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REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

KODAK PARK MANAGEMENT CLUB

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

DECEMBER 9, 1969

If politics make strange bedfellows, I want to assure you that pollution is gathering a much odder bunch of disparate thinkers under the same bedcovers than ever drew together under a political blanket.

My concern for the befouling of our air and the consistent poisoning of our water is long known. Newer to the conservation scene is the incumbent governor of California who just three weeks ago jumped aboard the bandwagon with a pollution conference in Los Angeles.

Think: Ronald Reagan and Hubert Humphrey campaigning together! Welcome aboard, Governor.

I think your participation in the effort to halt further violence to man's environment is final proof that civilization is indeed in peril as a result of reckless disregard for man's natural heritage.

Speaking at the California meeting, Dr. Barry Commoner, director of the Center for Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis, warned that we are fast "approaching the point of no return" in our disruption of nature's chemical balances and said that we have only this generation in which to reverse our "suicidal course".

This is not a sudden threat.

Four years ago President Johnson warned of the penalty for continued discharge of sewage into our streams, of the consequences for continued dumping of industrial wastes into our nation's waterways.

Today, every major river system in the nation is polluted. More than 100 million Americans get their drinking water from rivers and streams into which 120 million dump their wastes every day.

We are plundering irreplaceable timberlands and wiping out unique marine life. From California -- where the natural nitrogen cycle is undergoing massive disruption, if not destruction -- to the New York Harbor -- where the waters are contaminated with bacteria -- we see the effects of man's callous disregard for his bountiful natural wealth.

A substantial portion of our economic growth and development has been achieved at a cost that does not yet appear on the nation's balance sheet. We have been spending -- and spoiling -- with abandon. Sixty-five thousand gallons of water to manufacture one automobile; 50,000 gallons to test an airplane engine.

We are polluting our West Coast water reserves with chemical fertilizers -- and it is showing up in rainfall as far east as the Midwestern corn belt.

The effects of atmospheric pollution are more familiar. A month ago attendees at the American Public Health Association's annual conference cited once again the destructive effects of air pollution on health, materials and vegetation and noted that there are ten to twenty detectable deaths a day from polluted air in New York City alone.

There is absolutely no way to excuse a society that allows its members to die at the hands of the air they breathe.

Two years ago President Johnson warned: "Either we stop poisoning our air -- or we become a nation in gas masks, groping our way through dying cities and a wilderness of ghost towns."

This year, the Administration's request for all natural resources totalled only 1.9 percent of the national budget -- the lowest appropriation in a decade.

Despite the promise of federally established limits on pesticide pollution, and despite the powerful public protest over automobile emissions, we are still woefully complacent of the destructive effects of agricultural and industrial wastes.

The administration request of \$214 million for sewage plant construction -- raised to \$600 million in the House and to \$1 billion in the Senate -- is still pending. Perhaps we need a moratorium day for our environment!

I would like to talk for a moment about some other aspects of the nation's environment.

With all the problems facing us in this decade, it is hard to find one tougher -- or more important -- than the failure of our urban systems. We are a nation of cities. Over 70 percent of our total population now lives in 212 urban areas and demographers tell us that by the year 2000 our urban population will rise to 250 million -- some 90 percent of the anticipated total population at the brink of the 21st century.

But these figures don't begin to describe the urban environment for only the top and the bottom of the economic spectrum remain in the central cities -- and the bottom predominates.

Already the inner cities have become the poor-houses of America, strangling in the tight white suburban nooses that surround them. Already industry is fleeing the cities in hot pursuit of the middle class employee they prefer -- who earlier fled in search of green grass, safe streets and decent schools for their children.

Left behind in the cities are those with all the options (families who can afford private schools and high rise apartments) and those with no options -- the families who can't afford to move.

Everybody worries about it. But the talkers who have made discussion of urban problems the intellectual parlor game of the 60's are often those who have escaped.

They live in the suburbs -- and worry. They occupy penthouses -- and worry. Much of the talk comes from people who don't like cities.

I do like cities. I like the heterogeneity and diversity, the gaudy and colorful contrasts and the intense throbbing vitality. The contemporary American city seems to me to offer the fullest, richest panoply of life experience available to any people at any time on any part of the globe.

In large part this is the result of America's fortunate cultural diversity. We have restaurants and theatres and films from every nation represented in our cities. Our major urban areas offer unparalleled shopping, recreation and cultural activity. The world's greatest symphonies and ballets, writers and lecturers offer their wares on our home turf.

Without leaving town we have the opportunity to view the Bolshoi and the Beatles. Our department stores offer Dior copies before the originals are off the runways in Paris.

Our restaurant offerings range from blintzes and Peking Duck to Shishkebab and Smorgasbord. Spaghetti and egg roll are so familiar that many of us think of them as American food.

The suburbs lack this cosmopolitan diversity. Of course they also lack the distressing every-day confrontation with poverty, filth and decay. With despair and dismay and delay.

Over two years ago I proposed a Marshall Plan for the cities. I did so from the conviction that only a program of this scope, only one of this vision, could generate the comprehensive support which is essential to the solution of the urban dilemma.

My years of observing the massive and complex problems of the cities have taught me a great deal of humility when it comes to having all the answers, but I think I can identify some causes of failure and point to some hopeful avenues we might fruitfully explore.

In reciting the facts and statistics of the urban crises, we usually forget that this is fundamentally a political crises -- an issue which, in the end, can only be resolved by concerted political action.

Our failures to date are primarily political failures -- an inability or unwillingness of the people's elected representatives to act on a scale which reflects the magnitude of the crises.

I think the Kennedy and the Johnson administrations were moving on urban problems. Not that we had perfect wisdom -- no indeed. This is a trial and error business, my friends, and let no one tell you different.

But we did care about these problems and we did establish an urban policy and we did create a climate in which change could occur.

Landmark legislation such as the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Model Cities Act and the Housing Act of 1966 were true steps forward. But institutional devices cannot progress in a vacuum. It is illusory to believe that sustained headway is possible without the political backing of our elected officials -- and without the support of the people who send them to office.

Today the national government is in retreat.

The mayors of our large cities are crying out for help -- and the Nixon Administration is pushing for the most extravagant and questionable weapon system in all of mankind's history.

Two months ago the City Council of one of our smaller cities -- Toledo -- declared a state of emergency and asked the assistance of Congress in subordinating the Supersonic Aircraft Transport program to urgent domestic requirements.

How did the Administration respond? With a request to Congress for nearly \$4 billion to rebuild the Merchant Marine fleet.

I do not mean to imply that the Federal government is responsible for the problems of our beleaguered municipalities, nor that the Federal government could, with the best of wills, solve these problems independently.

If we are assigning blame, it may be laid at many doorsteps. The nation's courthouses and city halls often seem to lack zeal for reform. There is plenty of limited vision and notable lack of dedication to be found among state governments.

All over America we encounter an endless vista of municipalities and special service districts with overlapping responsibilities -- with widely varying and too often obsolete building codes, with haphazard zoning regulations, and with piecemeal programs to correct these deficiencies.

We need a national urban strategy to define basic social, economic and environmental objectives in order to guide our urban, suburban and rural growth.

Let me be candid: our present governmental structure -- federal, state and local -- is incapable of planning and achieving the living environment our wealth and technology permit -- and which our survival requires.

New urban planning and other single-purpose governmental agencies have been layered upon old and fossilized institutional structures. When one unit of government is prepared to act, others are not.

Without cooperation and coordination of these disparate units, our resources, energy and confidence are frittered away and lethargy sets in.

The Federal government -- the only government common to us all -- has one notable advantage in this arena. It has money.

And make no mistake, my friends, money is more than the mortar -- it buys the bricks. Money may not solve the problems of the cities, but it sure helps and I don't think we'll find many mayors saying no thank you, we'll take ideas instead.

But we need ideas too.

I have proposed creating a National Urban Development Bank financed through subscription of public and private funds. The bank would underwrite the special risks attendant upon solving our most critical urban problems -- low cost housing for example. Securities sold by the bank would also attract private investment capital for the revitalization of our cities. Federal funds would be used as seed money to get the bank started.

I have proposed a National Urban Homestead Act to subsidize land costs for qualified private housing developments. Such a subsidy would make possible the use of high-priced urban and suburban land to relieve the population pressure of the inner city.

I long ago proposed a program of federal support for state equalization of vital community services -- education and welfare, for example -- to provide immediate assistance to bankrupt local communities that have exhausted their property tax base.

Many of our cities are still using 18th and 19th century management models as we head into the 21st century.

I think we could profitably borrow some management techniques from industry and apply them to the wheezy machinery of local government. In the supersonic age, Americans seem more willing to modernize mechanical systems than management systems.

Habits become ingrained and the untried is often frightening. We know what we have, and we aren't a bit sure what we might get. But fear must be overcome. We must open some rusty windows and welcome constructive new ideas.

Absent change, we would still be delivering mail by Pony Express instead of building nose cones and re-entry capsules.

Absent change, we would still be building with logs and stone instead of the rich range of contemporary materials at your disposal today.

I have proposed that on July 4, 1976, we dedicate a new American city, one which exemplifies the highest standards of beauty and excellence.

Bi-centennial City would test new ideas in land use, housing technology and community development. Its construction would attract the finest talents in America. By reflecting what is best as well as what is possible, it would become a pilot city for a new America. It would provide the visible evidence that progress is possible -- one of the essential factors in the success of any enterprise.

Our city needs are as diverse as the American metropolis itself. There is no perfect plan by which a city can best serve the need of its residents. There is no optimum pattern to follow in forming buildings and land into the perfect city. There is no universal guideline that will guarantee a fit between our people and their dwellings and spaces.

The only generalization that we can make is that this conjuncture must come about.

Cities, like people, can have friendly or forbidding faces. We can no longer plan our cities as islands, we must plan them as broad avenues of invitation, two-way streets that beckon and invite passage and commerce between the urb and the suburb.

What the modern city needs is a sense of community -- of belonging. To humanize our cities, we need to think in terms of neighborhoods that offer their residents a full life. Our task is to bring people in closer proximity to their jobs, their schools, their health services, their recreation areas and their cultural institutions.

People must feel close to their public services and to those who provide these services. And these people -- the policeman and the educators and the health professionals -- must in turn identify with those whom they serve.

Jobs should be near people and industry should design development plans with such proximity in mind.

This is a matter of self-interest for industry. Facilities in inner-city locations will help eliminate turn-over and recruitment problems. The labor force will be right on industry's doorstep.

Such changes can make the city habitable; such changes can make living a pleasure -- rather than a constant chore -- for the city-dweller.

Most of today's cities grew like Topsy and their deterioration is proceeding in much the same fashion. The architects of their renaissance must re-structure our cities as radiant centers of high density land use.

High density does not necessarily mean overcrowding, low density does not preclude it. On Park Avenue, density is 1000 to the acre. In Watts it is 20 per acre.

But there are limits: if all of us were packed together like the residents of Harlem, the whole population of the United States -- over 200 million people -- could be squeezed onto Long Island.

The new frontier is not out -- sprawl -- but up -- high rise and multi-use residential and service centers.

Basically I am an optimist. I think we can cut the white noose around the neck of our cities. With our fast paced technological expansion, there is no reason why our cities should be dirty or dull or ugly or polluted or unsafe to walk in and impossible to drive in.

There is no reason why cities should not be good places in which to live and work and bring up our children.

What it takes -- in addition to money and ideas -- is concern. No responsible member of the community dumps trash on his neighbor's lawn, and industry must observe the same strictures in disposing of chemical and liquid wastes.

Housing codes must be enforced; by their neglect the city itself subsidizes blight, slums and sprawl.

Federal housing standards -- allowed to stand without revision for almost three decades -- must be brought in tune with today's housing expectation. As former HUD Secretary Robert Weaver said, the best answer to slum housing is to build enough good housing.

We have a long agenda for change.

- ..Schools are worst where educational needs are greatest.
- ..Garbage collection is slowest where the danger to health is greatest.
- ..Police protection is least effective where crime rates are highest.
- ..Health services are most limited where the need is greatest.
- ..Public transport is worst where private vehicles are fewest.

These things we know and they are arresting certainties. Equally arresting is our knowledge that it is a waste of time to remake our cities physically without a concurrent attack on the painful social problems bred by their decay.

This is a job for all of us and it is an urgent job for, if our cities fail, so in the end will our nation; and it is the personal investment of each of us that will in large part determine the ultimate outcome.

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Kodak Park Management Club
Rochester, New York

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Where we live + Today
How we live + Tomorrow

① Teaching
What are you going
to take
Administrative
Library

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our
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*nuclear fallout!
but how about
other Air Pollution*

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Our cities
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Everybody worries about it. But ^{many of the} talkers who have made discussion of urban problems the intellectual parlor game of the 60's are often those who have escaped. ~~run away!~~

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Marshall Plan

Commented Plan Review

- 8 -

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Planning
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And make no mistake, ~~my friends~~, money is more than the mortar -- it buys the bricks. Money may not solve the problems of the cities, but it sure helps and I don't think we'll find many mayors saying no thank you, we'll take ideas instead. - *mayor - 3 things money, finance + revenues*

But we need ideas too.

I have proposed creating a National Urban Development Bank financed through subscription of public and private funds. The bank would underwrite the special risks attendant upon solving our most critical urban problems -- low cost housing for example. Securities sold by the bank would also attract private investment capital for the revitalization of our cities. Federal funds would be used as seed money to get the bank started.

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- 15 -

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- 16 -

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REMARKS

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KODAK PARK MANAGEMENT CLUB

DECEMBER 9, 1969

A year ago three of us travelled the country seeking the Presidency -- Richard Nixon, George Wallace and myself. Only one among us sought to divide our nation, only one played on fears and hidden hatreds.

In his fine inaugural plea for understanding, the President asked for a lowering of voices -- and the nation -- dazed and confused by a campaign that had seen two national leaders assassinated, responded with relief and hope.

Now, a year later, relief gives way to dismay as the Administration appears to equate lower voices with an absence of responsible criticism.

A lowering of voices -- yes. A stifling of opinion -- never!

Three weeks ago at a press conference in Washington, I said that not since the era of Joe McCarthy had this country witnessed such a obvious appeal to our people's baser instincts as we heard in Vice President Agnew's Des Moines speech.

Today I would like to illustrate what I meant by baser instincts. I want to share with you a few from among the hundreds and hundreds of letters I have received since Mr. Agnew's demogogic attack on free expression.

(Read excerpts from letters)

I have been in public life for over 25 years. Only once before in those years have I witnessed such a spate of hate mail as that brought on by the Vice President this month -- and that was during the McCarthy heyday in the early 1950's.

I do not mean to suggest that Mr. Agnew himself is attempting a calculated or deliberate attack on our freedoms. What I am saying is that there is a subcurrent of hate in the land -- as in all nations -- an amto= an anti-intellectual sub-culture of frightening persistence and vitality.

And Mr. Agnew and Mrs. Mitchell and Dean Burch and others in this administration are -- wittingly or unwittingly-- giving it official sanction and encouragement.

q I believe this is a clear and present danger to the political life of this nation.

The totalitarian temptation does not stem from Mr. Agnew, nor even from the repressive actions of the Attorney General. The danger lies in the eternal naivete of those people who do not understand the function of dissent in a free society.

I am sure it does not occur to these gentlemen -- as they incite "middle America" against the intellectuals who happen to live and work on the East Coast, as they accelerate the polarization between generations and between North and South, black and white, rich and poor -- that they may be undermining the very processes that brought them to power.

I am sure they do not understand that in circulating and popularizing a contemptuous picture of their opponents as "effete Snobs" and "rotten apples" and "liberal Communists" (which, incidentally, is a contradiction in terms), they are taking the first steps on the road to minority suppression and authoritarianism.

Many who respond to this sort of appeal are the George Wallace supporters of last year -- as Mr. Wallace told us himself last week when he accused the Nixon Administration of trying to cut into his constituency. "I wish I had copyrighted my speeches," Wallace said, "I would be drawing immense royalties from Mr. Nixon and especially Mr. Agnew."

Many who applaud Mr. Agnew's tirades are the same frightened people who let Joe McCarthy blanket this nation with cries of treason during that sorry chapter in our own recent history -- and those with good memories will recall that in the 1950's, Mr. Nixon himself echoed the McCarthy call to weakness.

Today, some think Mr. Agnew shows courage in his not dissimilar attacks on freedom of expression; some seem to think that he is the first to discover that there are flaws in our imperfect communication system.

It is not courageous, and it is not new. Necessary reforms in the electronic media have been under discussion by concerned citizens and public officials since Newton Minow first highlighted the problem in his "vast wasteland" speech in 1961.

I discussed some of my concerns in this area - and they are very different than those of the Vice President -- in a lecture at the University of Minnesota some weeks before Mr. Agnew became the nation's television critic.

I would like to read a few of those comments now.

In the past twenty years, television has transformed our world from one dependent on the trans-oceanic cable and the filterings of the short wave, to one in which communications satellites send television pictures instantly from any corner of the earth to almost any ~~either~~ -- and even beyond into space. We have been forced to abandon all thought of a parochial existence, and take immediate account of events once foreign to us. We now see it all with our own eyes, instantly and with an immediacy that can be either exhilarating or shocking.

But in our wonder at this technology -- or even in bland acceptance of it -- we have sometimes overlooked the deeper difficulties that it holds for us. Too often we fail to realize that to see is not necessarily to understand. Television can bring us information; but it does not always bring us knowledge. It brings the drama of crises and events; but in doing so, it may obscure more important issues and debates.

Television can be a powerful force for education and, through the medium of the satellite, it will soon make possible a true university of the world. But it can also distort our image of the world, and give us a false sense that we comprehend it.

This growth of television has created an ethical problem that must be resolved if technology is to serve democracy instead of enslaving it. And we must ask whether our democratic institutions -- and, indeed, any society -- can weather almost total and relentless exposure. It is certain that no individual can -- a man who tried to live and work in the eye of the camera would go out of his mind. No other free people has ever faced this question.

In recent years, television and radio have kept us from ignoring the most serious questions facing the nation: poverty, racial injustice, and our involvement in Vietnam. But the media often amplifies events to unreal size, making local issues nationwide, or giving undue prominence to tiny minorities, from the advocates of violence on the left, to the vigilantes on the right.

We are continually exposed to the crises of the world, but to few of its accomplishments because -- as Walter Cronkite has noted -- it is hard to report all the cats who are not lost of all the students who did go to class today. We are shown the problems of distant lands but we are rarely shown people trying to solve them. And we seldom see the deep historical dimensions of a given crisis. Riot scenes on television may arouse our emotions but do they help us understand why riots occur -- or what to do about them? Fortunately, thus far, television has largely succeeded in divorcing the presentation of news from the commercial interests that provide the financial basis for modern communications. But the competitive nature of the media -- of television, radio, newspapers, and magazines -- must make us ever vigilant against the stimulation of conflict or the magnification of crises in order to promote what is ultimately a commercial or corporate interest. The report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence should alert us again -- if further warning is necessary -- to ~~the danger~~

to the grave social problems we incur by our fixation on episodic violence, whether as news or as entertainment.

The most important challenge of television to our society -- its promise and peril -- lies in its relationship to the government. I believe that the media are, indeed, the fourth branch of government, and that what government does must be held up to the scrutiny of all the people. In a democracy, the media exist to illuminate issues and to inform the public, presenting the conflicting points of view that give a free people a basis on which to make choices.

But this must not blind us to the fact that excessive zeal in performing this function can inhibit the workings of democracy. If the media are to be effective in providing checks and balances, we must understand that efforts of government and other institutions to meet our pressing problems can fail through too early exposure.

There is, however, a greater risk: that government will use the media to obscure and not to illuminate, to mislead rather than to inform. Government efforts in public relations have built a "credibility gap." This kind of public cynicism we can no longer accept. But the alternative is some attempt by the media itself to keep the part from standing for the whole; to keep the isolated mistake from destroying the large effort.

Similarly, the media have been used to transmit unreal promises, to raise unreal hopes -- which lead to greater disappointment when achievement falls short of goals. As with our efforts to bring poverty to an end, the amplifying of promises by government -- through the media -- has led to greater frustration when success has not come as fast as hopes have grown. Such use of the media by government and by politicians has given a manic-depressive quality to American politics, with wild swings between unreal hope and unjustified despair, while we attempt to play down the difficult and necessarily protracted business of working through our problems.

I believe in the people's right to know; but I believe even more in their right to knowledge. This is, above all, a problem of education. Knowledge and understanding rarely come from dramatic headlines or spot news flashes. They are the refined product of serious and continuing study. We cannot let technology outstrip our understanding of history, society, and cultures, in order to understand what we see and hear of them. Unless we do so, we stand to become tourists of the rest of the world, interpreting everything in terms of our own values, yet learning and understanding little.

Thus I see a need to expand the network's right -- even obligation -- to comment and explain. Mr. Agnew would prefer to diminish or abolish network analysis. This is the heart of the disagreement between us.

In many of our communities there are limitations on the amount of information available from the press or over the airways or on the television screen.

In large part this is a result of the enormous cost involved in establishing a network operation, and the relatively large cost of establishing outlets in smaller towns and cities.

This tremendous initial investment in facilities is largely responsible for what Mr. Agnew calls the concentration of power in a relatively few hands. To reassure Mr. Agnew, I would point out that it is a concentration of private power and, as such, infinitely preferable to government control. It is not too different from the concentration of automotive power in Detroit -- and the reasons are much the same.

As in Detroit, there is healthy competition among the three major networks but it is unfortunately true that in some communities -- because of the mechanics and the cost of network affiliation -- access is limited to only one or two of the networks.

There is no easy solution for this and I suspect that the answer, when it is found will be the result of another technological step forward -- the day when satellite communication is cheap enough and available

enough that local stations will be able to subscribe to a satellite news service much as newspapers today subscribe to one or more wire services. Only then will local channels have instant access to domestic and international events -- and local option in reporting them.

But the problems raised by Mr. Agnew's bombastic tirade will not disappear with technological progress. They will not disappear without the enlightened vigilance of all citizens on behalf of our freedoms.

Now -- if I may borrow a phrase from Mr. Nixon -- I would like to make one thing very clear: I do not think either Mr. Nixon or Mr. Agnew fully realize the hornet's nest they are poking in at the moment.

Knowing that they themselves are good men, they do not understand that evil may result from their actions. If -- they seem to assume -- if an authoritarian regime arose in Russia or in Germany, well that is because the national leaders had evil intent. We do not have evil intent, we are good patriotic Americans and therefore evil cannot come from our acts. The parallel conviction -- that those who disagree with them are not good patriotic Americans -- is inherently even more dangerous.

It is difficult to counter such an attack on the motives and loyalty of a substantial number of our citizens -- just as it was difficult to prove that you were not a Communist sympathizer after Joe McCarthy drew a hammer and sickle after your name.

People who do not comprehend often apprehend.

Mr. Agnew -- and I will confine this statement to Mr. Agnew -- does not seem to comprehend that his opponents may be worthy human beings -- even if they disagree with him. And he does not seem to understand that -- even in the United States -- democracy is vulnerable and needs to be nurtured by responsible public behavior -- particularly by those in power.

The controlled presentation of official government views -- which is what Mr. Agnew proposes when he asks the networks to provide the President time for an official speech, but not to provide viewers with any analysis of that speech -- such control is the mark of a totalitarian society.

The President has unlimited access to a nationwide audience whenever he asks for it. This indeed is the distinctive contribution of the electronic media to the American public. No longer are our impressions of candidates or office holders filtered through the objective or subjective eyes of the writing press.

We may view directly -- lifted eyebrows and pointing fingers intact -- the President or the Vice President as they present their programs, policies and points of view. The President -- and members of his Administration -- have instant and direct access to the electorate, they can pre-empt electronic communications on request.

This is a potent weapon, and its potency is demonstrable by the fact that -- despite the network commentary so upsetting to the President, directly following his November 3 speech on Vietnam -- and directly following the comment on that speech -- public approval of Mr. Nixon was at an all time high.

So too has the Vice President won approval from many Americans. More than 90 percent of my correspondence on this subject in recent weeks has been in support of Mr. Agnew. My former colleagues on the Hill report similar ratios in their mail bags.

Does this mean that 90 percent of the citizens of this nation agree that the Administration should determine the extent to which they are exposed to conflicting points of view? I don't think so, I certainly hope not.

I think many of the non-writers still fail to take Mr. Agnew seriously. I take Mr. Agnew very seriously.

He is not a clown. The days of the "Spiro who?" jokes are gone forever. Today we all know who Spiro Agnew is -- and we are afraid, many of us, to learn with whose voice he speaks.

I will not -- though many have -- attribute the Vice President's attack on First Amendment freedoms to Presidential directive, though we know that he had the assistance of Mr. Nixon's speechwriter Pat Buchanan, and though, as one knowledgeable on matters of Vice Presidential etiquette, I find it unlikely -- more than unlikely -- that the President did not know in advance what Mr. Agnew planned to say in New Orleans, in Des Moines and in Birmingham.

Certainly the President was aware of the Attorney General's constitutionally questionable effort to limit citizen rights of free assembly. The difficulties of obtaining a parade permit for the November moratorium were fully reported in the nation's press. So was Mr. Mitchell's subsequent reaction -- as reported by his wife -- comparing this massive outpouring of predominantly peaceful dissent to "the Russian revolution". So was his silly offer to trade -- on a one for two basis -- our youthful demonstrators for hardened Russian Communists.

Other members of the Nixon administration were involved in concurrent exercises in intimidation: Leonard Weinless, a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, called television stations to ask what comments they had made -- or were planning to make -- on the President's speeches.

The President's Director of Communications, Herb Klein, and his Press Secretary, Ron Zeigler admit making similar calls for the past six months -- and at least 20 such calls were made from the White House the night of the President's Vietnam speech.

A member of the FCC called a Phoenix station for a tape of an Eric Severoid interview. On November 10 Secretary of Transportation Volpe publicly asserted that a "majority" of the moratorium organizers were "communists of communist inspired".

In late September, Frank Shakespere -- who last year told Joe McGuiness he would "love to" threaten the network s with monitoring and license revocation -- singled out network coverage of Barry Goldwater at the 1964 convention as an example of the "too liberal" viewpoint of reporters and commentators for a Detroit audience. Mr. Shakespere now heads the United States Information Agency which, under his leadership, has just rushed a film called "The Silent Majority" into overseas distribution.

Dean Burch, who managed Mr. Goldwater's campaign in 1964, is now Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. Five days after assuming this office, Mr. Burch took it upon himself to call the heads of the three major networks and ask for transcripts of their November 3 comment -- an action unprecedented in FCC annals.

The Burch echo of the Agnew attack (with Mr. Shakespere's well-publicized suggestion as background) is implied -- if not yet actual -- intimidation of the networks.

I do not mean to suggest that I think there is a conspiracy among members of the Nixon administration -- that indeed would be a happier interpretation than the conclusions I am forced to draw. What is more ominous -- and what I think to be the case - is that the members of this Administration are of like mind on the issues of free expression and dissent. They make the sad error of equating patriotism with absence of criticism.

Indeed, Mr. Klein has publicly acknowledged that the Vice President's remarks reflect views widely held in the top levels of the Nixon Administration and the President's Special [REDACTED] Counsel Clark Mollonhoff admitted that the Agnew attack was "developed by various White House aides".

These are not matters for partisanship. I wish that I could -- for a moment -- speak anonymously, because I would like to remove this consideration from the narrow confines of partisan politics.

There is an unfortunate tendency to view cynically the statements of those in public life. Not all statements are self-serving, and I ask -- to the extent possible -- that you view my remarks this evening as those of a concerned citizen.

I do not take issue with Mr. Agnew as a Democrat -- and indeed, I hasten to point out that a substantial number of those who wrote to me in support of Mr. Agnew identified themselves as Democrats . . . and many thought that I, as a victim of network distortion in Chicago last year would surely endorse Mr. Agnew's complaints.

I do not.

Certainly I had occasion to be distressed by the media during my tenure as Vice President and during my campaign for the Presidency last year. At no time did I feel it appropriate to make a policy statement attacking those who did not share my views.

Free speech -- off or on the television screen -- is ,
after all, what this country is all about.

In the past, I have offered the President my public support
when I thought he was right.

Today, I am sorry to say, I think the President -- by
permissiveness if no more -- is wrong. And the obligation to be on
record is just as great.. if not greater... as it was in October when
I told the President that he had my support in his plan for peace
in Vietnam.

Last year Mr. Nixon touched a chord deep in all of us when
he brought a little girl from Deshler, Ohio to Washington to
be in the Inaugural Parade holding the sign that had become
a campaign slogan for Mr. Nixon: "Bring Us Together".

A few weeks ago Mr. Agnew re-wrote that slogan to read:
"Bring Some of Us Together". I want to quote from a UPI interview
with Mr. Agnew on November 16. Reporter George Marder
asked the Vice President if he had meant earlier to suggest polarizing
certain elements in the country.

"Well," Mr. Agnew replied, "When I said polarization, I mean we should reject the fringe undesirable elements in our community. You can't bring 200 million people together. Let's stop talking in technicalities and look at the President's figure of speech - was a plea for national unity to bring the responsible elements of our society together. But let's never overlook the fact that there are also irresponsible elements and instead of attempting to dignify what they are doing, let's polarize -- let's get rid of these undesirable people."

I offer, in contrast, President Kennedy's statement which said, "The function of democracy is to make the nation safe for diversity."

I may hate what you say -- but I will defend to the death your right to say it: that's our creed as a nation, and it always has been. Mr. Agnew too had a right to say what he thinks -- but as a private citizen, and not as a public official with the attendant threat that big brother is watching and criticism belongs -- if it belongs anyplace at all -- in the privacy of the living room.

When we were offered the pursuit of happiness in the Declaration of Independence, we were certainly not offered a happiness devoid of controversy or lacking any discord. Perfect tranquility is for vegetables, not for our articulate, boisterous people. Democracy is not a tidy business. It is often noisy and sometimes contentious. It lends itself to ferment and tension. It is, as Winston Churchill pointed out, the worst form of government there is - except all the others that have ever been tried.

I am afraid that the Vice President deeply misunderstands the young in this country, and the issues of our time. Now, who does like demonstrations? Nobody, really. None of us especially like to see massive protests -- whatever the issue -- in our nation.

But such marches are a form of petition for the redress of grievances, and as such they are one of the freedoms guaranteed under our Constitution. And you can't take freedom and put it in a neat little package with a pretty ribbon on top -- and expect nobody ever to get out of line.

I do not happen to be a dissenter. I have not, in fact, fully resolved my own feelings about participation in these marches. But - - unlike ~~the~~ the Vice President -- I did not restrain my children from participation. And they did participate.

I imagine that many of you had children in Washington at this fall. These marchers are no rag-tag rabble rousers. They are, most of them, your children and mine. They are the children of the affluent middle class, they come from our best schools and universities in the country. They are the young men and women who will one day be our Senators and our Congressmen and our Cabinet officers. They come, in other words, from the crucibles of leadership in our society.

In attacking these young idealists, Mr. Agnew is playing a very chancy game and he is guilty of some dangerous oversimplifications.

Criticism is one thing, the attempt to suppress criticism is another thing entirely. If youngsters should not march in Washington, if networks should not comment on Presidential speeches, if the New York Times should do its page make-up with the White House in mind -- well, what else, Mr. Agnew?

Should we continue to permit editorials in the daily press? Should we prohibit all criticism - or just that of Presidential speeches? Should we ban commencement speakers? What about columnists? Should they be licensed? Or abolished?

A good many of those who wrote on this subject noted that Mr. Agnew had specifically decried censorship. True enough, he did. In one sentence, but in another he said, "perhaps it is time that the networks were made more responsive to the views of the nation." Who decides the views of the nation, Mr. Agnew? And how does Mr. Agnew propose to make them be responsive? March on Rockefeller Center?

You can't have it both ways, Mr. Agnew. You can't oppose censorship and simultaneously threaten the networks.

I do not wish to nitpick, yet Mr. Agnew's charges leave so many reverberations on the national conscience that they must not stand unchallenged.

The attack on the Washington Post and the New York Times, for example. Mr. Agnew selected as examples of monopoly ownership not only two of our nation's great periodicals, but newspapers in two of the only three cities in the country that still have a highly competitive situation among the print media.

He attacked two of the only large newspapers in the country under Democratic ownership -- while almost all the other major media power in the country is Republican dominated or controlled -- Herst, Scripps-Howard, Gannet, Knight, the Chicago Tribune and the New York Daily News, Time, Inc., Newhouse, Cowles, the Los Angeles Times -- even the big regional chains, Gaylord in Oklahoma and Don Reynolds in Arkansas, are Republican.

In the 1968 election _____ papers gave their editorial endorsement to Nixon while only _____ endorsed my candidacy -- tempting me, at the time, to quote Adlai Stevenson's accusation that we had a two-party system in this country, but only a one-party press.

Yet Mr. Agnew attacks the Washington Post and the New York Times. Does he want nothing but house organs across the country? Does he not see the hypocrisy of attacking media monopoly in public - while the Administration is privately sending representatives up on the Hill to oppose the inclusion of newspapers under anti trust law?

A great many of our media people are given to a commendable introspection. Some have over-reacted to Mr. Agnew's attack with cries of Mea Culpa reminiscent of the public repentance of the Czech journalists after their abortive experiments in freedom of the press.

Some of our broadcast journalists have been too defensive, and talked aggressively of their high professional standards. On the whole, I think professional standards among journalists in this country are very high, but there are areas in which they are indeed culpable.

The point, of course, is this: the networks are not perfect and they are certainly not immune from criticism. But our very legitimate concern about network practices and procedures should not be translated -- as it has been by the Vice President -- into the suggestion that the media should not take issue with the President -- or any other elected official.

We have, thank God, a two-party system in this country. We have -- and I am even more grateful for it -- considerable diversity even among members of the same party.

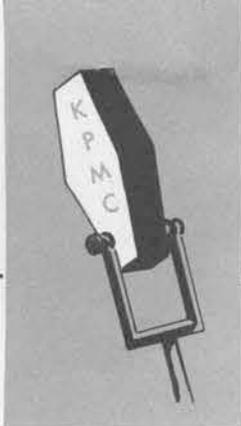
To suggest that we should limit our comments on the President to flattery, to suggest that the nation's networks and newspapers should not criticize the President should arouse repugnance in all of us.

If the emperor is indeed naked, we have not only the right, but beyond that, the obligation, to note the fact.

The right to assent has never been in question, but if the test of our loyalty is to become loyalty to the Nixon Administration, then our freedoms and our nation are both in jeopardy.

I quote Adlai Stevenson: "Some in America today would limit our freedom of expression and of conscience. In the name of unity, they would impose a narrow conformity of ideas and opinion... Only a government which fights for civil liberties and equal rights for its own people can stand for freedom in the rest of the world.

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MANAGEMENT CLUB

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, KODAK PARK DIVISION, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK 14650

January 20, 1970

Mrs. Ursula Culver
1510 H Street Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Mrs. Culver:

Enclosed are two copies of the talk which Mr. Humphrey gave to the members of the Kodak Park Management Club on December 9. Also enclosed are the tapes from which these transcripts were made. You requested this material in your letter of November 19, 1969.

We are sorry for the delay in getting this material to you. Somehow we misplaced the tapes and had a time locating them. If we can be of any further service to you please let me know.

Cordially,


Executive Secretary

JHBushfield:gk

Enclosures

HUBERT HUMPHREY

...tried to decide that between Arkansas and Texas and we don't really know what's going to happen but from the State of Minnesota there's quite a football team and I guess...our guest this evening feels that they are No. 1, however, they're still going to have to prove that in the Super Bowl which comes up in February or March, I forget when they run that. But we have the No. 1, surely the No. 1 son from Minnesota with us tonight and I'm not going to go into a lot of details telling you all about his particular offices that he held or all the honors that he received. I should, however, mention that in 1945 he was elected as Mayor of the City of Minneapolis and re-elected in 1947. In 1949 was elected U. S. Senator from Minnesota and served in that capacity until 1964 and on the 20th day of January, 1965, he became the 38th Vice President of the United States. I think our program in announcing the 69-70 season said something about come hear this truly great American. Ladies and gentlemen, the former Vice President of the United States, Mr. Hubert Humphrey.

Thank you very much. Well, thank you very much Mr. President. That's what I've been saying for years and...I'd just like to go someplace once where they just had a former Vice President introduce me! But I understand that you have a Vice President but you're nice enough to call him President-Elect, Jack Kirby, so I want to compliment you on your good manners and your sense of humanity! I know I have to follow a pretty tough act....you're thinking about the drawing,

that wasn't what I was thinking about. You fellows had the opportunity to hear Miss Stevens sing...I had the opportunity to look into her eyes. She's a very beautiful lady and I was suggesting back stage that we might take a little time out for just a social hour that I didn't think you folks would mind it and I you see...once that you become a college professor, you don't have much time for these hilarious moments like you've had here. Teaching has changed quite a little bit and speaking of that, by the way, I met a student the other day over at the University of Minnesota...this really almost happened...a real genuine student and I said to him, he was getting ready to sign up for the winter quarter, I said what do you plan on taking? Well, he said, I hadn't made up my mind. I said what do you mean? He said, I don't know whether it's the Administration Building or the Library! In all seriousness I find myself today as a college teacher and college professor, I like it, it's a good second-best. It isn't what I planned on, you know that. I have to pay a rent. I was hoping that things would work out where you'd pay the rent. Which reminds me now that I see how many Democrats that are here, my fellow Democrats and members of the silent majority. That's what I figured! You really don't know just how lucky you are. Because you know, if things had gone a little differently I might not have been here. See how fortunate you are tonight? I was talking to a gentleman down in Texas the other day, I was visiting in Dallas, it was Monday of this past week and we had a luncheon there, most of the top business and professional people in Dallas

and as I was coming into the door, one of the gentlemen came up to me and he said well, Mr. Humphrey, I'm awfully happy to see you here, welcome back to Dallas, we enjoyed your last visit here and I want you to know I think a great deal of you, I think more of your wife but I think a great deal of you. That's exactly what he said and... they're very friendly folks in Dallas and I said well, that's very kind of you and he said, of course, I didn't vote for you for President. I said oh, I see, I was sort of gathering that out of our conversation. No, he said, you see, Mr. Humphrey, as much as I admire you, think you did a good job as Vice President, he said I couldn't vote for you for President because he said, you see, if you'd have become President then they might have cut our oil depletion allowance...he said not only that but the stock market might have gone down, not only that inflation might have continued...not only that crime on the street might have been with us. And I said yes, it's a good thing I didn't get to be President isn't it. Because all of it's going on without my help I want to thank you very much.

Well tonight I came here to talk seriously with you. Now before I go any further I want to make it clear that I would...there's a little difference between the Democrat and Republican. I said I just wanted to make it clear that the Republican says crystal clear. I do want you to know that I will accept questions hopefully that I will generate enough controversey that there might be some questions. Your program chairman, Mr. D told me that questions would be in order

and if that's the case why I think I ought to be willing to take them on. I used to tell audiences that I thought everybody was entitled to a good bite at a live politician but I'm sort of on a reverse sabbatical right now, you just have to do the best with me that you can. I want to talk to you tonight about where we live, how we live where we live. How we can live or may live if we set our minds to the task of making our living conditions just a little better. Now everyone of you in this audience knows as well as I do that most of us live in cities and you all know that more of us are going to live in cities. You also know that with all of this great affluence that we have and I surely appreciate it...I'm not one to down-grade our system, I happen to be one that believes that the system has worked rather well and I'm interested in protecting it and defending it. You see I don't happen to believe that the argument today in the United States is between liberals and conservatives...I think the argument is between those who believe in this system and want to make it work better and those would like to destroy it and that's just about the way it adds up and the trouble is that those who believe in it get themselves all tied up in minor little skirmishes that have little or nothing to do with the health, wealth, welfare and well-being of our country and those that want to destroy it are at it, day in and day out. But I do want to talk to you about the physical environment and the political and social environment in which we live. There is a new phrase, a new word or a word I should say that's taken on

new prominence, ecology...the relation of man to his environment and you're going to hear a lot more about it and I think it's good that we do and I want to say a little something about it first. I'm no expert at it. As a matter of fact,^{if} you invited me here as an expert you have the wrong man because I used to believe at one time when I was seeking the highest office in this land that experts should be on tap and never on top and I still believe it because there is a necessity for a kind of social-political understanding in our society that can come with the help of experts but not always at their dictation. Politics makes awful strange bedfellows they say and I think that's right. We see people joining together that we never thought would ever be together and we see people spreading apart that we thought would stand together but I 'd like to assure you that this business of ecology or the physical environment and the attack upon it, pollution, is gathering a much odder bunch under the same bedcovers than ever were drawn together under any political blanket. There are people of every political persuasion beginning to join hands here. I've had a long time concern over what we call our physical environment as I hope that you have but there are some recent converts and they're welcomed aboard too. Newer to the conservation scene is the present governor, for example, of the great State of California who just three weeks ago jumped aboard this ecology bandwagon with a pollution conference in Los Angeles and a very significant one. So if you don't think that things can change in this country and that politics and ecology make strange

bedfellows why just think of Ronald Reagan and Hubert Humphrey campaigning together, that's something to contemplate for awhile! But we are together on this and I say welcome aboard governor because we're going to need everybody we can get. Now speaking at that same conference was a very famous scientist who is the director of the Center for Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University in St. Louis, his name is Dr. Barry Commoner and he warned as follows: That we are fast approaching the point of no return in our disruption of nature's chemical balances and said that we have only this generation, this generation in which to reverse our suicidal course. Now I don't know whether he, whether this distinguished scientist has all the information that he needs to make that judgment but this I do know. Out of everything that I've read and I'm sure you're reading much of the same, that most of the people that know what it's all about in the field of ecology tell us that within the next 30 years to be conservative, within the next 30 years we're going to have to decide whether we survive or perish, live or die and that is no exaggeration. It isn't just...I'm not talking just of the United States, I'm talking about the Earth, this space satellite called Earth on which we are all passengers. This space satellite that is ours that we continue to contaminate even though the same people that contaminate this space satellite make a space satellite called the Apollo which has clean water, clean air, wholesome atmosphere and pleasant surroundings. So we know what to do. If we could just say that we were going to take the

Earth to the Moon, I guess we'd make it and have a pretty clean existence. Well, today every major stream, every major river system in the United States without exception is polluted. We've done pretty well considering the short time we've been at it. Who killed Lake Erie? Well I don't know who did it all but we did it in record-breaking time. No other society has been able to do it so well. The greatest single body of fresh water in the world these Great Lakes and every one of them on the verge of total destruction. You know how long it takes to unpollute or depollute just a little lake in the State of Minnesota or New York? You cannot live that long and we have no right to do these things to a common heritage. I remind you that you as private citizens and private enterprises, property owners or renters, you wouldn't tolerate having somebody come into your living room and dump their garbage. You wouldn't tolerate having somebody dump their garbage truck or have the city dump its garbage truck on your lawn nor would you tolerate an industry doing it but you do it every day. Those lakes belong to you and to me, they don't belong to any government, any company, or any individual. This air that we breathe which is life itself belongs to all of us and yet we have excused each other saying that it didn't seem to make any difference until the day we're approaching the point of no return. I believe in private property and I believe I have a little piece of the atmosphere, it's mine and I don't want somebody else to befoul it. I believe in private property and I believe that a lake and a river is part mine and I don't believe you

have any right to destroy it and I don't have any right to destroy your property either but we're doing it. They say that more than 100 million Americans are now getting all of their drinking water from rivers and streams that have been polluted by 120 million Americans and we fill it up with chemicals in an effort to make it what we call potable water. We've plundered irreplaceable timber lands. Fortunately we've done something about timber and land conservation. We have been wiping out unique marine life and bird life and as we now witness, some of the studies that have been put on film, good Kodak film, why we're beginning to find out that an awful lot of what Mother Nature gave to us has already been taken away. From California where the natural nitrogen cycle is undergoing massive disruption if not destruction to the New York City harbor where the waters are contaminated with an ever-mounting volume of bacteria, we see the effect of man's callous disregard for his bountiful natural wealth and like health itself, ladies and gentlemen, like health itself, once it's taken away from you, you've lost almost everything. What good does it do to be rich and sick? What good does it do to be prosperous and face extinction? Now my fellow human beings, if our society can destroy animal life, plant life and bird life and we are by pesticides, insecticides, fumes, pollution and garbage and we're doing just that, what makes you think that your life can't be destroyed that way. The same doctors that tell you how to take care of your health test most of their new remedies on mice and rats and animals before they test them on you.

Those same little creatures are today being threatened with extinction. And we go blithely along as if nothing is going to happen. We have ads, American Cancer Society puts ads on the television that reminds us that if you smoke, the odds are that you will have a better chance of being a victim of cancer and more importantly of cardiac disease and th-en right afterwards we have a cigarette ad. Now I believe in freedom of choice so I can't complain too much if some people wish to be sick and die, I guess that's their right or if you prefer to have your cigarette that's your life. Of course, I'm a reformed smoker and you can understand that. I smoked like a smokestack until 1956 and since then I've been on a crusade. That's generally what happens. I haven't had any effect in my family I want you to know...including my son who is here with me but I'd like to make alittle observation... that as bad as cigarettes are, standing behind one bus...! Standing behind one bus may be much more injurious to your health and what is more is there is no excuse whatsoever for an automobile or a bus or a jet liner to have an emission of obnoxious gasses. Not a bit. As a matter of fact, there's a court case over here in New Jersey recently in which the airlines are being sued for spewing out tons of debris out of the jet engine. The fact of the matter is there are jet engines today that take 95 percent of all of that noxious gas, carbon out. They have them in other countries and we're going to have to do something about them here. Do you remember London a few years ago? People died, some 300 people died in one week from a smog and fog and soot and dirt, so London got excited and today you can go to

London and there's far less smog, far less debris, far less noxious gasses in the air in a city that is one of the largest cities in the world than there is in the City of New York or Cleveland or Chicago or Pittsburgh or Philadelphia and why? Because they did something about it. They put penalties on. They insisted upon respect for other people's property and by the way, if the women were here I think I could get a little better response. The average household pays an extra \$150 a year for cleaning walls, carpets, curtains and other items in the household because of the emission of gasses from planes, automobiles, trucks and buses. Now if we were to charge you, if we were to raise your taxes \$150 a year, if public officials were to vote \$150 tax increase to combat this, there would be a veritable revolution! But just to pay for it because nothing's done about it the people go on merrily going along, of course, it is good for the soap industry. I realize that, for detergents and I'm not opposed to that because Humphrey's Drug Store sells a lot of them! But it's so ridiculous when you really stop and think about it and particularly not only because it costs money but because as Dr. Commoner said and he's only one and may I impress it upon you, he said that we are reaching a point of no return within a generation. Other scientists have said within ten years. I said to you and not being a scientist and hopefully being a little more conservative about this, I said let's say between now and the year 2000. I saw a report the other day at the University of Minnesota that I was rather interesting to me. We're an affluent society and we generally think in terms of the

pollution of the atmosphere, the rivers and the debris upon the landscape, the disposal of garbage and all of that, we equate that with population so we can easily pick on the Indians of India, the Chinese and a few others but my good friends, one American, one American is responsible for 50 times as much of debris and refuse as one Indian. That comes from our affluence. That includes beer cans and it does include cartons and all the packaging that we have. Our affluence in prosperity. Here we are in other words, if it was 10-to-1 that would mean that if we had a population of 2 billion, 2 billion, 10-to-1 would be but when it's 50-to-1, that's equivalent to a population of 10 billion people. Now speaking of population, just a figure that indicates some of our problem. Up to the year of the birth of Christ the estimated population of the world was under 350 million. By the year 1600 it was approximately 500 million. By the time of the Civil War it was about 1 billion. Today it is over 3 1/2 billion and by the year 2000 it will be 7 1/2 to 8 billion. That many mortals consuming resources, that many mortals using up the land and without some change contaminating the earth and you have to ask yourself, how long can this go on. Well, we're familiar with atmospheric pollution. Let me just give you an indication of what economic growth has meant. And I don't want to make it as if it's either/or. You see you can have economic growth and a relatively clean physical environment. That's why I mentioned to you about the space program. We know how to do it. The question is are we willing to pay for it. And I want to make it clear we'll have

to pay for it. It doesn't come free. But having been in business and knowing that most of the things that you buy you don't really buy the product, you buy the package and the advertising. I used to make a nosedrop, like Vick's Nosedrops when I was in the drug business and the total cost of the nosedrops was about 1 cent. The bottle cost about 6 cents and we gave everybody a bargain at 39 cents. Because we didn't have to advertise it. It was called Humphrey's Sniffles. It's a fact. Most of us that have been in any kind of manufacturing business know this to be the truth. I'm not opposed to advertising, it makes possible volume. I'm simply saying th-at what we want we pay for and it's going to cost something to get clean air, clean water. The question is will it cost you more not to get it. We've been building this economy...let me give you some figures here. 65,000 gallons of water are required to manufacture one automobile. That's a lot of water. 50,000 gallons of water are required to test one airplane engine and we use it and we think we can take it for granted. We are polluting our West Coast water reserves with chemical fertilizers and it happens to be showing up now in the rainfall inthe corn belt. Now not long ago we were all concerned about fallout, nuclear fallout 90.

Well my dear fellow Americans that's not our problem. We put on some controls on that, we have a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty which makes it...which for all practical purposes has stopped nuclear fallout. But the same nation that was able to negotiate with the Russians a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty doesn't seem to be able to negotiate with

the automobile manufacturers emission control or to negotiate with the bus manufacturers control on those great diesel engines that spew out gas that's every bit as poisonous as radio-active fallout. You're going to have to decide it. Now why do I say this? Because the question is one of political judgment, political will, this country can do anything it wants to do. Any country that can catch up and surpass the Soviet Union with the space program as we did can surely learn how- to put on some mechanism to control the spewing out of gasses. Any country that can manufacture the new products that we can, that can create a whole new computer industry, that can do the unbelievable things that we're doing in electronics, ought to be able to do what is required to protect our natural environment. The question is, are we willing to do it. Now there's no way to excuse this society that allows its members to die and drop dead in the street because of bad air. I had a note here that the American Public Health Association in its recent report cited the destructive effects of air pollution when it noted that 10-20 detectable deaths every day from polluted air in New York City alone. At one time in this nation, this last summer, five cities were on emergency with radio stations beaming their message into the homes telling mothers to keep their children inside, preferably to keep them in bed so that they would not be inhaling too deeply the polluted atmosphere of a great metropolis. Is that what we call the living city? You and I know better. We've had every warning then that needs to come to us and yet, my fellow Americans, this year

your Government asked for \$200 million for pollution control which was about half what we had or less than half that we had last year. Fortunately the Congress of the United States at least in one body raised this to \$600 million. Now I know they haven't decided yet what the figure will be. I know somebody's going to say well we can't afford everything,,...that's right. You can't afford everything but you better be able to afford to breathe. You better be able to afford clean water. (APPLAUSE) We've had a moratorium day or two about Vietnam around the country. I think what this country really needs is a moratorium day about our environment if moratorium days mean anything. We ought to have some kind (APPLAUSE) I would prefer that it was much more rational and reasonable. I would prefer that you started asking candidates for public office not so much about whether you're a Liberal or a Conservative...I don't care whether you're a Republican or a Democrat. When you breathe foul air it's foul air. And when you drink polluted water it doesn't say to you just because you're a Republican I can guarantee you that or a Democrat. We're going to have to make up our mind. Now somebody's going to say you know I think Mr. Humphrey's become a crank. Yes I have.

Side 2

I've been citing the populace over these things in order to get it done. I think that the conservative members of society ought to be willing to conserve the water and the air and the land of this country rather than leaving it up to the new left to lead another crusade. You better get off your haunches, that's what I'm telling you!

(APPLAUSE) Now let's talk about these cities a little bit. I've been the mayor of a great city, a long time ago, things have changed a great deal. 70 percent of the population of this country lives in 212 metropolitan areas, today. By the year 2000, 90 percent of the population of America will live in 200 metropolitan areas. And there will be 250 million people in our cities alone...250 million people if things are not changed. If there is no way for population dispersal. If there's no better way of doing things than we have now the City of New York will double in size in population in the next 30 years. It's unmanageable today. And you know it and I know it and so does the mayor! So does the Governor. Now what are we going to do about it? Do we just have to stand idly by. I know that most of you have been brought up not to believe much in planning except for Kodak. They plan around here. AT&T plans, they didn't plan well enough but they plan and I'm for them. Somebody even told me they even consolidated an Edison plan but apparently not enough in New York...business plans and they should. The only civilized, urbanized, industrialized nation on the face of the Earth without some form of national planning for the proper utilization of our resources without...with some listing of goals and priorities, the only nation without goals, priorities and planning is the United States of America. The last planning board we had in this country was known as the National Resources Planning Commission...in 1939 and it was abolished in 1940. It was considered Socialistic. Now, I talk to my students a good deal because they're concerned as you

know as we all are about the war, they're extra concerned and I say to th-em, all right, now let's assume that the war tomorrow morning, the war is over. What plans do you have for the utilization of the resources that might be made available. What are your peace plans? I was in the Congress when the war was over in Korea and by the way the greater percentage of our gross national product was spent in the Korean War than was spent in this war. We had 800,000 men in the Korean war, not 500, not 480,000 as we have now or 500,000. And when the war was all over, what happened? Well I'll tell you what happened, we had three recessions in eight years. We had unemployment up as high as 7 1/2 percent in the year 1960, we lost hundreds of billions of dollars of potential production and gross national product, we didn't do a thing about our cities and you know it. Every one of the problems that are here today were with us in the 1950's. The failure to act in the 50's caused many of the problems of the 60's. We didn't act on segregation or desegregation or integration, we didn't act on poverty or aid to education. We didn't act on our cities and if you think for a single minute that these problems are going to be corrected by just hoping that they're going to be corrected, you're wrong. And I think it's time for straight talk. I said to a group this evening, I said, if I were to ask you some of the countries that believe in private enterprise what would you say? Well I think we agreed that you'd have to say Japan believes in it, Germany, they get very rich, the Deutsch mark is good currency; Japanese are able to compete rather well...I think this company knows it! Their internal revenue service is much

more lenient on the expense accounts than ours but there isn't a move made in Japan that isn't coordinated by government, industry, and finance, not a move. When they decided that the population of Tokyo was to remain now and static or go down, that's what's going to happen, not by compulsion but by incentive. Of course, one little incentive is that you don't get any money to build a new industry. If you have to go to the central bank they have a much stricter financial control than we have. But my fellow Americans, I'm not advocating that, what I'm advocating to you is that we ought to at least have some goals for this country. Now we're going to have a question period. What do you think are our goals? What are our priorities? If we did have \$30 billion extra next year because the war in Vietnam were over which we wouldn't but let's assume we had it. What would you want to do with it? Cut taxes? That's what most people say. This is a country that's publicly rich and privately poor. Are you satisfied with your public transportation system? Do you really continue to believe that you can just pile on more automobiles in your city. Have you no regard for time or yourself? The length of time to cross town in our cities today has doubled in the last five years despite super highway systems, our mass transportation service is an abomination. Here's the greatest nation on the face of the earth and we charge people more to transport them to and from jobs than any other nation on the earth. We talk about... we say well they don't get paid as much in Japan as they pay there, they don't have to be. First of all they can get on a subway anyplace

in Tokyo and for less than 10 cents they can ride that subway all day. And they can do it in London for a quarter. The President of the Bank of England takes the subway in. He doesn't try to drive his automobile even with the chaffeur. 25 cents. The Soviet Union which has without a doubt the finest underground subway system in the world, clean, immaculate, computer controlled, on time, 10 kopecks, any time, no transfers just get there and that's all there is to it. Now I know we're an automobile society but how much longer do you think you can keep that up. Have we no regard for each other. One of these days the unions are going to start negotiating from house to job. They're going to say they don't like to get up at 6 o'clock in the morning to drive to an 8 o'clock job. They are, mark my words, it'll come. They tried it in the mining industry...portal to portal, you may recall and when it comes, then we'll start talking about underground transportation and we'll start talking about monorails. Have you ever figured out what's going to happen when you get the 7:47. Do you know somebody said to me, are you for this supersonic transport. I said yes, but could you figure out how I could just get my baggage for awhile, I mean that would help. (APPLAUSE) Now my friends, I've said these things in a rather maybe overly dramatized manner for one reason. Because first of all they're true. Secondly I want to get your attention. Sort of like that old fellow that had that mule and you heard that he just hit him right between the eyes with a 2x4 and the other fellow said why in the world did you do that, that's cruel.

He said, well I just wanted to get that mule's attention. Now we have to say some things to get our attention. Let me give it to you again. We're polluting our rivers and they are polluted. We have polluted most of our lakes. We are contaminating the atmosphere, we fail to have a public transportation system worthy of the name, we have fewer low--cost housing units today than we had a year ago...a serious problem, a serious problem in this country. All the war on poverty put together isn't going to answer it until people at least have a place to live and we ought to be able to do something about it. It isn't that we don't have the resources. The fact is you know we have them. Listen 6 percent of the population of the earth consumed 42 percent of everything that was produced last year. We produced 38 percent of everything that was produced. We're really some consumers. The rest of the world got the other 58 percent. Or 52 percent. So my friends we had the resources. It's a question of how we're going to use them and I do not run from the responsibility of saying that the time is long overdue, to establish in this country somewhere government industry labor finance. Some kind of planning instrument that will at least lay out goals and priorities and some guidelines for Congress, for Legislatures, for business so that we can plan on the use of our resources. Because if we don't, we're going to wake up to find out that we have more to do than we can do and we wasted more than we should have wasted. I think it's good common sense. I think it's good economy. Now what's been happening to our cities? Well, the figures that I give you about population

don't really tell the problem. The inner cities have become the poor houses of America. Strangling in the tight, white, urban nooses that surround them. Industry is fleeing the cities in many instances. And they're fleeing the cities in hot pursuit of the middle class employee who fled earlier in order to get what he thought was safe streets and decent schools only to find out now that he bought his problem with him. Left behind in the cities are the people with all of the options, families who can afford private schools still live in cities and high-rise apartments and those with no options, families who can't afford to move and our inner cities today are beginning to die. Thank goodness some cities still have enough civic consciousness, enough spirit to try to save themselves. I come from a city that can do that. I think this city can. I happen to believe that cities the size of Minneapolis and St. Paul and Rochester are still governable. I still think it's possible to innovate. I think it's possible that we can set some patterns that can make our cities livable but time is running out. Now everybody worries about this and most of the talkers are on urban problems these day-s play an intellectual parlor game about urban matters...they're the ones who've already left. They've escaped. They live in the suburbs and worry and they live in the penthouses and worry. Much of the talk about cities comes from people who don't even live in cities and don't like cities. Well I live in the city and I like it. And I've lived in one a long time. I like the hetrogeneity of the

city, its diversity. I like its colorful contrast and I like the intense throbbing vitality of the city. The contemporary American city seems to me to offer the fullest, richest array of life experience available to any people at any time in any part of the globe if we but use it. In a large part, this is the result of America's fortunate diversity. Just think of the city for a minute here now. We have restaurants and theaters and films from every nation represented in our cities. Our major urban areas offer unparalleled shopping, recreation and cultural activity. The world's greatest symphonies and ballets, writers and lecturers offer their wares on our home turf of the city. Without ever leaving town we have the opportunity to view the Bolshoi or the Beattles. Our department stores offer D'Or copies before the originals even leave Paris. Our restaurants have offerings ranging from blintzes and Peiping duck to shish kebab and smorgasbord. Spaghetti and egg roll are so familiar that many of them think they are native American dishes. Because of our cities. Now the suburbs frequently lack some of this variety but one thing they don't lack...they lack I should say...one thing they lack is the distressing, everyday confrontation with poverty, noise, filth, decay and that's why people are trying to escape but like very person that tries to escape, he never gets far enough ahead. He always gets caught. Now two years ago I proposed that we call a Marshal plan for our cities. I must say that I didn't get too much enthusiastic response either in government

or out of government for it but I thought if the Marshall Plan would work for Western Europe, that it might work for our cities and what was the secret of it? Money, lots of it. Long-term commitment, planning and a follow-through. The problem with our urban programs today...they're hit and miss. You get a democratic Congress that gets a little generous, you get a Republican Congress that's a little less generous or you get a Republican Congress that decides it wants to do something, then a State Legislature doesn't want to do it, you have constant brakes put on. That isn't the way you rebuilt Europe and the greatest success story of economic planning that the world has ever known was the rehabilitation of Western Europe. Now I hope that we don't have to wait to have happen to us what happened to Europe in order to rebuild our cities. European cities, many of them are rather modern today because they were destroyed in the World War II and American money rebuilt them. But not just a little dibble and a little dribble, not just some this year and none next year. The only way that you can plan the rehabilitation of the American city is a long-term commitment so that people can plan and look ahead knowing that it takes time and that is going to require a political commitment, not just a commitment of experts or architects or planners or bankers. I submit that our failures are in other words political failures and the answer to it is political reawakening. Now we made some progress, we've established a Housing and Urban Development Department. We passed the model cities act. We passed the Housing Act.

We've done a lot of things but all of these things my fellow Americans mean nothing without the resources to implement them. And today the National Government is in retreat. The problem in this country, my friend, is not newspapers and television. That's a diversion. What you need to have some hard and plain talk about is where you live and how you're going to live. Sure there are excesses and abuses. Sure there is irresponsibility. Sure there's prejudice. Sure there are people that slant the news. Well and good. But if you want to live on that pap then you're not going to come to grips with the fundamental problems of this country. 90 percent of the 300 million people in this country in the year 1999 are going to live in 200 American metropolitan areas at a minimum. What are they going to do for water, for sewage, streets, for transportation, what are you going to do to curb the noise, what are you going to do about physical air pollution, what are we going to do about living space? And if you can be prodded off into this pasture and that pasture, rather than staying onto the main road, we're not going to get at these things. So you see, I didn't come here just to entertain you. I come here with a plea to save ourselves before it's too late. Two months ago the City Council of Toledo declared an emergency and asked assistance of the Congress of the United States. The City of Philadelphia has had serious trouble with its financing, every city in America is broke. In my part of the country within the next few weeks the cities will be without money for snow removal. The tax pace is inadequate. The governmental jurisdictions today have no

meaning to the problem. Federal state and local government today are not designed under present law to cope with a society that is mobile and integrated economically and culturally. There is one solid city from Boston to Norfolk and that city will double in size in the next 20 years. And already the New Jersey Turnpike is crowded. We're ten years behind in our airports and that is not to be critical...it is a sad fact. Less...over 80 percent of the American people have never been on an airplane. I was chairman of the president's travel committee, I picked up a lot of insignificant meaningless information. But let me tell you, when I remembered about 20 percent have traveled by air and that now with new reduced freight rates for air freight and with 747's and supersonic this and that, I simply ask you if you're ten years behind for the 727 and the 707 and you don't have much of an airport program and congress hasn't acted on one yet, what are you going to do about airports? And has anybody ever thought what the relationship of an airport is to a city? Are we just supposed to put them out in the country? Are we supposed to travel between Pittsburgh and Washington in 20 minutes and then if you land at Dulles take 40 minutes to get in town? Or to travel if you please from Chicago to Kennedy Airport in New York let's say in an hour and a half and by the time you get your baggage, by the time you get yourself a cab, by the time you get downtown, it's like you made another trip to Chicago/ Is that it. Now you know that we can do better than this. You know, for example, that if it was necessary in order to get workers

in a war to move from the center of the city to a manufacturing plant outside the city and get them there in a hurry we'd get there. No doubt about that. Why you even know that if we want to build to get people from downtown Seattle to the World's Fair, we knew what to do about it...we put up a monorail. I'm not saying that monorails are the best. I simply say we can do better. I'm not an expert but I know that the problem is here and it's going to be intensified. Now whose fault is it? Well, I think it's all of ours. I don't think you can blame it on the Federal Government but I sure can tell you that there's been a lot of inertia and a lot of lack of vision in state capitals and court houses and city halls and we're going to have to train up a lot of people to be able to put to work if we ever get the resources that are needed to rebuild these cities. Now can we do something about it. I think so. I've complained about the troubles, now let's see what the cures might be. I propose for example, a national urban development bank that will be financed through the subscription of public and private funds. The bank would underwrite the special risks that are attendant upon solving many of our critical urban problems. Mass transportation for example. Low-cost housing. Securities sold by this bank I believe could attract private investment capital for the revitalization of our cities. The Federal funds would be used as seed money to get the bank started. Is this new? Not at all. Listen if you can have the Government of the United States put money into the world bank for everybody else in the world, if you can have the Government of the United States put

money in the Inter-American Development Bank for every country south of the Rio Grande. If you can have the Government of the United States put hundreds of millions of dollars in the Asian Development Bank for people in Asia and by the way, I'm for those. I believe in those and those developments. If you can have a Federal Land Bank which was just what I'm describing here for rural America 50 years ago, a bank for cooperatives that made possible world farm cooperatives, a bank for the farmers that were of low income group, why can't you have a bank for cities? Why not? The world bank makes money. Inter-American development Bank produces a profit and they have 40-year loans, 30-year loans and that's what cities need. But we cannot depend upon the temperature, the fever chart of Congress. There is city after city today that has all of its bonds issued, money ready to go but no Federal funds for participation. Waiting, waiting, waiting. Is there anything else that we might do? Well I propose a National Urban Homestead Act. Is this new? How do you think you got farmers of America out in the farmland, you had a Homestead Act. How do you think you got railroads to go from the East Coast to the West Coast...you give them land on each side of the track and they seem to have a peculiar capacity for being able to find iron mines, coal mines, gold mines along there in those six miles on each side of the track. I'm all for it and they had lots of foresight but my fellow Americans, that's what it took to build America and I don't resent a bit. I think it was wise public policy. It took the Northwest Ordinance that placed

aside a certain number of acres of public land for our school system and it's going to take something to save your cities. It's not going to be done by private developers alone. It isn't going to be done by hit and miss. Land costs are too high in many of our cities, they'll have to be helped out. Even if you want to have private developments. This kind of subsidy would make possible the use of high-priced urban and suburban land to relieve the population pressure of the inner city. I've also proposed a program of federal support for the equalization of vital community services such as welfare. Now your state up here has high welfare payments and you're like a suction pump. You know that. (APPLAUSE)

Now you just mark my words. You're not going to reduce those welfare payments because that's not politically possible. Even though some of you will growl and complain ...those payments are on the books, they're not going down. But as long as there are states in certain parts of this land that pay about a fifth of what you pay, there isn't any force that man has created that's going to keep back the folks that want to get that welfare. Now there's just one way to do it. That's to have some federal standards and I think the day is at hand when conservatives...don't wait for us liberals ...end quote, quote when conservatives, when you good conservatives if there are some of you around here tonight. Now you ought to be advocating a national welfare program and get this off your back so that there isn't this movement of people that plagues every city in America today. That's one way that we can start to do something about our problems of urban

America and I might add also education. You know we sure pay for our sins. I was saying this in the car coming in. Some of us years ago said that we ought to be doing something about integration, we ought to be doing something about improving education. We had schools that were so-called separate and equal. They were just separate. And you know it and I know it and we ought to face up. A little confession is good for the soul and you don't have to go to church to do it all the time either. The fact of the matter is there are millions of Americans that didn't get a good education and they are today a problem for themselves and the community. I've never known of a nation or a city that ever went bankrupt investing in education. The failure of certain parts of the United States to educate some of its people because of color, or race has been a blight on all of America and now we have to pay for it in compound interest. So education benefits, welfare benefits, there's only one place in this nation where those costs can be paid. They cannot be paid in New York City. They cannot be paid in Rochester for long. There's only one structure of government that has the capacity to raise the means to provide the means and that's the Federal Government and we might just as well quit arguing about it. Now you can have the Federal Government pass the money onto the state if you wish to so that the state can administer it, that maybe is all right, that's an equalization program. We've done it with our schools. State legislatures have made available in my state, for example, substantial sums of money

to certain school districts in my state so that we can have equal educational benefits. It doesn't make any difference whether you live in Rochester, Minnesota, or Nashua or whether you live in Minneapolis, Minnesota, or you live up in a little remote community in the Northwestern part of our state like Roseau. We have educational

Side 3

I think we need to borrow some of the management techniques that we've perfected in industry and in science. The space program has taught us a lot. Do you think we'd ever really put a man on the moon just through private industry. Do you think we'd have done it just by government. The answer I think is unequivocally no. We did it in combination, in partnership and my fellow Americans this is what we've got to think about. Every problem I've talked about tonight is too big for you, too big for me, too big for Rochester, too big for New York but it's not too big for America. It's not too big for the federal, state, local government and the private resources. And we're going to have to get a new coalition because these are our problems. These are not political problems. These are human problems. Political in the sense of partison. Our cities, as Dr. C said, are filled with social dynamite and they've been exploding. We've been getting warnings and those warnings have to be listened to. I think also it would be well if we had one dramatic example of what we could do. And I proposed two years ago, a year and a half ago, that we have what we call

a bi-centennial city for our 200th anniversary, July 4, 1976. To select an area for an entire new city and let's see what modern industry, the latest in modern management techniques, see what we could do with the best in transportation, the best in health and education. Let's have a model city for some inspiration. We need new cities in America, not merely to rebuild old ones but the modern city needs and in other words is a sense of community. We need neighborhoods, not just land areas. We need neighborhoods where people are friends and not foreigners. We need to de-centralized municipal services. Our task in other words is to bring police people closer to their jobs, to their schools, their health services, their recreation areas and their cultural institutions. There isn't any reason that a person should have to travel 500 miles to see a forest. Berlin, Germany. West Berlin has a forest within it. So does Paris. London, England, has twice as much park space as Philadelphia and New York put together. They've decided that living space is important and you can walk through the park! Oh yes. (APPLAUSE) Now high density does not necessarily mean overcrowding and low density does not preclude it. On Park Avenue in New York density is 1,000 people to the acre. In Watts, California, it's 20. So it wasn't just density that brought on a problem but I think there are limits. If all of us were packed together like the residents of Harlem, the whole population of the United States, over 200 million, could be squeezed into Long Island. That does tell you a little bit about a problem. So let me just summarize it. We have

the best schools in the areas where there's the highest income. I don't want those schools any less than they are but let me turn the other side of the coin. We have the poorest schools on the average in the areas where the people are the poorest. One of the ways that you equalize the benefits of democracy is to make sure that public services add to private means. We have regrettably the poorest garbage collection where the garbage is the highest and deepest. We have the most often, the more frequent garbage collection where there's fewer people and less garbage. Now I speak of this not as a novice but as one who spent four years as Vice President working closely with the mayors of our cities and one who has lived in a city all of his life since he was 18 years of age. Schools are the worse where the educational needs are the greatest. Garbage collection is the slowest where the danger of health is the greatest. Police protection is least effective and less in numbers where crime rates are the highest. Health services are the most limited where the need is the greatest and public transportation is least available where private vehicles are the fewest. These things we know. These are the realities of your America, my America and yet my fellow Americans, every one of these things can be remedied and to remedy them is to save the country. To ignore them is to spell its doom. We are a multi-racial society, trying to live in freedom. I want to remind you that no other country on the face of the earth that is as multi-racial as this one lives with free institutions and we have to

prove yet that we can really do it. I think we can. We're blessed as no other people with incredible productivity. Our economy is the miracle of the world. When I was a lad and when many of you were, you know that we began to lose faith in our system of economy. That was what was bothering us in the 1930's. We've overcome that and I really believe we have. I think that we have developed the mechanisms that can keep this economy of ours moving ahead. Oh it'll have its problems from time to time but basically moving ahead. We're generating resources that we need but don't underestimate what's happening in your country today. Don't write off every kid that carries a picket as a wild man. Don't write off these college young people today that are complaining saying that they're spoiled and pampered or that they're revolutionary. What they're really saying is that they want this economy of ours to be humanized. What they're saying is and they're concerned...they're saying is there going to be anyplace for me to live? They're saying what am I going to be when I'm 45 years of age, rich and dead? A job and no way to get to it? Spending half of my time trying to get across town? Insulating my house against outside noise only to be driven crazy when I get outside? Violence, my fellow Americans, is not just the violence of war or the violence of assault and battery. There's the violence of filth, there's the violence of noise, there's the violence of prejudice, there's the violence of pollution and some of these, this type of violence is even more deadly and more painful.

than physical violence. Most of us have suffered some physical violence one way or another. We've had bruises, we've broken bones, we've been hurt physically. It only takes a short time for it to repair. But I can assure that the violence of prejudice, the violence of poverty, the violence of psychological pressure can leave a scar that never disappears. I want to see America to be what we say it is. America the beautiful. I have unbounded faith we can do it and I want the people who have the greatest stake in it to do it. I am not an advocate of revolution. I am not an advocate of radicalism. I'm an advocate of change with order and order with change and I say to this audience that unless middle-income America, this kind of an America that I'm looking out at here tonight, unless you start to do something to make our cities a place fit for people, rather than a place to escape from, to make our cities a place to come into to live and to try to live the good life. Unless you protect God's heritage to you the land, the water and the air, unless you see to it that the gates of opportunity are open to others just as they were open to you, that we've lived the best days of our history but the fact is the best days can be ours yet to come. We have so much to do with. We know so much. We have so many resources. We've developed such techniques. We transplant a heart. We send a man to the moon. We create synthetic life in a test tube. We build skyscrapers. We perform miracles and yet we stand like a stunned ox when we have a simple problem like how do you get from

job to home. How do you prevent noxious gases from coming out of an industry spewing out over the whole city poisoning people. How do you get people to quit dumping live sewage into your lake and my lake? Live human and industrial wastes into your river and my river. These are the issues of the 70's. All the stuff that many of us have been talking about is for the yesterdays. We're going to have to decide what we're going to do with ourselves. And my fellow Americans if we can't make for peace in America, peace between our people, peace in our cities, if we can't help our own underprivileged, if we can't do something about our own needs and many of them are your needs because you're not happy with some of this either, then what makes you think we can export peace to anybody else? What makes you think we can remake the world if we can't even remake our towns and yet I don't want to give up trying to make this a better world. I don't want to retreat from reality. Neither do you. But I want to get my hands on something that I can work with. I don't know if I can make India better. I have doubts that I could do much about China. But I have real reason to believe that working with you and all of us working together we can do something about Rochester and we can do something about Minneapolis and we can do something about St. Paul, and Los Angeles and New York and Philadelphia. Because if we can't do something to remedy our problems that are ours, with our resources, with our people, speaking the same language, using the same currency, having the same constitution,

basically the same values, what makes you think we can do anything for anybody else? So I ask you to join me in the great coalition of decent, motivated, concerned citizens. The coalition of liberals and conservatives. Of Republicans and Democrats. The coalition of the silent majority as well as the articulate one and to see if we can't make the last third of this 20th century our finest hour because I think we can. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE)

My friends, I know that the hour is late and I've kept you a long time. I always forget what my wife tells me, she said a speech doesn't have to be eternal to be immortal! But I got wound up in this subject. I thought what I had the right audience. You know, there's no use of teaching temperance to a temperance society! (APPLAUSE) And I was talking about the needs of this country to the people that know how to do something about it and I learned a long time ago that's the right ones to talk to. Now any of you that have a question that you'd like to ask, the field is wide open...my information isn't that good but you can ask any question you wish to ask. Don't hesitate. I'll be glad to take them. The acoustics are good I've been told in this magnificent auditorium. Yes...anybody out here? Yes sir.

QUESTION

I did receive that telegram. In all honesty I didn't

get it as soon as...it was sent to an address where I was not living at the time...it took a little while to get to us. I'd heard about it on the television. I think it's a good suggestion, the suggestion of Dr. Jackson was that there ought to be equal time provided for the opposition party when and if the opposition party desired it when there are pronouncements from the party in power. That matter is now before the Democratic National Committee. It seems to me that it's a good suggestion and I wouldn't be a bit surprised but what some action will be taken on it. I think we're indebted to Dr. Jackson for the proposal. Our governmental system is a little different from some others as you know, we're very unique. When you lose an election here you're really out of power. When you lose an election in Britain you're just out of the Prime Ministership and the cabinet. By that the minority party in Britain has a shadow government. Mr. Heath, for example, is the equivalent for the conservative party of what Mr. Wilson is for the labor party and he sits in Parliament, he also has a minister of defense, he has a minister of labor, a minister of education, minister of finance. In other words, the party is organized in the Parliament so that if the next election went to the conservative party that that group would be ready immediately to move into the respective offices of the British Government. We do not have that. Our standard bearer once he's defeated is out unless he happens to be a Senator he could go back to the United States Senate. Or he surely couldn't go back to the House because the Presidential elections are in

Congressional years as well as presidential years. So the organization of a shadow cabinet so to speak is exceedingly difficult. One of the problems that you have when you're out of power is everybody's a chief. No one wants to quite subordinate himself to being the minister of health, for example. He would prefer to be the man that picked the minister of health or the secretary of health and when you get a title as I have called the titular head of the party, that indicates just about how much power you have! (APPLAUSE) Yes, gentleman in the back. Yes sir.

QUESTION (APPLAUSE)

I think much of what I had to say relates to the general conversation that takes place in the circles of business and the professions and middle income America. Until you're willing to start openly discussing and hopefully finding some reason to support a system that permits some modicum of planning, that would permit some way of arriving at at least some reasonable concensus of goals and priorities, you're not really going to make much progress because the other fellow that you write to or talk to is going to say well that's just your point of view. Somewhere now a goodly number of this audience belongs to the Republican party, some of you belong to the Democratic party, I would hope that you could put it other way but I doubt it...but I want to say this. That I'm looking at people that are in the prime of their life and you and I know that

that's a fact. When you're in that age bracket between 25 and 55, and if you're feeling as good as I am, 25 and 58. You're at a pretty vigorous point in your life. You have resources, problems, family, you generally have some respect in your community, some role of civic leadership in some organization. You've got to start talking it up. You ought to be a member of a political party. Oh I know that we've been talked to in this country that politics are dirty. Well one of the reasons is because you refuse to get in and clean it up. I want to tell you right now... (APPLAUSE) I've been in politics a long time. I don't feel a bit dirty than any of you, I want you to know that, not one bit. I refuse to let this mythology go uncontested. Of course, there are people in politics that abuse their rights and privileges. Of course, there are people in public life that are corruptible. This is representative government. (APPLAUSE) Somebody once said about a member of Congress. They said he's a fool. Somebody said well, fools are entitled to representation too! Now I'm not trying to excuse people in public office because I think that once you take the oath, so to speak, of public service that you have extra responsibilities. But/we need in the political parties today are people who are thinking about their country and what it's going to be, not what it is. And neither political party has a monopoly on virtue or wisdom. The only time that you're led to believe that is at the election time but there's plenty of room for improvement. So how do we get something done? Not just writing to Congress but

it would be a very good idea, for example, if the Democratic party of this state, if you could ever bring it together...and the Republican party of this state and I gather it has some problems too but if these political parties, for example, would start to go on record for what do they believe the goals of 1970 ought to be for America. How can we achieve them? Why don't we have some what we call simulated exercises? Let's assume that since most everybody hopes for disengagement in Vietnam I gather ~~that~~ whether you think it ought to be immediate and now or whether it ought to be by 1970 or whatever time, I think most people hope and pray that we can find a way to disengage. Not everybody but most. All right, if we did so, it is perfectly obvious that they're going to be some resources available. Have you thought through what you'd like to have happen to them or are you going to wait just to see who's the biggest wheeler and dealer. Now there isn't any reason you can't start this in your local party. The urban coalition I gather you have one here in Rochester that brings together business, labor, white, black, rich, poor. This is something for them to begin to think about. I'm deeply concerned about this, my fellow Americans. Very concerned. When I see the demographic reports and the demographers are not all wrong, they haven't been wrong in the past, that's what worries me, but when I see, for example, that the future population of this country for the next 25 years will be basically along the seacoasts and along the ~~Great~~ Great Lakes and the Gulf Coast, even though you're on the Great Lakes and so

is Duluth and Minneapolis and St. Paul is close, I say what about the rest of America? Is there such a thing as being overpopulated? In some areas and underpopulated in others. I think there is. What is the role of government. I'm not going to tell you what the role is because my view may not be one that you like. I think you ought to figure out what's the role of government. I have an idea what the role of government is. I do not want to see, for example, a planning instrumentality for America. Planning if that's a bad word, let's figure out a committee of goals for America. President Eisenhower appointed a commission once on goals for America. Did you ever find out what happened to it? Why should Bookings Institution be the one that publishes the book on Goals for America. When did they get the right to do that. Is that their obligation. I think it's good. They've got the agenda for America. I'm reviewing their book...it's excellent. But this is a matter for business, labor, finance, universities, government needs to work together and how do we get something done about it. We start where we are, city councils, county commissions, Republican party, Democratic party. That's the way you build it. That's the way they got the idea of revenue sharing which is now beginning to take hold. This is the way we got the idea of an intergovernmental relations commission. People started talking about it. What I was trying to say to you is that it's going to happen. It's just a question under whose sponsorship. Do you want it jammed down your throat by a group of people that protest and demonstrate and raise unshirted hell?

Or do you want to seize it yourself and say wait a minute, I don't need to have you instruct me about this. This is a great country. I think it can be greater. I'm not going to let you have a monopoly on what America ought to be about. I've got some dreams about America too. You have your dream about this country. Express it. And that dream doesn't mean that it's going to be just like it was because if that's your dream, it's a nightmare. Because it's changing. Science and technology is changing it and you know it. The pattern of our living is changing and you know it. The only question is what are we going to do about these forces that are at work. Are we going to give the black man in this country a real chance to be a first-class citizen with our leadership or is he going to have his way into it. With hostility and anger. He's right, we do run the country you know. You and I, we run it and we're going to be called for an accounting and I want to tell you when I served in public life, as the mayor particularly of the city, and I saw the problems of my city I didn't go around and say well these are just accidents. They were just exactly like what happens to our health. When you start to black out, when you start to get dizzy, when you go to the doctors and he tells you that your cholesterol count is up, your blood pressure is up and he tells you that you've got a little problem with your blood test and your urinalysis....don't go around saying now what next doc and try to make a joke out of it or don't say well I got the wrong doctor. What you need to do is to start to do something about it. Now you

and I know that there are some things that are in error and the point is we're not beyond the point of return. Really we're not. We're now right where we can change it all and make it good and do it the right way, the right way. We shouldn't have had to have cities rebuilt because somebody burned them down. Now you know that. All you have to ask is would I like to live like that other fellow is forced to live. That's the simple test. And I want to tell you, I've traveled around this country a great deal. I was up in the Bronx the other day in New York City, I went up to St. Barnabas Hospital. Now St. Barnabas Hospital is a marvelous institution of health. I was up there to dedicate a new wing to that hospital. I drove through three or four miles of streets that were littered with garbage, glass, trash, cans, cars that were left on the street. When you live in conditions that are filthy and degrading, you're apt to be that way. It has an effect on you. And don't tell me that rich America can't afford to pick up the garbage. Don't tell me that we can't afford to have housing. I just came back from a little country called Korea. Its per capita income is \$300 a year, less than \$300. They have 2,800,000 refugees from the North. They've got a 1,800,000 of them around Seoul the capital living in the hills. They built decent, clean, modern, low-income housing last year for 400,000 of them. They haven't got any money. They built 28 underpasses under their streets so you don't have to run across the top of the street and get run down. They're building 55 more. They

built a whole university less than two years, the Korean Institute of Science and Technology. Two years ago when I was Vice President I turned the first spade of earth out in the countryside, just like it was out here on a farm in your county. There were no buildings, no roads, no water, no sewage, no nothing. On October 23 of this year they dedicated the Korean Institute of Science and Technology like MIT...168 PhD's, 90-some percent of them graduates of American universities, many of them from universities in New York State. They've already gotten 26 new patents, all of the Korean industry is coordinated through the Korean Institute of Science and Technology. They did it in two years!

Side 4

kilometers of water system. They had 2,538 public works projects in Seoul and by the way the community increases in population by 400,000 every year, every year. Now it isn't New York and it isn't Rochester, New York, or Minnesota. It doesn't look as pretty. Their people don't have what we have but they've got some priorities and when you...you just ask yourself what are the best looking buildings in your country today. Banks, insurance companies, churches thank goodness, country clubs and racetracks. Those are the best ones aren't they, now is that a fact? You know it is (APPLAUSE) The worse looking buildings are the ones the government builds. I talked to a group of government people here the other day and I said the General Services Administration ought to be presecuted. They ought to be. They built a Federal Courts Building in my city that

looks just like a crackerbox. Public buildings ought to be pretty, attractive. Most people will never get to see a nice building unless it's a public building. A lot of people won't I'll say but that they can call their own. All right, next question?

Yes sir, this gentleman right here and then we'll come to you.

QUESTION

The gentleman has asked a question and I think stated it in a positive manner and then asked me to comment on it that we're proud of our space achievements he said and we have three more space shots scheduled for the coming year. Would it not be possible to have something else upon which we could spend our money a little better, is that what you were saying or part of it. Well, first of all, those shots that are scheduled are paid for, that part of it, that's been appropriated. The question is where do you go from here and I think that where we do go from here has to take into consideration what you want out of the space program. Do you want more manned flights, do you want unmanned probes. My own view is that you can reduce the cost of the space program somewhat and get as much out of it at least for scientific and technical purposes, out of the unmanned probe. I happen to believe that the space program has given some very great rewards to this country that are not really properly tabulated and I don't mean just the drama and the heroic enterprise of getting to the moon

because that within itself, of course, was a great accomplishment in terms of human courage and adventure and also technology. Let me just list them for you and then I think you'll put...we'll get better perspective. No. 1, the space program is really made possible the computer. It is the impetus for the computer which has given American industry a great technological advantage. The so-called technological gap between the United States and Europe was based basically on the computer, not entirely but a large part of it, our advance in the computer technology. There isn't a major computer firm in Europe today that can compete with anything that we have here. They're beginning to now get a consortium in certain areas that will be somewhat competitive. Furthermore the space program has developed whole new materials, metals, fabrics, paints, covers, plastics, ceramics. The space program has done a great deal for medicine. We've learned more about stress and strain particularly as it relates to our nervous system and our heart. Out of the space program then many of the other endeavors that we've had thus far in this field of medical research. We've also gotten some other things out of the space program that are rather important it seems to me. We've learned a lot about guidance systems which are going to have a great deal to do with modern air transportation for all of us. We've learned a great deal too about improving radar and long-range electronics. But then we come down to what I think is most important. Communication satellite, marvelous, out of the space program. Ours is a

public-private, quasi public private, the com . Our communications satellite is superior. It's in its infancy. Most of international communications from here on out will be by communications satellite. It's easier for me to call from Japan to Washington, D.C., as I did by satellite than it was to call from Waverly, Minnesota, to Minneapolis. 38 miles, yes indeed, that's not an exaggeration, it's a fact. Communications satellite is going to revolutionize education. In 15 years much of the higher quality, higher education will bring together the great minds of the world through communications satellite transmission with instantaneous language translation which we're now coming to much of it mechanical. We're able to do that. In the recent political campaign I was able to talk into a device and it sent a typewriter ticking at the other end of the line in Washington, D.C. We're changing a lot. Project Nimbus which is the weather satellite has possibly saved already as much money as the last year of the space program cost the public treasury, saved in property by weather forecasting and surely saved many lives. The earth resources satellite which is probes into the earth to be able to discover for geological survey, underground water, minerals, able to detect plant disease. This is just in infancy, already it's delivering great results. It will produce more than the total cost of the space program. Project Bela which is the reason that we can negotiate with the Russians about anything. Project Bela is a mechanical instrument that is a substitute for trust. Project Bela makes it possible for us to detect any type of nuclear explosion in the air, in space, on the surface of the earth

and in water and under water. And then we have seismic devices, of course, that have been developed for our underground tests. So the reconnaissance satellite which this company by the way knows a great deal about because it produces some of the mechanisms. The reconnaissance satellite has made it possible for us to know a great deal about what other people are doing for our security which will maybe make it possible now that along with other means of not having to go through Pueblos and other matters such as this, international incidents such as the Pueblo. I saw the photographic of the reconnaissance satellite one time when I was Vice President of the National Security Council, I don't think it's any longer security, so I can talk about it, over a certain country taken from hundreds of miles up in space and this particular country had large numbers of vehicles that were undoubtedly being moved for military purposes. I saw those vehicles so clearly that you could tell what kind they were, that you could see almost the detail of the license. That's what you call good resolution, isn't it. So one of the troubles when we discuss the space program is that this part generally doesn't come out you see but I do think we have to put priority now. My own feeling is that it isn't nearly as important to have a dateline to get to Mars as it is a dateline to clean up our cities. That's my view of it. I don't think they're incompatible, however. I think that you can get much of what you want out of the science aspect, technological aspects of a continuation of the space program and at the same time be able to do what you're

doing in your cities because the space program also generates revenues, it generates most...all of this money by the way is spent in our own country amongst ourselves and as you and I know it has a way of multiplying, the multiplier effect but again it's all a matter of balance. I served as Chairman of the Space Council for four years and I'm very proud of the fact. By the way, part...not of my fact of being on it but of the program I want to tell you something about a space program that maybe has done more for us than anything. I was in Moscow on July 16 when we launched the Apollo 11 for the moon. I was there on the night of July 20 when we landed on the moon. The only country outside of the Soviet Union, outside of Communist China and Albania that did not show live television of our moon landing was the Soviet Union, China and Albania, those are the only three countries that didn't show it. After we landed the Soviets, of course, as you know, did put the film on and from there on out they've had live coverage but what was the significance of this. Sputnik was December 1957, do you remember? Shocked everybody. Why I remember the horror stories that we were reading, we were so far behind we'd never catch up, it was, you know, we were just scared to death. What did the space program tell the Russians? The Russians have poured in billions into their space program. They were far ahead of us on boosters. They obviously were far ahead of us in terms of space satellites because sputnik proved that. They had we admit we estimated a minimum of a 5-year lead.

I'll tell you what it told them. When we landed on the moon it told them that when the United States of America wants to do anything, really makes up its mind we can do it and we can do it so much faster than they can that it made their heads swim. I think the greatest single development for peace in the last year was the space program. I think it told the Russians that it's time for them to start negotiating at Helsinki. I think it told them that they can't win this fight, this struggle in technology and science, not at least in this century. I think it told them that when the United States makes up its mind, pledges its resources has a goal, commits itself, as we did and we made a 10-year commitment and we delivered it in nine and we caught up and surpassed the Russians even though they had a 5-year lead. I think that message went into those people that understand power like few of us understand it, they understand our power and they got the message clear...it went right to the heart and they said look. If that crowd can do that when we were five years ahead of them and they've got a war going on in Vietnam besides, look what they could do if they really wanted to do something and I believe that had more to get them to Helsinki and to get to talking about nuclear arms control...I said Helsinki, Folks! (APPLAUSE)

Anyone else, yes this gentleman here.

QUESTION

I'm for ... I like that you know..... Well I think you know, I think you've read the reports that the low-income housing program has been at a standstill for four months We have the highest time rate of interest since the time of James Madison, that ought to tell us something. And we've had the highest rate of interest rates on government bonds in the last 110 years. Now I know that there are some people that believe that the way that you control inflation is through interest rates and I also recognize that interest rates reflect demand for money/ I don't think necessarily totally so because those interest rates were not raised by all of the banks, oh no. A lot of little banks out my way didn't like those interest rates going up that big. They were raised by some banks but the fact of the matter is it didn't check inflation. As a matter of fact, one of the elements in inflation today is the high cost of money because it's passed right on. So it is that you cannot rely on monetary policy alone as an anti-inflationary method... now I recognize...I think I'm sufficiently reasonable to know that you can't have low interest rates at a time that the economy is moving ahead so rapidly that it's in an inflationary spiral so to speak but I believe that the failure of the government and in this instance the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to at least take a stand and to call in the responsible parties and say that there is such a thing as the public interest. I think that this was most unfortunate. I can tell you this. I was around the White House when John Kennedy

and Lyndon Johnson were there and I'm sure that all of you weren't always happy with everything they did but when...and it didn't happen just on industry, they had guidelines. Now guidelines are just what they say. They're guidelines, they're not firm lines. They were measurement standards, you hoped that people would kind of stay within them, they didn't always stay within them, sort of like having, you know the highway, there's always the little gravel, there's a little edge on the road and some people you'd like to drive out there and once in awhile labor would get more than they should and once in awhile industry would ask more price than they should but there was a way to say look to the public, you've gone too far and I remember when the steel companies and the union were in a battle and Mr. Johnson said gentlemen, I have some free rooms for you over in the executive office building, right above where Hubert lives. You go on up there and you settle this and you settle it within the guidelines. Now they didn't quite get it within the guidelines but I'll guarantee you they came a lot closer than if they'd said there were no guidelines and I can also tell you that if Mr. Johnson had been president when that interest rate went to 8 1/2 percent with his populace leanings you would have heard some very descriptive Texas language with or without electronics! I'm not sure that it would have lowered the interest rate but it sure would have given you some interesting conversation. No that interest rate is far too high and I don't think it's working as it had intended

to...I think it's injurious rather than beneficial. Anybody else, this man here and then we'll take one more or two.

QUESTION

Well, I hope you won't think me unkind or inconsiderate if I were to tell you that if I were to make that announcement I would prefer to make it somewhere within the territorial boundaries of the State of Minnesota. I have given it and am giving it very serious consideration. It is not a joking matter. I like the Senate. I haven't made up my mind just exactly what I want to do. It's...plus the fact that I'm enjoying teaching and not only that I'm making more money. As I told somebody the other day, I got my swimming pool paid for. And I enjoy this, it's good and even though they're paying Senators a lot better...my timing been off most of my life. I want to tell you... you know, just to kind of end this off in a pleasant note, imagine, not only being defeated for President but then having to sign as the presiding officer of the Senate a bill to increase the President's salary! (APPLAUSE) And if that isn't enough to make you choke up imagine having to sign a bill that almost doubled the Vice President's salary. Oh boy...and I left the Senate when they were paying less too but I must say that they're paying good now and what I'm doing and I really enjoy it fellows, it's really nice except I don't know when... when is this tax bill going to be effective? Is it retroactive?

Thank you much, now who's over here. I don't want to...yes sir.

QUESTION

I think the present gun control laws are inadequate and I don't think gun control legislation hurts sportsmen at all. I like to go hunting. I was out here with Jim Wilmont the other day and he by the way has been always very helpful to me in more ways than one. He makes sure that the birds are tamed so I can get a good shot at them. But I happen to believe that gun control legislation, registration and particularly on interstate sales and other registration of firearms is helpful. I don't say that it is corrective but I think it's helpful and I don't think that all of the talk about it that it only means the government's got ahold of you and from there on out it's going to get worse. I don't think it means that at all. We've had duck stamps, we have had other kinds of things that have protected wild life, I don't see any reason we can't have some, it might protect some human life so...(APPLAUSE)

What's that? Yes sir! I always like to look up!

QUESTION

Absolutely not aware of it, had heard nothing about it,

and I'm sure that the president...I asked the former president as to whether he had, he said he had not. This was something that has come to light in recent months like a lot of other things in war. For example, we didn't learn about the bombing of Dresden in World War II until a good deal after it happened which was an open city. This is a tragic thing that's happened. We don't know all the facts and again I think it poses a very serious problem in terms of the person's rights that are being accused. We ought not to judge people guilty before we have all the facts. I think that's terribly important. (APPLAUSE) But what it really tells you if the facts are as they're alleged to be is that this war business is awfully dirty stuff. Now, does anyone in this room really believe that in World War I and World War II and the Korean War that things of tragic consequences didn't happen. Of course they did. There are American boys who were lost because their own planes by mistake bombed them. There were hundreds and thousands of civilians lost. Have you forgotten Nagasaki and Hiroshima? Have you forgotten that? Were those all soldiers? There was a war on. War is a nasty, filthy business. Sherman was right...it's hell. Now I'm not condoning and I'm not encouraging and it is a fact that if the men that are presently charged with these actions are guilty that they will be and should be punished and I think the President has made it clear that that's what he expects to have done if the facts justify the allegations. But I think we need to get a very, very full view of what this is all about

and it doesn't do any good for me to stand up here and tell you that there were thousands killed at _____ by the enemy, that doesn't justify our doing the same...we're a different people. But I think there are men in this room that served their country with valor and firearms that know that at times when a battle is being fought that it's very difficult to control emotions and to have the judgment that you would like. Of course, it's the duty of officers to make sure that those emotions are controlled. This is one of the most tragic developments that's happened in our country. I think it shocked our people. My only concern is that we give those who are charged the chance first of all to defend themselves if they're within the processes of law. If they're guilty, then in a sense we're all somewhat guilty. If they're not guilty, I can say just thank God. I don't feel good about the war. Vice Presidents don't declare war or send troops but I was in the government. I've never...most of my life has been spent trying to get peace. My major military confrontation was with the Boy Scout Troup...that's a fact. I was a teacher for the Air Corps for a little while but it just...I think what it just tells me is that once you are engaged in hostilities that the most unbelievable things happen, the most tragic things. Therefore, I've tried during my lifetime to try to work for nuclear test ban treaties, an arms control agency, a nuclear nonproliferation pact, space treaty and now an arms control treaty over advanced stages of strategic weaponry. This is what I believe

is the best way to search for peace but to answer your question specifically, I know of no officer including the Secretary of Defense in this administration or the previous administration or the former president or the former vice president that knew of the facts or the alledged facts of this or whatever, pink bill or all the different places they call it, of this alledged massacre. Had it been known, you can rest assured that something would have been done about it. I do know this, that I saw President Johnson by the hour looking over targets to make sure that civilians were not going to be bombed and maybe I can unload a little bit here. I used to wonder what we were doing to some of our own pilots when we sent them out on missions and had specific instructions that even if they were under attack, they could not drop their bombs in order to have maneuverability to get away because we didn't want to be responsible for killing civilians. People used to say, why didn't we bomb Hanoi and H ...I'll tell you one of the reasons we didn't, we spent weeks trying to find ways that you could bomb a target without killing hundreds and hundreds of civilians and my good fellow Americans, I think a number of American pilots lost their lives because of the restrictions that were placed upon them in order to save other people's lives. That was the policy of this government. We never tried to accentuate the war fever in this country. We tried to keep it from spreading. I sat down one time with one of the leaders of Asia, a peaceful man, a neutralist.

And I said what do you think we ought to be doing in Vietnam. He said, Mr. Vice President, you should blow up the dykes in North Vietnam and flood them out. I said what are you talking about. I said that will kill hundreds of thousands, drown them. He said you have a war on your hands, that's what you ought to do. You asked me for my advice, that's what you ought to do. I said well that's not the way we fight a war, not this kind of a war. We're not going to do that. We're not beasts. But he said, Mr. Vice President, you asked me what I thought you ought to do, I gave you my advice now you can take it or leave it. You see, they don't always approach things the same way. I'm sure that in this instance that those that were in the higher command that had responsibility, first of all would never have condoned it if they'd known about it and when they knew about it I gather that what few knew about it justified it on the basis that the village was infected with Vietcong. Now it's so hard to talk about this because you're generally misunderstood and misinterpreted but I think you ought to know that in District 7 outside of Saigon where once I visited which was an area that had been bombed out, shot out and then rebuilt and in which we had large classification programs going, I was so impressed with what the young men and women were doing there from the University of Saigon and they were, they were young men and women of 17 and 18 and 19 years of age that were doing this work, that I went down there and for the first time some television had come to Vietnam, we had an old constellation that was

floating above the city so to speak which was beaming kinds of television programs so I gave the young people there a television set, not much of a one, I gave it to them. Do you know what the result of it was? They were all killed. A little girl came in with hand grenades and dropped them, purposely, killed all of the people that I thought I was trying to help, my television that I gave them brought them around so that they could all get killed and how do you like that? That wasn't done by a soldier. You see this is the problem in that kind of a war. You never know who is the enemy. And it's such a mixed up mess. Is it any wonder that students today and others are saying, some way, somehow we have to find a way to disengage...I'm not one that believes you can just get up and leave tomorrow morning, I don't want you to misunderstand me. I happen to think that the President of the United States is doing about as good a job at it as circumstances will permit and as I've told a number of my friends, I don't care whether you're a Democrat or Republican. I'm not interested in having a fight with President Nixon just for the sake of having a party dispute. I'm interested in what he's doing and when I think that he's trying to do what's right, when I think he's taking the steps that I believe are basically right, at least most of them, I intend to give him help. When I think he's wrong I intend to criticize him but I don't intend to spend my time being a carping partisan critic on the issues of life and death and peace and war. I don't happen to think Vietnam is a partisan issue. I think it is a national issue and a

national tragedy. (APPLAUSE) Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE).

Gentlemen, on behalf of the officers of our club, we wish you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. January we have Goodman Ace...hope to see you all then. Thank you.



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