "quality" has many meanings but
23 we need to take a good look at it. We have been fighting an up-
24 hill battle to get quantity education for sometime. And I am
25 not critical of the educators and those in school boards and

1 P-TA's who have put on the hard fight just to get the facili-
2 ties and the teachers. But we have to have a dual approach --
3 not only facilities and teachers but the proper kind of
4 facilities and the right kind of teachers, and the interest of
5 the community behind them. Because education is not the
6 business of the teacher. The teacher is but the front-line
7 agent. Education is the requirement of the community and of
8 the family.

9 I doubt if there are many inner-city neighborhoods in
10 America today where the schools provide their pupils with the
11 full opportunity to throw off the crippling burden of a de-
12 prived background.

13 And yet the school system in the inner city ought to
14 be the compensatory mechanism. We have compensatory payments
15 today. We have at times compensatory wages and salaries. If
16 we put a man in a far-away place in the foreign service, we
17 give him a little more pay because it is more difficult there.

18 These are what we call -- I don't know the exact term --
19 but the areas of danger, the areas that are critical.

20 What do we do about our schools? I will take my own
21 community's experience. I hope it has changed and I imagine
22 it has because they have a better mayor now out home.

23 When I was there the poorer schools were in the
24 poorest neighborhoods. The overcrowding of the schools was in
25 the poorer neighborhoods. And I will venture to tell you this,

1 my dear friends, if you leave this city and go any place in
2 America, go into the city where the poor people live, the gar-
3 bage is the last to be collected, the streets are the last to
4 be plowed out when the snow is there.

5 It is true. We need to shift it around a little bit.

6 Today our best schools are in the communities where
7 other advantages are also the greatest -- the highest incomes,
8 the best housing, the best recreational opportunities. The
9 best schools are in the neighborhoods where the people can
10 afford to send their children to private schools. In the com-
11 munities of tomorrow the best educational opportunities are
12 going to have to be where they are needed the most, where the
13 public contribution to the life of that individual is the
14 greatest single gift that the community can give -- namely, the
15 gift of a good education.

16 America has pioneered in public education. This is
17 one of our great achievements. And public schools, more than
18 ever before, must be brought to the highest standards.

19 You know that my wife and I are keenly interested in
20 the subject of the handicapped, the mentally retarded, the
21 physically handicapped. Let me just lay it on the line. Most
22 of the handicapped are with the poor. Most of the retardation
23 is with the poor. Some of it is congenital. Some of it is
24 environmental. But the simple fact is that the degree and the
25 rate of retardation amongst the poor in the lower-income

1 families is higher than amongst the high-income families.

2 And my fellow Americans, how many of your public
3 schools, the tenement schools in the inner cities, have train-
4 ing for the retarded? How many of them have training for the
5 physically handicapped? And what makes you think they are not
6 God's children? What makes you think that a child that is born
7 crippled isn't entitled to the same or more care than one that
8 is born physically sound? What makes you think that all re-
9 tardated are not educable? Many of them are and can be brought
10 to be productive citizens.

11 And yet, my fellow Americans, most of the schools that
12 have mental retardation types of training for the mentally re-
13 tardated, I should say the most competent -- you find those
14 schools in the suburbs. You find those in the areas of the new
15 homes. You find them in the upper middle-income groups and the
16 high-income areas. It is wrong.

17 Many people today are worried about morality. Well,
18 that is real immorality and that is immorality that you can do
19 something about.

20 The least of these -- the least of these -- the poet,
21 the prophet, says -- are entitled to the most. But they don't
22 get it. And until they do, there is something wrong.

23 But I think that most of us, in view of the nearly
24 disastrous shortage of educational facilities in some neighbor-
25 hoods, realize that public schools alone are not enough, and we

1 have recognized the necessity of using the existing private and
2 parochial schools to the full. And I often think what would
3 happen to our education if it were not for the parochial and
4 private schools.

5 The Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed in
6 1965 authorizes the federal government to use funds to assist
7 disadvantaged children in non-public schools. There were those
8 that would have destroyed that. But fortunately, the Congress
9 in its wisdom protected that standard.

10 Now, states and local communities must follow that
11 lead. The important thing about education isn't where the
12 child goes to school. It is what kind of education the child
13 gets. The important thing about education is the person.

14 A variety of educational opportunities, competition
15 among various kinds of schools for excellence rather than compe-
16 tition for inadequate funds -- that is what will broaden the
17 educational horizons.

18 Third, we need a far-reaching national policy on
19 urbanization and the machinery to implement it.

20 I said first you need an open society -- open
21 community. Second, we must guarantee quality of education for
22 every child, right down the line -- and every child -- every
23 child, well or sick, sound or crippled, brilliant or retarded,
24 white or black, or whatever other color, race or creed.

25 And, third, we need a far-reaching national policy

1 on urbanization and the machinery to implement it.

2 We anticipate today that our population -- you know
3 the figure -- will grow by one hundred million or more before
4 the year 2000 and we know that at least one hundred million of
5 our fellow Americans will be moving into our cities within the
6 next few years. I hope they don't all have three cars unless
7 we can do something about the transportation. With that pros-
8 pect in view the haphazard urbanization that is still going on
9 in this country is no longer acceptable.

10 I know that Lady Jackson, Barbara Ward, spoke to you
11 about planning that needs to go into our communities. Again I
12 claim no expertise in this area. I am one of the general
13 practitioners. Experts are on tap; they shouldn't be on top --
14 (laughter) -- and we just keep them working with us.

15 I know you will be discussing and have been discussing
16 the megalopolis and how to improve it. I think one of the prob-
17 lems we have is that that word sort of transforms us. It sort
18 of gets us, as we say, the word megalopolis. When you can pro-
19 nounce it you have really come quite a way. But just remember
20 all that word means is there are too many people living on too
21 little land. It means that people are crowded in. What it
22 really means is that it is an accumulation of buildings and
23 people and facilities that has not been planned. What megalop-
24 olis means is a big, big problem that you have to unravel and
25 make it into a livable society.

Lead

1 Well, I believe that it is within our power to make
2 our existing cities and their heavily developed suburbs safe,
3 clean, and rewarding places to live.

4 I do not want to see us run away from that which we
5 have -- and there is a tendency, when we talk about these prob-
6 lems of urban life, to say "Let's forget it. Let's get out;
7 let's run away." And that is what has been happening. When
8 you didn't have open communities, the white people left. The
9 Negro people -- many -- came in. They ran away from the prob-
10 lems, ran away from the challenge. And many of our cities
11 today are without an economic base, and many of the people that
12 come downtown to do business in the city never pay a dime's
13 taxes to it, have really no interest in it except to get on a
14 street that will get them to their office.

15 I want to see us come up with answers for what we
16 have. We have a tremendous investment in our cities. And
17 these cities essentially have all of the ingredients to make
18 for a magnificent society, the city beautiful -- not like St.
19 Augustine, the City of God, but the City of Man. It can be a
20 beautiful city. We don't need to take the bulldozer and run
21 over it. We don't need to run away from it like the farmer
22 of the early 1800's ran away from the land that had been bled
23 white and eroded.

24 It is there. I am not advocating, therefore, that we
25 retreat to the rural plains and mountains. I am advocating that

1 we develop our cities as they are, redevelop them, and that we
2 find new places to live so there is real freedom of choice --
3 and what is more, that we take care of new customers, the
4 children yet unborn, the families yet to be.

5 Metropolitan planning is now going on in many of these
6 areas of the megalopolis and the federal government insists
7 that its grants be used only in the context of such planning.
8 And I'll get down to cases. Was it Paul Ylvisaker who said
9 something to you yesterday about state charters and laws? I
10 think so. Let me tell you one of the greatest needs in this
11 country is to re-examine every state constitution, every city
12 charter, and instead of going around trying to find some
13 answers for your local government problems in Washington, start
14 to find them back at home in your city, in your state, in your
15 local jurisdictions. Much of government today was never de-
16 signed even for the period of the automobile, much less the
17 space age. And it is more difficult, I may say, to amend a
18 city charter than it is to travel to the moon -- and much
19 safer.

20 Constitutional reform -- state constitutional re-
21 form -- is vital. And I say with all candor that it is liter-
22 ally impossible to come to grips with the problems of our
23 urbanized society until there is basic constitutional and local
24 government reform, until we equip these governmental sub-
25 divisions and the powers of the state with the authority and

1 with the flexibility, with the modern public administration
2 techniques that are required for modern living and for the age
3 of the future, the communities of tomorrow.

4 You cannot build communities of tomorrow with state
5 constitutions of the 19th century and the 18th century. It
6 isn't in the book. If you do, it will be illegal.

7 So I hope that you will have a conference or two on
8 that while you are here. There must be many political scien-
9 tists around here. But whenever we really come hard on the
10 problem at home, we say "It is down in Washington that the
11 problem is." Many people complain about the interference of
12 the federal government with local and state governments. It is
13 not interference. When you find a blood clot in your vein the
14 system finds a way of going around it. And there is a govern-
15 mental clot at local and state levels for some of the human
16 needs of the American people, and those people find a way to
17 get around it, and they come charging down to Washington. And
18 you have a whole galaxie, a whole big roomful of federal aid
19 programs that are frequently in conflict, all too often -- if
20 not in conflict with each other, unrelated to a total pattern.

21 I have been at this business of intergovernmental
22 relations a long time. I am the co-author of the Commission on
23 Intergovernmental Relations, served on the Kestenbaum Commis-
24 sion, it is part of my life. And we have everybody who likes
25 to write articles and editorials about the bureaucracy of the

1 federal government and the necessity for reorganization of the
2 federal government. Listen, the federal government is being
3 reorganized every year, on the year, in some way. But I am
4 telling you when you get an amendment to your city charter,
5 write and tell me, will you? It will be some of the great
6 news of all time.

7 I urge this conference to take a look at this prob-
8 lem, to look beyond the megalopolis to the possibility of
9 establishing new bodies of law, new constitutions that meet
10 modern-day needs in the future, and establish wholly new
11 urban centers of urban growth capable of accommodating a
12 large part of our anticipated population increase.

13 Study the concept of councils of government, how you
14 preserve the independence and autonomy of an established com-
15 munity and an established governmental jurisdiction and at the
16 same time promote coordination. It is a new pattern. It has
17 great merit.

18 The location of most of our present cities, as you
19 well know, was dictated largely by geography, by industry's
20 need for water or rail transport and for natural resources.
21 That is why we have so many of our great cities on the banks
22 of the rivers.

23 But this is the age of the short-hop jet -- the short-
24 hop jet -- rapid truck transport, electric power that can be
25 delivered efficiently over hundreds of miles and generated

1 easily at the most remote site. Moreover, ours is an ever-
2 increasingly service-oriented economy. Today 40 million of our
3 workers hold service jobs, and only 17.5 million are in manu-
4 facturing. Much of that manufacturing consists of modern,
5 light industry which can thrive almost anywhere, rather than
6 the traditional heavy industry which is tied to natural re-
7 sources and low-cost transportation.

8 Today, therefore, it should be possible to provide
9 the economic base for new communities almost anywhere that we
10 choose.

11 I know these communities need to be viable; I know
12 there has to be a sort of optimum or minimum size for a viable
13 community. What it is, I am not sure. When I started to write
14 this, I had the figure of 50 thousand. I said "That is not
15 true. I have seen many cities of much less that are totally
16 viable communities." But that is something we can experiment
17 with.

18 But where should these new urban centers be built?
19 Many could undoubtedly be built on the sites of existing towns.
20 And indeed that is happening today where local governments have
21 taken the initiative in revising their law and in attracting
22 new industry -- and I put "revising their law" -- because you
23 get right down there to taxing policy, zoning policy -- all of
24 it is there. I was interested to see that 8 of the 63 Model
25 Cities grants recently announced by our distinguished Secretary,

1 Mr. Weaver, went to cities and towns of fewer than 50 thousand
2 people. Those model cities and others like them can provide
3 an important part of America's answer to the megalopolis. New
4 towns, like Reston and Columbia City, towns built from scratch,
5 according to a master plan, offer another possible source of
6 Communities of Tomorrow. But the old towns, rebuilt, also
7 offer the chance. With 70 per cent of the American people
8 living on that 1 per cent of the land, there are a great many
9 places in this country where land is cheap between the Alle-
10 gheny Mountains and the West Coast. Come with me and travel
11 across this country. I travel across it about as much as any
12 man in the government. And there is one thing that impresses
13 me -- its emptiness -- vast, vacant areas -- beautiful, beauti-
14 ful areas. And it doesn't require that you have to have a major
15 river running right through in order to be able to put a town
16 there, or a coal mine. We have gotten beyond that. There are
17 a great many places where the land is cheap, recreational re-
18 source is plentiful, and horizons uncluttered.

19 I might add that the policy of the federal government
20 can do a lot here. If the federal government makes up its
21 mind to use some of its resources, new towns come into being.
22 I have often mentioned Huntsville, Alabama. It isn't necessar-
23 ily typical but it shows what can be done -- or Oak Ridge,
24 Tennessee, just to mention a couple. But Huntsville, Alabama,
25 just 20 years ago, was a sleepy little southern community, on

1 the fringes of the TVA. Today it is a fine, magnificent city,
2 and one of the best.

3 Two or three things happened: The Tennessee Valley
4 Authority with all it offered, power, recreation and flood con-
5 trol; and then federal grants and federal contracts, the space
6 program. I heard when I was there this spring that there are
7 about 175 Ph.D's. alone in that city. There are tremendous
8 facilities of education, fine medical establishments, doctors.
9 It happens to be that federal government policy can have some-
10 thing to do with what happens to a community, where the con-
11 tracts are placed, where the new installations are to be
12 located. And they don't all have to be located on the fringes
13 of Washington. It is possible to run part of this country even
14 as far away as Denver.

15 (Laughter.)

16 And I would think that as long as we are saying that
17 we are a Pacific power and have a great deal of our resources
18 committed to the Pacific and Asian areas, we might want to even
19 disperse or get out as far as the West Coast. Of course we do.
20 And government policy means a great deal. I have so many
21 Cabinet officers here, I thought I would mention that.

22 I would like this conference to consider the pos-
23 sibility of a federal New Cities Act -- I can see where I can
24 get in trouble because Vice Presidents aren't supposed to be
25 doing this -- designed to do for America what the Homestead

1 Act of the 19th century did -- move people out to the rich areas
2 of this nation that are still waiting to be developed. And I
3 am not going to write out the articles and sections and sub-
4 sections of that Act, but it can be done. We know how to get
5 incentives working in this country. That is part of our life.

6 Some of those new towns might be built as satellite
7 cities just beyond the raveled urban fringe of our present
8 megalopolises. They would act as counter-magnets, giving dis-
9 satisfied suburbanites practical access to the benefits of a
10 real city.

11 By providing services, jobs, and economies of scale,
12 they would break off the existing outer suburbs of some of our
13 largest cities and give them shape and character.

14 And then, (fourth), we must preserve and enhance the
15 rural alternative in this age of rapid urbanization. ah!

16 As I suggested earlier, many of our city dwellers
17 today would much prefer to live on a farm or in a small town or
18 small city if they could do it without sacrificing opportunity,
19 income, quality in education, and the conveniences that go with
20 a modern American standard of living.

21 A thriving city usually means more prosperity for
22 the adjacent rural areas. That has been the case in most of
23 the Northeast, in the Piedmont of the Carolinas, and elsewhere.
24 It means that the farmer can get more credit -- and he needs it
25 today. It takes a lot of capital to start a farm today. In

1 the Mid-west it takes a minimum of a hundred thousand dollars
2 for a really sound capitalized, productive farm. It means a
3 growing market for his agricultural products and new opportuni-
4 ties for supplementary off-the-farm employment.

5 And above all, when you have a thriving urban commun-
6 ity next to a rural community, the value of the farmer's land
7 rises.

8 But ladies and gentlemen, this is trickle-down ^{ah!}
9 prosperity, and that is not enough if we are to achieve a mean-
10 ingful balance or rural and urban growth, and a meaningful
11 choice between city and country living.

12 Rural America must become economically viable in its
13 own right. That means farm incomes must reach a par with city
14 incomes, in terms of meaningful prices and meaningful income.
15 And, my fellow Americans, that means that farmers must be paid
16 for their product.

17 I was out with a farm group the other day and when you
18 go and buy a car they charge you so much for a car. When you
19 go and get medical service, the doctor charges you so much.
20 When you go into the drug store, they charge you so much. But
21 the farmer gets so much -- what you are willing to give him.
22 He can't charge.

23 The worker, in his union, bargains and he charges so
24 much for his labor. The farmer gets so much for his milk or
25 whatever it is. The language of the commerce tells what is

1 wrong with agriculture. He is at the mercy of the other fellow.
2 And you know what? I think he is beginning to understand it and
3 I wouldn't be a bit surprised that farmers are going to do what
4 other people do, get really organized, and then you'll see
5 what you'll pay. We have been getting a free ride off the
6 farmer in this country for a long, long time -- and Secretary
7 Freeman has been telling people in the cities about it. He
8 is the one fellow that hasn't had his wages increases. He is
9 the one fellow that sells his product for less now than he did
10 in 1947 -- all too often.

11 And if it were not for his government programs, he
12 would be bankrupt in many, many instances.

13 I think I heard Secretary Freeman say not long ago
14 that if these farm programs were abolished farm incomes would
15 be reduced by at least a third.

16 So you can't have the farmer being just the victim of
17 trickle-down prosperity, that if everybody else in town gets
18 rich you will have enough to eat. He has to have a viable
19 base of his own. Today that American farmer receives a
20 smaller return on his labor and capital than the urban entre-
21 preneur by far. That dairy farmer out in the Mid-west is
22 lucky if he makes 75 cents an hour on his labor and capital.

23 All over America young people, therefore, are leav-
24 ing the farms, not because they want to but because farming
25 simply doesn't pay as much as a good factory job or working at

1 a filling station.

2 Farming is the backbone of the rural economy in many
3 parts of this country, and when it lags behind, so does rural
4 commerce in general and so does the neighboring community.

5 In addition to better farm incomes, therefore, rural
6 America needs new industry to provide a variety of job oppor-
7 tunities and new income to supplement and to maintain its
8 economic power and viability. At a time when rural land prices
9 are a ninth or less of urban land prices, when modern industry
10 has unprecedented flexibility in its choice of location, manu-
11 facturing should be able to thrive in rural America.

12 But rural America's pressing need for health, educa-
13 tional and social services, clearly spelled out now in the
14 report on Rural Poverty, requires a concerted attack by govern-
15 ment and private industry at every level. But permanent
16 solutions -- thriving Communities of Tomorrow -- will depend
17 on a healthy and growing rural economy, not on government hand-
18 outs, government policies alone, or the trickle-down economics
19 of a rich urban society.

20 And you who are going to ⁽¹⁾convert the communities of
21 today to the communities of tomorrow, ⁽²⁾or build new ones, will
22 have to talk about much more than civil rights or even educa-
23 tion or dispersed urbanization or rural-urban balance. You
24 will have to consider health facilities, better utilization of
25 land for development and recreation, zoning, transportation,

1 preservation of open spaces where the physical horizon may
2 still be viewed.

3 And you will have to figure out what combination of
4 federal, state, local, and private cooperation can achieve the
5 kind of comprehensive national effort that will save us from
6 the human and economic cost of haphazard urbanization.

7 You know about the many programs that we have -- 450
8 federal programs designed to assist local governments, large
9 and small, urban and rural, in meeting the vast array of local
10 problems. On top of these separate programs we now have a new
11 one, the Model Cities program, which I believe offers great
12 promise if properly implemented at every level, designed to draw
13 all available resources, public and private together, to a
14 comprehensive attack on the whole spectrum of ills that consti-
15 tute urban blight.

16 What additional federal effort will be needed to
17 build the communities of tomorrow?

18 I have mentioned the possibility of a New Towns Act.
19 What about a federal bank to help finance development corpora-
20 tions at the state and local level? (1) ?

21 What about a swift, computerized nation-wide
22 employment service designed to inform workers all over the (2)
23 country of employment opportunities in newly-developed urban
24 areas? (3)

25 There is a mobility today. Why not take advantage of

1 it? Although the federal government will be an important in-
2 strument for your coordination and for financing, the real work
3 of development is going to be left up to the state and local
4 governments and to the people themselves.

5 It is in the local communities that the detailed
6 planning will have to be done. That is why I think this Model
7 Cities Act provides such a great concept for the communities of
8 tomorrow. It, in a sense, compels the local people, private
9 and public, every segment of the community, rich and poor, to
10 work together to design programs for the betterment of their
11 community life.

12 These local communities will have to take the initia-
13 tive to attract new industry, build new schools, and assure
14 their citizens of an active role in determining the future of
15 their communities.

16 And may I say, I mean all the citizens. There is a
17 natural desire or inclination on our part to sit in a beautiful
18 room like this, those of us with a college education that have
19 made it pretty well, and to plan what we are going to do for
20 the others. May I suggest that it is about time that we
21 brought into this same room the others.

22 (Applause.)

23 Let's hear from them. They may have some good ideas.
24 What is more, if they feel that they are a part of the design,
25 that they have helped create it, then it is theirs. They

1 fight for it. They work for it. They believe in it.

2 And it is going to be to the people themselves, like
3 the pioneers of the 19th century -- it will be these people
4 who will do the actual home building, enterprise building,
5 and town building.

6 Well, a century ago one great American, Walt Whitman,
7 wrote these words -- you see, I do like poets -- "I take to
8 the open road, Healthy, free, the world before me, The long
9 brown path before me leading wherever I choose."

10 That is what we are talking about, the healthy road,
11 the long brown path before me leading wherever I choose -- not
12 where you compel me to go, not where the distorted economic or
13 social structure compels me to go, but where I want to go -- *ah!*
14 freedom of choice, an open society, an open mind, an open heart.

15 I believe the breadth of spirit reflected in the lines
16 of Walt Whitman can and should belong to every American before
17 the 20th century is out. I believe that is what we mean by the
18 "Communities of Tomorrow." And I wish you good luck in this
19 conference in planning it and designing it that way.

20 Thank you very much.

21 (Standing ovation.)

22 SECRETARY WIRTZ: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice Presi-
23 dent. It is with full compliment to all of the other speakers
24 of the program that I think we are entitled to take note of the
25 fact that we have had this meeting graced by two people whom I

1 think of separately as one of the great masters and one of the
2 great mistresses of the English language. We had Barbara Ward
3 here yesterday noon and now, Mr. Vice President, to have the
4 privilege of your participation in this conference today is to
5 realize what a very real privilege it is to find the great
6 minds and great tongues joined together in the way they are.)

7 We are exceedingly grateful to you, Mr. Vice Presi-
8 dent. We know there are other pressures on your time. You
9 carry with you the very real appreciation of all the members
10 of this conference as you go on your way.

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much,
12 Willard.

13 (Whereupon, Vice President Humphrey withdrew from the
14 conference room.)

15 SECRETARY WIRTZ: Will you please remain standing for
16 a five-minute stretch.

17 (Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

18 SECRETARY WIRTZ: Let's take our places, please.

19 All right, ladies and gentlemen. We have an hour-
20 and-a-half which we should like to use to improve as fully as
21 possible on the most specific, practical basis.

22 We have had this problem developed in a number of
23 ways. We have talked about some of the generalizations that are
24 involved, to the point where, with all due regard to the
25 speakers, I have found myself once or twice thinking of the

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WAGE AND LABOR STANDARDS ADMINISTRATION
WOMEN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20210

speech file

[June-Aug 21]

Doug B.

November 25, 1968

Mr. William Connell
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Vice President
Room 176 Executive Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. Connell:

The Vice President, as you may recall, was kind enough to address the participants of the Fourth National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women held last summer. A brief summary report of the Conference has been prepared.

I enclose herewith the section covering the Vice President's remarks, together with the full transcript. We know that you would want the opportunity to review the summary we have prepared. We would welcome any comments or changes the Vice President may want to have made.

We were all immensely grateful to the Vice President for his inspiring talk. It meant more than I can easily say to the commission members to have him join us.

We are eager to get the report to the printer and so will be grateful for your early action.

Sincerely,

Mary Dublin Keyserling

Mary Dublin Keyserling
Director

2036

Enclosures

"We Cannot Afford
Discrimination On
The Basis Of Sex"

..VICE-PRESIDENT

HUMPHREY

5

Underscoring the importance of this conference, the Vice-President of the United States Hubert Humphrey greeted the participants. Introduced by Senator Neuberger as the "man who burst upon the national scene twenty years ago with his strong advocacy of the Civil Rights program for this country", the Vice-President began his remarks by paying tribute to the conferees. "You represent a great guiding force in terms of the participation of American women in the political, social and economic life of the Nation." He urged his listeners to recognize the great jobs to be done. "The economic, social and political problems that confront America and the world require the enlightened and determined attention not of men alone but women equally. We cannot afford discrimination on the basis of sex. We need the best the world has to offer as we face up to our problems."

Stressing that our central purpose must be to make life more meaningful and enriched for our neighbors, our friends and ourselves, Vice-President Humphrey said, "If there is one word that this democracy needs to embrace today, it is the word 'action', 'political action', now!" We are challenged, he said, to hold a mirror up to ourselves and our communities. "Is there bigotry, indifference, apathy, prejudice, selfishness? What can we do to lessen these blemishes? The work of building the good society is a continuing process in which we must be personally involved in community and political action."

We talk of the blight of our slums, of air and stream pollution. When will we meet these needs? "When we want to. When we put high on the agenda of American priorities making our cities liveable--not survivable--liveable. It is an utter disgrace that the richest nation on the face of the earth that can provide a wholesome and perfect environment for an astronaut to go to the moon cannot provide an environment for every citizen to live a meaningful life."

"We spend millions to find out if man can walk on the crust of the moon. We are not yet willing to spend what it takes to make life on earth what we want it to be."

The Vice-President stressed that we have answers; we know what needs to be done; we can produce what is needed for ourselves and food for half the world. It's time we stopped talking, stopped acting like political squirrels, stopped letting bureaucratic rules cripple action. It's time we got on with the job.

"You ought, as an American citizen in your community, to be the number one crusader, seeing to it that there isn't a single child, regardless of race, color, creed or location that goes hungry."

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The Vice-President talked of plans for Model Cities. "We'll have Model Cities planning and Model Cities action when you find the way to do it in your local community. What people want, people can get done. A society that knows how to build glass and steel and concrete skyscrapers can learn how to build housing that people can afford to own and rent. A society that knows how to vaccinate against polio can get rid of rats in the tenements."

If we are to do what needs to be done, we must face the reality that action costs money. It will demand organized effort on the part of all groups at the local level, particularly the women's organizations.

Stressing peace as the biggest question before mankind today, Vice-President Humphrey called for new systems of diplomacy, new ways to improve the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations. "There is one thing I know for sure; you cannot settle major political disputes through military solutions. Political, social and economic problems require political, social and economic solutions."

"If you want to have peace in this world, you are going to have to get at the root causes of violence. We're going to have to have enough courage to say that this Nation, in concert with others, must help other people help themselves. Foreign aid is not a failure; what has failed is our determination effectively to use it. Peace-keeping, peace-developing. Blessed are the peacemakers, not the talkers, not the walkers, not the wishers, but the makers, and that's hard work."

"Women Are Equal
Partners In A
Troubled World"
...HON. HUBERT
HUMPHREY

Asking for involvement and concern, he said, "We must find a way to bring everybody into the decision-making processes, sharing in the benefits of this democracy. Go back into your community, find those we have left behind and bring them into the mainstream. Look confidently at the problems your community faces. Recognize they can be solved. Don't be fearful. Our problems are bigger today, but we have more to work with--more intelligence, more know-how, more knowledge, more technology, more resources."

"The status of women? The status of women is that women are equal partners in a troubled world and equal partners in a world of opportunity. No group can do more to open up the avenues of social opportunity than American women, than women all over the world. Share with the people that you do not know the same kind of care and attention that you give to your family and your loved ones. Let others know you care."

The audience rose to its feet, applauding the Vice-President.
(Pick up from middle of Page 6.)

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Governor established in the office of his secretary a women's unit. This is a full-time staff unit of the New York State Government.

Its functions include working with state agencies to develop programs for or of interest to women as well as finding ways to assist women in becoming more knowledgeable about state government and making greater contributions to government and their community.

CHAIRMAN NEUBERGER: May I interrupt you. We have a visitor.

CHAIRMAN SEAMAN: All right, fine.

CHAIRMAN NEUBERGER: We are pleased to see coming in from the wings the Vice President of the United States, Hubert Humphrey.

(Vice President Hubert Humphrey entered the meeting; standing ovation.)

Twenty years ago in 1948 Senator Hubert Humphrey burst upon the national scene with his strong advocacy of a civil rights program for this country. We are the beneficiaries of that and he is here today.

(Applause.)

Hubert.

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (Vice President of the United States): Thank you, my dear friend Maurine. Thank you. It's nice to see you again. You are looking

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great.

(Laughter.)

I'll tell you, that being a Senator wears you down. Just look at the way Maurine looks in private life.

Secretary Wirtz and Ladies, and so many of you that I know as personal friends that I am not going to try to go through the audience and say hello to each of you. I just said to Willard I guess we are on the same circuit because every place I go Willard Wirtz has already come in. He has charmed the audiences. I wish he would just kind of let me have one day to myself so people wouldn't compare us all the time.

Last evening we were at the Communication Workers, a great group of about 2500 and all I heard -- I went there and I enjoyed it but everybody came up to me and said, Oh, that Secretary Wirtz was great. He was great.

(Laughter.)

I got hold of one of my staff men. I said, Do you suppose you could just have somebody say loud enough so a reporter would hear it that Humphrey was good too?

(Laughter.)

But I'm so happy to be here for these very few moments. Ladies, I think I should explain to you that I have just come from the National Press Club and I want to go on record. You are a lot better looking than what I have

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just seen.

(Laughter.)

With the exception of Mrs. Humphrey who was there with me and had to go on to do some interviews and some work this afternoon and wanted me to bring to you her good wishes and greetings.

I'm not going to keep you too long. I wanted to come by and to pay my respects but I wanted to talk to you a little bit about what I think we've got to do. You represent the states here, the 50 states of our Union and the territories. You represent the guiding force in terms of the participation of American womanhood in the political, social and economic life of this nation and I want to talk to you about what we need to do.

I'm going to let you in on a little secret and it's not much of a secret. I tell my people in the campaign in which I am involved -- that's the only political reference I'll make. I didn't tell you which one it is.

(Laughter.)

But I tell them, I'd rather have one good woman who is working for me, who says she's for me than ten of you fellows who sort of indicate that you're for me.

And that's a fact.

(Applause.)

That is not to please you. It is a fact. I have

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been doing a little work trying to get some delegates and I find out that if I can get the wife of the delegate, I've got the delegate.

(Laughter.)

Because I appoint her as my special representative and she takes it seriously.

Now, let's translate that into something else in a much more serious vein. There are immense problems that confront this nation today. Everybody has grabbed on to this new phrase called "participatory democracy". Some of us have talked about a new democracy. There are others that are talking about new politics and I'm not sure that any of us have really defined what we are talking about.

But I know this: that the social problems that confront America and the social and political problems that confront the world require the attention, the enlightened and determined attention of the best that every country has to offer in men and women. There isn't any way that we can afford discrimination on the basis of sex as to how we are going --

(Applause.)

-- as to how we are going to face up to these problems.

People today are talking about family problems, neighborhood problems. We are talking about a host of

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them. We are experts in problems today and sometimes I've even heard people say they wonder if I am concerned about them. I've lived a life of concern and I intend to live to the last breath of my life one of concern.

There is only one purpose that a person ought to have in life and that is to make life more meaningful for his neighbors, his friends and himself.

I am sometimes accused of being a little sentimental about some of the great documents and some of the great historical utterances of our people and our nation. I spoke today to the Press Club on that inalienable right that is the highest right of all, the right of life, God's greatest gift to mankind, and not just the right of life to exist, to survive, which animals can and plantlife can survive, but life that is meaningful and life that is enriched and life that is nourished.

The great talent of the men who wrote the immortal document of this Republic was to be able to say in a few words and quite simply and directly the whole thrust of our civilization and of our purpose.

That young man, who was only 28 years of age, and the average age of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was 36 -- you might remember that just as an historical fact -- Thomas Jefferson penned those words about the inalienable rights of life, and then he told us

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what life meant, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the purpose of life.

So today I concentrated my attention a little bit on, first of all, the protection of one's physical life. That's a minimum requirement of society, that you can walk out of this building and have reason to believe that you can walk out safely, that you can walk the streets and believe that you can walk safely.

Surely we Americans ought to be fully aware of the danger to life in these tragic days that we have gone through in recent months and years.

But then there is something else. There are many people who seem alive but really they have lost the spirit. The spirit is not dead; it's barely hanging on. They are what I call the spiritual cliffhangers. There is just a spark there yere of life that maybe can be brought back into the flame of life.

Those are the poor and the desperate and the desolate, the unemployed and the illiterate, the forgotten, the pushed-aside.

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We have all kinds of people now saying I know why they are that way. Listen, that's not the problem. You can't go around spending all of your life figuring out why people are that way. You've got to do something about it.

If there is one word that this democracy needs to embrace

today, it is the word action. Now. X

We've studied our problems to death and some people, I'm afraid, are slow learners and some of them are purposefully slow learners. We need action.

Now, how do we get it? I am sort of a creature of political action. As I say to some of my worst critics, and I've got a host of them.

(Laughter.)

. . (10)

I say through the processes of political action. X Now political action in a society such as ours provides redress for grievances, community action. X

I want to take this whole concept of political action and translate it now and apply it on a much broader range than just electing legislators and councilmen and mayors and governors and commissioners and Congressmen and Vice Presidents and Presidents.

I want to take this business of community or of action, of personal involvement much deeper because government is but a reflection of the body politic. Government is representative of the body politic and, if your government is a little inadequate, if it is corrupt, if it is insensitive to social need, it's but the reflection of the body politic.

I used to say to my students when I was teaching,

If you think that the community is corrupt and if you think politics are corrupt, you just get a mirror and you take a look in it and see why.

When I was the Mayor of my city we did what we called a community self-survey. We went out and raised a substantial sum of money. We hired a group of experts. We involved over 2,000 people. If there is anybody here from Minneapolis, they may remember it. From 1946 to 1947, one full year. Then we spent another year studying the results of that community self-survey.

Somebody said, What do you mean by a community self-survey? I said, We bought a big mirror, as big as the 55 square miles of the jurisdiction and territory of the City of Minneapolis and we hung it above the city and then we looked up and saw our dirty faces. Some of the faces, thank goodness, were clean but some of them were filled with hate, some of them with bigotry, some with indifference, some with apathy, some with prejudice, some with selfishness and some of them, they didn't even know that they looked that way.

We found hospitals, for example, that didn't even know that they had written in their rules that you had to be Caucasian and Protestant before you could practice medicine, or, at least, you had to be white.

We had even a simple thing like an automobile

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club that said you couldn't belong if you were of a different faith.

We corrected those things. We didn't even know we had those blemishes upon us and we started to do something about it.

Now, the building of the good society -- now, I didn't say great, just the good society -- is not the work of one generation and it isn't the work of instantaneous action. It's a continuing process but we've got to be in it.

Now, what have we got to talk about here? ~~Every-~~body's talking about the slums and you know when we're going to correct them? When you want it. When you're willing to put on the agenda of American priorities making our cities livable, not survivable, livable.

It is an utter disgrace that the richest nation on the face of the earth that can provide a wholesome and perfect environment for an astronaut to go to the moon cannot provide an environment for a citizen to live in a street and a community. ~~X~~

(Applause.)

Let me say that I am Chairman of the Space Council so I know a little bit about what we do to make it possible for people to have clean air no matter where they go, no air pollution. We spend millions to find out how a

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person is going to be able to walk on some crust that we don't know very much about but we won't spend what is necessary to find out how you can clean the streets and pick up the garbage.

You know when we're going to do it? When you want it done. I've been running around this country trying to get some of this done. Not just now. I told a group today I've traveled 600,000 miles in this country as Vice President. I've been to 612 communities, 102 colleges and universities and 50 states talking just like I'm talking to you right now, frequently answering questions of the students and the interested citizenry.

We have started something now. Do you know what we've been doing lately? We've been experimenting. People say, Well, you haven't done very much. That's true. We really haven't with all that we have tried. But we've tried some experiments.

Let me tell you what we've tried. We've tried Head Start. It works. Let's try it all over the country.

(Applause.)

Listen, if somebody found a cure to cancer in the laboratory, would you wait? What would you do, if you knew that one company, one university, one laboratory had found the cure to cancer? You wouldn't permit a President or a Congress or a governor or a labor leader or a business

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leader to stand in your way, not if you'd lost a member of your family from it, I'll tell you, like I have, and a son that had it.

You'd demand that it be used and made available. Listen, there are many ways to die. Frankly, the most humane way to die is quickly. A lot of people are dying slowly from the violence upon their spirit.

Now, you and I know that a child learns more from age four to seven than at any other period in his life and you and I know that this rich, prosperous America has denied millions and millions of children that chance.

You and I know that a nutritious diet is absolutely essential for intellectual development. A protein deficiency is more crippling than polio by far because polio just cripples an arm or a leg; protein deficiency cripples the mind. And here is a country that can produce enough protein to give everybody in America all it needs and half of the world and we sit around arguing about whether or not we ought to feed the needy.

What the -- What's wrong with us? I almost said what I shouldn't.

(Laughter.)

What's wrong around here? We're like a bunch of political squirrels. We store it up when we ought to be using it. We ought not to be having these bureaucratic

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arguments about whether or not we need food stamps or food distribution for the needy.

Good God, this country has enough food to feed every child in this land that needs it, rich or poor. The rich can afford it.

(Applause.)

I think I know what the trouble is. There are a lot of advisers around that keep saying, you know, we have to change the rules. These rules were not handed down on high. There isn't a government rule that's in the Bible, not one.

(Laughter.)

Not one.

(Applause.)

Not a single government rule was written by a prophet. They've all been written by lawyers and legislators and they're a dime a dozen.

(Laughter.)

Gee, I'm going to get in trouble today. I know that.

So we can see -- now, you can get this done. | You ought to be as an American citizen in your community the number one crusader to see to it at a minimum that there isn't a single child, regardless of race, color, creed or location, that goes hungry, that goes without an adequate

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diet. Now, you know that it's here. It's stored up all over America and, if you don't know where it is, we've got fields that we are paying people millions of dollars not to plant. Now, let's get with it.

That's number one. Now, you can do something about that. You want some action? I'll give you a whole lot of it.

Now, I'll tell you something else. We've got a program called Model Cities. It isn't working yet. We've got a few grants out for planning. Now, you can just plan the rest of your life. What you need to do is go see the mayor and you go say, Listen, when are we going to get the model cities planning and the model city action? And you're going to be told, he's going to tell you, some of them -- not like some of my friends that I know because some of them are good action people -- but some of them will tell you, Well, we don't have enough money yet to start. I want to tell you I'll never forget what my daddy told me when I got married and the first babies started to come along.

I said, Daddy, what am I going to do? I don't have very much money for this baby. He said, You should have thought about that a little earlier, Son.

(Laughter.)

Then he told me something else. He said, When

you start getting those children, you'll earn more money. And when you start to rebuild that community you'll find a way to do it.

You know why? Because once it starts people will want it done and what people want in this country they can get. We can do it.

Oh, look at the skyscrapers we're building. I go up to New York City and I just look at them and they're magnificent and in the shadow of those skyscrapers are the filthiest slums of America and the skyscrapers are so high that their shadow projects to 103rd Street.

Now, don't tell me that a society that knows how to build glass and steel and concrete skyscrapers cannot learn how to build housing that people can afford to own and rent.

Don't tell me that a society that knows how to cure polio, to vaccinate against it, can't get rid of rats in the tenements. I know you can and the only way you're going to get it done is when you want it done. When you want it done.

Not a one of these is a radical proposal, not one of them. The air that we breathe. We know how to control pollution. How many lakes -- I come from Minnesota. We've got, they say, the land of 10,000 lakes. Do you know that 80 per cent of the lakes in my state are polluted? Is that

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nice? We've done that now so that our children and their children will not have clean lakes anymore. We had no right to do that.

So now we've got a job of stewardship to do something about it. I'm just tossing out a lot of them. Let me give you the big one now.

I've talked about law and order. I don't know, Willard, if you've talked to them about drugs but this is a subject that the Secretary of Labor has interested me in. I'm an old pharmacist. I know a little bit about them, drug addiction, drugs amongst our young, and they're there and let me tell you something, they are in your good schools where your children go to, don't think they're not. Don't put this all down with the Negro and the Puerto Rican.

You know, really, we have a nice way of sliding this stuff off on other people. We can cover up some of our stuff. People try to attribute crime today to other people. They try to attribute evil-doing to other people. I just have a briefcase full of figures out here about crime.

Most of the crime in this city is not committed by the black on the white. It's not at all. It's committed blacks on blacks and whites on whites. It's not racial violence, it's just plain violence and crime.

Let's talk about drugs. Drugs are rampant

throughout this country. You want to protect your son and daughter, your community from drug addiction and from the effects of drugs? You can do it. Tell your governor, tell your mayor, tell your Congressman, tell your Senator to quit temporizing with this evil. We don't have enough enforcement officers for drugs, for the sale of drugs to actually police one good horse race, and that's a fact.

You do not have in your district attorney's office in your city a prosecutor in this field that is knowledgeable about this kind of criminal activity.

You haven't taken this problem up with your school boards, and drug sales in the schools today in all forms of harmful drugs is rampant, in school after school and most of it in upper income and middle income.

Now, you just owe it to those kids to help them. They think it's fun at first. They'd even been told that marijuana isn't harmful. Thank goodness, today I noticed in the paper that two of the big medical associations have come out that they find out it is. I knew that. I studied pharmacy in 1932 and 1933 and marijuana was known as harmful then.

One thing it sure does to you is it breaks down your moral purpose and your moral fiber and wherever it is used over a long period of time you have a substandard performance.

You want to do something about it? Quit talking about it. Go and see the people that are responsible.

If you want law enforcement, you're going to have to pay for it. I was Mayor of my city and I didn't get paid much and I went to every church and I said, Now, I'd like your prayers and I believe in the power of prayer and I want you to pray for me and pray for the city but, if you are unwilling to stand up and get into a little trouble with me to try to enforce the law, then don't expect me to do it alone because you don't pay me enough.

I was a low-paid mayor.

(Laughter.)

And I finally got the help of the church people and the PTA and I got the help of the League of Women Voters and I had the help of a host of women's activities, the women's professional clubs, the Jewish women, the Negro women and the B'nai B'rith women and, oh, goodness me, I went to every one of them.

I just went every place and I said, You want a better town? I can't give it to you. You can get it with me, working together we can get it done. Let's do something about it.

Now, the final thing is the biggest question before mankind is peace. Peace. We have all kinds of experts today developing new weapons systems. How many

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experts do we have developing new systems of diplomacy and negotiation and international law and order? That's the question.

(Applause.)

A very, very serious question. We have people today who are beginning just to accept the fact that the United Nations is there and we have a lot of people saying, Well, it is there as sort of a debating society. If that's all it is, it isn't enough. We ought to make it more.

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We ought to start to design new ways of peace-keeping. I don't know all the answers but I know I don't know the answers to a lot of these problems. I didn't know the answer to polio but Salk vaccine came along and Dr. Sabin out in Cincinnati came along and they found some answers to it.

I know that God Almighty has given the intellectual capacity for man to find the answers. There is one thing I know for sure, and if we haven't learned that out of Vietnam we've learned nothing, that you cannot settle major political disputes through military solutions. You have to find a political solution for political and social problems.

(Applause.)

So let's learn some lessons and let's back up the efforts of people, not the people that are just leading a

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protest but the people that are trying to lead a program of study and of conference and dialogue to see if we can't find ways to strengthen the sinews of diplomacy and of negotiation, of law and order.

I haven't heard a good discussion in America in the last ten years on the World Court. I've heard everybody show us how to fight the war in Vietnam or some people think they know how to get out. But I have yet to hear somebody really get up and give, make a sensible debate and discussion of how we can improve the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations and go into it in depth and study it all the way through.

Then you better understand what Pope Paul, Pope John XXIII said, and his successor, Pope Paul. Pope John XXIII said: Where there is constant war there is no peace. And the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to grow. The gap between even the rich and the poor in America continues to grow.

If you want civil order, you have to have social justice, and, believe me, let me tell you something, if you want social justice, you have to have to civil order because you're not going to get it out of violence.

[If you want to have peace in this world, you are going to have to get at the root causes of violence] too and we're going to have to have enough courage to say that this

nation in concert with others must help other people help themselves.]

You know [foreign aid is not a failure; what has failed is our determination to effectively use it. That's what's failed and we've got to do something about it.]

[Peace-keeping, peace-developing. Blessed are the peacemakers, not the talkers, not the walkers, not the wishers but the makers, and that's hard work.]

John Kennedy once said the work of peace is a lonely business, and it is. It's not very dramatic but I need your help and everybody needs your help. [This country] desperately needs your help now.

We must find
It needs to have the feeling that somehow, some way we're going to bring everybody into the decision-making processes, everybody into the benefits of this democracy, everybody as a participant, the lowliest citizen.

That's what you're up to right now. [I want you to go back to your community and find the lost and bring them into the community.]

I want you to go back to the community and back to your respective areas and take a look at the problems in your community and say, Look, they can be solved.] Don't be desperate. [Don't be fearful.]

We've got more to do with today than we've ever had in our lives. We have more intelligence, more know-how,

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more knowledge, more technology, more resources. Sure, the problems are bigger but we have to work with is more.

I don't really think I've talked too much about the status of women except that I think that the status of women is that women are equal partners in a troubled world and equal partners in a world of opportunity and I don't know of any group that can do more to open up the avenues of social opportunity than the American women and women all over the world.

People need to know that the same kind of care and attention that you give to your family and your loved ones you can give to people that you do not know, that you do not know, and to let those people know that you do care.

Thank you very much.

(Applause; attendance standing.)

CHAIRMAN NEUBERGER: Hubert Humphrey has given us the tone and the inspiration that we need to work on through this conference.

We have been saying, Hubert, that women are people, that people are women and it fits right in with what you said. We are delighted to have had you here today.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Will you let me go back now and get on the payroll?

(Laughter.)

[July 2 + Aug. 15 excerpts]

A LIVING ENVIRONMENT

"It is by the quality of life in our cities that the character of our civilization will be judged.

Cleveland Ohio
2 July 1968

A LIVING ENVIRONMENT

"We are one nation. To imagine that one portion of our citizenry can live in comparative affluence and comfort while another survives permanently in the harsh surroundings of the urban ghetto -- or that the economic and sociological conditions which produced these disparities cannot be corrected -- is to do the gravest damage to our life as a free and democratic people."

Statement
Released 15 August 1968

* * *

The great challenge facing American civilization in the last third of the twentieth century is to provide the choice of a satisfactory living environment for all persons -- regardless of race, ancestry, or place of residence.

Separate communities exist side by side -- each tackling its own problems separately -- each bringing its own limited resources to bear upon common problems as though there were no inter-relationship, as though there were no inter-dependence.

This is government by anachronism.

Let's put it bluntly: Our present government structure at all levels is ill-suited to plan and achieve the living environment our wealth and technology permit . . . and our survival requires.

Three principals underlie the specific proposals of this action plan:

First. Our circumstances demand a far greater measure of state and local initiative, responsibility and cooperation, together with less direct Federal control, than exists today.

Second. Our circumstances require a strong and active President -- strong enough to shake up the federal bureaucracy -- to clean out the cobweb of relationships that exist among some ten or a dozen federal agencies, on the one hand, and fifty states, thousands of cities and tens of thousands of private organizations on the other.

Third. Social progress in our free enterprise economy has never been -- nor should it be -- solely the responsibility of the public sector. Private business, labor, banks, industry and our universities must assume their full share of the development burden.

These three principles translate into the following specific action proposals:

First. The definition of fundamental social, economic, demographic and ecological objectives to help guide our future urban, suburban and rural growth.

As President, I would begin immediately to formulate broad-ranging discussions -- with the Congress, with governors and mayors, with experts in all relevant fields of

knowledge and with the people -- to define the objectives essential to more orderly and productive growth. We would strive to lay down national criteria which could productively guide state and local leaders. These criteria would have to touch all critical areas: land use, population growth and control, education, housing, business and industrial growth, labor, recreation -- to name only the most obvious factors affecting our living environment.

Second. Federal incentives must be established to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional district planning.

I would propose that 10-12 regional districts be created to draw upon the full resources of the states and localities and to achieve the balanced growth among urban, suburban and rural areas which is essential to any lasting progress.

There are various ways to stimulate . . . broader cooperation in planning and action to meet the critical needs of urban, suburban and rural areas.

1. We can help close the revenue gap which exists in most localities. This means raising sufficient revenues to solve the many critical social and physical renewal problems. One means for implementing this policy is Federal tax-sharing with metropolitan-wide or regional districts with safe-guards to insure the expenditure of Federal tax money on priority objectives.
2. We can provide tax and other incentives for the building of low and middle income housing. One approach to accomplish this goal would be a National Urban Homestead Act to subsidize the land costs for qualified private housing developments to allow the use of relatively high-priced urban and suburban land.
3. We can provide Federal support for state equalization of certain community services -- education and welfare, for example -- within metropolitan areas, as well as between rural and urban areas.
4. We can reverse the unmanageable population build-up in densely settled urban areas. This calls for Federal help in developing magnet or satellite cities on the outer edges of our suburbs, and the creation of wholly new cities in our rural and underpopulated areas.

Third. A National Domestic Policy Council in the White House to oversee the reorganization and restructuring of the Federal bureaucracy -- and then to insure that it remains truly responsive to local needs and goals.

Such a council would expand the President's capacity to foresee and deal rationally with the crush of domestic problems, to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative policy decisions, to determine how Federal programs interrelate, support or diminish the effectiveness of other programs. A well-conceived information management system would contribute significantly to a more rational handling of these complex questions.

Fourth. A Marshall Plan for Cities based upon self-help, local initiative, coordinated planning, and private capital. Like the original Marshall Plan that rebuilt Europe, much more than the federal checkbook is necessary in achieving durable answers to the urban crisis.

An answer to the problem of adequate financing is crucial to the success of a Marshall Plan for the Cities. To help provide this answer, I propose the creation of a National Urban Development Bank financed through the subscription of public and

private funds.

The federal government would underwrite the unusual risks which are inevitably involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems.

An appropriation of federal funds would get the bank started. The balance of the funds would come from federally-guaranteed bonds, to be sold by the bank to private investors.

Affiliated regional banks would be chartered by the National Bank for specific metropolitan areas.

Regional Bank Boards would include representation of local governments, as well as the broad spectrum of the population -- white and black, rich and poor. Further community participation would be encouraged through direct equity investment in the regional bank of the people themselves.

Regional bank funds would be available to both public and private borrowers for programs which cannot be financed through any other means, but which are found essential for urban development.

Among other things these regional banks could:

- Fund non-profit neighborhood development corporations;
- Guarantee loans, made through conventional private lenders for inner city and metropolitan-wide development;
- Offer loans to inner city businessmen whose contribution to the national economy is now limited because of lack of financing;
- Fund quasi-public housing development corporations.

The establishment of a National Urban Development Bank with an assured source of funds would facilitate and encourage long-range planning for metropolitan area development -- planning now inhibited by the uncertainties of the annual appropriation process.

Congressional surveillance would be maintained in appropriations, covering the differential between market and subsidized rates, technical assistance and other special grants for community and metropolitan developments.

Fifth. The dedication of one or more new American cities to celebrate our two-hundredth anniversary as a free people -- on July 4, 1976 -- cities which exemplify the highest standards of beauty and excellence.

Let us honor this bicentennial, not with a backward glance but with a forward march. Bicentennial City would test new ideas in land use, housing technology and community leadership. It would provide a living laboratory for projects elsewhere across America. Its construction would attract the finest talents in America -- from American industry, the states, municipalities and the federal government. By reflecting what is best, and what is possible, it would serve as a pilot for a new America.

The principles and programs set forth in this statement are not final or definitive answers -- for there are none. Nor do they provide any quick or easy solutions -- for these also are in short supply. But they do enunciate the general approaches I would pursue as President of the United States and some of the specific instrumentalities

I believe are needed to make steady progress in giving every American true freedom of choice in selecting a desirable place in which to live and work.

Excerpts from "A Living Environment for
Every American" statement
Released 15 August 1968

for Catholic papers

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Immediate Release
August 17, 1968

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY RECEIVES AMERICANISM AWARD
OF CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS

Minneapolis, Minn., Aug. 17 -- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey ~~received~~ received the Americanism award of the Catholic War Veterans at ~~the~~ the organization's convention here this month.

The award was last presented to President John F. Kennedy, who pointed out that the United States, as the worlds greatest nation, will continue to face challenge and danger in the world. "Peace and freedom do not come cheap," President Kennedy said in one of his most memorable speeches.

Accepting the Catholic War Veterans' award, Vice President Humphrey likewise called for reaffirmation "that we can do whatever we must do to carry forth the unfinished and peaceful business of this country."

The Vice President ~~urged~~ urged a "new American patriotism -- not a patriotism expressed alone in flags or parades, but in a willingness to get down to the hard, tiring, endless work that every generation before us has paid out to keep alive the vision of what American can be."

Excerpts from the Vice President's remarks are attached.

NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS CONVENTION
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
AUGUST 7, 1968

To receive your Americanism award is a great honor for me -- a deeply personal one, for which I am extremely grateful.

I have chosen to speak thoughts which are, I believe, deeply held by most Americans, but too seldom expressed.

I have chosen to speak out on behalf of America, not a nation that has lost its way, but a restless people striving to find a better way.

I believe the time has come to put aside cynicism and pettiness.. to forget old fears and animosities, where they exist, and to bring forth tolerance...understanding...and mutual trust.

The time has come to recognize that this nation has more strength than weakness...more hope than despair...more faith than doubt -- and that we have more chance than any nation in history to cope with the problems we face.

The time has come for those who share a deep and abiding belief in the purposes and potentialities of this nation to say: I love my country.

The time has come to express a new American patriotism.

...Not a patriotism expressed alone in flags or parades, but in a willingness to get down to the hard, tiring, endless work that every generation before us has paid out to keep alive the vision of what America can be.

The time has come, in short, to reaffirm once more that we can do whatever we must do to carry forth the unfinished and peaceful business of this country.

It will not always be easy.

In the words of John F. Kennedy -- who last received this award -- "Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most if not all our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

PAGE TWO

But we must do what is necessary to secure peace and freedom --

...in the world, so that all nations may rescue resources from the wasteful arts of war and divert them to the humane pursuits of peace,

...at home, so that every American may enjoy security and a full share of opportunity in his community.

We all know these things will not be achieved easily or without sacrifice.

They will be achieved only through specific acts which add up, one after another, to the peace and security we all seek.

Peace will be built in the world through this country's response to such situations as the suffering we now see in Biafra.

We have the chance -- as Americans...as members of the United Nations...and in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross to bring help to suffering, starving people beset by forces beyond their control.

I believe this nation must be willing to do whatever is necessary to break through the red tape and complications which withhold food from those who need it in Biafra.

I believe, too, that we must be willing to exert the same patience and courage in support of our negotiators in Paris as our fighting men have been willing to exert in Vietnam -- as we seek a peaceful and honorable settlement to the Vietnam war.

Here at home, we must be willing to pay the price for law and order in every American neighborhood, so that every American citizen can walk the streets in confidence and safety.

We must build law and order not just on law enforcement, but on law observance. I am talking about the law observance that comes from people who believe in their country and who have a real stake in their society.

PAGE THREE

We won't have peace in the world -- or peace in our own American neighborhoods -- unless we the American people will stand together for these goals. We must be not an America of one mind...but an America of one spirit.

We must preserve and nurture all the fundamental rights of free expression -- yet reach across the divisions that today too often separate race from race, region from region, young from old, worker from scholar, rich from poor.

That is this country's business today: To build one America, not two... to stand up again in patriotism and with pride in our citizenship.

There are those who doubt this country. But I know you do not. And I do not.

We are going to get the job done.

#

ORDER AND JUSTICE: THE RIGHT TO LIFE

"I put it very bluntly -- rioting, burning, sniping, mugging, traffic in narcotics, and disregard for law are the advance guard of anarchy, and they must and they will be stopped.

"But may I say most respectfully, particularly, to some who have spoken before, the answer lies in reasoned, effective action by state, local and Federal authority. The answer does not lie in an attack on our courts, our laws or our Attorney General."

Acceptance Speech at
the Democratic National Convention
29 August 1968

"To wage war on crime in our modern society, we need professional people whose training combines the highest standards and the best interdisciplinary training in crime prevention, crime control and the protection of human rights.

"That means professional programs in our colleges and universities. Too few have them today.

"I believe it also means new federally supported schools of criminal justice -- like schools of law or schools of medicine.

"As President, I would propose the assistance necessary to bring the vital work of law enforcement and crime prevention to professional standing."

American Legion Convention Address
New Orleans, Louisiana
11 September 1968

ORDER AND JUSTICE: THE RIGHT TO LIFE

"The unique success of the United States is grounded in the fact that this is one country in which a man does not need to riot in order to reach the platform. And when he gets there, he does not need to shout in order to be heard."

TV Spot
First Appearing on ABC
10:55 PM, 24 July 1968

* * *

We must move massively to reduce crime and to establish order now. But we must act only on the basis of hard facts and the best professional advice available. We must never accede to demagoguery, which has no solutions, only greater fear and a willingness to accept repression. That road leads no to domestic tranquility, but to police-state practices that destroy freedom and divide a people.

The American people now expect the Federal government to act in helping states and cities deal with crime and disorder.

As President, I will commit the Federal Government to active partnership with state and local governments in the fight against crime.

This will require:

- Vigorous enforcement of all Federal laws dealing with organized crime, racketeering, assassination attempts directed at prominent persons, drug traffic, the interstate traffice in stolen automobiles, and others.
- A major increase in financial and technological support to local law enforcement agencies.
- Leadership in developing new techniques in crime detection, police training, and coordination of law enforcement agencies and personnel.

More and Better-Trained Police

No American community, however small, should suffer the ravages of crime and violence through lack of skilled manpower to detect and deter it.

Accordingly, as President, I will propose:

- That the Federal Government bear a larger share of the financial burden necessary to expand the numbers of law enforcement personnel

and to assure adequate compensation;
That the Federal Government help recruit, train, and place veterans of the armed forces, particularly those in minority groups, for police and correctional service.

Our local police forces need more and better training, particularly in new techniques of communications, teamwork, planning and community relations.

Accordingly, as President, I will propose:

- That the Federal Government greatly expand its programs for police training.
- That Federal grants be available to States for establishing and maintaining Police Training Institutes, including the necessary facilities, instructional personnel, and payments to Trainees.
- That the National Defense Education Act include special grants to universities and technical institutes to provide police training course and specialized instruction related to crime prevention and control.
- That the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 be expanded to include grants and scholarships to qualified officers who wish to pursue additional training and education.

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A well-trained and enlarged police force will be able to detect and deter crimes effectively -- particularly crimes of violence -- only if police officers are brought rapidly to the scene of the crime.

Accordingly, as President, I will:

- Provide Federal financial assistance for local police in developing communications and allied techniques that will help speed policemen to the scene of a crime in the first critical minutes.
- Support establishment of Regional Crime Laboratories to bring every scientific resource to bear in quickening police response and helping to solve crime.

The effectiveness of a police force depends in large measure upon its relations with the local community. Crime prevention must begin with each and every citizen. Only if the overwhelming majority of law-abiding citizens have a commitment to law observance can there be effective law enforcement.

As President, I will propose that the Federal government give financial support to local law enforcement agencies to:

- Develop programs to promote community relations;
- Create family counseling services; and
- Stimulate participation of civilians in aiding law enforcement officers and in dealing with community problems.

Firearms Control

. . .
If the states will not do what must be done to control these weapons -- licensing and registration -- then the Congress must. As a nation we must support local police forces in combating crime; but we must not undercut that effort by continuing to condone casual access to firearms that can be used for criminal purposes.

The Role of the Courts

Our courts and their auxiliary services are simply unable to handle the great flood of cases brought before them. Severe personnel shortages and archaic court administration lead to case backlogs and inordinate delays. As a result, many accused offenders are released or charged with less serious crimes.

Swift and sure justice for the guilty and the innocent is essential to protect both the accused and the community.

Accordingly, as President, I will:

- Propose Federal support for the training and recruitment of court and other criminal justice personnel.
- Propose Federal assistance for reform of local criminal justice systems. . . .
- Work closely with conferences of judges, bar associations and other groups to improve our criminal justice system.
- Provide leadership in reducing the number of persons now processed through the courts who could justly and effectively be diverted before and after arrest to private and public service agencies.
- Work to make the criminal justice system of the District of Columbia, where the Federal Government has direct jurisdiction, a model for the rest of the nation.

Corrections

Rehabilitation of criminals is not just a humanitarian ideal; it is essential to crime prevention. In the long run, rehabilitating offenders is the most economical as well as the most humane approach to reducing crime.

. . .
As President, I will

- Propose Federal assistance to provide trained personnel to supervise and rehabilitate convicted offenders
- Provide Federal leadership to develop dramatically different correctional

institutions -- smaller, more secure institutions, closer to the home communities of most inmates, and operated in such a way as to build bridges back to community life.

-- Propose Federal support in developing a whole range of new intensive correctional programs and techniques which emphasize rehabilitation and vocational training to break the cycle which keeps the same offenders passing endlessly through the revolving doors of our jails and prisons.

The Problem of Riots

As we reduce the human misery of our ghettos; establish social justice for all Americans; and eliminate discrimination, we will sharply reduce the threat of riots born of discontent. This is our goal.

But as we seek solutions to these problems, we cannot tolerate lawlessness and riots. However great the grievance we must face the fact that every riot is unlawful.

We will not eliminate injustice by creating new injustice -- the injustice of violence.

. . . I have proposed the establishment of Councils of Civil Peace in our states and cities, to find new ways to prevent riots and similar violence, to air grievances peacefully, and to help alleviate conditions that contribute to rioting, and to coordinate all State and local law enforcement agencies and personnel when and if riots occur.

As President,

-- I will direct that units of the National Guard in each state be given additional training in riot control, teamwork, and planning, and that small, highly-trained units be kept on continual alert, as long as necessary, for use by any community for short-term service.

Organized Crime

Organized crime is a national problem. The Federal Government must come to grips with it.

Accordingly, as President, I will:

-- Increase the personnel of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section.

-- Expand the successful "strike-force" concept, recently adopted by this Administration, where investigative teams from many Federal agencies work as a unit with Federal prosecutors in a metropolitan area.

-- Organize and coordinate an examination of legitimate businesses controlled by organized crime by utilizing the twenty-five or more Federal regulatory and administrative agencies that have relevant jurisdiction.

-- Attack the narcotics problem -- distinguishing between those unfortunate people who are the victims of drug addiction and those criminals who would exploit drug addiction for their own profit -- particularly the dope peddler who sells his merchandise to the young.

-- Establish a special national-state narcotics control and enforcement program with the Federal government providing at least 75% of the total cost.

We cannot fight crime effectively if we are saddled with the misconception that crime results from aggression by one race -- white or black -- against the other.

This is generally not so. Statistics -- hard figures -- show that crimes committed by a member of one race against a member of another comprise a small percentage of the total.

Crime in city after city -- particularly crime involving violence -- is overwhelmingly concentrated in the acts of members of each race against one another.

We must commit ourselves to protecting the fundamental human right to live -- to be secure in one's person; to be free from intimidation; and to be protected against crime and violence.

We must also commit ourselves to make life worth living for every American.

Excerpts from "Order & Justice" statement
Released 25 August 1968

A BLUEPRINT FOR ORDER AND JUSTICE

Thirty-five years ago, Franklin Roosevelt said to America: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Today we face the problem of crime, and fear is again the enemy.

* * *

This is a time for an honest, clear discussion of the issues -- of crime, of its causes and control, of order, of justice.

This is not a time for more fear-mongering, slogans or empty promises. These tactics can only lead to national disaster.

* * *

It is time to commit our national resources to deal with this national problem.

I am releasing today a comprehensive report by my Task Force on Order and Justice which contains 84 specific recommendations for combatting, controlling and eliminating crime, and fostering equal justice in the United States.

The report recognizes three basic principles:

First. We urgently need vigorous Federal support of State and local law enforcement, and the President must give strong, decisive leadership to this national mobilization.

Second. Our action against crime must not jeopardize hard-won liberties of our citizens or our tradition of State and local control of law enforcement activities.

Third. We must not only prevent crime, but we must also aim at removing the economic and social conditions which contribute to it.

* * *

I will support our local police, not with slogans and bumper stickers, but with leadership and Federal resources, including money -- money desperately needed for higher salaries and more personnel and for better training and equipment.

* * *

The basic thrust of the report is this:

To make our streets safer and our law enforcement more effective, we need a general mobilization of all parts of the community to battle crime on a broad front, from the institutions that must contend with it to the social problems that are its breeding ground.

As President, I would lead such a mobilization against crime -- and I am confident the American people would support such an all-out attack.

Let me be very clear on the meaning of this report. Its judgments are my judgments. Its recommendations are my recommendations, and as President, I will seek to implement them.

I am the only candidate for President who has supervised a local police force. I am the only candidate for President who has cleaned up a city -- driven out the criminals and racketeers -- and received the F.B.I. award for effective law enforcement. As Mayor of Minneapolis, I fought crime ... and won. I intend to do the same thing as President of the United States.

Excerpts from Statement
of September 16, 1968

Excerpts Feb. 9;
June 20; Sept. 8

HUMAN RIGHTS

"If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right of every citizen in this nation to have enough to eat. . . .

"If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right of every American to earn a living. . . .

"The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

"If we want civil order we must recognize the civil right to a full education -- from age four on through college -- and the civil right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood."

Excerpted from the
National Press Club Luncheon
Washington, D. C.
June 20, 1968

"When you ask Negro-Americans and Spanish-Americans, among others, to risk and give their lives for their buddies and their country, they will not -- and should not -- be expected to move to the back of the opportunity bus when they come home."

Democratic Regional Conference
Dallas, Texas
February 9, 1968

HUMAN RIGHTS

These are somber and difficult times -- times ill-suited to exaggerated rhetoric or traditional campaign appeals.

We must look frankly and openly at our problems. And we must be equally candid in presenting our thoughts on how these problems can be resolved.

These are decidedly not the times for silence or evasion or artfully constructed appeals to fears or emotion.

However great the temptation, however attractive the short-run gains, the dangers of anything less than complete forthrightness are too grave to countenance.

It is in this spirit that I lay before you my convictions on the choice which confronts the American people in this Presidential election.

The choice is simply this: Shall we -- as a nation -- move forward toward one society of opportunity and justice, or shall we abandon this commitment out of fear and prejudice and move instead toward a fractured and separated society -- black against white; rich against poor; comfortable against left-out?

It is my belief that the modern movement for human rights in America is one continuous struggle, that it is still going on, and that for us to survive as a free nation, it must continue.

For about a quarter of a century, our nation has been making steady progress toward equal treatment under law and social opportunity for all Americans. In the last decade, it has been rapid progress.

Think how far we have come in the past generation in civil rights alone: the wartime FEPC; the desegregation of the armed forces; the adoption of a strong civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic Convention; the Truman civil rights program; the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing legal segregation; the Montgomery bus boycott; the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts; the sit-ins movement; the freedom rides; the Voters' Education Project; the comprehensive 1964 Civil Rights Act; the Voting Rights Act; the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

There has been historic progress in lifting the level of health, of education, of housing for every American. Not enough progress, but nonetheless historic progress.

XX

Seen in the perspective of history, and of the perennial problems of humans living together this quarter century of American progress has been one of mankind's great stories.

It has been too slow.

It came very late.

But it did come.

It came in a lawful and non-violent way.

Until now, we have been moving steadily forward -- making progress under law together, Republicans and Democrats, black and white, rich and poor. The North united with a growing part of the South -- in fact, slowly and steadily all Americans increasingly pulled together.

But now in 1968, there comes a crossroads: A dangerous election, a hazardous national choice.

Opponents and some who were once supporters of the movement for equal rights and social opportunity now disdainfully write it off. Some Americans of all races, creeds and colors, look upon that movement as finished -- maybe even as a failure.

Of course, the movement for equal rights must now change.

The old objective was to use the law to strike down legal barriers.

The new objective is to build real equality, especially in the city slums and pockets of rural poverty which still exist.

This new objective is harder.

At the same time -- largely because of the success, not the failure, of the older movement -- it has become much more urgent.

For years I have defended the cause of human rights against reactionaries and extremists of the Right. Now, I defend it against extremism of both Left and Right.

I defend the purposes and methods of the human rights movement not because they are 'moderate' or 'gradual' or 'compromise' -- not because they represent a 'slower' way than some other alternative -- but because they are the only alternative.

We must move with the greatest possible speed and energy -- forward.

My disagreement with black extremists is not that they want to go 'fast' and I want to go 'slow' but that I don't think their direction is forward.

Grabbing guns, throwing fire bombs, cynically discrediting America's institutions and insisting on racial epithets is not progress -- nor will any of this lead to progress.

I believe the majority of Americans know that their prosperity and their security do not depend upon these things being denied to others.

We cannot deny the full privileges of citizenship to any group in our midst -- especially after that group has been rightly awakened to those privileges -- unless we are then prepared to hold that group down by force and repression.

Force and repression breed more force and repression. We know they offer no long term -- only short term -- answers.

Beyond this, every single citizen in this country has a stake in the human dignity and full productivity of every other citizen.

We must ask ourselves: Which costs less -- on the one hand crime, delinquency, welfarism,

unemployment and pent-up emotion in our people? Or, on the other hand, positive, constructive programs to build opportunity for every American?

Make no mistake about it: All of us have a stake in the economic betterment of all Americans. It is our dollars-and-cents self-interest to get this done.

Decent education is almost the only road to a decent job.

Decent jobs, in turn, are almost the only way that a society has to provide the means for betterment through self-help.

We must be willing to help provide the education . . . the jobs . . . the economic opportunities that form the base on which everything else must be built.

That is the economic aspect of what we face.

But there is an even more important aspect. It is the moral aspect.

We must realize that we are living at the threshold of a world-wide revolution toward human emancipation.

Either we lead this revolution peacefully, or we shall be inundated by its coming wave.

This revolution is nothing less in truth than the revolution begun in our own country by Thomas Jefferson. It is our revolution.

And it is our obligation that it shall be carried forward through democratic, peaceful processes and not fall victim to those who would make it just one more of history's promising false starts.

We must create social opportunity in America because it is right and because it is what this country is all about.

I would prefer to have been right, and to have spoken in this cause during the campaign, than I would prefer to be silent and win the Presidency.

I therefore intend to make this election a referendum on human rights and opportunity in America.

I intend to lay before the American people the things we must do together in terms of jobs, education, housing, income maintenance, and health care to avoid the fate of separatism and division.

I intend to give the American people a clear and conscious choice about which direction we are to travel in the years ahead.

I believe American citizens do not want to live in a land where every man fears his neighbor.

This nation has a great moderate majority within it.

That vast preponderance of the people believe neither in racism and repression, nor in revolution and riot.

They want to extend to every man equal treatment -- and they want to do it peacefully and lawfully.

I believe that great moderate majority will prevail.

I believe we shall face our moment of truth and come through on the other side:
One nation, under God, still indivisible, with a renewed devotion to liberty and to
justice for all.

Excerpts from a Speech
before B'Nai B'Rith
Washington, D. C.
September 8, 1968

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

My fellow Americans, I speak to you tonight on the subject which is uppermost in our hearts, minds and consciences--Vietnam. I speak to you...as an individual...as a citizen...as a leader of the Democratic Party...as a candidate.

As I said to you in accepting my party's nomination for highest office, "the necessity for peace in Vietnam" is the "first reality that confronts this nation."

The President has been faced in Vietnam with some of the most painful decisions any President has had to make. I participated in many of the discussions preceding these decisions. I heard the arguments on both sides of close issues that torment men's souls. I stated my own views to the President.

From this experience, I have come to appreciate fully two simple facts: the key decisions must finally be the President's alone, and any President in these times bears awesome responsibility. The decisions which must be made between now and January 20th will properly continue to be the President's.

Once made, I have supported the President's decisions. I say this in the full knowledge that these are issues on which good and reasonable men disagree now and in the past.

But there is no disagreement in our longing for peace, our longing for the conditions which will permit American soldiers to come home, our longing for the time when youth and resources can be devoted to the vitally urgent tasks here at home and not to the cruel processes of war.

It is my fervent hope that during the remainder of his term in office President Johnson will achieve the peace we all desire and to which he has dedicated his energies. Through patient and firm policies that he has pursued, I believe already we have seen the strategic balance in Asia beginning to tilt in our favor. On March 31 he took a long step in that direction by cutting back the bombing to the Southern portion of North Vietnam which serves as the Communist staging area for the battlefield. And he removed himself from politics to give the search for peace his undivided attention. I know you will join my prayer tonight that this effort will lead to peace.

But if peace is not achieved by noon January 20th, a new President must make peace his first priority. There will be new decisions by new leadership.

Neither Mr. Nixon nor I will be President for the next four months. The issue in this campaign is not what Mr. Nixon or I would do about Vietnam today. It is not what either of us have said about Vietnam in the past, for both the war and negotiations present an ever changing scene.

The real question is what each of us would do about Vietnam as President.

Neither of us would permit a camouflaged surrender, a unilateral withdrawal, or an abdication of our commitment to self-determination for the people of South Vietnam.

Neither of us would undermine the position of our negotiators at Paris by indicating now or next year any weakening of American will.

But neither of us should be content to stand on these generalities. No candidate can be silent on an issue of this importance to the Republic.

I have decided to speak out on these questions tonight in order that the American people may know how I propose to meet this agonizing problem if entrusted with the nation's leadership next January.

No candidate has the right to expect the confidence and support of the American people if he remains silent, or resorts only to generalities.

I pledge to you again, my fellow citizens, if elected I shall do everything within my power and energies to make the peace negotiations succeed and to bring a prompt and honorable end to this terrible war.

In my view our Vietnam policies should always be based on two basic but often forgotten principles which the American people can support with pride and morality:

--United States troops are fighting in South Vietnam today in accordance with treaty obligations only because North Vietnamese forces were sent there to impose Hanoi's will on the South Vietnamese people by extending aggression; and

--The future of South Vietnam should be determined only by the people of South Vietnam.

From these fundamental principles, important considerations for the future follow:

First. The heart of any peace settlement must be the withdrawal of all external forces from South Vietnam. If the North Vietnamese are willing to withdraw their forces from South Vietnam and neighboring Laos and Cambodia, where they have no right to be, our troops can and should return home at the same time. This process need not be lengthy. The withdrawals could begin and end simultaneously on an agreed schedule which would give neither side an unfair advantage.

Agreement on mutual withdrawal could be the key to peace in South Vietnam. If such an agreement can be reached, I would favor an immediate cease fire to assist orderly troop withdrawals. The twin goals of mutual withdrawal and cease fire would be given highest precedence in a Humphrey Administration.

Second. After withdrawal of external forces, what happens among the South Vietnamese is fundamentally their business, not ours. As the Democratic platform stated: "We want no bases in South Vietnam, no continued military presence and no political role in Vietnamese affairs. If and when the Communists understand our basic commitment and limited goals and are willing to take their chances, as we are, on letting the choice of the post-war government of South Vietnam be determined freely and peacefully by all the South Vietnamese people, then the bloodshed and the tragedy can stop."

That the South Vietnamese should determine their own future is, after all, what the war is all about.

Peace depends on a settlement acceptable to the people of South Vietnam. We have no more right than Hanoi to impose a settlement on South Vietnam or to negotiate the future of the sixteen million South Vietnamese people.

But the converse of this proposition is equally true. To establish a durable peace the Government of South Vietnam is going to have to find appropriate ways to bring dissident South Vietnamese elements in the National Liberation Front and the Viet Cong into its political processes. All of the people of South Vietnam should be entitled to have a voice in the peaceful determination of their country's future. One man, one vote must be a constant goal.

Clearly we must encourage our allies in Saigon to face up to this problem and to put out the necessary communications of reconciliation to their countrymen that will assure the broadest base for South Vietnam's post-war government.

Just as clearly we will not permit Hanoi to resolve this problem for South Vietnam; nor should we attempt to do so.

No Presidential candidate can guarantee he will succeed in the search for peace. He can only pledge his best efforts and make clear his objectives.

What if Hanoi refuses a fair plan for mutual withdrawal? What if it insists on continuing its persistent efforts to determine by force the future of South Vietnam?

If this proves to be the case, our involvement in the war will continue longer than any of us wish or desire. But such an eventuality does not mean we should abandon our objectives or that they are unattainable later. Nor does it mean that we cannot bring home some of our troops in the near future and reduce U.S. troop combat involvement as the South Vietnamese continue to improve their own military position.

As President Kennedy stated shortly before his death, primarily the defense of South Vietnam must be the responsibility of the South Vietnamese. I made this point in 1964 and again in 1965 in asserting that in the long run it is their future which is at stake. We and others are there as allies to assist them to repel external aggression. Because of early political chaos, because of the difficulties of past South Vietnamese governments in gaining wide support of the people despite the huge majority who have consistently opposed rule by Hanoi, and because we have faced a determined adversary, it has fallen to the lot of the United States to do much more of the fighting than we would have wished or chosen.

Let me say bluntly that had we not done so, the South Vietnamese never would have had a chance to survive.

But the situation has been gradually improving. Broad-based constitutional and political processes have developed. As a result of strenuous actions taken by us to improve training their performance in battle has grown steadily. New self-confidence and pride is evident in their leadership. We gave the South Vietnamese a chance to survive. I believe they are taking advantage of it.

It must be the policy of the new Administration to do everything in its power to speed these processes.

The Govern^{er} of South Vietnam must expedite all political, economic and social reforms essential to building support at home.

This includes a higher priority for land reform, more resources to alleviate the suffering of refugees, and constant governmental pressure against inflation and corruption. Our commitment to economic assistance and development will help.

The South Vietnamese armed forces must take over more and more of the fighting. I believe the South Vietnamese accept and welcome these growing responsibilities. They should and must. And we have the right to insist upon it.

I wish to emphasize with utmost seriousness the South Vietnamese can and must increase their role in their own defense. They have the resources and the manpower to do so. They also have the will. We cannot and should not be expected to do the job for them. We will not do so. With terrible sacrifices we have proven the seriousness of our commitment to freedom. They must prove still further the seriousness of theirs.

Deamericanization of the war can and must be made a present reality, not just a future goal.

(MORE)

It is because of South Vietnamese progress already made and further possible progress which we must insist on that I believe we can look forward to the gradual but substantial reduction of US forces starting in 1969.

It would be unwise today to state publicly an exact timetable for such reduction or its extent. No man can foresee the circumstances which will prevail by early next year. But I can promise that my administration will do everything in its power to bring about such action.

Based on our best assessment of South Vietnamese capabilities to increase its own defenses I intend soon after taking office, to meet with the leaders of the Republic of Vietnam to discuss and arrange a realistic schedule for U.S. troop reductions. The schedule must be a realistic one; one that would not weaken the overall allied defense posture if Saigon improved its own posture as it would then be in a position to do. I am convinced such action would be as much in their interest as in ours.

Let me be clear that what I am proposing contains no encouragement for Hanoi in its aggression. Overall allied defense posture will remain every bit as strong and effective as it is today. What I am proposing is that it should be basic to our policy in Vietnam that the South Vietnamese take over more and more of the defense of their country. And this can and should make possible the reduction of US forces. That will be the immediate objective of the Humphrey administration as we seek to end this war.

In the timing of a gradual reduction of US forces before settlement is reached, we would not lose sight of our primary goals of improving the chances of a successful negotiation between the US and Hanoi on the basis of the mutual withdrawal of all of our forces and all of theirs, and of encouraging the South Vietnamese, including those now fighting with the Viet Cong, to settle their differences peacefully.

* * * *

With respect to the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam, let me say simply this. This is peculiarly a Presidential decision. Whether or not such action is possible depends on the President's own overall determination, as Commander-in-Chief, as to whether Hanoi would seek to take military advantage of it. Obviously this involves a balancing of all of the risks.

No one should expect the President to cease bombing at a time when, in his best judgment, the lives of our men would thereby be placed in greater danger. But the objective of the United States Government is to find an early acceptable way to stop the bombing as soon as this will lead to peace.

No one can now predict what the situation will be in January. As President I would stop the bombing if I believed the overall balance of risks was acceptable.

Clearly we must always think of the protection of our men in the field. But we are also engaged in peace negotiations and if stopping the bombing could lead to success in the negotiations, thus shortening the war, that would be the best form of protection for all Americans in South Vietnam.

In weighing the risks of cessation as President I would place key importance on evidence--direct or indirect, by deed or word--of Communist willingness to restore the demilitarized status of the DMZ. I would be prepared to issue the necessary stop bombing orders if it were reasonable to assume that demilitarization of the DMZ would follow. Of course the North Vietnamese would not be free to take other actions inconsistent with serious peace talks, but we would be willing to rely on our own good and sufficient means of meeting other risks.

I believe one must be prepared to take risks for peace. But I have learned too that the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief for the safety of his men in the field is a heavy burden. It is one thing to give advice and another to have the responsibility for final decision.

Many of you will remember the plaque on President Harry Truman's desk which read: "The buck stops here." This simple phrase captures the essence of what it means to be President of the United States.

In a Humphrey-Muskie Administration, we would make the decisions . . . we would propose the policies of this government--both foreign and domestic . . . and we would accept full responsibilities for these decisions.

If you honor me as your choice for President, I will dedicate every effort and resource at my command to bring about the early peace for which we yearn. It will be a peace in which the peoples of South Vietnam and the other non-Communist countries of Southeast Asia continue to have the essential freedoms for which we have paid such an enormous price in blood and treasure. The quest for peace will be my foremost preoccupation, and I will approach the task in accordance with the principles and policies I have outlined to you this evening.

In less than six weeks, the American people must choose their next President. This will be a fateful decision--one which should be made only after the most forthright discussion of the issues now facing this country.

Mr. Nixon, I am prepared to debate the question of achieving a lasting peace in Southeast Asia.

I am, Mr. Nixon, prepared to debate the other great questions of peace, particularly the question of controlling the nuclear arms race--an area where there is substantial disagreement between us.

I am prepared to debate all major questions--foreign and domestic--which have been raised in this campaign.

The stakes are too high--the risks are too great--to withhold from the American people their opportunity to hear the candidates for the Presidency debate these issues.

Mr. Nixon, where do you stand?

In all of this, the question of peace will remain paramount. As I said in my acceptance speech: ". . . the search for peace is not for the timid or the weak, it must come from a nation of high purpose--firm without being belligerent, resolute without being bellicose, strong without being arrogant. And that's the kind of America that will help build the peace."

This is my pledge to you.

Thank you and goodnight.

find a better job. ^{but they usually} But wherever he went he found ^{only} ~~only~~ ^{more} frustration -- ~~more~~ ^{the same thing} -- mass unemployment, ~~words no longer~~ ^{too that was} part of our ~~vocabulary~~.

This sorry record was not good enough for the American people. Worse still, it was totally unnecessary -- as the ^{Kennedy-Johnson-Nixon} Democratic Administration showed. ^{Subsequently dismantled by} Here's what happened over the last eight years:

- The rise in total output (the real gross national product) from 1960-1968 was ^{surpassed that achieved} ~~two and one-half times~~ as ~~great as during the~~ ^{sixth} Nixon-Republican years ^{by two and one-half times}.
- Eight million persons were added to the labor force ^{in 1960-68} but we provided 10 million new jobs, ^{which means} providing work for 2 million formerly unemployed.
- The number of Americans out of work has been cut in half. The unemployment rate is now down to 3.5 percent, the lowest level in 15 years, ~~about half the~~ ^{Step} ~~rate the Republicans passed on to President Kennedy in~~ 1961.
- Now when an American worker moves into a new area, a job is waiting for him because 90 percent of those ^{ones} areas ^{along the Democratic line} classified as "distressed" are no longer in that category.

What has this meant to the American worker?

More Americans are at work than ever before. Their wages are higher than ever before. The real purchasing power -- after taxes and after adjusting for price changes -- ~~per~~ ^{per American} American is now one-third higher than at the start of 1961. During the Nixon ^{Republican} years the rise was about ^{less than} one-fourth as much -- \$177 per capita increase under the Republicans and \$711 under the Democrats, both in 1968 prices.

And more Americans are protected by Federal minimum wage laws than ever before. Nearly 14 million more workers have been brought under the minimum wage laws for the first time and there have been four increases in the minimum wage rate.

These gains were not won easily. They were achieved despite the overwhelming opposition of most of the Republican Party. In the 1930's, 90 percent of Mr. Nixon's Party voted against the 25-cent minimum wage. As a Congressman, Mr. Nixon voted to deprive one million American workers of the protection of the Minimum Wage Act. Mr. Nixon felt that a \$1.25 minimum wage was too high. It is now \$1.60. He called ^{this figure} it extreme and 90 percent of his ^{Republican} Party agreed.

We have done more than maintaining a full employment policy. This Administration has embarked upon a wholly new

manpower development policy to provide training, education and area development; to prepare and enable every person physically, ~~mentally and emotionally~~ capable of performing productive work to do so; to match workers with unfilled demands for labor. These efforts have borne fruit.

Since the 1960's, several million Americans have received work training under federally financed programs; ^{many more} ~~several times~~ ~~that number~~ have received a variety of services relating to employment preparation or job location.

Among the most promising programs is the National Alliance of Businessmen JOBS program -- a unique business-government partnership to provide jobs and training for the hard-core unemployment. ^{of} I have worked closely with this program since its inception. We have enlisted America's top businessmen in this effort. Their energy and commitment have made it a success.

In less than 10 months, the National Alliance has secured pledges for 175,000 jobs, which exceeds the initial first year goal by 75,000 jobs. And, with nine months to go, 75,000 people are already on the job.

There is no cause ^{for complacency for} ~~to be complacent.~~ There is still unemployment and underemployment in America. It is concentrated

heavily among those least prepared to cope with work of increasing complexity -- new workers, black and white, in our depressed rural areas and city slums.

I have seen the slums of America -- urban and rural. I have seen the despair, the alienation, the self-deprecation -- even the hatred -- of those deprived of opportunity to earn what others have in apparent abundance.

The fact is that some 3.3 million poor families ~~with~~ ^{but family} heads under 65 -- 72 percent of all poor families -- worked full or part-time but could not earn enough to escape poverty.

~~They are not yet succeeding.~~

We need their labor full-time. Given expansive and sound economic policies in the 1970's and a realistic commitment of national resources to meet our national priorities, ~~my concept of the society of the future is~~ ^{I envision a future society} not one with fewer jobs, enforced leisure, an automated, robot society with mass unemployment! Quite the contrary, it is one with great demands for qualified people to produce the goods and services needed to improve the quality of life for a rapidly growing population,

The task ahead is to put an end to the paradox of unmet needs and underused manpower.

And, we must extend training and skill development opportunities to all workers who need them. The rate of

skill obsolescence due to technological progress is accelerating. The chance to develop new skills, to keep pace with change and technology must be assured to all who could benefit from it.

This is our commitment -- assured employment and training opportunity in a full employment economy.

have received the recommendation of my task force
I am releasing today a comprehensive position paper dealing with ~~on the~~ ~~employment~~ ~~and~~ ~~job~~ ~~training~~ ~~issues~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~training~~ ~~and~~ ~~a~~ ~~meaningful~~ ~~job~~. It is ~~based~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~advice~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~distinguished~~ ~~task~~ ~~force~~ ~~on~~ ~~jobs~~ ~~and~~ ~~training~~. ~~It~~ ~~details~~ ~~the~~ ~~programs~~ ~~which~~ ~~the~~ ~~Humphrey~~ ~~Muskie~~ ~~Administration~~ ~~will~~ ~~adopt~~ ~~in~~ ~~order~~ ~~to~~ ~~assure~~ ~~the~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~training~~ ~~and~~ ~~meaningful~~ ~~employment~~ ~~opportunity~~.

First, the greatest opportunity for overcoming our employment problems lies in strengthening and expanding private sector efforts to employ the unemployed and more fully utilize the skills of the underemployed. Experience demonstrates that with government support industry can provide the on-the-job training and job opportunities needed to employ the hard-core.

I would strengthen and expand the successful National Alliance of Businessmen program. I propose that the NAB *expand its*
7 orientation from the 50 largest cities to the 100
move immediately from only the first largest cities into
the second 50 largest cities, where there are an estimated

125,000 hard-core unemployed. With full government support, ^{Expansion} this can be accomplished in one year.

Second, I would expand job opportunities in the public sector. A major expansion of public services -- education, health, parks and recreation, water services, highway maintenance, police and fire protection, pollution control and sanitation -- is clearly needed. At the same time, our depressed urban and rural areas have accumulated an enormous backlog of unused and underused manpower. These two must be matched.

The programs which I have proposed -- the Marshall Plan ^{by the Cities} to rebuild our cities, expanded efforts to improve education, health, housing, law enforcement and the environment -- will go far to bridge this gap.

But these programs will take time to mount. And, some of the hard-core unemployed may not be able to participate -- even after training.

To meet this problem and to enable our state and local governments to meet their public service responsibilities, I propose an Emergency Public Sector Employment Act, under which the Federal Government would finance a major part of providing unskilled jobs with state, local or private non-profit agencies. Training would be provided under this program,

so that participants will be able to move on to private or regular public employment.

Third, job training and skill development opportunities must be made available for all workers who could benefit. All adult family heads under age 65 should be entitled to receive training to develop new skills or update present abilities.

This is not a relief program or a special program for the poor. It is an economic program geared to fuller and more effective utilization of all persons in the labor force and for maximum performance of the economy.

The Adult Opportunity Act proposal in my Education Position Paper will substantially expand skill development and training opportunities. Expanding the Manpower Development Training Act will be necessary, as well.

To enable more workers to take advantage of these and other opportunities, I propose strengthening the unemployment insurance system, a supplementary training program for unemployed family heads under 65 who have not been covered by unemployment compensation and increased training allowances.

Fourth, we must expand our area development programs in rural and urban poverty areas. True freedom of choice in selecting a community in which to live and work will exist

only through creation of employment opportunities in these areas.

Government should provide the public facilities, a favorable environment, and other incentives required to attract industry to locate there.

For many now trapped in poverty, freedom of choice means the opportunity to relocate. I would increase moving allowances and provide other assistance to enable unemployed workers and families to relocate in job surplus areas.

Fifth, we must strengthen our efforts to achieve equal employment opportunity. I have fought a lifetime for equal opportunity, and I would continue that effort as President.

Finally, reorganization of the system through which these programs are translated into jobs and training for people will be essential. We must design and implement a Comprehensive Manpower System financed through one Federal sponsoring agency and providing -- at the local level -- where it counts -- an interrelated network of services to the individual. This will require greater coordination and consolidation of manpower programs at the Federal level; decentralization so that effective decision-making responsibility exists at the local level and comprehensive and personalized manpower assistance in each community. Each metropolitan area and rural development district should

develop and implement a three-to-five year manpower plan, updated annually, which would provide for a job at a living wage or paid training leading to employment to everyone able and willing to work. Effective job information should be provided through a Federal-state data bank.

These programs are an investment in people and in the future of America. They are an essential part of my plan for the New Day.



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