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Rough-
for files

THE URBAN CRISIS

This summer was the third long, hot summer in a row in the central cities of our nation. In Newark, in Detroit, in Cambridge, Maryland-- even in Minneapolis, Minnesota -- city streets turned into battlegrounds.

There were guns. There were bloody heads.

There were troops and tanks. There were fire bombs and tear gas.

There were broken windows, broken buildings, broken bodies.

American citizens died in battle on the streets of our cities this summer. And we are all a little less happy with America this September. We are all a little ashamed.

What brought us to these depths of this third summer of our discontent--the worst of the three, with grim predictions of worse yet to come in the fourth summer? What sent Americans to the streets instead of the shop stewards, to violence instead of votes, to their guns instead of their governments?

Yes, we had an urban crisis this summer. It was a crisis of confidence. Some of our people abandoned the system this summer, my friends. And they left us because they had no confidence in the system. They left us because they came to the conclusion that we left them.

They had no stewards.

Their votes had brought programs and jobs for others, but not for them.

Their governments were busy with you and me, and not with them. What is it like for them? What is life like in the ghetto?

It's nearly impossible to tell it like it is, to see it like it is, for you and me. A great many things that we take for granted are missing there.

Like space to live in and be alone, so you sit on the outside steps at night because you want to, and not because there isn't any room inside.

Like rest at night, away from traffic and sirens and bright lights and away from the family on the other side of the thin walls-- and away from rats.

Like schools where teachers want to teach and have the equipment, the supplies, the right number of students, and the right kind of curriculum for those students.

Like jobs where there's a chance to get ahead and where the other men respect you and somebody helps you get the wages you should have--or even jobs where you can work a full work-week most of the time. Or even jobs that last more than a few months before you have to start all over again somewhere else.

Like transportation to get you to a job somewhere else if the one close to home disappears.

Like homes you own and can take care of yourself, or homes and apartments you rent that someone will fix up if you complain. Or places to live where the plumbing works and the stairs are sturdy and the rats don't come out at night.

Like regular garbage pickups and streets that are repaired as often as anybody else's.

Like places nearby for kids to play or transportation to get to the places that aren't so near.

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Like fathers who are proud of the jobs they have because they have good jobs and can keep them and can make enough money to take care of their families.

Like other parts of town that you can move to if you don't like it where you are.

Like stores that have good food and good clothing and good furniture for the amount you have to pay.

Like money.

Twice as many people who live in the ghettos are unemployed as those who live outside the ghettos. Half as many of the teen-age boys have part-time or full-time or summer jobs.

More than 75 per cent of American Negro children attend schools that are at least 90 per cent Negro. The classes are larger, the buildings are older, the amount of money spent per student is usually less in those schools in spite of the fact that the educational problems are more difficult.

Negroes, who make up just over ten percent of the population of the United States, occupy more than one-half of all substandard rental units.

People who live in the ghetto pay higher interest on loans and credit, and groceries in the ghetto cost 15 percent more than elsewhere in the city according to a recent study in New York City.

Police firemen, and public officials are more often hostile to ghetto residents than to those in other sections of the community. The reports on the Watts riots of 1965 show constant use of contempt by policemen dealing with Negroes, and the Newark and Detroit reports

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showed similar patterns.

There's not a rioter in this room today. And there weren't many union men fighting on the streets this summer. Except those in uniform.

What brought this difference between black and white? How were these conditions created?

We are too bright to accept the argument that the Negro wants to live in squalor, wants his children exposed to crime, delinquency and prostitution, wants and enjoys the care-free life of the poor. It happened, my friends, because you and I and our government let it happen. We ignored the Negro.

Until the Sixties our whole governmental system was geared to improving the conditions of the middle class, creating the good life for the white up-and-coming American, not for the black kid.

Let me give you some examples of these policies.

In the thirties we formed the Federal Housing Administration. This program, by providing insurance to cover mortgage defaults, allowed you and me to buy homes with long-term mortgages and low interest rates.

But while we were purchasing these homes, the FHA was encouraging restrictive covenants to prevent any "disruptive" element in a neighborhood. Meanwhile the tenement was made available to the Negro.

In 1949 Congress passed the urban renewal legislation to " provide a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family." This law was intended to remove slums and make our cities cleaner, more attractive place to live. It did add nice glass buildings to the sky-line of most cities and built luxury apartments at a subsidized rate. But it constructed these buildings in Negro neighborhoods. In the ghetto, urban renewal was viewed as " Negro removal." The decent home and suitable environment clause in the bill was something like the rest room in the old Southern bus depot - "for whites only."

Our governments provided our children with one of the best educational systems in the world. We created schools at the public level that could compete with an Eastern "prep" school. But, we put little money into the ghetto school. We let our worse, least experienced teachers go there. We did not encourage special programs. We felt relieved when the Negro finally dropped out.

Then came Kennedy.

During a brief, shining moment in the early 60's we began to care. We found a leader who recognized the faults of these programs and was determined to change them. When John F. Kennedy was assassinated, President Johnson continued this idea, expanded it, and provided us with new programs. He had a Congress willing to innovate, eager to make up for the wrongs of the past.

The accomplishments have been great. We passed a federal program of aid to education giving priority to schools with low income children.

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We passed "model cities," a program of comprehensive aid to neighborhood residents.

We passed the poverty program with Head Start for the children, Neighborhood Youth Corps for the teenagers, the Job Corps for the drop-out, Manpower Training and Development for the unemployed and the underemployed, and the Community Action Program to promote community initiatives in self-improvement.

But the 1966 election may have marked the end of this period of enlightenment in Washington. Reaction has set in, old attitudes are back, and the vision of future greatness for all Americans is dimmed.

We have seen Congress emasculate the Teacher Corps; delay action on Food Stamps; and endanger the entire poverty program.

The House has been worse. It refused to vote funds to continue the rent supplements program. It has voted against a modest bill to help eliminate rats in our slums. And it voted inadequate funds for the Model Cities program.

The summer riots have intensified this reaction. The House has not responded to the riots, with legislation to bring hope to the charred wilderness of our ghettos, but with anti-riot laws and anti-crime laws. The House reacted to the obvious frustration, despair and hatred of the slums with pious legalism.

But our Congressmen were not alone in their failure to understand this American tragedy. The reaction against the Negro has been widespread and ugly - you should read my recent mail. Some of my liberal friends cannot even talk to their friends about racial problems

And in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, there is another frightening kind of reaction--white violence in response to demonstrations over open housing.

If the old apathy becomes a new rejection of the American living in squalor and poverty in the ghetto, there will be tragedy ahead. The violence we have seen so far will be only the beginning. We will face the prospect of armed camps and demilitarized zones and walls around our center cities. ~~XXX~~ What progress has been made will be lost, and something sad will have happened to America.

Instead, we must have a national commitment for action. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Labor, government, business, voluntary groups, individual citizens--all must join in massive, imaginative, carefully planned programs to meet the crisis.

The newly-formed ~~xx~~Urban Coalition, in which this organization is represented, is a start in the right direction. The AFL-CIO Executive Council's recommendations are other examples of imaginative new ideas. They demonstrate that the creation of new programs need not be left to government--and I believe responsibility cannot be left only to government.

We don't know right now exactly what is necessary and we don't know exactly what will work. But we do know where to begin.

We must have funds for our good existing programs.

We need:

- Rent supplement funds, and much more of them.
- Full funding for the model cities experiment.
- An effective rat control bill.
- A healthy food stamp appropriation.
- An enlarged poverty program directed by the Office of Economic Opportunity set up for that purpose.

But these are not enough. We must commit ourselves to eliminate the ghetto in ten years. To do so will require:

--An imaginative program to provide ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ law enforcement in our center ~~xxxx~~ cities that is ~~always~~ always ~~xxxx~~ adequate, efficient, fair, understanding, and responsive to the needs of those who are unable to protect themselves adequately.

--A program of jobs and public works to employ men from the ghetto--in the ghetto where feasible, with transportation out of the ghetto if that's where the jobs can be found.

--A new welfare program to encourage incentive and eliminate dependency, that builds ways of getting off welfare into the welfare program.

--Compensatory education to offset the damaging effects of ghetto life on children.

--Open housing legislation to guarantee freedom of access for ghetto residents to any area of the city in which they can afford to live.

--Housing programs that will significantly increase the number of units for poor families and the possibility of home ownership for lower-income families.

This will be a start. And it will be expensive if we do it well. At least as ~~much~~ expensive as putting a man on the moon. At least as expensive as developing a ~~supersonic~~ supersonic transport system. Almost as expensive as developing an antiballistic missile system to protect our cities from being ravaged from the outside.

We will have to pay for it. And I believe we will pay for it.

But that financial and governmental commitment will never work if it is not accompanied by a real effort at social justice and full opportunity from groups and individual citizens who have the power to help the ghetto resident live in respect or make him live in contempt.

Each of us must accept these goals. Each of us must commit himself to treating these Americans as if they are Americans. We must not run from the Negro in our neighborhoods. We must not bar him from our unions. We must not ~~keep~~ keep ~~him~~ from him the same protection in law which we insist on for ourselves.

Open governments, open housing, open unions, open schools, open opportunities. We must open up the ~~ghetto~~ ghetto and the rest of our cities or the American dream of liberty and justice for everyone will go up in flames in the war-torn streets of our cities.

A NEW COALITION FOR THE URBAN CRISIS

Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale
Anti-Defamation League, New York
December 13, 1967

Rabbi Rosenthal, Dore Schary -- whom I've heard about over these many years and admire and have wanted to know so that I might ask him one question -- is it true that you were George Murphy's boss? That happened.

Several people have been introduced to you this evening and I would like to introduce another person who represents the Anti-Defamation League magnificently in Washington. If one would want ADL to be characterized by one person who represents the spirit, the optimism, the humanism, and the dedication of this organization, I would name Dave Brody. Dave, why don't you stand up.

I'm delighted to join with you this evening in honoring John Bugas. I've had a chance the past few days to look into your record and that is one of the reasons we have so many FBI agents here. We want to see you after the program.

But seriously, this is a man who greatly deserves the honor that the ADL pays him tonight, because he's the uniquely American American. I think this country is developing a more', a tendency, a direction in which no part of American life is excused from public service. No part of American life is granted the right to be immune from serving the best interests of our nation, the cause of justice, the cause of brotherhood, and the other causes that are essential if the glue of this nation is to hold.

Certainly John Bugas, through his career not only in public service, but with this great Ford Corporation, stands as a remarkable

example of what we would want to be true of every corporation and all of its leaders throughout this country. I'm proud to be here with you tonight to join in honoring him for what he stands for -- not only personally, but what he represents in this country.

Now, Dore, you mentioned another point. The reason I really wanted to be here tonight was to prove that there is a second Senator from Minnesota.

In Minnesota we've proved time and time again there are more important things than political victory and we may be on our way to prove it again. It's not funny, I assure you. We deserve Will Rogers' famous quotation when he was asked in 1932 to which party he belonged. He said "I don't belong to any organized party. I'm a Democrat."

We've certainly proved it, we've been consistent all along. In 1960, Orville Freeman nominated Kennedy, Gene McCarthy nominated Stevenson, and everybody, including the two nominators, voted for Humphrey. So in that great tradition, we continue to lead this nation.

I'm pleased to be here tonight to join the members of this remarkable organization, which has done so much and continues to do so much for this country.

One would think that matters of human justice and human brotherhood would require no organization, that brotherhood with justice is a notion that all citizens would accept without argument and practice at all times in their daily lives. But it has been

the dreary, pathetic and often disastrous fact in the long history of mankind that when men find troubles overcoming them, some will try to blame somebody else for that problem, to pick a scapegoat. This is the oldest, the most sinister and cynical technique resorted to by politicians for century upon century.

So it is necessary to have organizations like the ADL to remind us of the fundamental stake that we all have in this simple notion of human brotherhood.

Virtually every day we see this other phenomenon arise. Who would have thought, for example, that the leader of our oldest ally, the nation which stood shoulder to shoulder to us in our own revolution, the nation which apart from Great Britain has been as close to us as any other throughout the lifetime of this country, should have its leader stand up, and not only criticize the state of Israel, which is his right, but to say disparaging words about his definition of the characteristics of Jews -- that was a racist, anti-semitic comment. I don't know how a man like DeGaulle has, what do you call it, "choutspah" to call somebody ambitious and domineering, but he did.

But racial hatred has always been unreasoning. You cannot appeal to the haters through reasoning. You cannot silence those who find the nervous or the psychological urge to resort to hatred. What **you** can do is be sure that decent and honorable people never forget the folly of that course. And this is the great cause that ADL has performed throughout its history.

I want to speak to you very briefly tonight about a problem that we all face as Americans.

Nearly two hundred years ago, Thomas Paine, in The American Crisis, said, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of this country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of men and women."

These words speak to us today, nearly two hundred years later, when we face another crisis, born at least partly in the failure of our way of life. America was to be a demonstration that all men are created equal, that among their inalienable rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

But we have just endured our third long hot summer. In one of the great agonies of modern America, our city streets turned into battlegrounds.

We saw Americans turn on one another.

We watched death and destruction and disgrace in Detroit, in Newark, and New Haven.

And this profoundly wealthy nation yet truly deserves what Gunnar Myrdal said about us: "There is an ugly smell rising from the basement of the stately American mansion."

The story is not all bad. Some progress has been made.

The ADL is rightly proud of its dedication to liberty and justice. All of us, whether we call ourselves enlightened or liberal, whatever our politics or our religion or our theology, whatever our occupations, have reason to be pleased with some of our accomplishments.

We have brought better housing to many lower-income Americans, through rent supports and other devices.

We have poured billions of dollars of new money into education, Teacher Corps and the rest.

We have founded the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We have brought about Manpower Training and Development.

We have mounted better health care programs.

And we have made civil rights a reality for many persons in our society.

But clearly, judged by the nature of the problem, we have done far too little. And we all know the roll.

We have let too many cities crumble in decay.

We have allowed too much of rural America to become a domain of despair.

We have watched racial patterns of living entrench themselves, and yes, grow, across this nation.

We have tolerated educational systems hardly worthy of the name.

We have accepted insensitive law enforcement and inadequate public services for those who are powerless to help themselves.

We have acquiesced to a philosophy of "thus far and no farther" for members of minorities in our corporations, our labor unions, and our governments.

We have supported technology without planning, and corrupted the beauty and the health of our country.

We have fled from our mistakes and left those who could not join us to strangle in the poverty and exploitation and segregated

hopelessness to our ghettos and our exhausted farmlands.

We have too often placed our faith in national solutions, creating new federal bureaucracies when what we should have been doing is strengthening local prototypes.

We have continued to legislate at all levels primarily for the politically potent American middle class -- we have enhanced our own material well-being and increased the gap between those who have and those who have not.

We have authorized generous programs, but failed to match them with funds, and we have thereby dashed great hopes to pieces.

We have bravely called forth the American Negro to take his place now in our society and our economy; and when he showed signs of doing it we have fearfully cried out "not this place; not this way; not yet."

We all know all of this. One thing that we have in common is that we are all to blame and there is plenty of blame for us to share. And I think tonight we might just very briefly discuss some of the elements which go into trying to find the solution to this tragedy in our midst.

The first point is to simply recognize that we deserve the criticism that we have faced. One of the unique aspects of American life, whether we work in corporations subject to the cool breezes of competition or whether we work in American politics subject to the votes of our constituents, is that all of us are forced to see reality. All of us are forced to accept failure.

As one columnist put it, "in America, we never let our politicians get larger than life-size, and may they never do so."

There is a certain fundamental need for all of us to recognize both reality and failure at this time. As Tom Wicker of the New York Times put it, "From reality man reaches toward promise, fails, and in an agony of failure finds his greatness by reaching again."

This country must recognize its failure but achieve its true greatness by reaching again. That's the first point we must agree on as we look on this problem.

The second point, it seems to me, is for this country to change its attitude. There is a simple but fundamental point of view we must adopt. And I don't think a majority of Americans really practice it if they think they believe it.

It is a simple but necessary action. We must persuade ourselves in the silence of our own presence that we are all Americans, that we are all children of God, and that we are all individuals who aspire and fail.

Now, this is not complicated and it's not profound. But I personally believe that we cannot solve the problems that face America unless as individuals we first accept the fact that everyone, regardless of race or color, is entitled to full and equal opportunity and that we're going to live together and not separately. If we don't agree on that, we have nothing.

Lou Harris, the great pollster, recently took a poll that was well advertised. He asked the American people, white and Negro alike, after the riots, what we should do. Sixty-six percent said

we should have large scale government work programs for the unemployed. Sixty-three percent said "tear down the ghetto." Fifty-five percent said massive summer camps. Fifty-nine percent said "let's exterminate the rats." But when asked about fair housing, sixty-three percent said "no."

This is what I call the strategy of the Golden Ghetto. We will give you jobs; we will try to educate you; but you can't live with us or be near us. And I think it says something about the attitude that must be changed if we are to have a chance of succeeding.

There is no defense, in my opinion, of any kind for segregated housing. It is a simple rejection of one human by another without any justification but superior power. It means that we close our hearts to our fellow human beings to the extent that we've closed our neighborhoods to them.

As I see the problem of ghetto today, it is the rage of being separated, the rage that Negroes feel at being alienated, the feeling that "even if I make it, they're going to pin me in this black area," that creates the sense of outrage that we seem to find so difficult to understand.

Next, it seems to me, we've got to explore what we mean by "equal," what we mean by "fairness."

I might just begin with one story that I think underlies the vagueness of that term. Two people who had hated each other for a lifetime decided finally to get it over with, and they agreed to have a duel by sword to the death. They arrived at the appointed

time at the dueling field, opened the sword case, and found that they had only brought one sword.

So one said to the other, "Listen, I can't stand life with you on this earth any longer. I want to be fair. Let's have a 30-minute duel. I'll use the sword for the first 15 minutes, and you can use it for the last 15 minutes."

He wanted to be fair. And I think that many times when we say we are being fair to the downtrodden and the disadvantaged in American society, we're hiding behind a cold, aloof, and distant rule of equality that is just about that fair.

The Negro knows that if he is far enough behind in being dispossessed, he can't make it under our definition of fairness. As one of your Detroit businessmen put it, "the time has come for American businessmen to screen people in, and not screen them out."

There is a fundamental difference in that concept. A friend of mine, who was a juvenile judge, told me a story of a social worker who was assigned a terribly difficult family, that seemed to be in trouble all the time. One day he ran into her and he said, "Say, how is the Jones family?" She said, "Better, now that I've moved in with them."

There was a sense of commitment in that lady that made her great. She wasn't willing to sit behind the papers and the routines and the forms and the schedules she was given. She was interested in success, not excuses.

And wherever you look in American society, most of us are hiding behind the cold standard of "fairness" and excusing ourselves from really reaching out and doing the things that make the difference.

We see it in education. The standard must not just be equal education, although that would help in most cases. It must truly be an extra effort in the name of humanity to work people into the system by whatever ways are necessary to get them there and keep them there.

It takes more than rhetoric to deal with the problems of our people. Last summer we were holding a hearing on the riots and Whitney Young, a great American, testified before us. The day before, in the midst of all these exploding cities, he and five other Negro Civil Rights leaders had signed a pledge appealing to their fellow Americans to not riot or to resort to violence. They did this while the Rap Browns and the Stokely Carmichaels and the others were nipping at their heels, and it wasn't easy to do.

I congratulated Whitney Young for his act of courage. And I'll never forget his answer. He said this to me: "I appreciate the compliment, but it's not transferable in the ghettos. I have to have something in my hands."

We've sent the moderate Negro leader too often empty-handed into the American ghetto. If we really mean business in dealing with the problems of the blighted areas, of the disadvantaged of this country, the leaders can go empty-handed no longer.

In this regard, one of the most encouraging developments has been the creation of the Urban Coalition, which represents a broad and powerful cross-section of American life, including top business leadership. This Coalition, we hope, will bring a new sense of urgency, a new range of solutions to the problems of the American cities.

We have seen many leaders respond impressively. Mr. Bugas, one of the most impressive of all has been the Ford Motor Company, which reached out after the riots and announced a policy of hiring 5000 employees in the central city of Detroit -- screening them in, not screening them out. And we've seen other businessmen and leaders do the same.

Some have abandoned plans to leave the central city. Others have located plants in the core cities to provide jobs. Aerojet General, for example, created a plant in Watts. And if you don't think these people want to work, I want to give what I think is the most compelling statistic of them all. When they opened their plant in the center of Watts, they offered 75 unskilled positions to make military tents, and 5400 people applied. There is a tremendous need for jobs. I've been in the ghettos, and you have. They talk about jobs there. "Give us jobs!" That's the cry in the ghettos.

Others have located new plants in the ghettos. Others have provided financial assistance. Others have provided training. Others have tried to develop new ways of improving housing. The insurance industry committed an impressive billion dollars for investment in low-income housing.

Others have run poverty Job Corps camps. Others have pressured for urban programs. Mr. Andrew Heiskell, the Chairman of the Board of Time, Inc., came and testified on behalf of fair housing. I understand that Mr. Roach, president of a small motor company out there in -- where is it? -- was seen lobbying for fair housing in the legislative halls of the Michigan State Legislature. I'm proud of American business when they do these things.

And the other day Mr. Arjay Miller of Ford proposed a negative income tax. I don't know whether I agree with the idea, but I agree with an American businessman who stands up and says we should undertake a program that could cost up to \$13 billion to help meet the needs of the poor in this country. That's the vital kind of new thinking, the kind of debate that this country so desperately needs.

But that has not been the average response of American business, I fear. The other day, the President of the United States announced that he'd asked 500 of our largest corporations about their willingness to hire the unemployed and the under-employed. Of the 500, twenty-three said they would help. Twenty-nine refused, 85 expressed an interest, and 350 would make no commitment whatsoever. As we say in politics, hardly a landslide.

I hope the Coalition will continue to press its members and business generally to do as these leaders have done -- to reach out on their own to help out.

But there is a final challenge facing the Urban Coalition, which, if it fails, will make the whole coalition and the whole effort largely futile.

There are many things that must be done by government alone, or many things that can only be done through the cooperation of government and business. To put it frankly, the liberals of Congress are already supporting these measures. But the Senators and Congressmen who make up the conservative forces, and who have typically represented the interests of the American business community, have not yet responded to the declaration of support coming from the business leadership making up the Coalition.

Last August, the Urban Coalition met in Washington and issued a dramatic call to the government to "reorder national priorities" and develop an emergency work programs to provide jobs in the cities. The Coalition sought at least a million "meaningful" and "socially useful" jobs immediately, along with job training programs and low-income housing.

Senator Clark, a Democrat, and Senator Prouty, a Republican, tried to fashion a program which was obviously needed, and gain Congressional support for it. I was a sponsor of both.

Senator Clark's called for \$2 billion and lost by 54-28. The Prouty proposal, which was a compromise of \$1 billion, lost by 47-42.

It was close, but if the Urban Coalition had been down there working harder, it would have passed. And we would have had jobs for those who are crying for them in our ghettos today.

There are many other examples.

I think it's a disgrace that a nation that spends \$145 billion this year, that can find \$4.7 billion to go to the moon, over \$5 billion for public works, \$142 million this year for preliminary work on the SST -- sonic booms and all, could, after all this difficulty, pass only \$10 million for rent-supplements.

And it's a disgrace that a House of Representatives in a hilarious moment, could vote down a program to try to eradicate rats in our blighted areas. And it's a disgrace that the House Agriculture Committee would vote down overwhelmingly a bill to help feed children in Mississippi that we knew to be starving at that moment through the testimony of doctors who had just come from there.

And as I speak to you tonight, there is a conference report pending in the United States Senate on Social Security and Welfare legislation -- my staff is working all night with me and others to try to prepare an attack -- which is one of the most regressive, backward responses that one could imagine.

I want to make a courageous statement -- I am against illegitimate children, I don't like them, I don't think we should have any.

But I also think they are children and the sins of their mothers should not be vested upon them. And they need to be clothed and fed and educated. And if we are a wise and decent nation, we'll do it, and we'll do it properly to try to prevent this from continuing generation after generation.

Tonight there is a bill that would put a freeze on extension of federal assistance to them. "This many and no more." And all that's left for American cities and states is either to do nothing or to place the whole cost on already overburdened real estate taxes, to create burdens for their citizens which will further sink the potential of American cities to deal with their problems.

This reflects the flavor of your Congress. It reflects what I believe to be a totally distorted response by your government to the problems which this nation faces. What I'm saying to you tonight is that I think that there is only one hope for the kind of coalition that will give us the programs we need to deal with the human needs of American society -- whether it's direct appropriation, whether it's new techniques for tax incentives, which I think we need to help improve Americans, whether it's the use of guaranteed low-interest rates for housing, or whatever else we may need to do.

I see little hope that this effort will occur unless American business insists that it occurs, unless it stops being neutral before the Congress, before the state legislatures, before the school boards and their city halls. The voice of decent and humane business must be heard effectively, if we're going to have the strength that we need to deal with these problems.

At the close of Whitney Young's testimony, he said: "Our appeal is a very simple one. We are at the crossroad. The Negro has said to America in a thousand ways over 400 years that we believe in America, and now it seems to me that the time has come for America to say to the American Negro that 'I believe in you.' This is our simple appeal."

I hope we'll heed it.



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