

Mayor Blaisdell
member of Congress

Gov Burns
President Marden
Attorney General Ramsey
President elect - Carl Morris Clark

Justice White

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Chief Justice
Richardson } Hawaii

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

HONOLULU, HAWAII

August 7, 1967

~~State~~
Lavel Awards
for the Communications
media

Honolulu - Beautiful

Today our minds must turn to the American city

The lawlessness and violence ~~which have occurred~~

~~in some of our cities recently~~ has been deeply unsettling

and disappointing to nearly every American -- but most of

all to those dedicated to the rule of law.

We have always prided ourselves on our determination
to achieve our objectives through peaceful means. ^{and,} We have

always been confident that the American legal system could

grow with the needs of our society, be flexible and yet

provide ~~a~~ ^{reliable} absolute and stable source of authority. ~~Indeed,~~

~~the law has frequently served as an instrument for prompting~~

~~social and economic progress.~~

and, Looking back over the last fifteen years, ~~I think~~
we can honestly say that more than ever before the law
in America has served both as an instrument of growth
and as a stabilizing force.

↳ New legislation, court decisions, and executive
orders, ~~taken together~~, have strengthened nearly every one
of our fundamental American rights — the right to be
equally represented in our legislatures and in Congress,
the right to privacy, the right to full protection of the law
in court.

↳ And progress has been especially dramatic in the
field of civil rights. During these few years we have ~~made~~ *taken giant*
strides in ~~to~~ *ing* guarantee every American the right to vote, the right to
equal opportunity in employment, in education, in access
to public accommodations.

~~Every housing project and every hospital which receives any support from the federal government is obligated to open its doors to all without regard for race or creed.~~

↳ These were not radical departures from American constitutional theory, but they have brought revolutionary advances in ^{social} practice. ↳ Never before in history has any nation done so much in such a short period of time to provide full equality under law for all of its citizens.

↳ ~~The law has provided a responsible avenue through which our historic non-violent civil rights movement has been able to realize many of its goals.~~

↳ But suddenly, despite all of this progress, we find ourselves witnessing a spectacle unprecedented in American history -- thousands of citizens in cities across the country openly defying the law and local authorities, necessitating use of the National Guard and federal troops to ~~suppress them~~. reestablished law and order.

as I see it,

^ The crisis facing America today is three-dimensional.

First, there is an immediate problem of lawlessness, crime, violence and riot which demands a simple and direct response.

~~Men schooled in the law know that no nation can tolerate flagrant disregard for the law. You know, and I know, and the rioters themselves must know, that riots will be ^{stopped} suppressed.~~

Order ^{must and} will be restored. ^{The riots must & will be stopped.} Those malicious ^{mustard} individuals who spark disorders, will be found and prosecuted.

^ For there can be no freedom, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior.

^ Arson does not build houses. ^ Murder does not win civil rights. ^ Theft does not produce jobs.

~~These acts of violence and crime produce revulsion, hostility and hate which are bound to slow real progress.~~

#2

The second dimension of this crisis -- no less real and no less obvious than crime in the streets -- is poverty.

Poverty

↳ It is a fact that one out of every six Americans does not share in the benefits of American society in the 1960's.

for a moment)

Let us look at poverty the way ~~the~~ ^{32¢} victim sees it.

a realistic definition

Poverty means a maximum of thirty-two cents a meal per person each day, with one dollar and forty cents left over for everything else -- rent, clothing, transportation, medicine, recreation.

↳ Thirty million Americans live on that much or less.

↳ Half of America's Negro population falls into that category.

Poverty means four times as much heart disease, six times as much arthritis and rheumatism, six times as much mental and nervous illness as compared with the other five-sixths of our population.

∠ It means that sixty percent of all poor children never see a dentist; fifty percent never see a doctor.

∠ It means that a man is four times as likely to die by the age of thirty-five. *It means high infant mortality.*

It means the ghetto unemployment and under-employment rate, is up to thirty-five percent. - ~~fact~~

∠ It means idle, untrained, restless youths loitering on street corners.

∠ These poor people have the freedoms that go with American citizenship. But in all too many cases these freedoms are an inflated legal currency worth little in the market place of American society.

But These Americans suffer something more acute than poverty of the purse. They suffer an active and intense frustration that comes from watching the "other America" at work and play on television, and knowing that it is beyond their reach;

The other America:

↳ a frustration that comes from paying higher prices in the ghetto shops than those charged in the supermarkets of suburbia -- and knowing it;

↳ a frustration that comes from paying exorbitant interest rates for shoddy goods -- and knowing it;

↳ a frustration of being unemployable for lack of training -- and knowing it.

↳ The consequence of being poor and hopeless in a society where most are ~~not~~ well off - not poor produces a deep sense of alienation. This feeling is nowhere more fully expressed than in the attitudes of some slum dwellers toward the law.

∟ Twenty percent of the Negroes interviewed two years ago in Newark stated that they had no faith whatsoever in the police, the courts or any other public agencies.

For, as Justice Fortas recently put it, the law, to the poor, is a system devised "by the establishment -- of the establishment -- for the establishment."

∟ This is ^{the} law which is known in the ghetto, not as the blindfolded goddess of even-handed justice, but as "the man" -- capricious, arbitrary, authoritarian, foreign -- worthy of fear but not of respect.

∟ In the eyes of the impoverished, it is the law - ~~"The Man"~~ which garnishes the poor man's salary . . . the law which evicts him from his home . . . ~~the law which binds him to usury~~ . . . the law which cancels his welfare payments . . . ~~the law which seizes his children~~.

Worst of all in the eyes of the impoverished,
it is the law which has guaranteed equal rights to all,
but has failed to provide equal opportunity.

↳ In this situation, the law loses its stabilizing
influence. It becomes for the poor an irritant.
Frustration, alienation, and unrest are not surprising
consequences.

||

#3

↳ The third dimension of the crisis before us is
urbanization.

Urbanization

↳ Some ~~seventy percent~~ of the American people now
live in urban areas. By 1980, the figure will be Eighty
percent.

7 out of every 10 Americans

Eighty

The cities have become the total environment
for the great majority of our citizens.

state constitution
state laws are
state courts

↳ And this environment is blighted with congestion,
dirt, polluted water and air, tension, crime. This is the
ghetto -- the prison of the poor.

state courts

L The residents of that ghetto are eighty percent Negro.
 A high proportion of them are recent migrants from rural
areas in the South.

Newark received fifty-four thousand such migrants
 between 1950 and 1960; Detroit, fifty-five thousand;
 Los Angeles, two hundred and fifteen thousand; New York
 City, two hundred and twenty-two thousand.

L A man who migrates, does so in hopes of bettering
 his lot. But the migrant Negro arrives in the city without
marketable skills. He is often illiterate. He is a stranger
in a foreign land.

L I do not mean to minimize the problem of rural
 poverty which is still acute in many areas. That is a
 different subject -- and an important one.

But Most Americans live in cities. The city is the
 measure of our civilization in the Twentieth Century.

L It is in our cities where democracy will survive or perish.
It is here where it is being tested!
 #

∟ I have spelled out a compound challenge of poverty, alienation and unrest in urbanized America -- and we turn to you for help.

∟ Back in the 'thirties, when the United States faced another acute social and economic crisis, the lawyers came forward with creative and constructive ideas. ∟ The lawyers provided much of the vision and stimulated those combinations of public and private effort which enabled us to rise out of the Depression. That same kind of guidance is needed now. *The Nation - the cities - need you!*

∟ Many of you are already at work on these problems as government officials ~~at Members of Congress, and in state legislatures and local government.~~ ∟ You are, in fact, the architects, builders and protectors of democratic society.

∟ But I want today to speak especially to those of you in private practice, for it seems to me you have a double opportunity to be of service to our troubled nation --

~~First~~ as influential citizens in your communities,
-- and ^{then} as advisers and counsellors to your clients.

Let me first congratulate the American Bar Association on the splendid work the legal profession has already done through the Neighborhood Legal Services Program. ^{you}

This kind of contribution is nothing new from the legal profession. You have been providing legal aid for nearly a century.

~~But~~ Extensive legal aid is vitaly important now. It can demonstrate that our laws are designed to protect the weak and the poor as well as the establishment.

The experience of the last few weeks suggests that Neighborhood Legal Service lawyers have succeeded in gaining the confidence of the neighborhoods in which they work.

*and thereby
convinced the poor
that the law
is their
friend.*

↳ We have solid evidence that they have been able to avert riots, calm them after they have started, and see that those arrested enjoy the full protection of the law.

↳ They have talked, advised and cautioned, frequently at great personal risk.

In Newark, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, D. C., and many other cities, they have served as a channel of communication between ghetto spokesmen and city officials.

↳ To extend the protection of our existing institutions and laws to every person is obviously essential. But there is a more fundamental question regarding the structure of the institutions themselves.

↳ Do our ~~social~~ ^{Political & Social} institutions adequately serve the requirements of modern, urban America? —

↳ Are we organized to meet today's responsibilities and to plan effectively for tomorrow? —

State Constitutions
State Govts
Rural Govts

Econ & Social Planning!

Urban
Background
State Govts

∟ Are your municipal governments adequate to handle the task before them? *(amending c. & y charters)*

∟ Is the structure of criminal law in your neighborhood adequate? Can it be efficiently enforced?

∟ Are there adequate provisions for dealing with mental illness and alcoholism outside the criminal courts?

∟ Do your police forces spend time on domestic *+ domestic* disputes which could be handled better and more efficiently if referred to specialized agencies?

and ∟ Do the police in your communities have adequate guidelines for dealing with situations which demand a great deal of individual discretion?

∟ You, and your local bar association, can work with city officials to develop such a code.

∟ Does your state or city provide the facilities and program for training police officers in modern law enforcement techniques and police-community relations?

One of the great urban problems today is the gap between
the police and inhabitants of the slums -- the very people
who need police protection most.

Our police forces have a tough job to do. You can
help bridge that gap between the police and the community.

You can help our police to be better prepared to handle
their difficult responsibilities. ^{and,} You can help the public
gain a better understanding of and respect for the police,
~~start in schools,~~

~~Let me repeat a proposal which I made last week
in Detroit and which you may find useful in the context
of our current urban disorders.~~

Recently — *Recently*
suggested that all
fifty states consider forming Councils for Civil Peace at
the state, and where possible, at the metropolitan level.

The Councils would include representatives of all
racial and religious groups, plus officials of the State
Attorney General's office, law enforcement agencies and
local government.

It could function as a community relations service to prevent violence, gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have too long gone unheard. It could establish a coordinated early-warning system to detect potential disorders and, hopefully, nip them in the bud. It could establish a central communications network.

Here again, the experience and the advice of the legal profession would be invaluable.

Now I want to turn to your opportunities as advisers to the nation's businesses and corporations.

The central principle of American progress has been a working partnership between government and the private economy.

↳ The problems of today are too great and too complex to be solved by government alone. ~~And it is~~ more than our laws and our public institutions that are being tested. It is our entire free enterprise system.

↳ Can that system provide jobs and training for the hard-core unemployed? ↳ Can it make them contributing members of this economy, both as consumers and producers?

↳ Can it meet national need when that need is clear and present?

↳ Can that system provide the initiative, the imagination and the capital to meet the pressing necessity for more school buildings, efficient mass transport, low and middle-income housing -- the infrastructure for the new America?

↳ Some say no; but I say yes! American business has always known that prosperous people mean a better market. I don't believe businessmen can be content so long as one-sixth of their potential market is undeveloped.

↳ We in government are ready to help. ↳ Where there are obstacles, we will try to remove them. ↳ Where there are opportunities, we want to hear about them.

ⓧ We are trying to win poverty

This is a Private Economy -
That takes the Action
!!

Cooperation with Government

∠ The full creative force of American free enterprise in
must be turned to these great and waiting tasks. ∠ The
Negro leadership is ^{needed and is} in a unique position to advise which
programs are likely to work and to supply leadership in
these programs.

∠ But, let me stress one crucial point. The task ahead
will require the efforts of every organization and every
citizen of this country.

~~We certainly have the resources to do the job. We
have the scientists, the engineers, the sociologists, the
lawyers, the planners and administrators, if only we put
them to work on this priority problem.~~

intellectual and ∠ Any nation that can mobilize its scientific, industrial,
managerial resources to put a man on the moon ought to
be able to ^{help} put a man on his feet on this good earth.

↙ But the so-called lunar program tells us something
 else. If you want to get a job done, you must use the
 most modern methods, you must make a commitment and
 you must be willing to pay the price.

↙ But the price that we must be willing to pay is not
 just more money --

*We spend Billions - \$10.3 Billion
 Model Cities - commitment*

*Promote -
 Not security
 + a more perfect
 union!*

← -- it is a price of priorities: -- ~~Both but commitments~~
Domestic Program

-- it is the price of administrative reorganization

in order to get the most out of every dollar and to better
 use our resources; -- Cut Red tape - Action!

-- it is the price of modernizing state laws and
 city charters;

-- it is a massive job training and employment
 effort by private industry;

-- it is the price of taking the risk of hiring
 untrained workers and giving them on-the-job training;

- it is a massive recreation and education program, particularly in the urban slums;
- it is keeping our schools operating twelve months a year;
- it is making job training programs related to job opportunities;
- it is investing billions of private capital to give our cities new life and new hope;
- it is investment guarantees for private capital;
- it is long-term credits and low rates of interest with government cooperation;
- it is tax incentives;
- it is risk insurance;
- it is government participation as a helpful partner and not a dominant force;
- it is the willingness to recognize that the slum is repugnant to American values and that it must be eliminated as if it were a malignancy;

-- it is the price of recognizing our slums and the majority of those living there as underdeveloped and neglected places and people;

-- it is the willingness to offer the same generous and far-reaching considerations for our own underdeveloped areas and needy people as we do for others in foreign lands.

The price that we must be willing to pay is, above all, the willingness to accept as a partner in the American community and as a first-class citizen, the poor, the illiterate - black or white - and give him a chance to make something out of his life. To do less is to admit failure.

Hawaii
English

Thomas Wolfe

* * *

"To every man his chance; to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity.

h To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This ... is the promise of America."

1
2 NINETIETH ANNUAL MEETING

3 of the

4 AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

5 Honolulu, Hawaii

6 July - August, 1967

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8
9 --

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11 ABA ASSEMBLY LUNCHEON

12 Honolulu International Center

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16 Address by the

17 HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

18 Vice-President of the United States

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23
24 Reported by:
ANNE OSENBURG

25

ORIGINAL

1 PRESIDENT MARDEN: Ladies and Gentlemen, may I
2 have your attention, please? We're running a little late.
3 I know many of you have 2:00 o'clock appointments, and
4 we're going to do our best to get you there on time. If
5 you don't mind going ahead with your luncheon, we'll go
6 ahead with our program here.

7 In order to accord national recognition to the
8 media of our country -- the media of information and
9 entertainment -- for outstanding contribution to public
10 understanding of the processes of justice in this country,
11 the American Bar Association each year bestows awards --
12 gavel awards, we call them -- symbolized by inscribed gold
13 and silver gavels. Those awards are being presented this
14 year. The Awards Committee had an extremely difficult task
15 in assessing more than 100 entries, the second largest
16 number since the awards program was established in 1958.
17 Here this afternoon to accept the gavels on behalf of their
18 respective organizations are nine distinguished ladies and
19 gentlemen. I will introduce them to you as the inscribed
20 gavels are presented to them by Gibson Gale, Secretary of
21 our Association. Mr. Gale has jumped up, so we know he's
22 all set to go ahead.

23 For the first time in the ten-year history of the
24 awards program, we have three gold gavel winners this year.
25 A gold gavel is presented to an organization winning the

1 award for the third time. The gold gavel presentations
2 will be made first.

3 Presentation No. 1 is to the National Broadcast-
4 ing Company, NBC News. Here to accept the gavel is NBC's
5 Senior Executive Vice-President, David C. Adams, whom I
6 will now ask to stand.

7 (Mr. Adams rises to applause.)

8 PRESIDENT MARDEN: This award was presented for
9 two programs by NBC, a special Meet the Press documentary
10 on the report of the President's Crime Commission, and a
11 historical drama, "The Statesman."

12 Mr. Adams, congratulations to NBC and you for
13 winning the gold gavel, and the earlier ones in 1963 and
14 1965.

15 MR. ADAMS: Thank you.

16 (Applause)

17 PRESIDENT MARDEN: Presentation No. 2 is to Look
18 Magazine, whose Editor, Mr. William B. Arthur, is here to
19 accept the award. It goes to Look for two feature articles,
20 "How Good Are Our Juries?" and "The Lady Fights Back."

21 The text of all the citations are in your printed
22 programs, so I will not read them in full.

23 Look won earlier awards in 1964 and again last
24 year.

25 Mr. Arthur, our hearty congratulations.

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(Mr. Arthur rises to applause.)

PRESIDENT MARDEN: Presentation No. 3, the third gold gavel is to Time Magazine. Mr. Robert Snareson (sic), whom I'm so happy to say at this moment has just been made Senior Editor of Time, having been promoted from Law Editor of Time. He is appropriately here to receive it. The award is for a cover story, bearing the self-explanatory title, "Moving The Constitution Into The Police Station." Silver gavels were won by Time in 1959 and 1966.

Mr. Snareson, we congratulate Time, and we congratulate you, personally, for winning the award again and for producing every week the interesting and informative law section of Time Magazine.

(Mr. Snareson rises to applause.)

PRESIDENT MARDEN: We turn now to the winners of the silver gavel. Presentation No. 4. The first will be to the Washington Post, and we have with us the two journalists responsible for the Post's award. I will ask them both to stand. Mr. Leonard Downey, Jr., author of a series of constructive articles on Washington's Court of General Sessions; and John P. McKenzie, whose articles interpreting the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States were part of the winning entry. Both gentlemen will receive individually-inscribed gavels, as well as the one that goes to the Post itself.

1 We congratulate all three of you.

2 (Mr. Downey and Mr. McKenzie rise to applause.)

3 PRESIDENT MARDEN: The next gavel goes to the
4 Daily Oklahoman and Times of Oklahoma City, and its repre-
5 sentative is Mr. Claude Thomas, distinguished editorial
6 writer for those newspapers. The award is for leadership
7 in achieving in Oklahoma an initiative petition for a State-
8 wide referendum on court reform, a step in which the Bar
9 was strongly supported by Mr. Thomas' editorials.

10 Congratulations to you, Mr. Thomas, and to your
11 newspaper.

12 (Mr. Thomas rises to applause.)

13 PRESIDENT MARDEN: The Toledo Blade, our next
14 winner, had the good judgment to send a charming lady, Mrs.
15 Paul Bloch, wife of the President to receive this award.
16 I am pleased to present her to you. The Blade has received
17 the award for pioneering leadership in formulating a volun-
18 tary code of fair practices for coverage of crime news so
19 as to avoid prejudicing the rights of accused persons.

20 Mrs. Bloch, we congratulate the Blade for its
21 courage and leadership. We are pleased that you are here to
22 receive the award.

23 (Mrs. Bloch rises to applause.)

24 PRESIDENT MARDEN: Presentation No. 7, we are
25 recognizing now another television winner, WTVN-TV of

1 Columbus, Ohio. I will introduce its representative, Mr.
2 Roger B. Reid, Vice-President for Administration of the
3 Taft Broadcasting Company. The award is presented for an
4 exceptional broadcast interview with Justice Potter Stewart
5 of the Supreme Court of the United States, exploring the
6 philosophical foundation of our court system.

7 Mr. Reid, we congratulate WTVN-TV and your
8 Company for your winning entry.

9 (Mr. Reid rises to applause.)

10 PRESIDENT MARDEN: Another award in television
11 goes to WNBC-TV, of New York, and Mr. Adams is doing double
12 duty. As he is its representative, also, he will stand
13 again to receive the gavel that goes to this NBC-owned
14 station. The award is for the three submitted segments of
15 a ten-part series of thirty-minute programs on "Due Process
16 for the Accused."

17 Mr. Adams, again our warm congratulations.

18 (Mr. Adams again rises to applause.)

19 PRESIDENT MARDEN: The final award this year is
20 in radio, and it goes to the Westinghouse Electric Company,
21 whose President, Donald McGannon, we hoped would be here,
22 but he had to cancel his plans. However, he is being
23 represented here by a man many of you know well, F. Cleve-
24 land Hedrick, Jr., of Washington, Attorney for Westinghouse,
25 who has long been active in the affairs of this Association.

1 The award is for a 21-part documentary series,
2 "Crime and Punishment in the 60's," a series produced in
3 cooperation with the School of Criminology of the University
4 of California.

5 Mr. Hedrick, I know you will convey our warm
6 congratulations to Mr. McGannon and his associates. Con-
7 gratulations.

8 (Mr. Hedrick rises to applause.)

9 PRESIDENT MARDEN: This concludes our presenta-
10 tions this year. Again we salute the recipients and thank
11 them for the public service represented by their award-
12 winning contributions in public understanding of the legal
13 and judicial processes.

14 And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my high
15 honor and great pleasure to present to you the Vice Presi-
16 dent of the United States.

17 (Standing ovation)

18 MR. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE
19 UNITED STATES: Thank you very much, President Marden.

20 Governor Burns; Mayor Blaisdell; distinguished
21 members of the Congress of the United States who have
22 honored us by their presence; Justice White; Chief Justice
23 of the Supreme Court of the State of Hawaii, Justice Richard-
24 son; my good friend from the President's Cabinet, the
25 people's lawyer and distinguished Attorney General of the

1 United States of America, Ramsey Clark (applause); President-
2 Elect of the American Bar Association, Mr. Earl Morris;
3 lawyers; fellow Government officials; and fellow Americans
4 and our friends from other parts of the world:

5 It takes a very brave man to stand before an
6 audience of lawyers and plead his case, particularly when
7 he doesn't have legal training. My background is that of
8 a pharmacist and a political scientist. I have been dis-
9 pensing whatever remedies you lawyers have concocted. So
10 if the patient dies, I have only been the transmission
11 belt. It was all your fault.

12 May I, first of all, say how much I am honored
13 by the privilege of addressing this audience, and how
14 pleased I am to have been present when the gold and silver
15 gavels were passed out. For a moment, however, I was
16 shaken somewhat. The gavel, of course, is generally a
17 gift that is presented to the presiding officer of the
18 Senate. And I noticed that the gavels were being handed
19 out rather freely here today, even though well-earned. I
20 noted, also, that there were gold and silver gavels. In
21 the Senate of the United States -- just to show you how
22 they really try to make the Vice President a humble man --
23 as a Democrat, I have a piece of elephant tusk, capped with
24 silver; not a gold gavel or any part of a donkey. And then
25 I noticed today that Mr. David Adams received two gavels;

1 and besides that, he's Senior Executive Vice-President.

2 (Applause) We poor souls that end up being Vice Presidents
3 of the United States just get the ordinary title "Vice
4 President," and we only have one at a time, for which the
5 President is generally very grateful. (Laughter)

6 I couldn't help but note my colleagues from the
7 Congress that are present today; and one in particular,
8 Senator Bayh, who is the author, of course, of the 25th
9 Amendment, the Presidential Succession Amendment that the
10 American Bar Association supported so vigorously. I am
11 ever indebted to Senator Bayh and to the ABA.

12 I think I should let you know that before the
13 passage of that Amendment, when I had to come to a dinner
14 in Washington, it would be lucky if the police band were
15 there to play for me. The last time I attended a dinner,
16 they had the Marine Band -- which proves that people are
17 taking that Amendment seriously.

18 Birch, I'm happy to see you.

19 Friends, I have come here today to discuss a
20 matter which is, I hope, of grave importance and serious
21 import to you; at least a matter of very serious nature.
22 And yet I find myself in a very paradoxical situation. I
23 want to talk to you today about our cities. I want to talk
24 to you today about our America. And I find myself in a
25 setting that is totally contrary to what the words of my

1 message will be.

2 Mayor Blaisdell, a dear friend and a fine Mayor,
3 presides as the Mayor over a city that is unique. It is
4 a great American city, with many peoples of different
5 ethnic backgrounds; a great American city that really
6 validates the hopes and the aspirations of our country.
7 The Governor of this State, Governor Burns, can be very
8 proud of Hawaii because here people have learned to live
9 together in self-respect and human dignity, and acceptance
10 of one another. And I salute him and his State. (Applause)

11 Yesterday, as Mrs. Humphrey and I touched down
12 at the International Airport here, I was privileged to say
13 a few words of greeting. I made note of the fact that
14 Hawaii, and particularly Honolulu, was the bridge between
15 the East and the West; that it really connected the Main-
16 land of the United States, and it connected the United
17 States with the great countries of the Far East; and possibly
18 gave us, if we but understood it, a tremendous advantage
19 in bringing our message of freedom and democracy to those
20 people who want the same as we.

21 But I also made note of the fact that the State
22 of Hawaii was more than an international bridge; that in
23 a very real sense it was the laboratory of social experi-
24 mentation that had proven that the experiment was success-
25 ful if we would but follow the formula, follow the

1 directions.

2 And I would say to every lawyer and every guest
3 who is here, to the families who are here, that you could
4 learn a great deal by just observing what is here; seeing
5 what is to be seen; hearing what is to be heard, right here
6 in our own United States of America, in this, the 50th
7 State of our Union; and then take that message of living
8 -- the living experiment of democracy -- back to where you
9 live, our cities, as I said. Our minds turn to them.

10 I walked a moment ago over to our friend, Ramsey
11 Clark, the Attorney General, and I said, "General, any new
12 troubles on the Mainland?" And he said, "No," that all was
13 quiet. I want to take this moment -- he hasn't expected
14 this, and I'm sure that he doesn't even want me to do it --
15 but I know of no more steadying, no more constructive, no
16 more conciliatory, no more understanding force in mind in
17 the Government of the United States in these troubled times
18 relating to our cities and their people than the distin-
19 guished Attorney General of the United States of America.
20 (Applause) Is it any wonder that the President has placed
21 his faith and confidence in him? It is my privilege to
22 work with him as a partner.

23 Our cities are in trouble. The lawlessness and
24 the violence has been equally disturbing and disappointing
25 to every American. But most of all, I think it is disappoint-

1 ing to those who are dedicated to the rule of law. We've
2 always prided ourselves on our determination to achieve our
3 objectives through peaceful means; and we've always been
4 confident that this American legal system could grow with
5 the needs of our society; could meet those needs; could be
6 flexible, and yet provide a reliable and stable source of
7 authority. This is what lawyers believe, and this is what
8 citizens believe.

9 And looking back over the past fifteen years, we
10 can honestly say that more than ever before the law in
11 America has served as an instrument of growth -- social
12 growth -- and as a stabilizing force. New legislation,
13 court decisions, executive orders have strengthened nearly
14 every one of our fundamental rights; the right to be
15 equally represented in our legislatures and in the Congress
16 -- basic to representative government; the right to privacy
17 -- basic to human dignity; the right to full protection of
18 the law in the courts -- basic to justice. All of this
19 has been strengthened. And progress has been especially
20 dramatic in the volatile and controversial field of civil
21 rights.

22 During these few years, we have taken giant
23 strides in guaranteeing every American the right to vote,
24 the right to equal employment opportunity, in education,
25 in excess to public accommodations. Now, these were not

1 any radical departures from American constitutional theory.
2 They were all really within the constitutional, philosophical
3 concept. But they have brought revolutionary advances in
4 social practice. And, my fellow Americans, today I believe
5 we can say, not with unjustified pride but with a sense of
6 -- well, of achievement and of hope -- that never before
7 in history has any nation done so much in such a short
8 period of time to provide full equality under the law for
9 all of its citizens. It's a good record. (Applause)

10 But then suddenly, despite all of this progress --
11 and maybe because of it, in part -- we find ourselves wit-
12 nessing a spectacle unprecedented in American history --
13 thousands of citizens in cities across the country openly
14 defying the law and local authorities, necessitating the
15 use of the National Guard, and in the most recent incidents,
16 the Federal troops, to reestablish law and order.

17 Some people have said this was due to rising
18 expectations. Some people have said that the progress that
19 we have made brings with it a degree of turbulence. I
20 think there is truth in all of that. But quite frankly, my
21 fellow Americans, I doubt that any of us really know why
22 these things have happened. We search for the answer; and
23 I come to people to help find that answer.

24 We have heard calls for open insurrection in the
25 name of civil rights. We have heard recognized civil rights

1 leaders -- men of courage -- attacked, vilified, for
2 having too great a regard for due process of law, for non-
3 violent action.

4 So I say that the crisis is very real, and its
5 dimensions are much greater than the sum of the material
6 and human losses, the misery and the terror which have
7 occurred. It bluntly challenges the viability of American
8 democracy.

9 We are on trial -- now. We ask ourselves, "Can
10 our institutions really serve the interests of all the
11 people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of
12 American society today?"

13 I think the answer is "yes." In fact, I am con-
14 fident that the answer will be "yes." But our answer will
15 depend upon our ability to understand this crisis, and to
16 mobilize our resources and our institutions to deal with
17 it.

18 To put it succinctly, my fellow Americans, we
19 have the means to do whatever needs to be done, if we but
20 have the will and the wisdom to properly use those means.

21 Now, as I see it, the crisis facing our America
22 is three-dimensional. First, there is the immediate problem
23 of lawlessness, crime, violence, riot -- which demands a
24 simple and direct response. The response: Order must and
25 will be restored. The riots must and will be stopped.

1 (Applause) Those malicious or misguided individuals who
2 spark disorders, incite the violence, must and will be
3 found and prosecuted. (Applause)

4 This is no denial of civil rights. This is its
5 protection -- (applause) -- for there can be no freedom,
6 there can be no equality of opportunity, no social justice
7 in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior.

8 Arson does not build homes. Murder does not win
9 civil rights. Theft and looting does not produce jobs.
10 What is produced is a revulsion which is bound to slow
11 social progress.

12 Now, the second dimension of the crisis -- and it
13 is no less real and no less obvious than crime in the
14 streets, as we put it -- that second dimension is poverty;
15 something that many of us -- most of us in this assembly --
16 know not. It is a fact, however, that one out of every six
17 Americans does not share the benefits of American society in
18 the 1960's.

19 For a moment, let's take a look at poverty as its
20 victim sees it. Let's see his definition of poverty. Not
21 your legal definition, but the definition of the victim of
22 it. What does it say, if you were to look at it?

23 Well, poverty means to him a maximum of thirty-two
24 cents a meal per person each day, with \$1.40 left over for
25 everything else each day -- for rent, clothing, transportation,

1 medicine, recreation. Thirty million Americans live on
2 that much or less. That is the high level of the curve of
3 poverty. Half of America's Negro population falls into
4 that category.

5 Poverty means four times as much heart disease;
6 six times as much arthritis and rheumatism; six times as
7 much mental and nervous illness as compared with the other
8 five-sixths of our population. It means that 60% of all
9 of the children of the poor have no dental care; 50% have
10 never seen a doctor. It means that a man is four times as
11 likely to die by age 35 if he is poor. It means high
12 infant mortality. It means ghetto unemployment, and the
13 under-employment rate is up to 35% and it means idle,
14 untrained, restless youths, loitering on street corners
15 and pool halls.

16 Now, these poor people that I have just described
17 -- and that is the profile, my friends -- have the freedoms,
18 the legal freedoms, that go with American citizenship today.
19 But in all too many cases these freedoms are inflated legal
20 currency, worth little in the market place of American
21 society.

22 But these Americans suffer something more acute
23 than poverty of the purse. Poverty of the purse is readily
24 curable, really. I don't say that the cure is the best
25 manner, but money takes care of that. What they suffer

1 most is an active and intense frustration that comes from
2 watching the other America at work and at play, on tele-
3 vision.

4 Television has changed America. It has made
5 America open to all. For the first time in your lives,
6 you are seeing a war fought on television, a real one.
7 Mothers see their sons stricken down in battle on tele-
8 vision. The tube has changed the social climate of America.

9 And these poor that see that other America --
10 my America, your America, the America that your children
11 are accustomed to -- they know that that America is beyond
12 their reach; and they are alienated, unhappy, frustrated.
13 It is a frustration that comes from paying higher prices
14 in the ghetto shops than those that are charged in the super
15 markets of the suburbs -- and knowing it. It is a frustra-
16 tion that comes from paying exorbitant interest rates for
17 shoddy goods -- and knowing it. It is a frustration of
18 being unemployable for lack of a skill, for lack of an
19 education -- and knowing it. The consequence of being
20 poor and hopeless in such circumstances where most are not
21 poor produces a deep sense of alienation.

22 Now, this feeling is nowhere more fully expressed
23 than in the attitudes of some of our slum dwellers towards
24 the law. And we have the statistical evidence on which to
25 base these comments: 20% of the Negroes interviewed two

1 years ago in Newark, New Jersey -- and you have heard of
2 Newark recently -- stated that they had no faith whatsoever
3 in the police, the courts, or any other public agencies.

4 Now, I'm not saying whether they should have had
5 faith. I learned a long time ago in political life that
6 what is true is not really as important as what people
7 think is true. And this is what they think. For, as
8 Justice Fortice (sic) put it recently, the law, to the
9 poor, is a system devised by the establishment, of the
10 establishment, for the establishment.

11 Now, this is the law which is known by many in
12 the ghetto; not as the blindfolded goddess of even-handed
13 justice, but as the man -- as they put it -- the man;
14 capricious, arbitrary, authoritarian, foreign, worthy of
15 fear but not of respect.

16 In the eyes of the impoverished, it is the law
17 which garnishees the poor man's wage; the law which evicts
18 him from his home; the law which cancels his welfare pay-
19 ment. Worst of all, in the eyes of the impoverished, it is
20 the law which has guaranteed equal rights to all, as he has
21 been told, but has failed to provide equal opportunity.

22 May I commend the American Bar Association on
23 its resolution taking note of the relevance and the rela-
24 tionship between freedom and opportunity -- the liberty
25 and opportunity. In this situation that I've described,

1 which I believe is as the impoverished see it, the law
2 loses its stabilizing influence; it becomes for the poor
3 an irritant. Frustration, alienation, and unrest are
4 therefore not a surprising consequence.

5 Now, the third dimension of the crisis before us
6 is urbanization. We have become a city-state. Many of us
7 have read about the city-states of Greece. Well, it seems
8 like history repeats itself. Seven out of every ten
9 Americans today live in urban areas. By 1980, that figure
10 will be over eight out of every ten Americans living in
11 large metropolitan areas. The cities have become the total
12 environment for the great majority of our citizens. And
13 in those cities, with all of their beauty, are these
14 cancerous cells, these areas of social malignancy, charac-
15 terized by the blight of congestion, dirt, polluted water,
16 polluted air, tension, crime, tenements.

17 Fellow Americans, this is the definition of that
18 ugly word called "the ghetto," the prison of the poor.
19 And if there ever was anything that is unAmerican, it's the
20 ghetto. It doesn't belong in our lexicon; it doesn't even
21 belong in our vocabulary. It surely doesn't belong in our
22 social structure. It's foreign to us. It is the very
23 repudiation of everything this Nation stands for; and yet,
24 there it is. And we will either eliminate it or it will
25 eliminate us. The decision is in our hands.

1 Now, the residents of that ghetto are 80% Negro.
2 A high proportion of them are recent migrants from the
3 rural areas in the South. Newark received 54,000 such
4 migrants from 1950 to '60. Detroit, 5,000. Los Angeles,
5 215,000. New York, almost a quarter of a million in ten
6 years.

7 Now, a man who migrates generally does so with
8 the hopes of bettering his lot. But the migrant Negro
9 arrives in the city without a marketable skill. He is
10 often illiterate. He is a stranger in a foreign land. He
11 is unaccustomed to the city, and the city is unaccustomed
12 to him. The city is strange, and it offers a hostile
13 environment for this man that migrated.

14 I don't mean to minimize for a moment the problem
15 of rural poverty, but time does not permit us to go into
16 that. I concentrate my attention on the fact that most
17 Americans now live in the cities, or will live there. How
18 are they going to live? The city is the measure of our
19 civilization of the 20th Century. I can't help but say to
20 you what I said to a group in Detroit the other night: I
21 can't for the life of me see why, if Norwegians with one-
22 seventh of their land arable and tillable, leaving a rather
23 impoverished little country, in terms of natural resources
24 -- if that little country can have obliterated and
25 eliminated every trace of slum-ism; if the Swedes can do

1 it; if the Danes can do it; if the Finns can do it with
2 fewer resources -- I'm not talking about racial problems;
3 I'm talking about the physical aspects of slums -- if they
4 can do it with their limited resources, what about the
5 Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave? And the banks
6 and the big industries, and almost 50% of the total gross
7 natural products of the entire world, which is the United
8 States of America. I think we might ponder this.

9 I don't want to overestimate the case, nor to
10 overplead it before this jury; but it is in our cities
11 where democracy will survive or perish. It is here that
12 the ultimate decision as to the future of representative
13 government is going to be made.

14 Now, I've spelled out a compound challenge of
15 poverty, alienation and unrest in urbanized America. And
16 why? Not because we're not trying to do something about
17 it; in fact, we're doing more about it than we've ever done
18 before. I could spew out statistics here like a stream of
19 the amount of funds and resources that are going today into
20 our cities. An incredible amount. And when I hear people
21 say we ought to spend more, I say, "Well, is that the only
22 answer you have?"

23 We Americans are addicted to checkbook solutions.
24 When our children are in trouble, give them some more money.
25 When our country is in trouble, give them some more foreign

1 aid. When a city is in trouble, give it some more money.
2 Ladies and Gentlemen, we have done a lot of that, but it
3 hasn't all worked. (Applause) You might ask yourselves
4 if that is the right treatment.

5 I have had to give you a dismal picture; and
6 I've done so for a real reason. We need you. I've come
7 to you. I said you were, in a sense, the doctors. The
8 patient is in trouble.

9 Back in the 30's, when the United States was
10 faced with other acute social and economic crises, the
11 lawyers came forward with creative and constructive ideas.
12 The lawyers provided much of the vision, and stimulated
13 those combinations of public and private efforts which
14 helped to raise us or to lift us out of the Depression.

15 Now, that same kind of guidance is needed now.
16 The Nation, the cities, are reaching out to you, where you
17 live, because after all, that is your city. Many of you
18 are already at work on these problems as government offi-
19 cials that are here represented today. You are, in fact,
20 the architects and the builders, and in many instances
21 the protectors of the Democratic society. But I want to
22 speak to you especially -- or should I say I want to speak
23 especially to those of you who are in private practice,
24 for it seems to me that you have a double opportunity to
25 be of service to your Nation and yourselves.

1 First, you are influential citizens in your
2 communities. Your Bar Associations are important. And
3 then you are, and can be, advisers and counselors to your
4 clients. And many of your clients represent the best in
5 American enterprise.

6 Now, let me for a moment just congratulate the
7 American Bar Association on the splendid work it is doing
8 right now through the neighborhood legal services program.
9 I was out to a luau last night with the Legal Aid Society.
10 You're doing great things for people who need your help.
11 I ask more of you to participate.

12 I was talking to your President a moment ago.
13 You're doing a good job of providing legal services to
14 the needy. Do it even better. Set your own standards.
15 This kind of contribution is nothing new with you. You
16 have been doing it for a century. But extensive legal aid
17 is vitally important now. It can demonstrate to the poor
18 that our laws are designed to protect the weak and the
19 poor, as well as the establishment; and thereby to convince
20 the poor that the law is their friend, and that law and
21 order is the only way that they can make progress for
22 their own betterment, and for the Nation. You can be the
23 teachers -- in a sense, the missionaries -- for a govern-
24 ment of the people and by the people and for the people.

25 The experience of the last few weeks suggests

1 that the neighborhood legal service lawyers have succeeded
2 in gaining the confidence of the neighborhoods in which
3 they work. Many of you may not know this, but we have
4 solid evidence that these fine men who have contributed
5 their legal services have been able to avert riots, calm
6 them after they've started, and see that those who were
7 arrested enjoyed the full protection of the law. They
8 have talked, advised, and cautioned -- frequently at great
9 personal risk -- in Detroit, in Newark, in Cleveland, in
10 Washington, and many other cities. They have served as
11 the channel of communication between the ghetto's spokesmen
12 and the city officials. We thank you for this. It could
13 have been so much worse without what you have done.

14 Now, to extend the protection of our existing
15 institutions and laws to every person is obviously essen-
16 tial. But I think there is a more fundamental question
17 which I must lay before you today regarding the structure
18 of the institutions themselves.

19 My fellow Americans, -- and I wish I could say
20 "fellow lawyers," but I'm just sort of a refugee from a
21 political science classroom -- do our political and social
22 institutions adequately serve the requirements of modern
23 urban America? Is there a need in your State for State
24 constitutional reform? Are not most of our State govern-
25 ments rural-oriented because of tradition? Are the poli-

1 tical and social institutions where you live tuned to the
2 times? I don't know. You live there. You find out.

3 Are we organized to meet today's responsibili-
4 ties, and to plan effectively for tomorrow? Are your
5 municipal governments adequate to handle the task before
6 them? I know a little bit about that. I served as Mayor
7 of a great city for two terms; and it's harder, believe
8 me, to amend the City Charter than it is to get a camel
9 through a needle's eye. I know that. That is scriptural
10 truth. City Charters are holy writ, almost. They are not
11 exactly holy, but they are hard to amend.

12 How do you expect Mayors and City Councilmen to
13 take care of the responsibility of local government unless
14 you are willing to give them the tools to do the job? And
15 I venture to say that three-fourths of the American cities
16 today are burdened with City Charters that have no relation-
17 ship whatsoever to the problems that they encounter. I
18 ask you to look into it. You can argue the case.

19 Is the structure of criminal law in your neigh-
20 borhood adequate? Can it be efficiently and effectively
21 enforced? Are there adequate provisions for dealing with
22 mental illness and alcoholism outside the criminal courts?
23 Do your police forces spend most of their time settling
24 domestic disputes and arresting drunks, much of which can
25 be better handled and more effectively if referred to

1 specialized agencies? Do your police in your communities
2 have adequate guide lines for dealing with situations which
3 demand a great deal of individual discretion? You in your
4 local bar associations can work with city officials to
5 develop such a code. This doesn't cost money. These are
6 the non-money items.

7 Does your State or city provide the facilities
8 and the program for training police officers in modern
9 law-enforcement techniques, and police-community relations?
10 One of the great urban problems of today is the gap between
11 the police and the inhabitants of the slums, the very
12 people who need police protection the most.

13 Our police forces have a tough job to do, and
14 they are in trouble all over America. And you can have no
15 justice, you can have no law and order unless there is
16 respect for the symbol of the law. You can help bridge
17 the gap between the police and the community, and you can
18 help our police to be better prepared to handle their
19 difficult responsibilities. And you can help the public
20 gain a better understanding of and respect for the police.

21 Recently I suggested that all 50 States consider
22 the possibility of forming councils for civil peace at the
23 State, and wherever possible the metropolitan area level.
24 These councils would include representation of all the
25 religious and ethnic groups -- the major ones, at least --

1 plus the officials of the State Attorney General's office,
2 law-enforcement agencies, and local government. The
3 Council could function as a community relation service to
4 prevent violence, to gain community cooperation, and to
5 hear the voices of those who have gone too long unheard.
6 It could establish an early-warning system to detect
7 potential disorders, and hopefully to nip them in the bud.
8 It could establish a central communications network.

9 And just to give you an example of what I mean:
10 We had instances of trouble in our cities where the State
11 police, the county police, and the local police were on
12 three separate wave bands. One of them could just as well
13 have been from the Congo, another one could have been from
14 France, and another one from Sweden. They couldn't under-
15 stand each other because they couldn't talk to each other
16 on three different wave bands. You would think that in
17 this age of electronics and the transistor, we could whip
18 that problem, wouldn't you? You might ask when you go
19 home. Here again the experience and the advice of respected
20 lawyers would be invaluable.

21 Now, let me finally turn to your opportunities
22 as advisers to our Nation's enterprises, to our Nation's
23 free economy; because, make no mistake about it, the
24 strength of this Nation of ours is in its economy, not just
25 in its government. The central principle of American

1 progress has been a working partnership between government
2 and the private economy. The problems of today are far
3 too great to be handled by any one segment of our national
4 life. They cannot be solved by government alone. More
5 than our laws and our public institutions are being tested.
6 In fact, our whole free enterprise system is being tested.

7 Can that system provide jobs and training for
8 the hard-core unemployed, or does it have to be government?
9 Can it make them contributing members of the economy, both
10 as consumers and producers? Can it meet national need
11 when that need is clear and present? Can that system
12 provide the initiative, the imagination, and the capital
13 to meet the pressing need for more schools, efficient mass
14 transport, middle-income housing, low-income housing? And
15 the inner structure for a new America?

16 Some say "no." And they say, "The only person
17 or the only force that can do it is the government." They
18 are willing to turn to the government for everything. I
19 think that would be a sad mistake. I think it would
20 fundamentally change the entire social system of this
21 Nation. (Applause) And some say that he can't be done.
22 But I say that it can; and so my answer is "yes." American
23 business has always known that prosperous people mean a
24 better market. And I don't believe businessmen can be con-
25 tent so long as one-sixth of their potential market is

1 undeveloped and unhappy.

2 Now, speaking for the Government, we in the
3 Government are ready to help. But I said "help," not "take
4 over." Where there are obstacles, we are willing to try
5 to remove them; and I've been in Government long enough to
6 know what a difficult task that is.

7 Where there are opportunities, we want to hear
8 about them. We are willing to experiment, but we want your
9 counsel.

10 The full creative force of American free enter-
11 prise in cooperation with Government must be turned to
12 these great and waiting tasks. The private economy must
13 be energized for social progress. And it can be done, with
14 profit, if we but determine the way and the means.

15 The Negro leadership is needed, and it is in an
16 unique position to advise us on what programs are likely
17 to work; and it could supply leadership in these programs.
18 But let me stress this one crucial point: The task ahead
19 will require the efforts of everyone, every organization.
20 Any nation that can mobilize its scientific, industrial,
21 intellectual, and managerial resources to put a man on the
22 moon in a decade ought to be able to help put a man on his
23 feet right here on this earth in the next decade. (Applause)

24 But that lunar program -- we call it, in Govern-
25 ment parlance, the "Apollo Program" -- tells us something

1 else. It tells us that if you want to get a job done, you
2 must use the most modern methods. You must mobilize the
3 resources of the Nation. You must have a partnership
4 between Government and industry, the university and the
5 scientist. You must make a natural commitment; and you
6 must be willing to pay the price.

7 And it is on that sentence that I get the
8 editorial comment -- because right away I read that some-
9 body says, "The Vice President proposes billions more."
10 That isn't what the Vice President is talking about.

11 "Paying the price" -- let's define that. The
12 price that we need to pay is not just money. We're putting
13 \$10,300,000,000 a year right now in our cities out of the
14 Federal Treasury. We're putting in \$25,000,000,000 right
15 now from the Federal Government in the war on poverty, in
16 all of its facets. Never have so much been done. Some
17 people think it's too much. Some louder voices say it's too
18 little. I'll leave it up to you. All I know is what we're
19 doing. And I know that if it were just money that would do
20 the job, we'd be a lot further along.

21 What else is needed? What price are you willing
22 to pay in priorities? And let me make it crystal clear
23 that there aren't any easy answers. Oh, I read -- and some
24 people say, -- "Well, the thing to do is forget everything
25 about foreign aid; forget everything about your international

1 commitments." And there are even those who say that what
2 we really ought to do is just buckle down to the things
3 at home and forget about the rest of the world. Well,
4 Ladies and Gentlemen, that is a happy thought, but it will
5 lead to catastrophe. Mark my words, if there is any hope
6 for freedom in this world, it's not because we abandon it.
7 If there is any hope for law and order in this world, it
8 is not because we forsake it. If there is any hope that
9 we can stop aggression in this world, it's not because we
10 fold up our tents and leave the battlefield. We don't
11 have that easy answer.

12 No, we have to be big enough, strong enough; we
13 have to be purposeful enough, determined enough to fulfill
14 both our international responsibilities and our domestic
15 needs. And I am one who says you can do it. You cannot
16 do it overnight. There are no instant cures for long, age-
17 old problems of centuries.

18 We are an addicted people to instancy. We like
19 instant coffee, instant tea, instant this, and even instant
20 solutions. I want to let you in on a long-held secret:
21 There are no instant solutions to our basic international
22 and domestic problems. What we ought to hope for is that
23 we can make a little contribution, year in and year out,
24 to their ultimate solution.

25 So we have to be willing to pay the price of

1 priorities, the price of administrative organization and
2 reorganization, the price of modernizing our State laws
3 and City Charters; the price of a massive training and
4 employment program by private industry; the price of taking
5 the risk of hiring some untrained workers and giving them
6 on-the-job training, hoping they will learn. It is the
7 price of massive education and recreation programs, parti-
8 cularly in the urban slums, because education is the key.
9 Not instantly, but ultimately. It is the price of keeping
10 our schools operating twelve months a year. They belong
11 to you.

12 What makes you think that the summer months,
13 which are the most troublesome months, should be the months
14 that you close up your school buildings and lock the gates?
15 Unlock the padlock. I want to say from this platform there
16 will be less vandalism in public schools in an open school
17 than in a closed one. No doubt about it. (Applause)

18 It is the price of making job-training programs
19 relevant to the needs of industry. It is investing billions
20 of private capital to give our cities new life and new
21 hope; and it may be investment guarantees for private
22 capital from government. It is long-term credits and low
23 interest rates with government cooperation. It is tax
24 incentives. It is risk insurance. It is government parti-
25 cipation as a helpful partner and not a dominant force. And

1 the price that we have to pay is a willingness to recognize
2 that the slum is repugnant to American values, and that it
3 must be eliminated as if it were a malignancy. It is the
4 price of recognizing our slums and the majority of those
5 living in them as underdeveloped and neglected places and
6 people. And it is the willingness to offer the same
7 generous and far-reaching treatment and considerations for
8 our own underdeveloped areas and our own needy people as
9 we do for others in foreign lands. Now, that is the price
10 you ought to be willing to pay. (Applause)

11 Yes, the price we must be willing to pay is,
12 above all, a willingness to accept as a partner in the
13 American community, and as a first-class citizen, the poor,
14 the illiterate, black or white, red or yellow or brown,
15 and give him a chance to make something out of his life.
16 To do less is for us to admit our failure.

17 I leave you with the words of an author and a
18 poet whose insight into our problems have always meant a
19 great deal to me. He was best known for his writings of
20 the 30's, when we were in dire trouble. And he has told
21 me, and I think through his words I can tell you, what we
22 are trying to do; what we must do; and what this beloved
23 America means to us, the America that Lincoln talked about
24 as the last best hope on earth. I have used these words
25 many times, but they never grow old. They are almost

1 secular scripture. Listen to them -- from Thomas Wolfe;
2 here is what we're trying to do:

3 To every man his chance. To every man, regard-
4 less of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To
5 every man the right to live and to work, to be himself,
6 and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision
7 can combine to make him. This is the promise of America.

8 Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

9 (Standing ovation.)

10 PRESIDENT MARDEN: Thank you, Mr. Vice President.
11 You have come thousands of miles to challenge the lawyers
12 of America and to ask for our help; and what you have asked
13 of us seems to me is in no sense partisan. In fact, as a
14 Republican, I thought it slanted a little more on the side
15 of Republican doctrine.

16 I trust your journey has not been in vain. I
17 believe it has not been in vain. And we pledge to you,
18 sir, all that we can do in our home cities and our home
19 States to do the things that you asked us to do and which
20 we know in our hearts are right. (Applause)

21 Now, may I say, just before we close -- we're
22 going to have benediction from our good friend, Bishop
23 Kennedy, but I do want the lovely Mrs. Humphrey to stand
24 and take a bow.

25 (Mrs. Humphrey rises to applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

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Our cities are in trouble. The lawlessness and violence which have occurred in some of our cities recently have been deeply disturbing and disappointing to every American -- but most of all to those dedicated to the rule of law.

We have always prided ourselves on our determination to achieve our objectives through peaceful means. We have always been confident that the American legal system could grow with the needs of our society; could meet those needs; could be flexible and yet provide an absolute and stable source of authority. This is what lawyers believe, and this is what Americans generally believe.

Looking back over the last fifteen years, I think we can honestly say that more than ever before the law in America has served both as an instrument of social growth and as a stabilizing force.

New legislation, court decisions and executive orders taken together have strengthened such fundamental American rights as the right to be equally represented in our legislatures and in Congress, basic to representative government; the right to privacy, basic to human dignity; and the right to the full protection of the law in courts, basic to justice.

Progress has been especially dramatic in the field of civil rights. During these few years we have taken giant strides in guaranteeing every American the right to vote, the right to equal opportunity in employment, in education, in access to public accommodations. Every housing project and every hospital which receives any support from the federal government is obligated to open its doors to all without regard for race or creed. These were not radical departures from American constitutional theory, but they have brought revolutionary advances in practice.

I believe that we can say today -- not with complacency, but with a sense of real achievement and a feeling of real hope -- that never before in history has any nation done so much in such a short period of time to assure full equality under law for all of its citizens.

It is a good record. But suddenly, despite all this progress -- maybe in part because of it -- we find ourselves witnessing a spectacle almost unprecedented in American history -- thousands of citizens in cities across the country openly defying the law and local authorities, necessitating use of the National Guard and federal troops to re-establish law and order.

Some people have seen in this the result of rising expectations -- and mounting frustrations that they were not immediately being realized. Some have said that the progress we have made brings with it a certain degree of turbulence. I think there is some truth in these observations. But, quite frankly, I doubt whether any of us really know why these things have happened. We search for the answer -- and I come to you to help find the answer.

We have heard calls to insurrection in the name of "civil rights." We have heard recognized civil rights leaders -- men of courage -- attacked for having too great a regard for due process, for confining themselves to non-violent action.

The crisis is very real, and its dimensions are much greater than the sum of the material and human losses, the misery and terror which have occurred. It bluntly challenges

the viability of American democracy. We are on trial -- now. Can our institutions really serve the interests of the people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of American society today?

I am confident that the answer will ultimately be "yes." But our success will depend upon our ability to understand the crisis, and the mobilize our resources and institutions to deal with it.

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To put it succinctly, we have the means to do what needs to be done, if we have the will and the wisdom to use these means properly.

The crisis facing America today is three-dimensional.

First, there is an immediate problem of lawlessness, crime, violence and riot which demands an immediate and direct response. Order must and will be restored. The riots must and will be stopped. The malicious or misguided individuals who spark the disorders and incite the violence must and will be found and prosecuted.

This is no denial of civil rights -- rather, it is their protection. For there can be no freedom, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior.

Arson does not build houses. Murder does not win civil rights. Looting does not produce jobs. They produce revulsion which is bound to slow real social progress.

The second dimension of this crisis -- no less real and no less obvious than crime in the streets -- is poverty. It is a fact that one out of every six Americans does not share in the benefits of American society in the 1960's.

Let us look at poverty the way the victim sees it. Poverty means a maximum of 32¢ a meal per person each day, with \$1.40 left over for everything else -- rent, clothing, transportation, medicine, recreation.

Thirty million Americans live on that much or less. Half of America's Negro population falls into that category.

Poverty means four times as much heart disease, six times as much arthritis and rheumatism, six times as much mental and nervous illness as compared with the other five-sixths of our population. It means that half of all mothers who give birth in public hospitals have had no prenatal care whatsoever. It means high infant mortality. It means that 60% of all poor

children never see a dentist; 50% never see a doctor; 80% of those who join the Job Corps have never seen either. It means that a man is four times as likely to die by the age of 35.

It means a ghetto unemployment and under-employment rate of up to 35%. It means idle, untrained, restless youths loitering on street corners.

These poor people have the freedoms that go with American citizenship. But in all too many cases these are freedoms without real meaning -- an inflated legal currency worth little in the market place of American society.

These Americans suffer something more acute than poverty of the purse. They suffer an active and intense frustration that comes from watching the other America at work and at play on television.

They see the other America -- your America, my America, the America our children know. They know that this America is beyond their reach, and they are unhappy, alienated, frustrated. They suffer:

- the frustration that comes from paying higher prices in the ghetto shops than those charged in the supermarkets of suburbia -- and knowing it;
- the frustration that comes from paying exorbitant interest rates for shoddy goods -- and knowing it;
- the frustration of being unemployable for lack of education, skill, and training -- and knowing it.

The consequence of being poor and hopeless in a society where most are not is a deep sense of alienation. This feeling is nowhere more fully expressed than in the attitudes of some ghetto dwellers toward the law.

Twenty percent of the Negroes interviewed two years ago in Newark stated that they had no faith whatsoever in the police, the courts or any other public agencies. I'm not saying whether they should have faith. I learned a long time ago that what is true is not nearly as important to people as what they think is true.

As Justice Fortas recently put it, the law, to the poor, is a system devised "by the establishment -- of the establishment -- for the establishment."

This is the law which is known in the ghetto not as the blindfolded goddess of even-handed justice, but as "the man" -- capricious, arbitrary, authoritarian, foreign -- worthy of fear but not of respect. In the eyes of the impoverished it is the law which garnishees the poor man's wages, the law which evicts him from his home, the law which cancels his welfare payments. Worst of all, perhaps, it is the law which has guaranteed equal rights to all but has failed to provide the poor with equal opportunity.

In the situation of the poor, the law loses its stabilizing influence. It becomes instead an irritant. Frustration, alienation, and unrest are not surprising consequences.

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The third dimension of the crisis before us is urbanization. Seven out of every ten Americans today live in urban areas. By 1980, eight out of every ten Americans will be living in metropolitan areas. Cities have become the total environment for the great majority of our citizens. There are parts of our cities which are handsome, even beautiful. But they are plagued by cancerous growths, social malignancies, congestion, dirt, polluted air and water, slums, tensions, and crime.

The ghetto is the prison of the poor. If there ever was anything that is un-American, it is the ghetto. The word itself doesn't belong in our vocabulary -- it is foreign to us. It is the living repudiation of everything this nation stands for. Either we will eliminate it or it will eliminate us. The decision is in our hands.

The residents of the ghetto are 80% Negro. A very high proportion of them are recent immigrants from rural areas in the south. Newark received 54,000 such immigrants between 1950 and 1960; Detroit, 55,000; Los Angeles, 215,000; New York City, 222,000.

A man who migrates does so in hopes of bettering his lot. But he arrives in the city without marketable skills. He is often illiterate. He is a stranger in a foreign land. He is unaccustomed to the city, and the city is unaccustomed to him.

I don't mean to minimize for a moment the problem of rural poverty, but time does not permit us to go into this. I concentrate my attention on the fact that most Americans live in cities, and still more will in the future. The city is the measure of our Twentieth Century civilization.

Norway, a poor country in terms of natural resources, has eliminated every trace of slumism. If they can do it, if the Swedes can do it, if the Danes can do it, if the Finns (with even less in the way of resources) can do it, what about our country, which accounts for 30% of the Gross National Product of the entire world? I think we might well ponder this.

I don't want to overstate the case -- but it is in our cities that democracy will thrive or perish. It is within them that the ultimate verdict on the future of representative government will be rendered.

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I have spelled out a compound challenge -- poverty, alienation, and unrest in urbanized America. We are trying to do something about it. Substantial federal funds are going today into our cities -- far more than ever before. But the need for these funds -- and it is clear and real -- is not the only need.

And let me be most frank:

We Americans are addicted to seeking checkbook solutions to our problems. When our children are in trouble ... when some other country is in trouble ... when a city is in trouble, there is a natural temptation to think first of a solely financial response.

We know today that a wide array of federal programs are needed to meet the crisis of our cities, and that money is and will be needed to pay for them. We know that the need will be long-term, that it will be with us for a long time ahead.

But we seem slower to recognize those things -- these commitments, if you will -- that will be needed at state, local, private sector, and personal level. And I mean not just monetary commitments, but also the commitments that come from the proper allocation of priorities and from individual concern and action.

I will have more to say about this in a moment.

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Back in the 'thirties, when the United States faced another acute social and economic crisis, it was the lawyers who came forward with creative and constructive ideas. Lawyers provided much of the vision and stimulated the combinations of public and private effort which enabled us to lift ourselves up out of the depression. American society needs that kind of guidance again today.

Many of you are already at work on these problems as government officials. You are, in fact, the architects and builders -- and in many instances the protectors -- of our democratic society.

But I want today to speak especially to those of you in private practice, for it seems to me you have a double opportunity to contribute:

First, you are influential citizens in your communities and members of your local Bar Associations.

Second, you are advisors and counselors to your clients, many of whom represent the best in American enterprise.

Let me congratulate the American Bar Association on the splendid work it is doing through the Neighborhood Legal Services Program. This kind of contribution is nothing new with you. You have been providing legal aid for nearly a century. But extensive legal aid is vitally important now. It can demonstrate that our laws are designed to protect the weak and the poor as well as the establishment. It can convince the poor that the law is their friend.

The experience of the last few weeks suggests that Neighborhood Legal Service lawyers have succeeded in gaining the confidence of the neighborhoods in which they work. We have solid evidence that they have been able to avert riots, calm them after they have started, and insure that those arrested enjoy the

full protection of the law. They have talked, advised and cautioned, frequently at great personal risk. In Newark, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, D. C. , and many other cities they have served as a channel of communication between ghetto leaders and city officials.

To extend the protection of our existing institutions and laws to every person is obviously essential. But there is a more fundamental question regarding the structure of the institutions themselves.

Do our local political and social institutions adequately serve the requirements of modern, urban America?

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Is there a need/constitutional reform in your state?

Are not most of our state governments rural-oriented because of tradition?

Are the political and social institutions where you live in tune with the times? I don't know. You live there -- it is up to you to find out.

Are we organized to meet today's responsibilities and to plan effectively for tomorrow?

Are your municipal governments adequate to handle the tasks before them? I know a little about that. I served as mayor of a great city for four years. I found that it is harder to amend a city charter than it is to get a camel through the eye of a needle. How do you expect mayors and city councilmen to meet the responsibilities of local government unless you are willing to give them the tools to do the job? I venture to say that three-quarters of American cities today are burdened with city charters that have no relationship whatsoever to today's problems.

Is the structure of criminal law in your neighborhood adequate? Can it be effeciently enforced? Are there adequate provisions for dealing with mental illness and alcoholism outside the criminal courts? Do your police forces spend time on domestic disputes which could be handled better and more efficiently if referred to specialized agencies?

Do the police in your communities have adequate guidelines for dealing with situations which demand a great deal of individual discretion? You, and your local Bar Association, can work with city officials to develop such a code.

Does your state or city provide the facilities and program for training police officers in modern law enforcement techniques and police/community relations? One of the great urban problems today is the gap between the police and inhabitants of the slums -- the very people who need police protection most.

Our police forces have a tough job to do, and they are facing severe difficulties all over America. You can have no justice, you can have no law and order, without respect for the police as the symbol of the law. You as lawyers can help bridge the gaps between the police and the community where they exist. You can help our police to be better prepared to handle their difficult responsibilities. You can help the public gain a better understanding -- and a greater respect -- for the police.

Recently I suggested that all fifty states consider the possibility of forming Councils for Civil Peace at the state and, wherever possible, at the metropolitan level. Such a Council would include representatives of all major ethnic and religious groups, plus officials of the state Attorney General's office, the National Guard, law enforcement agencies and local government.

It would function as a community relations service to prevent violence, gain community cooperation, and hear the voices of those who have too long gone unheard. It could establish an early-warning system to detect potential disorders and, hopefully, nip them in the bud.

It could establish a central communications network. Let me give you an example of what I mean. We had instances of trouble in our cities where the state police, the county police, and the local police were on three separate radio wave bands. They couldn't understand each other, because they couldn't talk with one another. In this age of electronics and the transistor, we should have had that problem whipped. Here again the experience and the advice of respected lawyers would be helpful.

Now let me turn to your opportunities as advisors to the nation's businesses and corporations. Make no mistake about it, the strength of this nation is in its free economy, not just in its government.

The central principle of American progress has been a working partnership between government and the private economy. The problems of today are far too great to be handled by any one segment of our national community. They cannot be solved by government alone.

More than our laws and our public institutions are being tested. It is our entire free enterprise system. Can that system provide jobs and training for the hard-core unemployed? Can it make them contributing members of this economy, both as consumers and producers? Can it meet national need when that need is clear and present? Can that system provide the initiative, the imagination and the capital to meet the pressing necessity for more school buildings, efficient mass transport, low and middle-income housing -- the infrastructure for the new America?

Some say "No." They say that the only force that can do it is government. They are willing to turn to the government for everything. I think that would be a sad mistake. I think it would fundamentally change our national system.

So my answer is: "Yes." American business has always known that prosperous people mean a better market. I don't believe businessmen can be content so long as one-sixth of their potential market is undeveloped and unhappy.

We in the government are ready to help -- and I said "help." Where there are obstacles, we shall try to remove them. Where there are opportunities, we want to hear about them. We are willing to experiment, but we want your counsel.

The full creative force of American free enterprise, in cooperation with government, must be directed to these great and waiting tasks. The private economy must be energized for social progress. It can be done, and done at a profit, if we can devise the ways and means.

The leadership of Negro Americans, too, is needed. They are in a unique position to advise us what programs are likely to work, and to supply leadership in them. But let me stress this one crucial point -- the task ahead of us will require the efforts of every citizen and every organization in this country.

Any nation that can mobilize its scientific, industrial, and managerial resources to put a man on the moon in a single decade ought to be able to put men on their feet right here on this earth in a decade. We can learn something else from our lunar program. If we want to get a job done, we must use the most modern methods. We must mobilize the resources of the nation. We must have a partnership broad enough to include industry, the universities and the scientists.

We must make a national commitment, and we must be willing to pay the price.

What is "the price?" As I said earlier, the price that we need to pay is not one that can be measured merely in money.,

We're putting \$10.3 billion a year right now into our cities out of the federal treasury. We're putting \$25.6 billion a year right now from the federal government into the war on poverty, in all its facets. Never before has so much been done. But even that "price" and more will not ^{be} sufficient of itself.

Some people say: "Forget about foreign aid -- forget about our international commitments." There are even those who say that what we really ought to do is to buckle down to the things we need to do at home and forget about the rest of the world. That road would lead straight to catastrophe, as it has before. There would be no hope for freedom in this world if we were to abandon it. There would be no hope for law and order in this world if we were to forsake it. There would be no hope of stopping aggression in this world if we were to fold up our tents and leave. We can't afford that easy answer.

No, we have to be big enough, strong enough, purposeful enough, and determined enough to fulfill both our international responsibilities and our domestic needs. I for one say that we can do it.

We cannot do it overnight. There are no instant cures for problems which have been centuries in the making. As a people, we are addicted to instancy. We like instant coffee, instant tea, instant this, and instant that. But there are no instant solutions to our basic international and domestic problems. What we ought to hope for is that we can make some contribution, year in and year out, to their ultimate solution.

So we in government have to be willing to pay "the price" of administrative organization and reorganization to do a better job; the price of modernizing our state constitutions and city charters.

We, as a nation, must be willing to pay "the price" of a massive training and employment program by private industry; the price of taking the risk of hiring untrained workers and giving them on-the-job training.

We will have to pay the price of massive education and recreation programs, particularly in the urban slums. Education is the master key -- not instantly, but ultimately. We have to pay the price of keeping our schools -- and, remember, they belong to you -- open twelve months a year. Why should the summer

months, which are the most troublesome months, be the months when we close up our school buildings and lock the gates? Let us unlock the padlocks! There will be less vandalism against open public schools than against closed ones.

The price is making job-training programs relevant to the needs of industry. It is investing billions in private capital to give our cities new life and new hope. It may be investment guarantees by government for private capital. It is long-term credits and low-interest rates with government cooperation. It is tax incentives. It is risk insurance. It is government participation as a helpful partner and not as a dominant force.

The price we have to pay is the willingness to recognize that the slum is repugnant to American values, and that it must be eliminated as if it were a malignancy. It is the price of recognizing our slums and many of the people living in them as underdeveloped and neglected places and people. It is the willingness to offer the same generous consideration and treatment for our own underdeveloped areas and our own needy people as we do for others in foreign lands. And that is a price we must be willing to pay.

"The price" we must be prepared to pay is, above all, the willingness to accept as a first-class citizen, a full partner in the American community, every human being -- whether he be poor or illiterate, black or white, red, yellow, or brown -- and give him a chance to make something out of his life. If we do anything less, we admit to failure.

I give you these words of the great American novelist Thomas Wolfe:

"To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This ... is the promise of America."

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