



‘A decent home
for every American’

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
MARCH 4, 1968





“I don’t believe you build a city, or save a city, or rescue a city. I think you build a neighborhood, save a neighborhood and rescue a neighborhood.”

Today, at noon, the Senate of the United States—in perhaps its most historic civil rights vote of the century—brought nearer to every American, President Truman’s historic 1949 pledge of: “A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.”

And today, two-thirds of the Members of the U. S. Senate said this pledge was not just for white American citizens, but would apply to *every* American citizen.

A decent home for every American is possible only with a national fair housing law.

We can win on this pledge made by President Johnson and we can carry out his housing program. The fight continues and it is still a hard road ahead, but I believe we can, and must prevail this year, this session, in this Congress. I think the time is at hand for that action.

The citizens of America found another message on their breakfast tables yesterday morning as they opened their Sunday newspapers.

That message read, “It is time to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of the people.”

These words—from the President’s Commission on Civil Disorders—challenged the very meaning of our free institutions . . . and the will of our free people.

I trust that every person in this audience will take the time to carefully study not only the recommendations of the Commission on Civil Disorder, but also the body of evidence on which those observations and recommendations are based.

There are some questions that we have to ask ourselves tonight, and in the days ahead . . .

Are our freely-elected city, state and federal governments capable of responding to the just aspirations of a minority too long denied full and equal opportunity?

Can the free enterprise system, which has given most of us so much, assure enough jobs, enough housing, enough income, for all?

And, as individuals, are we ready to practice freedom and equality as well as preach it? Or will the poison of discrimination—which

the Commission blames most for the syndrome of urban poverty and blighted opportunity—destroy this nation, which we have tried to build and strengthen for almost two centuries.

'A CHALLENGE TO THE NATION'

My friends, the "Crisis of the Cities," as the President called it in his recent message to Congress, is a challenge to the nation—not just to the federal government . . . not just to the governors and the mayors . . . but to every American citizen.

The Kerner Commission's report on the specific causes of urban disorders brought no surprises. But it did point directly and dramatically to what is wrong in the left-out, neglected neighborhoods of America:

—Inadequate service and protection by the law. The Commission cited one inner city neighborhood which had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as occurred in a nearby high-income white district.

—Unemployment and underemployment rates as high as 35 per cent, with the heaviest burden falling on young men in the prime of life.

—Inadequate housing. As many as 40 per cent of all the people in your nation's capital, for example, live in inadequate dwellings or pay more than they can afford in rent.

—There are other causes, and this society has been aware of them for years . . . inadequate educational opportunity . . . lack of recreation . . . unresponsive local political structures . . . exploitation in the stores and at the credit desk . . . and, yes, public neglect.

But the real tragedy cannot be measured in statistics and generalities. It is measured in the loss of valuable human resources to our society, and in the frustration and heartbreak of real people—not story-book people—but real people.

Here are the words of one inner city mother—words I recently found amid the depersonalized data of a government report:

"When they have to get out on the street at 14 or 15 they consider themselves to be a man . . . and are going to take on some responsibility . . . because he is the only man in the house, and he has little brothers and sisters in the house and he sees his mother and brothers and sisters going hungry, half starving and trying to get the rent in.

"It is a bare house . . . it is a cold feeling even to be there, and you have to go out and on the street and become the subject of the

same thing out there. There has to be a breaking point."

We have known about those needs—that urgent crisis—for some time.

'WHY HAVEN'T WE DONE SOMETHING?'

Why haven't we *done* something?

The answer is that we *have* been doing something.

And, as we look ahead, it is important to recognize that we *do* now have a solid platform of laws, programs, and experience on which to build.

I think our efforts of these past few years should be seen in proper perspective—not as the final answer, not that they are enough, but that we have done something.

If we—as objective observers—saw that developed Country X, on another continent, had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years . . . had increased the number of people in job-training programs tenfold . . . had established a new ministry of urban affairs . . . had passed sweeping new legislation to provide equal rights to all its citizens, I believe we would rightly conclude that Country X had dramatically committed itself to a radically improving the life of its citizens.

Our own country has done these things, and more.

And I think it is fair to say that *our* progress has been dramatic—because of legal breakthroughs . . . breakthroughs in old human attitudes . . . breakthroughs in our concept of the society we can expect to build in this country.

But breakthroughs and new commitments—such as the commitments represented by a Model Cities program or an Elementary and Secondary Education Act—which are impressive to the social scientist mean little if anything to the Negro father, or mother, who is still unable to buy decent shelter for his, or her, growing family.

Indeed the long-standing injustices of poverty and discrimination in a society that is rich and free are all the more magnified by the first scent, the first indication of progress.

"The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable," de Tocqueville wrote, "become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

There will continue to be progress. And, in spite of it—perhaps because of it—the sufferings that remain are going to continue to become all the more intolerable.

That need not and must not mean violence. But it does mean that it may be some years before the intensity of the urban crisis will subside.

'WHAT NOW?'

What now? What are the next constructive steps, steps to be taken not in despair, but to be taken in hope and in confidence.

President Johnson's message on the cities says in the most dramatic and clear terms that the time for planning, the time for experimenting, the time for demonstrating the rebuilding of cities, is over.

The President has now put before the nation the grand design for the rebuilding of the cities.

We know what works; we know how to finance and bring the vast power of the American economy to this job; we know how to build new communities. There need be no hesitancy that the job can be done. We know it can be done.

"What now? What are the next constructive steps, steps to be taken not in despair, but to be taken in hope and in confidence."



The commitment by the President, which he urges upon the nation in his special messages and his budget, is that we now perform and produce.

Among the next constructive steps are the President's new proposals to the Congress—proposals which would build on the already substantial urban and poverty efforts now under way:

—A national effort to replace 6 million substandard housing units in the next ten years—three times the present rate of construction. Moreover, for the first time in our history we have a specific goal when it comes to homes for all Americans—26 million in the next ten years. With the 1949 Housing Act this nation pledged a "decent home and a suitable environment for every American." Now we mean to fulfill that pledge for 20 million Americans still trapped in degrading, unhealthy, unnecessary tenements.

—A partnership between government and private industry to provide training and jobs by 1971 for 500 thousand hard-core unemployed workers—"the last in line and the hardest to reach."

—Full funding of the poverty program in the fiscal year ahead.

A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice they deserve." President Johnson has declared 1968 the year when "the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime."

Those are federal programs. Will they help? And how?

The other day a close friend of mine—a mayor of a large American city—called me. "Our problems are desperate. We need more federal help." I acknowledged that he undoubtedly did.

Yet, I could not help but be reminded that I had been mayor of a big city not too many years before, and that we had faced many of the same problems he confronts today. Only then there had been little if any federal aid.

The other day I read about an official in a major city who was so distressed about the chances of solving the city's problems that he quit his job and announced he was coming to Washington to lobby the Congress.

'WHERE RESPONSIBILITY LIES'

I think we must remember where responsibility lies—or how it is shared—in our federal system.

The Federal government is not a totalitarian central bureaucracy—the source of all funds, all decisions, all power... least of all, all wisdom.

When it comes to the kind of environment American cities offer

their people, the federal government can at best serve as a catalyst for action.

Under our system, federal funds cannot buy outright enough safe streets or clean water or new housing to go around.

What they *can* do is stimulate local and private investments and help mobilize the nation's resources through a multiplier effect.

That federal principle has been the explicit basis of nearly all the opportunity and urban redevelopment programs inaugurated during the last few years. All these programs depend on a partnership among governments at every level and private enterprise, organized labor, voluntary groups and individual citizens—the sinews of a free society pulling together.

Take the case of rent supplements, for which President Johnson has asked a six-fold increase in funding this year.

The rent supplement program is a multiplier. It multiplies the impact of public investment in housing by tapping the creativity, resources and efficiency of the private housing industry.

The result is that every tax dollar invested through rent supplements initially generates twelve times as much housing as it would if it were put into regular public housing projects.

The same formula is represented in the “turnkey” concepts developed during the last few years for public housing.

In the federal Model Cities program, local government—local political initiative—is the basic ingredient.

Federal funds available under Model Cities are meant to stimulate comprehensive local and regional planning, involvement of entire communities and private enterprise in the process of rescuing urban neighborhoods.

‘YOU BUILD A NEIGHBORHOOD’

Let me get in my little prejudice. I don't believe you build a city, or save a city, or rescue a city. I think you build a neighborhood, save a neighborhood and rescue a neighborhood. The modern American city is too big to be just a city governed by itself. It must become a cluster of neighborhoods, a kind of a confederation, or federalism of its own, within an area. That is what I think is really needed. The sense of pride of neighborhood, the feeling of intimacy of neighborhood, the competition between neighborhoods, a neighborhood that is big enough to be viable, and small enough to be meaningful, so that you feel an identity with it. That is what is needed in our cities.

Federal dollars will also buy some bricks and mortar. But I doubt that you will see many plaques in years to come saying “This community was rebuilt under Federal Program XYZ.”

That kind of program worked for schools and bridges back in the thirties, and the whole nation benefitted. But it won't work for entire communities in the complex 'sixties and 'seventies.

Part of the answer, I think, lies in this paragraph from the Kerner Commission's examination of the Detroit riot:

“As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhoods Action Committee . . . organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood.”

That neighborhood remained peaceful because its citizens had a *direct, personal* stake in it.

They had an investment to protect—an investment of sweat, of dollars, and of personal involvement.

And it is sweat, dollars, and involvement *at all levels* of our federal system—from White House to your house—that will be necessary if the urban crisis is to be overcome.

‘IT IS OPEN TO SOME CHALLENGE’

The Commission on Civil Disorders fears that “our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

That assertion may be true, although it is open to some challenge.

But if the Kerner Commission's fear becomes a nightmare reality, it will not be so much because any specific government failed. It will be because our free society failed.

. . . because taxpayers waited for someone else to pay for community services;

. . . because Chamber of Commerce and union members in a thousand American cities did not throw open the doors of job opportunity;

. . . because government officials were more concerned with their precious jurisdictions than with the people living within them;

. . . because school boards and PTA's forgot the cost of ignorance in a free society;

. . . because builders, land developers, and real estate people failed to meet a national housing crisis;

... because a complacent or fearful majority ignored the long-deferred rights and aspirations of an increasingly impatient minority.

That is the only way that this Nation can become two Americas—the America of the rich and the poor, of the white and the black, separate and unequal. Yes, my fellow Americans, it could happen. There are signs of it.

'BUT THERE ARE CONTRARY SIGNS'

But there are contrary signs as well.

As the President's liaison with the cities, and as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I spend much of my time trying to activate the multiplier effect. Vice Presidents, as you know, don't have a lot of authority or resources at their disposal, so I work hard to multiply what I have.

I have called literally hundreds of businessmen and community leaders and others across the country within the last few weeks asking for help with our Summer Youth Opportunity Program for 1968.

The response has been amazing—even from quarters which have been considered citadels of conservatism.

If it has to do with jobs or recreation or training, or help for schools, or for funds to send young people to camp, the answer is almost always yes.

Businessmen across the country are showing a new willingness to provide job-training, jobs, housing and financial backing for inner city residents—and new imagination in discovering ways to make a profit while they're at it.

The building trade unions have promised to open up their apprenticeship training programs to disadvantaged young adults.

On college campuses across this country—once you tune out the angry shouts of a noisy few—you see an unprecedented sense of social responsibility and determination to see justice done.

There are unlimited resources in this country, to do whatever we need to do. What we must have is a clarion call to action, and a sense of vision that we can do anything we set our mind to.

We need to dream the impossible dream, and then fulfill it. That is what makes a great country, and a great people.

'SO DON'T SELL AMERICA SHORT'

So don't sell America short. Not only do we have nearly half the world's GNP at our disposal and an unprecedented reserve of human and technological resources. I find a determination and a willingness



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in all parts of our society to overcome what may be the last hurdle on the long path to full democracy.

Woodrow Wilson once said, "Democratic institutions are never done—they are, like the living tissue, always a-making. It is a strenuous thing, this, of living the life of a free people: and we cannot escape the burden of our inheritance."

I had occasion recently to reread the words of a 19th century political philosopher who called on his followers to "support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things" and to "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

We Americans, throughout our history, have always rejected appeals such as that of Karl Marx—appeals built not on reason but on raw emotion . . . appeals which reject the very idea that a diverse society of men can both provide justice and live at peace with itself.

Our American revolution has been a peaceful one—revolution according to Thomas Jefferson. It is not dead. It continues. And now is the time when we must most rededicate ourselves to it.

For if we fail, what hope may others have?

There need not be two Americas—one black, one white.

There need not be two Americas—one rich, one poor.

Not if we, all of us, reaffirm our commitment today to the task of building a free and open and living nation for all the world to see—"one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

That is the only America that I want, and the only America you want.



TUESDAY AM
MARCH 5, 1968

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE DINNER
WASHINGTON, D. C.
MARCH 4, 1968

The citizens of America found this message on their breakfast tables yesterday morning as they opened their Sunday newspapers.

"It is time to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of the people."

These words -- from the President's Commission on Civil Disorders -- challenge the viability of our free institutions... and the will of our free people.

Are our freely-elected city, state and federal governments capable of responding to the just aspirations of a minority too long denied full and equal opportunity?

Can the free enterprise system, which has given most of us so much, assure enough jobs, enough housing, enough income, for all?

And, as individuals, are we ready to practice freedom as well as preach it? Or will the poison of discrimination -- which the Commission blames most for the syndrome of urban poverty and blighted opportunity -- destroy this nation we have labored nearly two centuries to create?

My friends, the "Crisis of the Cities," as the President called it in his recent message to Congress, is a challenge to the nation -- not just to the federal government...not just to the governors and the mayors...but to every American.

The Kerner Commission's report on the specific causes of urban disorders brought no surprises. But it did point directly and dramatically to what is wrong in the left-out neighborhoods of America:

--Inadequate service and protection from the law. The Commission cited one inner city neighborhood which had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as occurred in a nearby high-income white district.

--Unemployment and underemployment rates as high as 35 per cent, with the heaviest burden falling on young men in the prime of life.

--Inadequate housing. As many as 40 per cent of all the people in your nation's capital, for example, live in inadequate dwellings or pay more than they can afford in rent.

--There are other causes, and this society has been aware of them for years...inadequate educational opportunity...lack of recreation...unresponsive local political structures...exploitation in the stores and at the credit desk...and, yes, public neglect.

But the real tragedy cannot be measured in statistics and generalities. It is measured in the loss of valuable human resources to **our** society, and in the frustration and heart-break of real people.

Here are the words of one inner city mother -- words I recently found amid the depersonalized data of a government report:

"When they have to get out on the street at 14 or 15 they consider themselves to **be** a man...and are going to take on some responsibility...because he is the only man in the house, and he has little brothers and sisters in the house and he sees his mother and brothers and sisters going hungry, half starving and trying to get the rent in.

"It is a bare house...It is a cold feeling even to be there, and you have to go out and on the street and become the subject of the same thing out there. There has to be a breaking point."

We have known about those needs -- that urgent crisis -- for some time.

Why haven't we done something?

The answer is that we have been doing something.

And, as we look ahead, it is important to recognize that we do now have a solid platform of laws, programs, and experience on which to build.

I think our efforts of these past few years should be seen in proper perspective.

If -- as objective observers -- we saw that developed Country X, on another continent, had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years...had increased the number of people in job-training programs ten-fold...had established a new ministry of urban affairs...had passed sweeping new legislation to provide equal rights to all its citizens, I believe we would rightly conclude that Country X had dramatically committed itself to radically improving the life of its citizens.

Our own country has done these things.

And I think it is fair to say that our progress has been dramatic -- because of legal breakthroughs...breakthroughs in old human attitudes...breakthroughs in our concept of the society we can expect to build in this country.

But breakthroughs and new commitments -- such as the commitments represented by a Model Cities program or an Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- which are impressive to the social scientist mean little if anything to the Negro father who is still unable to buy decent shelter for his growing family.

Indeed the long-standing injustices of poverty and discrimination in a society that is rich and free are all the more magnified by the first scent of progress.

"The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable," de Tocqueville wrote, "become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

There will continue to be progress. And in spite of it -- perhaps because of it -- the sufferings that remain are going to continue to become all the more intolerable.

That need not and must not mean violence.. But it does mean that it may be some years before the intensity of the urban crisis will subside.

What now? What are the next constructive steps?

Among them are the President's present proposals to the Congress -- proposals which would build on the already substantial urban and poverty efforts now under way.

--A national effort to replace 6 million substandard housing units in the next ten years -- three times the present rate of construction. With the 1949 Housing Act this nation pledged "a decent home and a suitable environment for every American." Now we mean to fulfill that pledge for 20 million Americans still trapped in degrading, unhealthy, unnecessary tenements.

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Those are federal programs. Will they help and how?

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Yet, I could not help but be reminded that I had been mayor of a big city not too many years before, and that we had faced many of the same problems he confronts today. Only then there had been no federal aid at all -- not a dollar.

Many of us saw the news story the other day about a high official in a major city who was so distressed about the chances of solving that city's problems that he quit his job and announced he was coming to Washington to lobby the Congress.

I think we must remember where responsibility lies -- or how it is shared -- in our federal system.

The Federal government is not a totalitarian central bureaucracy -- the source of all funds, all decisions, all power...least of all, all wisdom.

When it comes to the kind of environment American cities offer their people, the federal government can at best serve as a catalyst for action.

Under our system, federal funds cannot buy outright enough safe streets or clean water or new housing to go around.

What they can do is stimulate local and private investments and help mobilize the nation's resources through a multiplier effect.

That federal principle has been the explicit basis of nearly all the opportunity and urban redevelopment programs inaugurated during the last few years. All these programs depend on a partnership among governments at every level and private enterprise, organized labor, voluntary groups and individual citizens -- the sinews of a free society pulling together.

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Federal dollars will also buy some bricks and mortar. But I doubt that you will see many plaques in years to come saying "This community was rebuilt under Federal Program XYZ."

That kind of program worked for schools and bridges back in the thirties, and the whole nation benefitted. But it won't work for entire communities in the complex 'sixties and 'seventies.

Part of the answer, I think, lies in this paragraph from the Kerner Commission's examination of the Detroit riot:

"As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhoods Action Committee...organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood."

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* * *

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That assertion may be true, although it is open to some challenge.

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But there are contrary signs as well.

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There need not be two Americas -- one rich, one poor.

Not if we, all of us, reaffirm our commitment today to the task of building a free and open and living nation for all the world to see -- "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

TUESDAY AM'S

EXCERPTS FROM THE REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY
BEFORE NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE DINNER

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Vice President Humphrey indicated that if it is the will of the American people, there need not be two Americans -- one black, one white, and there need not be two Americas -- one rich, one poor.

The Vice President's reference was to a warning in the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders.

In a speech prepared for delivery before a dinner meeting of the National Housing Conference in Washington on Monday, March 4, the Vice President said the Commission's report on the specific causes of urban disorders brought no surprises. However, he said, "The report did point directly and dramatically to what is wrong in the left-out neighborhoods of America."

He said the 'Crisis of the Cities' "is a challenge to the nation...not just to the federal government, not just to the governors and the mayors...but to every American."

In stressing the critical need for local and private involvement in solving urban problems, the Vice President said: "The Federal Government is not a totalitarian central bureaucracy --

the source of all funds, all decisions, all power...least of all, all wisdom.

"When it comes to the kind of environment American cities offer their people, the federal government can at best serve as a catalyst for action.

"Under our system, federal funds cannot buy outright enough safe streets or clean water or new housing to go around. What they can do is stimulate local and private investments and help mobilize the nation's resources through a multiplier effect."

The Vice President noted that some efforts had been made in recent years to meet the needs of cities.

"I think it is fair to say that our progress has been dramatic -- because of legal breakthroughs...breakthroughs in old human attitudes...breakthroughs in our concept of the society we can expect to build in this country.

"But breakthroughs and new commitments -- such as the commitments represented by a Model Cities program or an Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- which are impressive to the social scientist, mean little if anything to the Negro father who is still unable to buy decent shelter for his growing family," the Vice President said.

"Indeed the long-standing injustices of poverty and discrimination in a society that is rich and free are all the more magnified by the first scent of progress.

"There will continue to be progress," the Vice President declared, "and in spite of it -- perhaps because of it -- the sufferings that remain are going to continue to become all the more intolerable.

"That need not and must not mean violence," he emphasized. "But it does mean that it may be some years before the intensity of the urban crisis will subside."



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

FOR RELEASE

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John R. Kelly

JK

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"Under our system, federal funds cannot buy outright enough safe streets or clean water or new housing to go around. What they can do is stimulate local and private investments and help mobilize the nation's resources through a multiplier effect."

The Vice President noted that some efforts had been made in recent years to meet the needs of cities.

"I think it is fair to say that our progress has been dramatic -- because of legal breakthroughs...breakthroughs in old human attitudes...breakthroughs in our concept of the society we can expect to build in this country.

"But breakthroughs and new commitments -- such as the commitments represented by a Model Cities program or an Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- which are impressive to the social scientist, mean little if anything to the Negro father who is still unable to buy decent shelter for his growing family," the Vice President said.

"Indeed the long-standing injustices of poverty and discrimination in a society that is rich and free are all the more magnified by the first scent of progress.

"There will continue to be progress," the Vice President declared, "and in spite of it -- perhaps because of it -- the sufferings that remain are going to continue to become all the more intolerable.

"That need not and must not mean violence," he emphasized. "But it does mean that it may be some years before the intensity of the urban crisis will subside."

TUESDAY AM'S
MARCH 5, 1968

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE DINNER
WASHINGTON, D. C.
MARCH 4, 1968

The citizens of America found this message on their breakfast tables yesterday morning as they opened their Sunday newspapers.

"It is time to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of the people."

These words -- from the President's Commission on Civil Disorders -- challenge the viability of our free institutions... and the will of our free people.

Are our freely-elected city, state and federal governments capable of responding to the just aspirations of a minority too long denied full and equal opportunity?

Can the free enterprise system, which has given most of us so much, assure enough jobs, enough housing, enough income, for all?

And, as individuals, are we ready to practice freedom as well as preach it? Or will the poison of discrimination -- which the Commission blames most for the syndrome of urban poverty and blighted opportunity -- destroy this nation we have labored nearly two centuries to create?

My friends, the "Crisis of the Cities," as the President called it in his recent message to Congress, is a challenge to the nation -- not just to the federal government...not just to the governors and the mayors...but to every American.

The Kerner Commission's report on the specific causes of urban disorders brought no surprises. But it did point directly and dramatically to what is wrong in the left-out neighborhoods of America:

--Inadequate service and protection from the law. The Commission cited one inner city neighborhood which had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as occurred in a nearby high-income white district.

--Unemployment and underemployment rates as high as 35 per cent, with the heaviest burden falling on young men in the prime of life.

--Inadequate housing. As many as 40 per cent of all the people in your nation's capital, for example, live in inadequate dwellings or pay more than they can afford in rent.

--There are other causes, and this society has been aware of them for years...inadequate educational opportunity...lack of recreation...unresponsive local political structures...exploitation in the stores and at the credit desk...and, yes, public neglect.

But the real tragedy cannot be measured in statistics and generalities. It is measured in the loss of valuable human resources to our society, and in the frustration and heart-break of real people.

Here are the words of one inner city mother -- words I recently found amid the depersonalized data of a government report:

"When they have to get out on the street at 14 or 15 they consider themselves to be a man...and are going to take on some responsibility...because he is the only man in the house, and he has little brothers and sisters in the house and he sees his mother and brothers and sisters going hungry, half starving and trying to get the rent in.

"It is a bare house...It is a cold feeling even to be there, and you have to go out and on the street and become the subject of the same thing out there. There has to be a breaking point."

We have known about those needs -- that urgent crisis -- for some time.

Why haven't we done something?

The answer is that we have been doing something.

And, as we look ahead, it is important to recognize that we do now have a solid platform of laws, programs, and experience on which to build.

PAGE 3

I think our efforts of these past few years should be seen in proper perspective.

If -- as objective observers -- we saw that developed Country X, on another continent, had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years...had increased the number of people in job-training programs ten-fold...had established a new ministry of urban affairs...had passed sweeping new legislation to provide equal rights to all its citizens, I believe we would rightly conclude that Country X had dramatically committed itself to radically improving the life of its citizens.

Our own country has done these things.

And I think it is fair to say that our progress has been dramatic -- because of legal breakthroughs...breakthroughs in old human attitudes...breakthroughs in our concept of the society we can expect to build in this country.

But breakthroughs and new commitments -- such as the commitments represented by a Model Cities program or an Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- which are impressive to the social scientist mean little if anything to the Negro father who is still unable to buy decent shelter for his growing family.

Indeed the long-standing injustices of poverty and discrimination in a society that is rich and free are all the more magnified by the first scent of progress.

"The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable," de Tocqueville wrote, "become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

There will continue to be progress. And in spite of it -- perhaps because of it -- the sufferings that remain are going to continue to become all the more intolerable.

That need not and must not mean violence.. But it does mean that it may be some years before the intensity of the urban crisis will subside.

What now? What are the next constructive steps?

Among them are the President's present proposals to the Congress -- proposals which would build on the already substantial urban and poverty efforts now under way.

--A national effort to replace 6 million substandard housing units in the next ten years -- three times the present rate of construction. With the 1949 Housing Act this nation pledged "a decent home and a suitable environment for every American." Now we mean to fulfill that pledge for 20 million Americans still trapped in degrading, unhealthy, unnecessary tenements.

--A partnership between government and private industry to provide training and jobs by 1971 for 500 thousand hard-core unemployed workers -- "the last in line and the hardest to reach."

--Full funding of the poverty program in the fiscal year ahead.

A comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans "the security that they demand and the justice they deserve." President Johnson has declared 1968 the year when "the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime."

Those are federal programs. Will they help and how?

The other day a close friend of mine -- a mayor of a large American city -- called me. "Our problems are desperate. We need more federal help." I acknowledged that he undoubtedly did.

Yet, I could not help but be reminded that I had been mayor of a big city not too many years before, and that we had faced many of the same problems he confronts today. Only then there had been no federal aid at all -- not a dollar.

Many of us saw the news story the other day about a high official in a major city who was so distressed about the chances of solving that city's problems that he quit his job and announced he was coming to Washington to lobby the Congress.

I think we must remember where responsibility lies -- or how it is shared -- in our federal system.

The Federal government is not a totalitarian central bureaucracy -- the source of all funds, all decisions, all power...least of all, all wisdom.

When it comes to the kind of environment American cities offer their people, the federal government can at best serve as a catalyst for action.

Under our system, federal funds cannot buy outright enough safe streets or clean water or new housing to go around.

What they can do is stimulate local and private investments and help mobilize the nation's resources through a multiplier effect.

That federal principle has been the explicit basis of nearly all the opportunity and urban redevelopment programs inaugurated during the last few years. All these programs depend on a partnership among governments at every level and private enterprise, organized labor, voluntary groups and individual citizens -- the sinews of a free society pulling together.

Take the case of rent supplements, for which President Johnson has asked a six-fold increase in funding this year.

The rent supplement program is a multiplier. It multiplies the impact of public investment in housing by tapping the creativity, resources and efficiency of the private housing industry.

The result is that every tax dollar invested through rent supplements initially generates twelve times as much housing as it would if it were put into regular public housing projects.

The same formula is represented in the "turnkey" concepts developed during the last few years for public housing.

In the federal Model Cities program, local government -- local political initiative -- is the basic ingredient.

Federal funds available under Model Cities are meant to stimulate comprehensive local and regional planning, involvement of entire communities and private enterprise in the process of rescuing urban neighborhoods.

Federal dollars will also buy some bricks and mortar. But I doubt that you will see many plaques in years to come saying "This community was rebuilt under Federal Program XYZ."

That kind of program worked for schools and bridges back in the thirties, and the whole nation benefitted. But it won't work for entire communities in the complex 'sixties and 'seventies.

Part of the answer, I think, lies in this paragraph from the Kerner Commission's examination of the Detroit riot:

"As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhoods Action Committee...organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood."

That neighborhood remained peaceful because its citizens had a direct, personal stake in it.

They had an investment to protect -- an investment of sweat, of dollars, and of personal involvement.

And it is sweat, dollars, and involvement at all levels of our federal system -- from White House to your house -- that will be necessary if the urban crisis is to be overcome.

* * *

The Commission on Civil Disorders fears that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal."

That assertion may be true, although it is open to some challenge.

But if the Kerner Commission's fear becomes a nightmare reality, it will not be so much because any specific government failed. It will be because our free society failed.

- ...because taxpayers waited for someone else to pay for community services;
- ...because Chamber of Commerce and union members in a thousand American cities did not throw open the doors of job opportunity;
- ...because government officials were more concerned with their precious jurisdictions than with the people living within them;
- ...because school boards and PTA's forgot the cost of ignorance in a free society;
- ...because builders, land developers, and real estate people failed to meet a national housing crisis;

...because a complacent or fearful majority ignored the long-deferred rights and aspirations of an increasingly impatient minority.

Yes, it could happen.

But there are contrary signs as well.

As the President's liaison with the cities, and as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I spend much of my time trying to activate the multiplier effect. Vice Presidents, as you know, don't have a lot of authority or resources at their disposal, so I work hard to multiply what I have.

I have called literally hundreds of businessmen and community leaders and others across the country within the last few weeks asking for help with our Summer Youth Opportunity Program for 1968.

The response has been amazing -- even from quarters which have always been considered citadels of conservatism.

If it has to do with jobs or recreation or training, or help for schools, or for funds to send young people to camp, the answer is almost always yes.

Businessmen across the country are showing a new willingness to provide job-training, jobs, housing and financial backing for inner city residents -- and new imagination in discovering ways to make a profit while they're at it.

The building trade unions have promised to open up their apprenticeship training programs to disadvantaged young adults.

On college campuses across this country -- once you tune out the angry shouts of a noisy few -- you see an unprecedented sense of social responsibility and determination to see justice done.

So don't sell America short. Not only do we have nearly half the world's GNP at our disposal and an unprecedented reserve of human and technological resources. I find a determination and a willingness in all parts of our society to overcome what may be the last hurdle on the long path to full democracy.

Woodrow Wilson once said, "Democratic institutions are never done -- they are, like the living tissue, always a-making. It is a strenuous thing, this, of living the life of a free people: and we cannot escape the burden of our inheritance."

I had occasion recently to reread the words of a 19th century political philosopher who called on his followers to "support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things" and to "openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

We Americans, throughout our history, have always rejected appeals such as that of Karl Marx -- appeals built not on reason but on raw emotion...appeals which reject the very idea that a diverse society of men can both provide justice and live at peace with itself.

Our American revolution has been a peaceful one -- revolution according to Thomas Jefferson. It is not dead. It continues. And now is the time when we must most rededicate ourselves to it.

For if we fail, what hope may others have?

There need not be two Americans -- one black, one white.

There need not be two Americas -- one rich, one poor.

Not if we, all of us, reaffirm our commitment today to the task of building a free and open and living nation for all the world to see -- "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

#

INSERT I

~~President Nathaniel Keith~~
Winnie Winlock

Today, at noon, the Senate of the United States -- in perhaps its most historic civil rights vote of the century -- brought nearer to every American, President Truman's historic 1949 pledge of: "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

And today, two-thirds of the Members of the U. S. Senate said this pledge was to not just white American citizens but would be meaningful to every American citizen.

There can be no decent home without a national fair housing law. We can win on this pledge made by President Johnson. The fight continues and it is still a hard road ahead, but we must prevail this year, this session, in this Congress.

XXX

pg 6 top

President Johnson's message on the cities says in the most dramatic and clear terms that the time for planning, the time for experimenting, the time for demonstrating the rebuilding of cities, is over.

— The President has now put before the nation the grand design for the rebuilding of the cities.

We know what works; we know how to finance and bring the vast power of the American economy to this job; we know how to rebuild new communities. There need be no hesitancy that the job can be done.

The commitment by the President, which he urges upon the nation in his special messages and his budget, ~~is~~ that we now perform and produce.

~~The argument need no longer be -- how many units, how fast the program. I would think it only too obvious that, as fast as we in the cities and in our States can utilize the tools now available, we can expect the private and public resources to flow and get the job accomplished.~~

REMARKS

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↳ Are our freely-elected city, state and federal governments capable of responding to the just aspirations of a minority too long denied full and equal opportunity?

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left-out neighborhoods of America: — and here it is —

-- Inadequate service and protection ~~from~~ by the law.

The Commission cited one inner city neighborhood which had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as occurred in a nearby high-income white district.

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↳ We have known about those needs -- that urgent crisis -- for some time.

Why haven't we done something? !!

The answer is that we have been doing something.

And, as we look ahead, it is important to recognize that we do now have a solid platform of laws, programs, and experience on which to build.

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ADDRESS BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

BEFORE THE

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE

Statler-Hilton Hotel
Washington, D. C.

March 4, 1968

STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT
Public Stenographer
Statler-Hilton

Ladies and Gentlemen - The Vice President of the United States -

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Thank you very much, Larry I'm not so sure but what this is not the way to treat the Vice President. I haven't had any dinner. As a matter of fact, I just spoke to Joe Kennan and said that I am going to put in for time and a half for over time, but thank you for presenting me to this fine audience and my greetings to President Keith, and to all the members of the National Housing Conference, a group with whom I have had a pleasant association for many many years, and I am very happy once again to be in your presence, distinguished members of the Cabinet that are here, members of Congress, if I go down all the members, we will be here I am afraid a little longer than I had planned on it, and that is longer than you planned on being here, so I will just introduce my speech by telling you how happy I am that I have been privileged to be a part of these proceedings. I just told Mayor Washington, when I came in, well, I said to him, where were you, and he said, well I had to get over here, and I said a fine thing, he left me with all the children of the public schools over here - the District of Columbia, but after all, and Mr. Mayor, I'm your Deputy and any time that I can serve, I am happy to do so. I was so very pleased to see one of the

former Cabinet officers, and one of the great jurists and judges now here with us tonight, Judge Celebrezze that has come to us from Cleveland, it is a long time since I have seen you my dear friend, and if you will permit me, your Honor Tony, how good it is to see you.

Well, this has been a historic day. Today at high noon the Senate of the United States, perhaps its most historic Civil Rights vote of the century, brought near to realization, brought nearer to every American, President Truman's pledge of 1949, and it was a historic pledge of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. And today two-thirds of the members of the United States Senate said this pledge was not just white Americans, but would be meaningful to every American citizen. At least it laid the ground work for that, if we can but keep up the momentum now. And of course there can be no decent home without a national fair housing law, and we can win on this pledge made by President Johnson, and we can carry out his housing program. The fight continues, and it is still a long hard road ahead, but I believe that we can, and we must prevail this year, in this session in this Congress. I think the time is at hand for that action. Now the citizens of America found another message on their breakfast tables yesterday morning, as they opened their Sunday

newspapers. That message read, it is time to end the destruction and the violence not only in the streets of the Ghetto, but in the lives of the people. I am sure that that message will take on new meaning, each and every day in the years to come. These words from the President's Commission on Civil Disorders challenged the very meaning of our free institutions, and the will of our free people. I trust that every person in this audience will take the time to carefully study not only the recommendations of the Commission on Civil Disorder, but also the body of evidence from whence those observations, recommendations were drawn. It is not nearly so important that you agree with each and every one, as it is that you are cognizant of what has been recommended, and the body of evidence on which these recommendations were based. There are some questions that we have to ask ourselves tonight, and in the days ahead - Are our freely elected City, State and Federal Governments capable of responding to the just aspirations of a minority too long denied full and equal opportunity? Can the free enterprise system, which has given most of us so much, some of us too much, assure enough jobs, enough housing, adequate income for all, and then as individuals, are we ready to practice freedom and practice equality, as well as preach it, or will the poison

of discrimination and of our prejudices, and we all have them, which the Commission blames most for the syndrome of urban poverty and blighted opportunity, will that poison of discrimination destroy this nation, which we have tried to build and to strengthen for almost two centuries. My friends the crisis of the cities, as the President called it in his recent message to the Congress, is a challenge to this Nation, not just to the Federal Government, not just to Washington, not just to Governors and Mayors, but to every American citizen. The Kerner Commission's report, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, that report on the specific causes of urban disorders really brought no surprises, that is to those of us that have been looking at these problems for some time, but it did point directly and dramatically to what is wrong in the left-out neglected neighborhoods of America, and here it is, inadequate service and protection by the law, the Commission cited one inner-city neighborhood which had thirty-five times as many serious crimes against persons as occurred in a nearby high income white district. Now there isn't a public official in America that doesn't know that that is a fact. And might I add there are very few public officials that do not recognize that in the main, over the years, that the poorer of the

neighborhood, the less adequate the services, including even the garbage collection, including even the trash cans, and that report also told us something else, that unemployment and under employment rates are as high as 35% in these areas, these left out neighborhoods, with the heaviest burden falling on young men in the prime of life, inadequate housing, every place in a left-out neighborhood, as many as 40% of all the people in your nation's capital, for example, live in less than adequate dwellings, or pay more than they can afford in rent. Now there are other causes, too numerous to list here tonight, and this society has been aware of them for years. Quite frankly, I don't think we ought to spend our time reciting the problems and the causes, we know them. - whether we are willing to accept them, as facts, is another thing. Inadequate educational opportunity, lack of recreation, unresponsive local political structures, exploitation in the stores and at the credit desk, and yes, public neglect. But the real tragedy cannot be measured in these statistics or generalities. It is measured in the loss of valuable human resources to our society. And the real loss can be measured in the frustration and the heartbreak of real people, not story-book people, but real people. Here are the words of one inner-city mother - that I found in these reports.

words recently found among the depersonalized data of a Government report. Just listen to these words: "When they have to get out on the street at 14 or 15, they consider themselves to be a man, and are going to take on some responsibility, because he is the only man in the house, and he has little brothers and sisters in the house, and he sees his mother, brothers, and sisters going hungry, half starving and trying to get the rent in. It is a bare house. It is a cold feeling even to be there, and you have got to get out and on the street and become the subject of that same thing out there. There has to be a breaking point." Now that is the true life story of all too many Americans, and all too many have come to what this lady said there has to be a breaking point. Now we have known about these needs, the urgent crisis for some time, so the cry comes - why haven't we done something - and the answer is that we have been doing something. And as we look ahead it is important to recognize that we do now, and I repeat, we do now, have a solid platform of laws, programs and experience on which to build, and our efforts of these past few years should be seen in proper perspective, not as the final answer, not that they are enough, but that we have done something. Now if we, as objective observers, for example, saw that a developed, or developing country - let's call it country X on another continent,

had tripled its investment in health and education in the last four years, had increased the number of people in job training programs ten-fold, had established a new Ministry of Urban Affairs, had passed sweeping new legislation to provide equal rights to all its citizens, I believe we would rightly conclude, and I venture to say there would be many speeches in and out of Congress, that Country X had dramatically committed itself to radically improving the life of its citizens. Well, our country has done all of these things and more. And I think it is fair to say that our progress has been dramatic, because of the legal breakthroughs - breakthroughs in old human attitudes, -- and breakthroughs in our concept of the kind of a society we can expect to build in this country. But breakthroughs and new commitments, such as the commitments represented in the model cities program, which Secretary Weaver and Secretary Wood have undoubtedly talked to you about, and breakthroughs in elementary and secondary education, which are impressive to the social scientist and to those of us who try to explain what we have done. They mean very little if anything to the negro father, or mother, who is still unable to buy shelter for his, or her, growing family. Indeed the long standing injustices of poverty and discrimination in a society that is rich and free are all the

more magnified by the first scent, the first indication of progress. There is a statement that I read some years ago, when I was in the university, which I have used many times to emphasize this point of rising expectations. The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable to, the Detopell? wrote - become intolerable, the moment that it appears that there might be an escape, reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive, and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one sensitivity has become more acute - here was a great French sociologist, political economist, writing about America in the first half of the 19th Century, and almost with prophetic vision, he sensed, and saw what we now see in America. He saw the impact of progress as giving this sense of rising expectation. Now, we know there will continue to be progress, and in spite of it, and perhaps because of it, the sufferings that remain are going to continue to become all the more intolerable. It is when you can see light at the end of the tunnel that you become all the more anxious for the daylight, and for the promised land. Now that need not, and must not mean violence, destruction, criminal behavior, but it does mean that it may be some years before the intensity of the urban crisis will subside. So what now, what are the next constructive steps, steps to be taken not in despair, but to be

taken in hope and in confidence. Well I think President Johnson's message on the Cities says in the most dramatic and clear terms, that the time for planning, the time for experimenting, the time for demonstrating, the rebuilding of cities is over. The President has now put before the Nation the grand design for the rebuilding of the cities. We know what works. We know how to finance and bring the vast power of the American economy to this job. We know how to build new communities. We do it. And there need be no hesitancy that the job cannot be done. We know it can be done. It was for this very concept, or this thought, or thinking, that I address myself almost a year ago in Detroit, a little less than a year ago, when I said that I felt that what we were seeking, and what we needed was a sort of Marshall Plan for our cities. The mobilization of the public and the private resources and the knowledge and the "know-how", and to put it to work, and that is exactly what the President of the United States has outlined in his message on the cities. The commitment by the President, which he urges upon the Nation in his special messages and his budget, is that we now perform and produce. The argument need no longer be - how many units, and how fast the program. I would think it is only too obvious that as fast as we in the cities, and in our states, can utilize

the tools now available, we can expect the private and public resources to flow and get the job accomplished. Now among the constructive steps are the President's new proposals to the Congress which would build, on the already substantial and urban and poverty efforts now underway. I emphasize that we have a platform from whence to work. And we ought to build on it, and not be content with basement living, get above the foundations - and start to take a good look at what is around us. What were some of these proposals? Well, a national effort to replace six million sub-standard housing units in the next ten years, three times the present rate of construction. Well, ladies and gentlemen, if that had been said five years ago, this town would have been jumping, every spokesman for social progress in America that had a banner headline, you would have had five new liberal organizations organized in one week, and now that it is said many people yarsn and lean back and say -uhmm, and it it that lack of enthusiasm that is the curst today of our present effort. The means are here, the program is here, the policy is here, what's wrong is the vitality, and the effervesance, and the commitment and the enthusiasm that we ought to have behind this program is lacking - I recall one passage in that message, a commitment by this Nation through its President of a national goal of 26 million new homes for all Americans in

in the next ten years. Now with the 1949 Housing Act, this nation pledged a decent home in a suitable environment for every American, and I might add that that pledge is just as sacred, as the Internal Revenue Code, I only wish people were quite as excited about it is all. Now, we mean to fulfill that pledge, for 20 million Americans still trapped and degrading, unhealthy, and unnecessary tenements. Well one of the other points made by the President was a partnership between Government and private industry, to provide training and jobs by 1971 for 500,000 hard core unemployed workers, the last in line and the hardest to reach, and 200,000 needy young people this summer. Now that is not an easy one to achieve either - make no mistake about it. This problem of finding, recruiting, conditioning, training, placing and keeping on the job, a half a million of the hard core unemployed in America is the greatest challenge that this country has had for many a year. I said to audiences like this before, since I have been your Vice President, I have been privileged to be in the Palace of Kings, in the Penthouses of the rich, and in the bush country of Africa, and in the rice patties of Asia, and I have been in the filthiest, rottenst slums that America has been able to conceive, or produce. I have walked in the ghettos, and met with the poorest of the poor. I think I have some comprehension of what goes on in this land.

I have been to 580 American communities, and I have seen the people, and I can tell you that our work is cut out for us, but I can also tell you that there are vast human resources there waiting, waiting for their chance. The President told us in that message that we need full funding of the poverty program and in the fiscal year ahead. He outlined in another message a comprehensive crime control program to provide Americans the security that they demand and the justice that they deserve. President Johnson has declared 1968 the year when the forces of law and order must capture the initiative in the battle against crime. Everyone of us I know is committed to that endeavor, but I want to say with equal fervor, that just as we are committed to a program of law enforcement and law observance, and just as we will not condone or tolerate violence in our streets, or riots, likewise, we must be committed to a program of social justice and equal opportunity, with equal fervor, and with equal determination. I have talked to many audiences, and generally I have these questions and answers periods, and I always get somebody who is getting up and says, now are you going to enforce the law, and the answer can be very simple - yes - I have been a Mayor of a great city, and I knew how to enforce the law, and did so, but I want to tell you that I had more trouble getting some people to create conditions where people

could respect the law, than I did in getting some people who wanted to have the law enforced. Laws must be enforced, but laws must also earn respect. And the law that earns respect, is the law that is just. It is the law that provides hope, it is the law that means opportunity. Now a word about these Federal programs - will they help, and how - well, the other day, a close friend of mine was visiting with me on the telephone. He was the Mayor of a large American city, and here is what he said to me. He said our problems are desperate - we were talking about a number of things - this is paraphrasing what he said - He said, Mr. Vice President, we need Federal help and I have all the sympathy in the world for a Major of a great city, that is a tough job. He is close to the people, and everybody is pounding on his door, and I acknowledged that he undoubtedly did need help, but because we were close friends, I could not help but remind him, that I had been Mayor of a big city, not too many years ago, and that we had faced many of the same problems that he confronts there today. There wer just as many or more poor then as there are now. There were blighted areas, and there was crime. There was a housing shortage. The only thing was, there was little or no Federal aid. Hardly any to be even worthy of the name. The other day I read about an official in a major city, who was

so distressed about the chances of solving the cities problems, that in frustration he just up and quit his job. And he announced that he was coming to Washington to lobby the Congress. Well, we welcome him - we can use a little help once in a while. But I think that we must remember where the responsibility lies and how is it shared, in our Federal system. None of us can escape our share of responsibility. The Federal Government is not a totalitarian central bureaucracy. The source of all funds, all decisions, all power, and least of all, is it the source of all wisdom. Now when it comes to the kind of environment that American cities offer their people, the Federal Government can at best serve as a catalyst for action, under our Federal system, or our system, Federal funds cannot buy outright enough safe streets, or clean water, or new housing to go around, but what they can do is to stimulate local and private investment and help mobilize the nation's resources through a multiplier effect - what I have tried to say in my limited efforts is simply this - you build a better America where you live. Mayor Washington will help get us a better one down here in Washington, D. C. - and he is doing a good job at it. But quite frankly America is the sum total of the progress of all of its people in its communities. Now this business of constantly looking to somebody

else to see what they are going to do has become the greatest buck-passing operation that any Nation has ever conceived. What we need to do, is think about what are we going to do, where we live. Now the Federal principle of the multiplier effect has been the explicit basis of nearly all the opportunity and urban redevelopment programs inaugurated during these recent years. All these programs depend on a partnership among Governments at every level. A partnership with Government and private enterprise, organized labor voluntary groups and individual citizens. The sinews of a free society pulling together. Take the case of rent supplements for which President Johnson has asked a six-fold increase in funding this year. And that is even a modest program, even at a six fold increase. The rent supplement program is a multiplier, it multiplies the impact of public investment and housing by tapping the resources and the efficiency and the creativity, of the private housing industry. The result is that every tax dollar invested through rent supplements, initially generates twelve times, I repeat twelve times, as much housing as it would if it were put into regular public housing projects. Now the same formula is represented in the turn-key concepts, developed during the last few years for public housing, and we owe a great deal to Secretary Weaver, and

his associates, for that development. In the Federal Model Cities' Program local government, local public initiative, is the basic ingredient. The model cities is essentially a concept of community organization for community development. Federal funds under the model cities program are meant to stimulate comprehensive local and regional planning, for both the improvement of physical and human resources. The involvement of entire communities and private enterprise in the process of rescuing urban neighborhoods. And let me get in my little prejudice - You see, I don't believe you build a city, or save a city, or rescue a city, I think you build a neighborhood, save a neighborhood and rescue a neighborhood, The modern American city is too big to be just a city to be governed by itself, it must become a cluster of neighborhoods, a kind of a confederation, or federalism of its own, within an area, and that kind of thinking from my point of view and I am privileged to express my own prejudices, is what I think is what is really needed. The sense of pride of neighborhood, the feeling of intimacy of neighborhood, the competition between neighborhoods, a neighborhood that is big enough to be viable, and small enough to be meaningful, so that you feel an identity with it. This is what is needed in our cities. Now Federal dollars, of course, will buy some bricks

and mortar, but I doubt that you will see many plaques in the years ahead saying this community was rebuilt under Federal program X,Y and Z, unless it is a failure. Then everybody will want to shove it off on the other fellow, but I always felt, when I was the Mayor of a city, if I got any Federal funds and they worked, I wanted to claim it for myself. And I think that you will find that most communities will feel that way. Now that kind of program of putting the Federal plaque up worked for schools and bridges back in the thirties. This school was built by WPA, The Work's Progress Administration or the Public Work's Administration. And indeed the whole nation benefited, but it won't work for entire communities, in the complex 60's and 70's. You can't have a plaque on every little building in a model cities' development, going around on every street corner and every building and every block, and every recreation facility and every person, and put a tag on them, rebuilt by the Federal Government program X, Y & Z. That isn't going to work. I think that part of the answer lies in this paragraph from the Kerner Commission's examination of the Detroit riot. Here is what the Commission said: As the riot alternately waxed and wained, one area of the ghetto remained insulated, on the northeast side the residence of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000

persons had in 1966 banded together in the positive neighborhoods action committee, organized block clubs, and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood." Now that neighborhood remained untouched. It remained peaceful, because its citizens had a direct personal stake in it. They had an investment to protect. They had an investment of their pride, an investment of sweat and of dollars, and personal involvement and it is sweat and pride and involvement in dollars in all levels of our Federal System, from White House to your house, that will be necessary if the urban crisis is to be overcome. Now let me share with you just for a few more moments, some other observations from the Commission on Civil Disorders. It fears that our Nation is moving towards to societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal. I wonder if you recall President's Johnson speech at the University, I believe it was at Howard University, some years past, about three years ago, on the two Americas - the other America, well it is a fact, all of us know it, you can't help but know it, because you can see it. Now that assertion that America might be moving towards two societies - one black one white, separate and unequal, may be true, although I think it is open to some challenge, but if the Kerner Commission's fear becomes a nightmare reality, it will not be so much because any specific Government failed, it will be because our free

society with all of its resources failed, because taxpayers waited for someone else to pay for the community services, because the Chamber of Commerce, or the Central Labor Union, in a thousand American cities did not throw open the doors of job opportunity, because Government officials were more concerned with their precious jurisdictions as if they were members of the United Nations, than with the people living within them, because school boards and PTA's forgot the cost of ignorance in a free society - because builders, and land developers, and real estate people, failed to meet a national housing crisis, because a complacent or fearful majority ignored the long deferred rights and aspirations of an increasingly impatient minority. That is the only way that this Nation can become two Americas. The America of the rich and the poor, of the white and the black, separate and unequal. Yes, my fellow Americans, it could happen. There are signs of it. But there are contrary signs as well. As the Mayors in this audience know, I had the privilege of serving as the liaison with the cities from the Office of the President, and as the Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, and I spend much of my time trying to activate the multiplier effect. Vice Presidents, as you know don't have a lot of authority,

they have plenty of responsibility, but very little authority - and I am reminded of it in many cruel ways, day after day, both publicly and privately, and Vice Presidents do not have many resources at their disposal, so knowing of my limitations, which was something my Father explained to me when I was but a boy, and being as they put it, so tritely these days, only number two, I work hard to multiply what I have, so I have called literally hundreds of business men and community leaders, and others across this nation within the past months, and indeed many within the last few weeks, asking for their help with our Summer Youth Opportunity Program for 1968. The response has been amazing. Even from quarters which have always been considered the citadels of conservatism. I find that some of these conservatives don't realize how radical they are, and I haven't tried to upset them by telling them either. If it has to do with jobs or recreation, or training, or help for schools or for funds to send young people to camp, why the answer is almost always yes. One of the real needs in our localities is for people to ask other people to help. We are so busy, planning and programming, that we have forgotten the simple way of getting some things done. Just ask somebody, you would be surprised how bright they are, and how dull you can be, and you would be surprised how

willing they are to help. Business men across the Nation are showing a new willingness to provide job training, jobs, housing and financial backing for inner-city residence, and they are also showing new imagination in discovering ways to make a profit, while they are at it, and there is nothing wrong in being able to embody in one package, social concern, community progress and profit. I think that is a new dimension to capitalism. And the building trades unions have promised to open up their apprenticeship training programs, and have extended the hand of cooperation. This year, as never before, to our disadvantaged young adults, and indeed to the hard core unemployed, and on college campuses across this country, once you tune out a few of the angry souls, and the noisy few, you see an unprecedented sense of social responsibility and determination to see justice done. I was at two Universities on Friday, Florida State University and Florida State A&M. And I want to say I have never seen - never have I experienced a more hospitable well-mannered, kind and enthusiastic reception, and I talked to hundreds of students, who are volunterring their time in tutorial work, who are out in community accion programs where the Federal funds of a community's funds were inadequate, where the young people have actually taken up collections of their own to help, and where they have gone out to do the work, and we talked about those things, and they talked about those things. And what

did I read - when I got back. Several hundred anti-war protesters greeted the Vice President, which was/^{an}abominable lie, there were none there whatsoever, but it was an old headline that somebody hadn't used last month. And we do not want any waste. Frankly, there is so much that's going on that's good, and I was brought up to believe that if you constantly remind people that they are a failure, that they are hopeless, that they are no good - they may act that way. Yes, I had some old home-spun philosophy drilled into me early. My dad said, if you treat a man like he is a dog, expect that he will bite you. And if you keep a man down, time after time, and tell him he can't succeed, he is a failure, you can expect him to respond somewhat that way. And if you tell the students that all they do is something that is wrong, year in and year out, they will get the idea. But if you tell America that you can do great things, that great things are happening, and that more needs to happen, that we have done is but the seed for our greater harvest yet to come. If we can inspire people in good works, and I am not being sentimental about it, I am saying inspiring them on the basis of the deeds already performed, and yet more to be done. There are unlimited resources in this country, to do whatever we need to do. What we need is a clear carry on call to action, and a sense of vision that we can do anything we set our mind to.

I wish everybody that's in public life, and those that ever aspire to it, would get that song from - the man from Lamoncha" dreaming the impossible dream, because we need to dream the impossible dream, and then fulfill it. That is what makes a great country, and a great people. So you see I know that there is a sense of social responsibility and determination to see that justice is done. So don't sell your America short. I don't think you prove yourself to be a scholar by being a chronic pessimist, and I don't think you prove yourself to be an intellectual by constantly ignoring the evidence that is before you. This country has nearly half of the world's gross national product at its disposal, and an unprecedented reserve of human and technological resources, and I find a determination and a willingness in all parts of our society to overcome what may be the last hurdle, on the long path to full democracy. Woodrow Wilson once said "Democratic institutions are never done, they are like the living tissue, always a making. It is a strenuous thing, this of living the life of a free people, and we cannot escape the burden of our inheritance." Well I had the occasion recently to re-read the words of a 19th Century political economist, who had called on his followers to support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things, and to openly declare that they're ends can be attained only

by the forceable overthrow of all existing social conditions. Well, we Americans throughout our history, have basically rejected appeals such as that of Carl Marx and I just read from him, appeals built not on reason, but on sheer unadulterated raw emotion, appeals which reject the very idea that a pluralistic, diverse society of men can both provide justice and live at peace with itself. Our American Revolution, and it still continues, has been a peaceful revolution, a revolution according to Thomas Jefferson, a revolution of life and of liberty, and of the pursuit of happiness, and it is the revolution of the 20th Century, and it is not dead. I have seen it at work across vast continents, and I think now is the time that we need most of all need to rededicate ourselves to it, and to its meaning. For if we fail, with our wealth, with our technology, with our universities, with our business, with our know-how, listen my fellow Americans, if we - with almost half of the wealth of the world fail, in helping our own people, those few in this vast community of affluence, they are those few poor, in this vast majority of the affluent, if we fail, what hope is there for anybody else. If we in America cannot correct the injustices here, what makes you think they can ever succeed in Asia, or Africa or Latin America. The greatest thing that we can do

for Foreign Aid, the greatest thing that we can do for American Foreign policy, the greatest thing we can do for America is to make America what we dreamed it to be, and what its promise is, to make it what it is supposed to be. There need not be two Americas, one black and one white, there need not be two Americas, one rich and one poor, there need not be, if all of us reaffirm our commitment here tonight to the task of building a free and an open and living nation for all the world to see , a Nation that is best described in the most humble, and yet the most profound words ever written about America. One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That is the only America that I want, and the only America may I say that you want.

GOODNIGHT

I want to call to the attention of the Senate ^{Ko}Vice President
Humphrey's speech to the National Housing Conference on
March 4.

The Vice President commended the report of the National
Commission on Civil Disorders on which I was privileged to serve.
He emphasized that it is the responsibility of the entire American
community to meet the challenge outlined in the Commission's
report -- to correct age-old inequities in our society so that
America will not become permanently divided between black and
white.

If the Commission's fear of a society divided along racial
lines becomes a reality, said the Vice President, "it will not be
so much because any specific government failed. It will be because
our free society failed. . . .

" . . . because taxpayers waited for someone else to pay
for community services;

" . . . because Chamber of Commerce and union members in
a thousand American cities did not throw open the doors of job
opportunity;

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" because government officials were more concerned with their precious jurisdictions than with the people living within them;

" because school boards and PTA's forgot the cost of ignorance in a free society;

" because builders, land developers, and real estate people failed to meet a national housing crisis;

" because a complacent or fearful majority ignored the long-deferred rights and aspirations of an increasingly impatient minority."

But the Vice President also said, "Don't sell America short. Not only do we have nearly half the world's GNP at our disposal and an unprecedented reserve of human and technological resources. I find a determination and a willingness in all parts of our society to overcome what may be the last hurdle on the long path to full democracy."

Vice President Hubert Humphrey has been a leader in the struggle for civil rights in this country. He has spoken out consistently and effectively on behalf of needy people, urban or rural. Without minimizing the dimensions of the unfinished business before us, he has never failed to express confidence that our free institutions could produce full and equal opportunity for every American.

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I think his realism and his faith in this nation are an example to
all of us today.



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