

# URBAN CRISIS

# SYMPOSIUM

MACALESTER COLLEGE  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
February 22-26, 1969

### Give a damn!

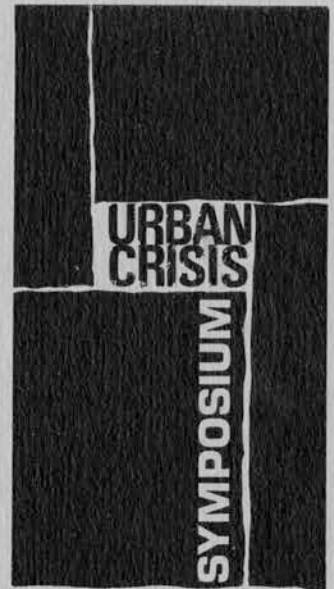
America and its cities are in deep trouble. Racial turmoil, poor housing, unemployment, pollution and inferior education are the plagues of our cities. The events of the last four years in our urban center, if anything, have had one effect. They have shown all of us that we can no longer escape this unprecedented domestic crisis. The question is whether we shall resort to illusion or finally come to grips with reality.

Macalester is in the midst of a great metropolitan area. Therefore Political Emphasis Week this year is devoted to making the students aware of the clear and present danger to the very existence of our cities. National and community leaders have been brought in to discuss and debate these problems with the College community.

It is, of course, unlikely that any final solution to these problems will be found at the Symposium. What we do believe is that those attending will become more aware of what is taking place in America's urban centers and of the alternatives immediately available.

Moreover, it is hoped that the Symposium will provide perspective and guidance as to the legitimate roles of both students and local community leaders in the life of the communities which surround and influence them.

Michael Davis  
Stuart West  
Co-chairmen  
Urban Crisis Symposium



### Saturday, February 22

- 1-4 p.m. Informal Question and Answer Session  
Auditorium, Olin Hall of Science  
The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey  
Professor of Political Science  
and International Relations,  
Macalester College  
Members of the Macalester Community

### Sunday, February 23

- 2-4 p.m. Reception to Welcome The Honorable  
and Mrs. Hubert H. Humphrey to  
Macalester  
Cochran Lounge, Student Union  
Members of the Macalester Community  
and Their Families  
All Subsequent Events Open to the  
Public



**HUBERT H. HUMPHREY**, while Vice-President (1965-69), served as liaison between the federal government, and the cities and local government officials of the country. He was the personal link between the Johnson administration and the mayors, listening to their problems and trying to help them with solutions, at the same time interpreting what the federal government was attempting to accomplish in the area of urban affairs. He worked on the development of the Anti-Poverty Program and, as chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, he was the initiator of federally-funded summer youth programs for disadvantaged young people in the nation's 50 largest cities. He worked closely on legislation creating the Model Cities Program and was instrumental in achieving its passage in the House of Representatives. Throughout his career as Senator from Minnesota (1949-65) he was involved as author and co-author of numerous bills dealing with the economic and social problems which characterize the Urban Crisis today — education, civil rights, housing, employment. His continuing interest in cities and their problems was based on his experiences as mayor of Minneapolis (1945-48), which he would still say were among the most exciting and personally satisfying political years he has ever spent.

Sunday, February 23 (continued)

- 8 p.m.      Keynote Address  
                  Gymnasium  
                  "Politics and the Urban Crisis"  
                  The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey  
                  Professor of Political Science  
                  and International Relations  
                  Macalester College
- Reaction from Panel
- Arthur S. Flemming, Moderator  
                  President, National Council of The  
                  Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.  
                  Member, Steering Committee, Na-  
                  tional Urban Coalition  
                  President, Macalester College
- Douglas Johnson  
                  President, Legislative Affairs Com-  
                  mittee, Macalester College
- Robert MacGregor  
                  Alderman, Second Ward, and Can-  
                  didate for Mayor, City of Min-  
                  neapolis  
                  Liberal Minority Leader, Minneapo-  
                  lis City Council
- Dean McNeal  
                  President, Minneapolis Urban Coali-  
                  tion  
                  Group Vice President, The Pills-  
                  bury Company
- John G. Stewart  
                  Adjunct Assistant Professor of Po-  
                  litical Science, Macalester Col-  
                  lege, and Special Assistant to  
                  Hubert H. Humphrey.



**JAMES FARMER** accepted an appointment this month as assistant secretary for administration in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In addition to responsibilities for internal department administration, he will be recruiting HEW staff. He is the first black civil rights leader to take a high position in the Nixon administration. Mr. Farmer, who ran for Congress last fall in New York City, helped form the first chapter of CORE at the University of Chicago in 1942 to apply the Gandhian techniques of non-violence and passive resistance to the struggle for racial equality in America. As national director of CORE, he spent 40 days in a Mississippi jail after leading members in America's first Freedom Ride and was arrested in Louisiana following a civil rights demonstration. Grandson of a slave, he received a B.S. in chemistry at 18 and a bachelor of divinity degree at 21, beginning his career in social action as race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He is a member of the faculties at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and New York University, where he teaches courses in the Civil Rights Revolution and the New Left in relation to the Black Revolution.

## Monday, February 24

### Table Talks

Room 201, Student Union

2 p.m. **Sidney Hyman**  
Senior Fellow, Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs

4 p.m. **Lillian D. Anthony**  
Director, Department of Civil Rights, City of Minneapolis

8 p.m. **Major Address**  
Cochran Lounge, Student Union

"The Shape of the Black Man's Future in America"

### James Farmer

Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Former National Director, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

### Reaction from Panel

**Lillian D. Anthony, Moderator**  
Director, Department of Civil Rights, City of Minneapolis

**Richard Cambridge**  
President, Black Liberation Affairs Committee (BLAC), Macalester College

**Harry Davis**  
Executive Director, Minneapolis Urban Coalition

**Sidney Hyman**  
Senior Fellow, Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs

**The Rev. Joseph Pilate**  
Pastor, Camphor Memorial United Methodist Church, St. Paul  
Member, St. Paul Interim Committee on Model Cities

### Informal Discussion

Mac Grille, Student Union





**JACK MELTZER** has for five years directed the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Chicago, where he is professor of urban studies in the Division of Social Sciences. He was acting director (1967-68) and associate director (1957) of the American Society of Planning Officials. His professional background includes employment as a planner, Chicago Plan Commission (1948-50); economist, Public Housing Administration (1950-51); assistant to Mayor's Housing and Redevelopment Coordinator (Chicago 1951-52); field representative, Urban Renewal Administration (1952-53); planning director, Michael Reese Hospital (1953-54); director of planning, Southeast Chicago Commission and University of Chicago (1954-58) and as proprietor of Jack Meltzer Associates (1958-63). His wealth of consulting projects has included two for the City of St. Paul: a plan of the downtown area via urban renewal, and a community area project involving clearance, conservation and rehabilitation centering on a new campus for the city's technical high school. His responsibilities as Urban Renewal representative included projects in the Twin Cities. He has written extensively in the urban planning field.

Tuesday, February 25

4 p.m. Table Talk

Room 201, Student Union

Edward Holmgren

Executive Director, Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Chicago

8 p.m. Major Address

Cochran Lounge, Student Union

"Re-Examination of Urban Public Policy"

Jack Meltzer

Director, Center for Urban Studies, and Professor of Urban Studies, University of Chicago

Reaction from Panel

Lonnie Adkins, Moderator

President, St. Paul Urban League  
President, Adkins-Jackels Associates, Inc., Architects-Engineers

Lawrence Brown

Assistant Director, Minneapolis Urban Coalition

Janet Glaeser

Geography Major, Macalester College, with Special Interest in Urban Design

Edward Holmgren

Executive Director, Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Chicago

Charles Pallerine

Housing Specialist, Minneapolis Urban Coalition On Leave from Prudential Insurance Company

Informal Discussion

Mac Grille, Student Union



**FRED R. HARRIS** was elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee last month, little more than four years after his first election to the U. S. Senate — at age 33. He is one of the few freshman senators ever to attain a subcommittee chairmanship: Government Research. He has sponsored or co-sponsored major legislation and is a recognized leader in urban affairs through membership on both the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization and on former President Johnson's Special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which was formed at his suggestion. He is also a member of the Finance, Government Operations and Small Business Committees and the Investigations and National Security and International Operations Sub-Committees. Sen. Harris and his wife, LaDonna, a member of the Comanche Indian Tribe and president of Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity, have taken an active interest in a broad range of social concerns. Elected to the Oklahoma State Senate at 26 and named one of the nation's 10 outstanding young men in 1965 by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, he is the author of "Alarms and Hopes," a study of the dramatic changes taking place in America.

Wednesday, February 26

- 4 p.m. Table Talk  
Room 201, Student Union
- Dennis Banks  
Member, Capital Long Range Improvements Committee (CLIC),  
Minneapolis City Council  
Counselor, Factory Employment,  
Honeywell, Inc.
- 8 p.m. Major Address  
Cochran Lounge, Student Union
- "The Urban Crisis and National Politics"
- Fred R. Harris  
United States Senator, Oklahoma  
Chairman, Democratic National Committee  
Member of the National Advisory  
Commission on Civil Disorders
- Reaction from Panel
- G. Theodore Mitau, Moderator  
Chancellor, Minnesota State College  
System
- Dennis Banks  
Member, Capital Long Range Improvements Committee (CLIC),  
Minneapolis City Council
- Lawrence Borum  
Executive Director, St. Paul Urban  
League
- Gleason Glover  
Executive Director, Minneapolis Urban  
League
- Mark Vaught  
Vice President, Community Council,  
Macalester College
- Milton Williams  
Education Director, The Way, Minneapolis
- Informal Discussion  
Mac Grille, Student Union

**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:**

The Participants and Their Organizations  
Macalester Convocation Committee  
Urban Crisis Symposium Committee  
Student Activities Office Staff

**MACALESTER COLLEGE**

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101



Farmer, Harris, on Slate

# HHH to Keynote Urban Affairs Symposium

Hubert H. Humphrey will address an Urban Crisis Symposium here at Macalester on Sunday, February 23, at 8 p.m. in the gymnasium. The student-planned symposium is an adaptation this year of Mac's traditional Political Emphasis Week. Humphrey's keynote address for the five-day symposium will be his first public appearance since he joined the Macalester faculty as Professor of Political Science and International Affairs.

Humphrey's speech, "Politics and the Urban Crisis," will be followed by a panel discussion. Members of the panel will include Arthur S. Flemming, President of Macalester; John G. Stewart, Adjunct Assistant Professor of Political Science at Mac, and special assistant to Humphrey; and Mac student, Doug Johnson, president of the student Legislative Affairs Committee.

On Monday, February 24, James Farmer, former CORE leader, and newly appointed Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will give an address on "The Shape of the Black Man's Future in America." The following panel discussion on this topic will include Lillian D. Anthony, director of the Minneapolis Department of Human Rights, Harry Davis, executive director of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition, and Mac student Richard Cambridge, president of the campus Black Liberation Affairs Committee.

Tuesday, February 25, the symposium will feature an address by Jack Meltzer, director of the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Chicago. Meltzer will speak on "Re-Examination of Urban Public Policy." The panel discussing this topic will include Lonnie Adkins, president of the St. Paul League, Charles Pallerine, housing specialist, Minneapolis Urban Coalition, and Janet Glaeser, Macalester junior, majoring in geography.

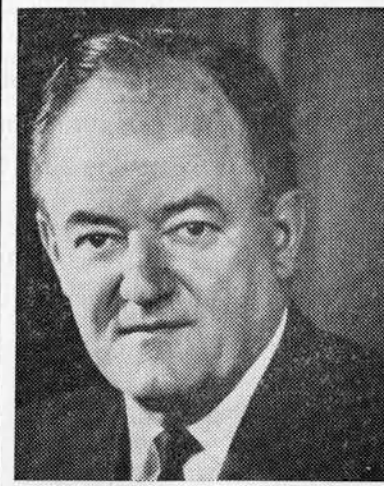
On Wednesday evening, Senator Fred R. Harris, newly appointed chairman of the Democratic National Committee, will speak on "The Urban Crisis and National Politics." Among the panel reac-



James Farmer

Former National Director of CORE

Leader of first Freedom Rides  
Currently Assistant Secretary for Administration in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Grandson of a slave, Farmer received a BS in Chemistry at 18 and a Bachelor of Divinity Degree at the age of 21. He began his work in race relations as secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. He is on the faculties of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and New York University.

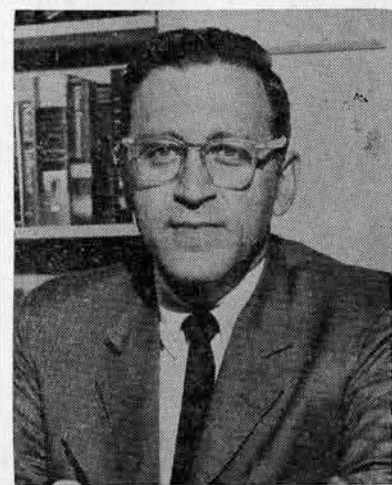


Hubert H. Humphrey

Mayor of Minneapolis, 1945-1948  
United States Senator from Minnesota, 1949-1964

Vice-President of the United States, 1965-1969.

As Vice-President, Humphrey served as liaison for the Johnson administration with the nation's mayors, and came into close contact with the urban crisis. Mr. Humphrey is currently the Hubert Humphrey Professor of Political Science at Macalester.



Jack Meltzer

Jack Meltzer has for five years directed the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Chicago, where he is Professor of Urban Studies in the Division of Social Sciences. He has served as acting director of the American Society of Planning Officials. He has done work on two plans for the city of St. Paul, dealing with urban renewal of the downtown area and with a new campus for the city's technical high school. He has also written extensively about urban problems.



Fred R. Harris

Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1964 at the age of 33. Since that time he has moved up to the chairmanship of the Government Research Subcommittee. He has sponsored or co-authored legislation dealing with the urban crisis, and served as a member of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders. In January of this year, Senator Harris was elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and will be charged with a key role in the reorganization of the party.

tors to Harris' topic will be G. Theodore Mitau, Chancellor of the Minnesota State College System, Lawrence Borum, executive director of the St. Paul Urban League, and Mark Vaught, vice president of the Macalester College Community Government.

Student co-chairmen of the Urban Crisis Symposium are Stuart West and Michael Davis.

## Mac Weekly

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Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. 55101

Feb. 21, 1969

## Robert Lee to Speak On Third World and Hashbury

by John Katsantonis

Since Religious Confrontations have been discarded, members of the Macalester College community have wondered what new directions might be taken by Chaplain Bodo in bringing speakers to Mac.

One answer to this question will be here on campus next week, following the close of the Urban Crisis Symposium, in the person of Dr. Robert Lee.

Dr. Lee, Professor and Director of the Institute of Ethics and Society at San Francisco Theological Seminary in San Anselmo, California, will be at Macalester on Thursday and Friday of next week. Thursday at 5:30, Dr. Lee will speak at a tray supper in C-1 and C-2 of New Dining Hall on, "Third

Dr. Lee will be the main attraction at an informal, candle-lit, coffee-stained session at Kurios House at 10:00 p.m. Friday. He will be discussing "Haight-Ashbury, Before and After," with an open format of questions-and-answers following his brief talk.

Dr. Lee has published nine books, with a tenth now in progress. Among them are *The Social Sources of Church Unity*, (a Kennedy White House Library selection) and *Religion and Leisure in America*, which was a nominee for the "Best Book of the Year Award," and is now in its third printing.

In addition to his books, as well as over 75 articles in religious journals and national magazines, Dr. Lee has served as a consultant to the National Institutes of Health of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington.



Dr. Robert Lee

quite an interesting personality, so make plans to see, hear, and speak with him next week.

And, after all, someone who

## Joint Committee

### Meeting Studies Rights

The Joint Student-Faculty Committee on Rights and Freedoms of Students held the second in a series of open community meetings to discuss the basic document Monday at 4:15 in Cochran Lounge.

The sparsely attended session lasted two hours and was spent in discussion of the first part of the committee's three part document. The section under discussion concerns basic student rights and is a Macalester application of the Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students, formulated by representatives of the National Student Association, the American Association of University Professors, and three other organizations.

Subsequent sections of the documents will deal with the participation of students in the government

tion of federal, state, or local law in itself. In other words, adequate causes must be shown that the college has some special interest in the case.

It was suggested and generally agreed that the draft document should be strengthened in the area of encouraging, some suggested obligating, the college to assist the student in legal proceedings relating to discrimination of any kind in the use of off campus facilities by students.

The majority of the rest of the comments were confined to questions or suggestions regarding the wording of the document.

The committee will be holding further open meetings in the future on this section, with revisions in light of the open meeting, as well as on other sections.



ferred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES 165

Resolved, That a report of the Small Business Administration entitled "Crime Against Small Business," submitted to the Congress pursuant to Public Law 90-104, the Small Business Protection Act of 1967, be printed in four parts with illustrations as a Senate document; and that there be printed one thousand four hundred additional copies of such document for the use of the Select Committee on Small Business.

#### NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nominations:

William B. Buffum, of New York, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be the Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

Christopher H. Phillips, of New York, to be Deputy Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Glenn A. Olds, of New York, to be the Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

In accordance with the committee rule, these pending nominations may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of their receipt in the Senate.

#### SPEECH BY HUBERT HUMPHREY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I invite attention to the perceptive and imaginative remarks recently delivered by one of our most distinguished and honored former colleagues, Hubert H. Humphrey, at the Macalester College Urban Crisis Symposium.

Professor Humphrey called for a "model States" program to complement our present model cities program. While noting the dangers of "urban sprawl," Professor Humphrey went on to indicate the urgent need to expand our present model cities program. Such an effort is plainly needed if we are to "avoid the haphazard and irrational growth patterns which cripple so many of our existing metropolitan centers."

Professor Humphrey later pointed out that the primary reason the urban crisis has not been solved can be traced to "an inability or an unwillingness of the people's elected representatives to act on a scale which reflects the magnitude of the crisis."

Mr. President, I ask for unanimous consent that the text of Professor Humphrey's remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF HON. HUBERT HUMPHREY AT URBAN CRISIS SYMPOSIUM, MACALESTER COLLEGE, ST. PAUL, MINN., FEBRUARY 23, 1969

American political history could be written from the perspective of the crises which periodically threatened the existence of our

democracy . . . but crises which eventually were overcome by the fundamental strength and resiliency of the American political system.

For much of the 19th century, the paramount political issue was slavery and preservation of the union.

During the 1920's and 1930's, it became the survival of our economy.

Today it is the survival of our cities.

In reciting the facts and statistics of the urban crisis, we usually forget that this is fundamentally a political crisis . . . an issue which, in the end, must be solved by political action.

For only as national, state and local governments receive a popular mandate to act—a clear political decision by the American people to get the job done—will we be able to mobilize the necessary resources to break the seamless web of problems which today is strangling our major metropolitan centers.

Our failures to date, moreover, have been primarily political failures—an inability or an unwillingness of the peoples' elected representatives to act on a scale which reflects the magnitude of the crisis. And so it is to political action in behalf of our cities that we should turn our attention.

The urgency of the situation is evident to anyone who tries to walk in our cities . . . or drive . . . or breathe . . . or find a quiet park, or a home, or a hospital, or a school of which a child could be proud.

Life for the residents of our ghettos and slums is even harsher, more tragic:

There is physical overcrowding which renders almost impossible the normal conduct of life.

In Harlem the population density is almost 140 thousand persons per square mile. This contrasts with 26 thousand persons per square mile in all of New York City . . . or 85 hundred in Minneapolis . . . or 50 per square mile for the entire United States.

If the total population of the United States lived at the same density as the people of Harlem, more than 200 million people could be contained on Long Island, New York.

There is dilapidated housing which compounds the problem of overcrowding.

There are 4.3 million substandard dwelling units in urban America. In our central cities, one-third of the housing units are found in poverty areas.

There is unemployment which guarantees that most residents of the ghetto will remain trapped and helpless.

A Department of Labor survey of nine large cities discovered a subemployment rate of 32.7 percent—almost nine times greater than the unemployment rate for all U.S. workers. Negro youth unemployment continues to run five to seven times higher than the national average for all persons.

There are infant mortality rates approximately three times higher than the national average.

There are grossly inadequate sanitation services which increase the likelihood of disease and poor health.

In 1965 there were over 14 thousand cases of rabbits reported in the United States—mostly in slum neighborhoods.

Simply to dwell further on statistics is unnecessary . . . for the recitation of facts is today the mark of procrastination—not commitment to action.

We know what slums are—those places in our major cities where the most critical problems get attended to last.

Public services are least where the need is most urgent.

Schools are the poorest where the educational needs are the greatest.

Building codes are not enforced where the conditions they were designed to prevent are most prevalent.

Garbage collection is slowest where the danger to health is the greatest.

Police protection is least effective where crime rates are highest.

But the crisis of our cities is worse than

the sum of its parts. It is more than inadequate housing, inferior education, unemployment, crime, noise and air pollution.

Capping all of these problems is the evolving frustration, despair and hopelessness which is sporadically transformed into rage, violence and destruction. And underlying everything is the loss of community by people who feel uprooted by change, overwhelmed by the complexity of urban life, and alienated from the mainstream of American society.

The growing numbers of Negro Americans in our central cities—concentrated in the most deteriorated and undesirable neighborhoods—has added the factor of race to the other staggering urban problems. Today, to put it frankly, the problems of race and the city have become inseparably intertwined.

It would be a tragedy if the American city were simply abandoned to the blacks . . . as more and more whites moved to the suburbs. It would be an even greater tragedy if by neglect of the city we practiced the cruelest form of discrimination—that of apartheid, the deliberate separation of the races. If this were to happen, we could well initiate a downward spiral of black violence and white repression which could literally destroy the fabric of our democratic society.

These are the components of the urban crisis in America. Apart from our efforts to achieve peace in the world, it is the greatest single challenge confronting the American nation in the last third of the 20th century.

We know what is wrong with our cities. And we have known for a long time.

Advisory councils, task forces, study groups, and Presidential commissions have studied the problem, restudied the problem, and studied the studies that studied the problem.

The failure to solve the urban crisis is not the lack of knowledge of what to do . . . it is simply the lack of a political commitment to do it.

Let me illustrate. Our first specific public housing act was passed in 1937. Twelve years later, the Housing Act of 1949 boldly proclaimed as its goal a "decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" and authorized 135 thousand new public housing units a year for the next six years—or a total of 810 thousand new units.

Since setting that goal twenty years ago, however, we have actually built about 500 thousand units, or only two-thirds of the six-year goal announced twenty years ago.

Why this sorry record? Because the U.S. Congress failed to provide the funds necessary to build the houses and the American people failed to demand that Congress vote the money.

Last year Congress passed another major housing act—one which calls for an unprecedented ten-year housing campaign to produce 26 million homes, 6 million of them Federally assisted.

Will we fulfill that pledge—or will it be a replay of the Housing Act of 1949—a bold blueprint which never goes beyond the cornerstone-laying ceremony?

The answer will depend entirely on the depth of political commitment which the American people can sustain over the next decade.

Let's quit kidding ourselves. There can be no solution to the urban crisis until this nation by public and private expenditure cleans out the filth of the slums and provides decent housing for everyone.

We can build highways on schedule. We can launch an Apollo mission to the moon precisely on schedule. Now why can't we do a far more simple task—that of building houses for people—also on schedule?

Two years ago I proposed a Marshall Plan for America's cities. I did so from the conviction that only a program of this scope—only one of this vision—could generate the political support which was essential for real progress.

The effectiveness and magnificence of George Marshall's concept for the rebirth of Western Europe after World War II arose from several factors:

*First*, it frankly recognized that American interests would be served if Europe again achieved a healthy and vibrant economy. The American people put nearly 14 billion dollars into Western Europe over a five-year period. But this sum was less by far than the cost—to us—if Europe had remained in economic chaos . . . and then degenerated into despair and violence.

*Second*, the Marshall Plan produced quick and visible impact—not only in bricks and mortar but in peoples' lives. The initial investment was large enough and the vision grand enough to inspire hope . . . to show that the job *could* be done . . . to generate the will for self-help which brought Europe to self-sufficiency and prosperity . . . and to convince the American people and the U.S. Congress, that the 14 billion dollars was money well spent.

*Third*, the Marshall Plan operated on the basis of local initiative, careful planning, coordinated policy, and strict priorities. These techniques brought a new Europe from the ashes of World War II.

And this is the way to save the American city.

America is more than separated bits of geography—jet planes, super highways, radio and TV, and a highly complex economy have seen to that.

Yet all over America we encounter an endless vista of municipalities with overlapping responsibilities . . . with widely varying and usually outdated building codes—with zoning regulations which lack uniform standards . . . and with piecemeal rather than integrated programs to correct these deficiencies.

This is government by anachronism—government suitable for the old days of the industrial revolution.

This indictment extends to our municipalities . . . to our states . . . and to our federal government—a bureaucratic structure which is still better able to handle economic and social crises of the 1930 variety than the very different problems of the 1970's and 1980's.

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

This fragmentation of resources and programs throughout the federal system has seriously crippled our capacity to act decisively over a sustained period of time.

New urban planning and other single-purpose governmental agencies have been layered upon old and fossilized institutional structures. When one unit of government is prepared to act, other units of government—neighboring communities, school districts or transit authorities . . . or perhaps the state or the federal government—disagree with the proposed plan of action.

Without cooperation and coordination among these disparate governmental units, resources are frittered away—valuable time is wasted—and the seemingly endless disagreements among governments consume the energy, confidence and vision of urban leaders.

We have just begun the long, hard job of improving the federal government's performance. This will involve some basic changes: decentralizing many functions to lower levels of government and to the private sector; changing the ground rules by which government and the private sector operate; increasing incentives and reducing the bureaucratic burden which all too often frustrates local action.

The Model Cities Act of 1966 points the way toward a more effective federal role.

Comprehensive planning is now going forward in slum neighborhoods in 150 cities across the country. These local plans must take account of housing, jobs, education, transportation, health, recreation and open spaces. And they must always reflect the human problems which underlie the physical deterioration of the central cities.

The Model Cities mechanism should be extended as rapidly as possible to cover all neighborhoods within each participating city and to cover all cities.

But we also need a "Model States" program to bring state and local governments into full and constructive partnership in national urban policy.

Direct federal aid to beleaguered municipalities has been a new and productive innovation in national affairs. But this has not encouraged the states to assume their share of the burden.

The federal government should provide financial rewards to those states which demonstrate initiative in modernizing their governmental and tax structures, including constitutional reform—in adapting their programs and expenditures to the needs of an urbanizing society—in creating state departments of urban affairs—and in revising the ground rules for local action, such as abolishing outworn legal jurisdictions.

We need a national urban strategy to define basic social, economic and demographic objectives that will help guide our urban, suburban and rural growth.

The doubling of our urban population, which is projected within the next generation, will demand space for a tripling of the nation's urban areas—an estimated 12 million additional acres of urban land by the year 2000.

We must build totally new cities in underpopulated regions of the country—cities which avoid the haphazard and irrational growth patterns which cripple so many of our existing metropolitan centers.

Control of land use is the key to influencing the pattern of this future urban development.

We need metropolitan regional compacts—so that metropolitan-wide problems can be attacked by metropolitan-wide units of government.

We must regulate more effectively the immigration of people from rural to urban areas, even though this problem has become somewhat less acute in recent years.

These breakthroughs are possible if we discard empty rhetorical appeals for good government and offer instead financial and other incentives which make it profitable for municipalities, counties and states to work together.

This is precisely what happened in the Marshall Plan—and it is happening today in the Appalachian and other regional commissions. There is no reason why these experiments in regional planning and action cannot be expanded to the entire nation.

In testimony before the National Commission on Urban Problems, the mayor of a large city identified another critical dimension of the urban crisis. He said: "I have sometimes characterized the three major problems (of cities) as being money, finances, and revenue."

Many cities are today teetering on the brink of financial collapse. The influx of low-income families into the central city has created a heavy demand for welfare and other costly public services. Yet the departure of middle and high-income families to the suburbs has eroded the tax base to support these new services.

Municipalities are making a gallant effort to find the money. Since World War II local government expenditures have increased 571 percent—compared to an increase in our gross national product of 259 percent. In 1967 state—local property tax revenue

totaled \$27.7 billion—against \$19.1 billion five years earlier. Yet cities like Philadelphia are almost bankrupt. New sources of revenue must be found—and found quickly.

To finance the rising level of federal assistance, I have proposed committing to the urban crisis a major portion of the "growth dividend"—the increasing level of federal tax receipts arising from the expansion of the economy—as well as the "peace dividend"—the additional federal funds available upon conclusion of the Viet Nam War.

The growth dividend is estimated at \$3 to 4 billion dollars in the next two years, rising to \$30 billion dollars in the following two years. The peace dividend is estimated at \$19 billion dollars.

New approaches to solving the revenue crisis—combining public and private energies—must also be explored.

I have proposed creating a *National Urban Development Bank* financed through subscription of public and private funds. The Bank would underwrite the unusual risk elements involved in meeting the hardest and most critical urban problems—low cost private housing, for example. Securities sold by the Bank would also attract private investment capital for the revitalization of our cities. Federal funds would be appropriated to get the Bank started.

A *National Urban Homestead Act* could subsidize land costs for qualified private housing developments to allow the use of relatively high-priced urban and suburban land in relieving the population pressures in the central city.

A program of *federal support for state equalization of vital community services*—education and welfare, for example—within metropolitan areas would provide immediate assistance to hard-pressed local communities, particularly where the property tax has been exhausted as a realistic means of taxation.

These proposals—plus thorough reform of the overall federal, state and local tax structures—would dramatically alter the critical revenue situation which today makes impossible any concerted and large-scale assault on our most critical urban problems.

In 1976 we will celebrate the two-hundredth anniversary of the United States. Let us honor this bicentennial, not with a backward glance, but with a dramatic step forward.

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

Bicentennial City would test new ideas in land use, housing technology, and community leadership. Its construction would attract the finest talents in America—from industry, the States, municipalities and the federal government.

By reflecting what is *best*, as well as what is possible, it would become a pilot city for a new America. Its dramatic symbolism would heighten that pioneering spirit which was the touchstone of this nation and which is vitally needed today. Its newness would bring fresh promise . . . and it would provide the visible evidence that progress is possible, one of the principal factors in the success of any proposal.

For the past eight years the Democrats had their chance to turn this country around in meeting the urban crisis. We should not be surprised that problems centuries in the making did not disappear in the span of two administrations. I offer neither excuses nor apologies for the Democratic record.

To the contrary, such landmarks as the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Model Cities Act and the Housing Act of 1966 have finally pointed this nation toward real progress on the urban front.

The Republicans now have their opportunity to continue—and hope fully to accel-

*March 12, 1969*

CO

erate—this record of accomplishment. Indeed, that is the name of the game in a viable two-party system.

During the Presidential campaign I proposed creating a Domestic Policy Council. President Nixon has taken precisely this step in establishing the Urban Affairs Council and he has drafted a good Democrat, Daniel P. Moynihan, to run it. That's politics in action.

But regardless of the institutional devices that are developed, it is illusory to believe that sustained headway is possible without the political backing of our elected officials . . . and without the support of the people who send them to office.

As a leader of the Democratic Party, I intend to do everything in my power to generate this support in the coming months and years. I intend to talk frankly about what must be done to seize and maintain the initiative in saving the American city. And I intend to work for the election of those people who understand the urgency of our present circumstances—and who are prepared to join with others in a long-term commitment to see this struggle through to victory.

What happens in our cities happens to America. It is there that American democracy will either succeed or fail—either flourish or perish. For by the quality of life in our cities will the character of American civilization ultimately be judged.



# Humphrey Urges Federal Aid To Start Model States Project

By DONALD JANSON  
Special to The New York Times

ST. PAUL, Feb. 23—Prof. Hubert H. Humphrey proposed tonight a "model states" program to complement the Model Cities Act in solving urban problems.

The former Vice President, the newest member of the political science faculty at Macalester College, told a campus meeting that Federal aid to model states should be part of a "national urban strategy" to solve the country's growing urban crisis.

The 57-year-old professor, who taught at Macalester a quarter of a century ago before leaving to enter politics, said a model states program would "bring state and local governments into full and constructive partnership in national urban policy."

Mr. Humphrey inspected his new office suite at Macalester on Friday. Yesterday he met with students for the first time, submitting to a barrage of pointed but not unfriendly questions about his views on issues such as campus disorders and bombing in Vietnam.

Tonight the first holder of the Hubert H. Humphrey Distinguished Professorship of Political Science and International Affairs gave his first formal address on campus. He opened a symposium on the urban crisis with his speech to students, faculty and the public in the gymnasium of the small, liberal arts college.

Professor Humphrey called direct Federal aid to cities under the Model Cities Act of 1966 a productive innovation in national affairs.

Now, he said, the Federal Government should broaden its urban strategy by adding aid to states that "demonstrate initiative" in adapting their programs and expenditures to the needs of an urbanizing society.

Among other things, he said, participating states should create departments of urban affairs and abolish "outworn legal jurisdictions" that impede local action.

## Warns of Urban Sprawl

Mr. Humphrey said doubling of the country's urban population within the next generation would mean urban sprawl sufficient to require tripling of today's urban space. This, he

said, would be an unmanageable situation without metropolitan regional compacts and state structures flexible enough to help meet rather than block local needs.

"It would be a tragedy if the American city were simply abandoned to the blacks as more and more whites moved to the suburbs," he said. "It would be an even greater tragedy if by neglect of the city we practiced the cruelest form of

discrimination — that of apartheid, the deliberate separation of the races."

Race, he asserted, is only one of the "staggering" urban problems that confront the nation. Others include housing, education, jobs, crime, noise, pollution and loss of the tax base with the movement of the affluent to suburbs.

He said "fragmentation of resources and programs throughout the Federal system" had crippled the country's capacity to meet the crisis decisively and on a sustained basis. Without coordination among disparate governmental units, he said, resources are "frittered away."

## Asks More City Action

Mr. Humphrey called for extension of the model cities program, which will deal with slum problems in 150 cities, to all cities and all city neighborhoods.

He also called for demonstrating all that planning could produce by starting new cities from scratch in unpopulated places. This would provide some of the new urban living space needed, he said, and "avoid the haphazard and irrational growth patterns which cripple so many of our existing metropolitan centers."

As a pilot project, he proposed dedication during the country's bicentennial in 1976 of a new city as a showcase for the sort of progress that is possible.

More Federal financing for the urban crisis, Professor Humphrey said, can be supplied by the increasing level of Federal tax receipts and by funds that will become available with the end of the Vietnam war.

Failure to solve the crisis so far, he said, has been primarily caused by "an inability or an unwillingness of the peoples' elected representatives to act on a scale which reflects the magnitude of the crisis." He said he intended to work for election of candidates for public office who are committed to act.

He praised President Nixon for making a start by creating the Urban Affairs Council and drafting Daniel Patrick Moynihan to head it.



Now is the time for the men to be

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE MEN TO BE

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE GOOD MEN TO COME TO  
REMARKS

Now is the time for the good men to come to the aid of the party.  
THE HONORABLE HUBERT H.

SHDFHFHDJS

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERTH. HUMPHREY

Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party

NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN

now now is nowz now is the time for all good men to come to the aid  
mm

now s In what ways did the sway in the house make the men in the  
field go to the farmers and worked in the old folks home  
now is the time for the good of the country to get up and go  
Were you disappointed or dissatisfied with any part of the program  
and your experience?

President Fleming  
Dean McNeal  
Dr John Stewart

00018

President  
Doug Johnson  
Robert McGregor

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

URBAN CRISIS SYMPOSIUM

MACALESTER COLLEGE

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

FEBRUARY 23, 1969

h American political history could be written from  
the perspective of the crises which periodically  
threatened the existence of our democracy ... but crises  
which eventually were overcome by the fundamental  
strength and resiliency of the American political system.

h For much of the 19th century, the paramount  
political issue was slavery and preservation of the  
union.

↳ During the 1920's and '30's, it became the survival of our economy.

*Economy*

↳ Today it is the survival of our cities.

*Last third of 20th cent - Crisis*

↳ In reciting the facts and conditions of the urban crisis, we usually forget that this is fundamentally a political crisis. an issue which, in the end, must be solved by political action.

*- Urban crisis is political crisis.*

↳ For only as national, state and local governments receive a popular mandate to act -- a clear political decision by the American people to get the job done -- will we be able to mobilize the necessary resources to break the seamless web of problems which today is strangling our major metropolitan centers.

-3-

Our failures to date ~~merely~~ have been  
 primarily political failures -- an inability or an  
unwillingness of the peoples' elected representatives  
 to act on a scale which reflects the magnitude of  
 the crisis. And so it is to political action in behalf  
 of our cities that we should turn our attention.

~~Urgency~~  
 The urgency of the situation is evident to  
 anyone who tries to walk in our cities ... or drive ...  
 or breathe ... or find a quiet park, or a home, or a  
 hospital, or a school of which a child could be proud.

Life for the residents of our ghettos and slums  
 is even harsher, more tragic:

-- There is physical overcrowding which renders

Overcrowding  
 ←



almost impossible the normal conduct of life.

L In Harlem the population density is almost  
 140 thousand persons per square mile. L This contrasts  
 with 26 thousand persons per square mile in all of  
 New York City ... or 85 hundred in Minneapolis ...  
 or 50 per square mile for the entire United States.

*Harlem*

*Space*

L If the total population of the United States  
 lived at the same density as the people of Harlem,  
 more than 200 million people could be contained on  
 Long Island, New York.

#26

- There is delapidated housing which compounds  
 the problem of overcrowding.

*Housing*

L There are 4.3 million substandard dwelling  
units in urban America. In our central cities, <sup>4/3</sup> one-third  
of all housing units are found in poverty areas.

#3

-- There is unemployment which guarantees

Unemploy

that most residents of the ghetto will remain trapped and  
helpless.

L A Department of Labor survey of nine large cities  
discovered a subemployment rate of 32.7 percent --

almost nine times greater than the unemployment rate

for all U.S. workers. Negro youth unemployment

continues to run five to seven times higher than the

national average for all persons.

Negro Youth

In the ghettos  
There are infant mortality rates approximately

three times higher than the national average.

--There are grossly inadequate sanitation services which increase the likelihood of disease and poor health.

*Sanitation*

In 1965 there were over 14,000 ratbites reported in the United States -- mostly in slum neighborhoods.

*Rats*

Simply to dwell further on statistics is unnecessary. ~~for the recitation of facts is today the mark of procrastination -- not commitment to action.~~

We know what slums are -- those places in our major cities where the most critical problems get attended to last.

*Slums*

Public services are least where the need is most urgent.

L Schools are the poorest where the educational needs are the greatest.

Schools

L Building codes are <sup>often</sup> not enforced, where the conditions they were designed to prevent are most prevalent.

Bldg codes

L Garbage collection is slowest where the danger to health is the greatest.

Garbage

L Police protection is least effective where crime rates are highest.

L But the crisis of our cities is worse than the sum of its parts. It is more than inadequate housing, inferior education, unemployment, crime, noise and air pollution.

Crisis  
It's  
more  
than



Capping all of these problems is the evolving  
 frustration, despair and hopelessness which is  
 sporadically transformed into rage, violence and  
 destruction. And underlying everything is the loss of  
 community by people who feel uprooted by change,  
 overwhelmed by the complexity of urban life, and  
 alienated from the mainstream of American society.

Slumism

The growing numbers of Negro Americans - Blacks -  
 in our central cities -- concentrated in the most  
 deteriorated and undesirable neighborhoods -- has  
 added the factor of race to the other staggering urban  
 problems. Today, to put it frankly, the problems of  
 race and the city have become inseparably intertwined.

Race

L It would be a tragedy if the American city  
 were simply abandoned to the blacks ... as more and  
 more whites moved to the suburbs. Z It would be an  
 even greater tragedy if by neglect of the city we  
 practiced the cruelest form of discrimination -- that of  
apartheid, the deliberate separation of the races. LK  
 this were to happen, we could well initiate a ~~downward~~  
spiral of black violence and white repression which  
 could literally destroy the fabric of our democratic  
society.

L These are the components of the urban crisis, *and all it.*  
~~in America.~~ L Apart from our efforts to achieve peace  
in the world, it is the greatest single challenge

-10-

confronting the American nation in the last third of  
the 20th century.

\* \* \*

↳ We know what is wrong with our cities. And  
we have known for a long time.

↳ Advisory councils, task forces, study groups,  
and Presidential commissions have studied the problem,  
restudied the problem, and studied the studies that  
studied the problem.

↳ The failure to solve the urban crisis is not  
the lack of knowledge of what to do ... it is simply the  
lack of a political commitment to do it.

↳ Let me illustrate. Our first specific  
public housing act was passed in 1937 <sup>12</sup> Twelve years

-11-

later, the Housing Act of 1949 boldly proclaimed as its goal a "decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" and authorized 135 thousand new public housing units a year for the next six years -- or a total of 810 thousand new units.

Since setting that goal twenty years ago, ~~however~~ we have actually built about 500 thousand units, or only two-thirds of the six-year goal announced twenty years ago.

Why this sorry record? Because the U.S. Congress failed to provide the funds necessary to build the houses and the American people failed to demand that Congress vote the money.



Last year Congress passed another major  
 housing act -- one which calls for an unprecedented  
 ten-year housing campaign to produce 26 million  
 homes, 6 million of them federally assisted.

1968  
 Housing  
 Act

Will we fulfill that pledge -- or will it be  
 a replay of the Housing Act of 1949 -- a bold blueprint  
 which never goes beyond the cornerstone-laying ceremony?

The answer will depend entirely on the depth  
 of political commitment which the American people can  
 sustain over the next decade.

Let's quit kidding ourselves. There can be  
 no solution to the urban crisis until this nation by  
 public and private expenditure cleans out the filth of  
 the slums and provides decent housing for everyone.

Hey  
 it  
 is!

<sup>and do</sup>  
 L We can build highways on schedule. L We  
 can launch an Apollo mission to the moon precisely  
on schedule. L Now why can't we do a far more simple  
 task -- that of building houses for people -- also  
on schedule?

\* \* \*

L Two years ago I proposed a Marshall Plan  
for America's cities. L I did so from the conviction that  
 only a program of this scope -- only one of this vision --  
 could generate the political support which was essential  
 for real progress. -

- (1) Long term Commitment
- (2) Long term Finance
- (3) Cooperation

The effectiveness and magnificence of George  
 Marshall's concept for the rebirth of Western Europe  
 after World War II arose from several factors:

First, it frankly recognized that American interests would be served if Europe again achieved a healthy and vibrant economy. The American people put nearly 14 billion dollars into Western Europe over a five-year period. But this sum was less by far than the cost -- to us -- if Europe had remained in economic chaos ... and then degenerated into despair and violence.

---

~~Second~~, the Marshall Plan produced quick and visible impact -- not only in bricks and mortar but in peoples' lives. The initial investment was large enough and the vision grand enough to inspire hope ... to show that the job could be done ... to generate the will for self-help, ~~which brought Europe to self-sufficiency~~

and prosperity, and to convince the American people, and the U. S. Congress, that the 14 billion dollars was money well spent.

~~Third~~ the Marshall Plan operated on the basis of local initiative, careful planning, coordinated policy, and strict priorities. ~~These techniques brought a new Europe from the ashes of World War II.~~

And this is the way to save the American city.

\* \* \*

↳ America is more than separated bits of geography -- jet planes, super highways, radio and TV, and a highly complex economy have seen to that.

Yet all over America we encounter an endless vista of municipalities with overlapping responsibilities ...



with widely varying and usually outdated building codes ... with zoning regulations which lack uniform standards ... and with piecemeal rather than integrated programs to correct these deficiencies.

↳ This is government by anachronism -- government suitable for the ~~old~~ <sup>long past</sup> days of the industrial revolution.

↳ This indictment extends to our municipalities ... to our states ... and to our federal government -- a bureaucratic structure which is still better able to handle economic and social crises of the 1930 variety than the very different problems of the 1970's and 1980's.

↳ Let me be candid; our present governmental structure -- federal, state and local -- is incapable of planning and achieving the living environment our

wealth and technology permit . . . and our survival  
requires.

        
This fragmentation of resources and programs  
throughout the federal system has seriously crippled  
our capacity to act decisively over a sustained period  
of time.

        
New urban planning and other single-purpose  
governmental agencies have been layered upon old  
and fossilized institutional structures.        When one unit  
of government is prepared to act, other units of  
government -- neighboring communities, school districts  
or transit authorities . . . or perhaps the state or the  
federal government -- disagree with the proposed plan  
of action.

-18-

L Without cooperation and coordination among  
 these ~~disparate~~ diverse + autonomous governmental units, resources are  
frittered away -- valuable time is wasted -- and the  
 seemingly endless disagreements among governments  
consume the energy, confidence and vision of urban  
leaders

~~# Action~~

L We have just begun the long, hard job of  
 improving the federal government's performance.

L This will involve some basic changes! decentralizing  
 many functions to lower levels of government and to  
 the private sector; changing the ground rules by which  
government and the private sector operate; increasing  
incentives and reducing the bureaucratic burden which  
all too often frustrates local action.

L The Model Cities Act of 1966 points the way toward a more effective federal role -

L Comprehensive planning is now going forward in slum neighborhoods in 150 cities, ~~across the country~~

These local plans must take account of housing, jobs, education, transportation, health, recreation and open spaces. L And they must always reflect the human

problems which underlie the physical deterioration of the central cities.

L The Model Cities mechanism should be extended as rapidly as possible to cover all neighborhoods within each participating city and to cover all cities.

Extend model cities

L But we also need a "Model States" program to bring state and local governments into full and

model states



constructive partnership in national urban policy,

↳ Direct federal aid to beleaguered municipalities has been a new and productive innovation in national

affairs. ↳ But this has not encouraged the states to assume their share of the burden. ○

State reform ↳ The federal government should provide financial rewards to those states which demonstrate initiative

in modernizing their governmental and tax structures,

including constitutional reform -- in adapting their

programs and expenditures to the needs of an urbanizing

society -- in creating state departments of urban

affairs -- and in revising the ground rules for local

action, such as abolishing outworn legal jurisdictions.

Possibly  
Revenue  
Sharing

Long term

Franko

We need a national urban strategy to define basic social, economic and demographic objectives that will help guide our urban, suburban and rural growth.

The doubling of our urban population, which is projected within the next generation, will demand space for a tripling of the nation's urban areas -- an estimated 12 million additional acres of urban land by the year 2000.

now 70% less on 2%

New cities

We must build totally new cities in underpopulated regions of the country -- cities which avoid the haphazard and irrational growth patterns which cripple so many of our existing metropolitan centers.

Control of land use is the key to influencing the pattern of this future urban development.

We need metropolitan regional compacts -- so that metropolitan-wide problems can be attacked by metropolitan-wide units of government.

Urban  
Kinship  
Balance

We must regulate more effectively the in-migration of people from rural to urban areas; ~~even though this problem has become somewhat less acute in recent years.~~

seek by constructive means to slow down

These breakthroughs are possible if we discard empty rhetorical appeals for good government and offer instead financial and other incentives which make it profitable for municipalities, counties and states to work together.





welfare and other costly public services. Yet the  
departure of middle and high-income families to the  
suburbs has eroded the tax base to support these  
new services.

*Local Govts have tried!*  
Municipalities are making a gallant effort

to find the money. Since World War II local government  
expenditures have increased 571% -- compared

to an increase in our gross national product of 259 percent

*h* In 1967 state - local property tax revenue totaled

\$27.7 billion -- against \$19.1 billion five years

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bankrupt. New sources of revenue must be found ...

and found quickly.

*Growth Dividend  
Peace Dividend*

To finance the rising level of federal assistance, I have proposed committing to the urban crisis a major portion of the "growth dividend" ~~the~~ <sup>major</sup> increasing level of federal tax receipts arising from the expansion of the economy -- as well as the "peace dividend" -- the additional federal funds available upon conclusion of the Viet Nam War. *and with ~~great~~ <sup>greater</sup> restriction on arms expenditures.*

The growth dividend is estimated at \$3 to 4 billion dollars in the next two years, rising to \$30 billion dollars in the following two years. The "peace dividend" is estimated at \$19 billion dollars *after 1972* -

*L* New approaches to solving the revenue crisis == combining public and private energies -- must also be explored.

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 public and private funds. <sup>h</sup> The Bank would underwrite  
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-29-

nation and which is vitally needed today. Its newness would bring fresh promise ... and it would provide the visible evidence that progress is possible, one of the principal factors in the success of any proposal.

\* \* \*

For the past eight years the Democrats had their chance to turn this country around in meeting the urban crisis. We should not be surprised that problems centuries in the making did not disappear in the span of two administrations. I offer neither

excuses nor apologies for the ~~Democratic~~ <sup>that</sup> record, *much was done - more than ever before.*

~~To the contrary,~~ <sup>3</sup> Such landmarks as the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development,

the Model Cities Act and the Housing Act of 1966

have ~~clearly~~ pointed this nation toward real progress

on the urban front.

*The Structure has been created  
The work is underway.*

L The Republicans now have their opportunity

to continue -- and hopefully to accelerate -- this

record of accomplishment. ~~Indeed, that is the~~

*Churchill  
Story!*

~~of the game in a viable two-party system.~~

*So much  
yet to  
do.*

L During the Presidential campaign I proposed

creating a Domestic Policy Council President Nixon

has taken precisely this step in establishing the

Urban Affairs Council and he has drafted a good Democrat,

(Pat) Daniel P. Moynihan, to run it. That's politics in action.

*Bi-Partisan!*

L But regardless of the institutional devices that

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headway is possible without the political backing  
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As a leader of the Democratic Party, I intend  
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It is there that American democracy will either succeed

or fail -- either flourish or perish. For by the

quality of life in our cities will the character  
of American civilization ultimately be judged.

# # #

D R A F T

For 25 years I have been a militant activist in the cause of the cities of America.

AS the Mayor of Minneapolis, as Senator from this State, and ~~most recently~~ as Vice President, serving as the Federal Government's liaison ~~officer~~ with the mayors of our cities, I have been grappling with our ever <sup>deepening</sup> growing urban crisis. The very term "urban crisis" serves to obscure the many urgent underlying component problems. The complexities of the problem emerge only as we <sup>analyze</sup> ~~segregate~~ the components. For the problem of our cities is worse than the sum of its parts. It is more than inadequate housing, inferior education, unemployment, personal insecurity, noise and air pollution. It is all of these and more.

It is also a loss of community by people <sup>who feel</sup> uprooted by change, overwhelmed by the complexity of urban life, and alienated from the mainstream of American society.

We are now seized with a sense of crisis, largely as a result of the civil disorders that have engulfed our major cities over the past four or five years. ~~Yet~~ the deterioration that <sup>has led</sup> leads to these disorders has been

building for decades. And while it may be convenient to ascribe that sense of crisis to racial tensions, it is clear that all the problems of urban poverty - welfare, unemployment, inadequate schools, lack of education - and all the problems of urban transportation and air and water pollution - and all the fiscal and organizational problems of urban government would be just as intense and difficult if we all turned black or all turned white. The problems of race may add to our sense of crisis but are really only one facet of the crisis.

Inhuman overcrowding in many metropolitan centers is symptomatic of the problem. In Harlem, for example, there ~~is a~~ population density of <sup>370</sup> 139,694 persons per square mile.

This contrasts with 25,940 persons per square mile in all of New York City - 12,442 in the District of Columbia - 8,546 in Minneapolis - and 50 per square mile for the United States as a whole.

Indeed, if the entire population of the United States lived at the same density as the people of Harlem,

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL



it could be contained on Long Island, New York.

There are 4.3 million substandard and overcrowded dwelling units in urban areas in the United States today. These are the visible sores of urban decay.

[In our central cities] poverty is concentrated.

<sup>One</sup> A third of the housing units there are in poverty areas, on less than one-quarter of the land. Those central city poverty areas contain:

- four out of five of the housing units occupied by nonwhites
- three out of four of the substandard units and nine out of ten of the substandard units occupied by nonwhites

While the smog of urban crisis engulfs us all, its effects are particularly virulent on the children of poverty. Infant mortality rates among nonwhite babies between one month and one year are three times higher than they are among white babies. That's a high price to pay for being born poor and black. <sup>And</sup> If you're born black, the chances are three times greater that you will be poor.

WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Yes, we all know what slums are. Those are the places in our cities where the worst problems get attended to last.

In most cities today, public services are poorest where needs are greatest.

Schools are weakest where learning is hardest.

Garbage collection is slowest where the rats are.

Building codes are not enforced where the conditions they were designed to prevent are most prevalent.

Where health problems are most severe, medical facilities and personnel are least adequate - and often the most expensive.

It is time to change that pattern. To do so does not mean that we should impair city services in better neighborhoods. But we must make those city services available to all our citizens.

The cumulative effect of this disease, decay, filth, poverty and overcrowding is found in the evolving frustration, rage and alienation that increasingly typifies our urban population. There are no fun cities - only grim cities. In the perpetuation of problems, decade

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after decade, there evolves an increasing sense of isolation and loneliness and a loss of faith in the "system" and in the people who control it.

This then is our urban crisis. Apart from the battle to preserve the peace of the world, it is the greatest single challenge confronting the American nation in the last third of the 20th Century. Our response to this challenge will undoubtedly not only determine history's evaluation of our civilization, but more significantly it will shape our lives over the next decade.

The failure to solve the crisis of our cities cannot be layed at the feet of any single political faction or party, or any Congress or any President.

It is a failure of the national will.

It is the refusal - by the body politic - to make a national commitment.

I have frequently called for a "Marshall Plan" for our cities because, in my view, we need that kind of symbolic spiritual, economic and political commitment. It is a combination of the statement of political

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and economic goals, and the application of public and private resources to getting the job done. It is a commitment that grows out of more than trying to do what is good and necessary. It stems more fundamentally from a recognition of the fact that to embark on the course proposed will best serve our self interest.

That's what made the Marshall Plan for Europe work. Beyond the recognition of the basic need, was the recognition of the still more basic fact that the economic recovery of Europe was in our self interest. We decided that we had to act to preserve those valuable economic markets and protect those important political relationships. That's what we did, and that's why it worked.

We know what's wrong with our cities. We've known it for a long, long time. Advisory commissions, national commissions and a panoply of Presidential commissions have studied the problem - and restudied the problem and studied the studies that studied the problem. They offer us a fund of valuable information and recommendations. Certainly, it is not lack of

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knowledge that has kept us from acting.

Indeed, out of the awareness of the need to act, we have enacted a series of Housing Acts, but have been unable to sustain such enabling legislation with the needed economic support.

Our first specific public housing act was passed in 1937. Twelve years later, the Housing Act of 1949 boldly proclaimed as its goal a "decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

With 11 million substandard and overcrowded dwelling units in this country, we have failed woefully to match our performance to our goals. For far too many Americans our major cities fall far short of offering either a decent home or a suitable living environment.

The unhappy fact of the matter is that in over 30 years of public housing programs, we have built fewer public housing units than Congress, back in 1949, said were needed by 1954.

However, we have taken significant initiatives. A new Department of Housing and Urban Development has



been set up - and a Department of Transportation, with responsibilities that bear directly on the urban problem.

Under the Model Cities Act of 1966, we are funding comprehensive planning efforts in slum neighborhoods across the country.

Planning under the Model Cities program is done where it should be done - in the community. The plans must be total plans to take account of housing, jobs, education, transportation, health, recreation and open spaces and their interrelationship.

The Housing and Urban Development Act, passed by the Congress last year calls for the initiation of an unprecedented ten-year housing campaign to produce 26 million homes, 6 million of them federally assisted.

Will we fulfill that pledge - or shall it remain like the promise of the Housing Act of 1949 - a bold blueprint, followed only by an elaborate cornerstone laying ceremony with no building to follow? For Housing Act has followed Housing Act. Each in turn proposing a new mechanism to "solve" the problem. And yet the solution has escaped us.



No elaborate socio-economic political analysis can deny the single salient and irrefutable fact that we have failed to put our money where <sup>needs are greatest</sup> [our mouth is].

We have repeatedly "recognized" the problem but have not made the needed commitment.

The mayor of one of our large cities summed it up pretty well in testimony before the National Commission on Urban Problems:

"I have sometimes characterized the major problems (of cities) as being money, finances and revenue."

We must make the needed commitment. This is the time. This is the challenge. It is the battle for the soul of America - in its vision of itself.

The crisis of urban America is nationwide - no region escapes its import.

Solutions must be fashioned in the context of a National Urban Strategy.

Implementation of a national strategy will require commitment of federal funds substantial in amount and regular in availability. To finance the federal

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In the campaign I proposed a National Urban Development Bank financed through subscription of public and private funds. The Bank would underwrite the unusual risks inevitably involved in meeting the hardest and most critical problems. Federal funds would be appropriated to get the Bank started. The balance of the funds would come from federally-guaranteed securities sold by the Bank to private investors.

Much of the investment needed in our cities today is unavailable because of the financing costs - prohibitively high rates of interest and restrictively short repayment terms. Reducing the interest costs and lengthening the repayment periods can overcome these obstacles. This can be achieved through the sale of federally guaranteed Urban Development Bank securities in the private capital markets. Just as federally-guaranteed veterans loans and federally-insured FHA

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loans have stimulated investment in private home construction, securities sold by an Urban Development Bank can attract needed private investment capital to revitalization of our cities.

These securities will lower the cost of money needed for urban development and these savings can be passed on in the form of lower interest rates and longer repayment periods. The federal dollar goes much further - even where a deeper subsidy is needed - when used to reduce the interest costs than to pick up the entire tab.

Operating much like the World Bank, the Urban Development Bank would provide "hard" loans to be fully repaid on reasonable terms and "soft" loans with very low interest charges and long periods of repayment. The federal guarantee should, in itself, make possible lower interest costs and longer repayment periods, but hard loans would still be made without federal subsidy. Using federal funds to reduce the interest costs will make feasible even the less economic but socially desirable projects.

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Affiliated Regional Banks would be chartered by the National Urban Development Bank for specific metropolitan areas. Their boards would include representation from redevelopment areas, as well as local government.

These Regional Banks could:

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

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

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Development Corporations could be situated throughout the nation. Organized on a private or mixed basis, non-profit or limited dividend, these corporations can break out of the conventional mold of public bureaucracies and private business, to undertake public-purpose endeavors with entrepreneurial flexibility, imagination and skill. Front money and working capital should be extended to these corporations, through the Urban Development Bank. Additional funds should be provided through the sale of securities underwritten by the Bank. Development Corporations will be able to take on projects large and small: from building new towns, to restoring old neighborhoods. And they are but one of an exploding variety of ways through which we can turn private energies to public purpose. Existing public utilities might provide the nucleus for such Development Corporations.



We must begin immediately the long, hard job of ensuring effective federal program performance.

We need fundamental changes: decentralizing many functions to lower levels of government and to the private sector; changing the ground rules by which government and the private sector operate; increasing incentives and reducing the bureaucratic component in many of our social service programs.

We need a "Model States" program which will bring state and local government into full and constructive partnership in national urban policy. Direct federal aid to beleaguered municipalities has been a new and productive innovation in national affairs. But it has not encouraged the States to do what they uniquely can do to ensure the well-being of our old and new communities. The Federal Government should allocate substantial and growing shares of federal revenues to a system of general support payments to those states which take the initiative in:

- modernizing their governmental and tax structures



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- adapting their programs and expenditure patterns to the needs of an urbanizing society
- revising the ground rules of land-use planning, private entrepreneurship, local government and citizen participation in ways which advance rather than impede the proper development or redevelopment of our nation's communities.

In the past, we have left these negotiations to myriads of technicians, grantsmen and bureaucrats. It is time now that these matters be brought to the summit of political leadership, and that the federal carrot bring to these negotiations financial stakes that are high enough to induce significant change and accomplishment.

At the Local Level

The Model Cities Program offers full scope for leadership by the mayor and other municipal officials in planning the comprehensive redevelopment of slum neighborhoods and, at the same time, calls for full par-

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ticipation by the residents of those neighborhoods.

An appropriate share of the funds of all agencies should be earmarked for expenditure through the Model Cities mechanism. And it means that decisions properly made through Model Cities should not be second-guessed by federal officials.

The Model Cities structure should remain an essential instrument for coordination at the local level; it should be extended as rapidly as possible to cover all neighborhoods within each participating city and to cover all cities.

Urban problems - law enforcement, pollution, education, housing, transportation, health - overrun geographical boundaries. Urban-suburban cooperation is essential.

Incentives should be provided to encourage metropolitan and county planning. The states have a vital role to play in helping to fashion new governmental arrangements. We need systems of metropolitan regional compacts - so that metropolitan wide problems can be treated by metropolitan wide units of government.

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Control of land use is the key to influencing the pattern of future development. Yet America today has only the fragments of a national urban land policy.

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The lack of urban land policy is in marked contrast to the historical concern which opened the frontier to settlement by all comers and provided federal incentives for national growth through assistance to develop canals, railroads, ports, harbors and other waterways and through irrigation and agricultural development policy.

There is not only ample precedent for adoption of national policies relating to land use; there is compelling need. The doubling of our urban population projected within the next generation will necessitate space for a tripling of the nation's urban areas - an estimated 12 million additional acres of urban land by the year 2000.

We must act now to insure that land will be available at reasonable prices and at appropriate locations for housing, industry, retail facilities, churches and other private social institutions essential to development of new communities.

We can provide tax and other incentives for the building of low and middle income housing. One approach

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to accomplish this goal would be a National Urban Homestead Act to subsidize the land costs for qualified private housing developments to allow the use of relatively high-priced urban and suburban land. This plan, when coupled with the newly-authorized home ownership plan and vigorous implementation of the fair housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act, would contribute to a more balanced racial distribution in major metropolitan areas.

We can provide Federal support for State equalization of certain community services - education and welfare, for example - within metropolitan areas, as well as between rural and urban areas.

National Migration Policy

Effective implementation of these programs and policies requires that we come to grips with the problem of in-migration.

The right of all Americans to move freely about the country is assured by the Constitution.

But, we can and must take action to eliminate government-created incentives which pull people into the

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EXHIBIT 10

cities where there are no jobs. And we can provide a new system of incentives which makes it possible for families to move from distressed areas to growing communities - just as such incentives are now provided to bring industry into local communities.

First, the Federal Government should set nationwide "standards of need" for federally-aided welfare programs high enough to meet the poverty level and underwrite 100 percent of the financial burden. National standards will eliminate the present incentive to move to the large industrial states because of higher benefits available there.

Second, the Federal Government, together with the states, should establish a system of resettlement assistance to families willing to move to communities with growth potential and employment opportunities. Assistance under this program must cover the cost of moving and becoming reestablished.

Third, we must establish a more efficient system to provide job information and related services to residents of high unemployment areas. A federal-state

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job data banks and a nationwide comprehensive manpower system to accomplish this objective are needed.

In 1976 we will celebrate our two-hundredth anniversary. Let us honor this bicentennial, not with a backward glance but with a forward march. I propose that on July 4, 1976, we dedicate a new American city, one which exemplifies the highest standards of beauty and excellence.

This new city would test new ideas in land use, housing technology and community leadership. Its construction would attract the finest talents in America - from American industry, the states, municipalities and the Federal Government. By reflecting what is best and what is possible it would serve as a pilot city for a new America. Its dramatic symbolism would heighten that pioneering spirit which was the touchstone of this nation and which is vitally needed now. It would replenish our spirit.

Its newness would bring with it a fresh promise. People who inhabit a new city bring to it an automatic equality. They are pioneers together. They share the



delights...and the problems of newness. They are linked in a common enterprise...and they have no slums.

What I have proposed here is but a beginning in the long road to match performance to promise, reality to vision. We are a nation of builders. We have already carved a great civilization out of the wilderness. Our achievements remain the unfulfilled goals of countless millions. Were we to do no more our mark in the history of mankind would be assured. Our obligations, however, are not to history but to ourselves and to our children.

If we are to survive as a civilization - if we are to continue our "pursuit of happiness" - we must rededicate ourselves to the rebirth of our cities. The same energy, the same imagination, the same courage that has typified the American spirit in the past must now be focused on this challenge.

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# NEWS



## *from* MACALESTER COLLEGE

SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101

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HUMPHREY TO BEGIN MACALESTER

FOR RELEASE AT 5 P. M. CST

PROFESSORSHIP WITH POLITICAL

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25

EMPHASIS WEEK KEYNOTE ADDRESS FEB. 23

Contact: Mary Hill

Hubert H. Humphrey will begin his professorship at Macalester College by delivering the keynote address for the College's annual Political Emphasis Week on Sunday, Feb. 23, at 8 p. m. in the gymnasium.

His speech will deal with the urban crisis, theme of the five-day student-directed symposium. Other speakers scheduled during Political Emphasis Week Feb. 22-26 include former CORE director James Farmer, urban planner Jack Meltzer and Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

During Macalester's spring term, which runs from February through May, Humphrey will also address a series of five Public Affairs Seminars open to the public, will lecture to at least one meeting of each of the 13 courses in the Political Science Department and will meet with students and faculty for luncheons and informal discussions. He will also teach at the University of Minnesota.

The former vice-president will be scheduled at Macalester three full days every two weeks and wants to make "maximum use of his time at the College to meet with students and faculty," said Dorothy Dodge, chairman of the Political Science

-MORE-

Macalester  
Humphrey to Keynote  
Political Emphasis Week

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Department. Humphrey will have an office and seminar suite in Macalester's Old Main, where he taught 25 years ago before he began his political career as mayor of Minneapolis.

The first of the five seminars in Public Affairs will begin Friday, Feb. 28, at 8 p. m. in the gymnasium, when the topic will be "Urban Affairs." Others will be held at 8 p. m. on Tuesdays, March 11 and 25 and April 8 and 22. Humphrey has invited prominent guest speakers to share each seminar platform and their names and topics will be announced after confirmations have been received.

Humphrey already is scheduled for 20 lectures to Macalester students in World Politics, American National Government, State and Local Government, American Political Thought, Evolution of Federal Policy -- Health and Welfare, Soviet Bloc Governments, Simulation, International Law and Organization, Contemporary Theory of International Politics, Political Philosophy, International Communications and Comparative Politics.

In addition, he will be available to meet with classes in other departments, will have a series of luncheons with small groups of students, faculty, administration and staff, and has specified hours when he will hold informal meetings with students.

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January 24, 1969

# NEWS



## *from* MACALESTER COLLEGE

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FOR RELEASE AT 5 P. M. CST

SUNDAY FEB. 23

Former Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey said Sunday that the failure to solve America's Urban crisis has not been because of a lack of knowledge of what to do, but because of a lack of a political commitment to do it.

He said that as a leader of the Democratic party "I intend to do everything in my power to generate this political support in the coming months and years. I intend to talk frankly about what must be done to seize and maintain the initiative in saving the American city and I intend to work for the election of those people who understand the urgency of our present circumstances and to join with others in a long-term commitment to see this struggle through to victory."

Mr. Humphrey assessed the urban problems of this country in a speech prepared for delivery at 8 p. m. (CST) before a Macalester College symposium on the urban crisis. It was his first formal appearance on the campus since being named professor of political science and international relations at the St. Paul liberal arts college.

Following his remarks, Mr. Humphrey was scheduled to participate in a panel on Politics and the Urban Crisis. Panelists included Arthur S. Flemming, Macalester president and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Eisenhower cabinet; Robert MacGregor, Liberal minority leader of the Minneapolis City Council and

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candidate for mayor; John G. Stewart, an adjunct assistant professor of political science at Macalester and a special assistant to Mr. Humphrey; Dean McNeal, president of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition and a group vice-president of the Pillsbury Co., and Douglas Johnson, a Macalester student.

In his first major address on urban policy since returning to private life, Mr. Humphrey reviewed his proposal to launch a Marshall Plan for the cities. He suggested that only a program of this scope could generate the political support which is essential for real progress.

He stressed that our present governmental structure--federal, state and local--is incapable of planning and achieving the living environment our wealth and technology permit and our survival requires. "This fragmentation of the sources and programs throughout the federal system has seriously crippled our capacity to act decisively over a sustained period of time," he said.

Mr. Humphrey proposed a "model states" program to bring state and local governments into full and constructive partnership in national urban policy. He proposed that "the federal government should provide financial rewards to those states which demonstrate initiative in modernizing their governmental and tax structures including constitutional reform, in adapting their programs and expenditures to the needs of urbanizing society, in creating state departments of urban affairs and in revising the ground rules for local action, such as abolishing outworn legal jurisdictions."

Such breakthroughs as control of land use, the creation of metropolitan regional compacts and the more effective immigration of people from rural and urban areas

would be possible if we offered, instead of empty rhetoric, financial and other incentives to make it profitable for municipalities, counties and states to work together, he added.

He noted that today many cities are "teetering on the brink of financial collapse. An influx of lower-income families into the central city has created a heavy demand for welfare and other costly public services. Yet the departure of middle and high-income families to the suburbs has eroded the tax base to support these new services."

Mr. Humphrey proposed committing a major portion of the "gross dividend"--the increasing level of federal tax receipts arising from the expansion of the economy--as well as a "peace dividend"--the additional federal funds available upon the conclusion of the Vietnam war--to the urban crisis.

He also discussed his proposal for a national urban development bank, a national urban homestead act and a program of federal support for state equalization of vital community services, such as education and welfare.

Mr. Humphrey proposed further that we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the United States by the construction of a new American city--one which would exemplify the highest standards of beauty and excellence.

"By reflecting what is best," said Mr. Humphrey, "it will become a pilot city for America. Its dramatic symbolism would heighten the pioneering spirit which was the touchstone of this nation and which is today vitally needed."

He noted that President Richard Nixon had recently established a Council of Urban Affairs, a proposal similar to Mr. Humphrey's suggestion in the presidential campaign to create a national domestic policy council. "But regardless of the institutional devices that are developed," concluded Mr. Humphrey, "it is illusory to believe that sustained headway is possible without the political backing of our elected officials and without the support of the people who send them to office."





# news release

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September 18, 1968

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## VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY PROPOSES SPECIFIC ACTIONS ON URBAN CRISIS

Rochester, New York, September 17 -- Vice President Hubert Humphrey today issued five specific action proposals for dealing with the urban crisis.

Declaring that "our present government structure at all levels is ill-suited to plan and achieve the living environment our wealth and technology permit ... and our survival requires," the Democratic Presidential candidate called for a coordinated local, regional, and federal attack upon problems of urban and rural development.

Mr. Humphrey called for:

- National definition of fundamental social, economic and democratic objectives for the shaping of the environment of the future.
- Use of federal incentives, including tax-sharing to stimulate metropolitan and regional planning efforts.
- Creation of a National Domestic Policy Council to oversee the reorganization of the federal bureaucracy to make it more responsive to the planning and the development needs of the country.
- A Marshall Plan for the Cities, based on self-help, local initiative, coordinated planning and private and public capital.
- A federally subsidized National Urban Development Bank to mobilize large amounts of private capital for urban development.

The text of the Vice President's statement follows:

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The great challenge facing American civilization in the last third of the 20th century is to provide the choice of a satisfactory living environment for all persons -- regardless of race, ancestry, or place of residence.

Today, many millions of our citizens do not have true freedom of choice in the selection of a community in which to live and work. They are trapped in urban ghettos or rural slums ... or they have reluctantly fled to the suburbs when they would prefer to remain in the city. These conditions are unacceptable -- especially when we possess the wealth and technology to change them.

In recent decades the balanced distribution of our population has been distorted by the heavy influx of persons -- particularly those of lower income groups -- from rural areas to cities. The results not only affect the basic dimensions of life -- jobs, housing, education, health care -- but also fracture the sense of community and stability which most persons find necessary to a satisfactory living environment.

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

To believe that the special problems of urban, suburban and rural America can be attacked separately -- or kept in splendid isolation -- is to sacrifice our capacity to find lasting and workable answers. Our plans and actions must take account of the basic interdependency of all regions and peoples.

We possess the wealth and technology to mount a successful counterattack -- one which revitalizes our inner cities -- enhances the quality of life in our suburbs -- and brings new hope and opportunity to rural America. City planners, architects, sociologists, ecologists, financiers, public officials and bureaucrats have produced considerable insight and knowledge about what to do -- our most challenging task is to generate the popular support and governmental structure required to sustain such a many-faceted offensive.

We must then ask these questions: How can we provide a living environment for every American -- one which achieves a balance between rural, suburban and urban populations?

\* \* \*

Three principles underlie the specific proposals of this action plan:

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

This pronouncement has become almost ritualistic for politicians in 1968. In my case, it has been reached on the basis of direct personal experience. I have served both as a mayor of a major city and as liaison between the federal government and city governments for the past four years.

The central government has a crucial role to play -- helping define national objectives -- contributing part of the funds -- setting certain minimum standards ... helping mobilize the private sector ... and keeping the many diverse parts of America in touch with each other.

But Washington, D. C., cannot handle the intricate details of local planning and execution. And the federal government only gets in the way when it tries.

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

. . . more

The paradox of the contemporary Presidency is precisely this need to build local initiative and responsibility through the creative and judicious use of national power.

Moreover, there won't be meaningful local action until citizens know their opinions are heard and taken seriously by government -- from City Hall to the White House. That is why I have proposed an Open Presidency -- open to the people, and open to change.

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

We must create new mechanisms -- such as a National Urban Development Bank -- to stimulate private investment to meet our social priorities.

If we are to act within the traditions of American free enterprise, much of the money -- and much of the initiative -- must come from the private sector.

\* \* \*

These three principles translate into the following specific action proposals:

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

Although the definition of these objectives must rely heavily upon the informed judgments of experts, we must always remember that in the end these are political decisions. Congress, the state legislature or the city council will play a major role in determining the outcome -- as is only proper in a democracy.

As President, I would begin immediately to formulate broad-ranging discussions -- with the Congress, with governors and mayors, with experts in all relevant fields of knowledge and with the people. We would strive to lay down national criteria which could productively guide state and local leaders. These criteria would have to touch all critical areas: land use, population growth and control, education, housing, business and industrial growth, labor, recreation.

Second. Federal incentives must be established to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional district planning. I would propose that 10-12 regional districts be created to draw upon the full resources of the states and localities and to achieve the balanced growth among urban, suburban and rural areas which is essential to any lasting progress.

Similar coordination is necessary within metropolitan areas.

To receive federal support, the planning district would have to take account of the country's basic social, economic and demographic objectives. But from then on, local creativeness, foresight and ingenuity would be paramount.

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

1. We can help close the revenue gap which exists in most localities. This means raising sufficient revenues to solve the many critical social and physical renewal problems. One means for implementing this policy is Federal tax-sharing with metropolitan-wide or regional districts with safe-guards to insure the expenditure of Federal tax money on priority objectives.

2. We can provide tax and other incentives for the building of low and middle income housing. One approach to accomplish this goal would be a National Urban Homestead Act to subsidize the land costs for qualified private housing developments to allow the use of relatively high-priced urban and

suburban land. This plan, when coupled with the newly-authorized home ownership plan and vigorous implementation of the fair housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act, would contribute to a more balanced racial distribution in major metropolitan areas.

3. We can provide Federal support for State equalization of certain community services -- education and welfare, for example, -- within metropolitan areas, as well as between rural and urban areas.

4. We can reverse the unmanageable population build-up in densely settled urban areas. This calls for Federal help in developing magnet or satellite cities on the outer edges of our suburbs, and the creation of wholly new cities in our rural and underpopulated areas.

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

Such a Council would expand the President's capacity to foresee and deal rationally with the crush of domestic problems ... to sharpen priorities and identify the full implications of alternative policy decisions.

This Council would also be assigned the critical business of keeping the Federal machinery in good working order -- making sure that service and responsiveness to local initiative were maintained -- and that bureaucratic snarls were kept to a minimum. This would be a structure which rewarded local innovation and the desire to act -- not one which slowly destroyed the enthusiasm and effectiveness of local leaders.

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

In Europe the Marshall Plan produced a quick and visible impact -- not only in bricks and mortar, but in people's lives.

The initial investment was large enough, and the vision grand enough, to inspire hope ... to show that the job could be done ... to generate the will for self-help which brought Europe to self-sufficiency and prosperity.

This is the necessary element in a balanced nation-wide attack on the urban problem in America today.

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

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

Such a bank would have enough borrowing and lending authority to do the job. And we are talking here about billions of dollars each year.

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

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

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



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

They would be available, at varying rates depending on the circumstances of need, to finance or help finance public projects or quasi-public projects of all types. Special emphasis would be placed on the needs of the inner city.

Among other things these regional banks could:

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

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

\* \* \*

The principles and programs set forth in this statement are not final or definitive answers -- for there are none. Nor do they provide any quick or easy solutions -- for these are also in short supply. But they do enunciate the general approaches I would pursue as President of the United States and some of the specific instrumentalities I believe are needed to make steady progress in giving every American true freedom of choice in selecting a desirable place in which to live and work.

I believe our society has the wisdom and wealth to permit these choices and to create this living environment. The question is, do we have the imagination to substitute far-sighted policies for the planlessness and chaos which has produced our present living patterns.

I say we do.

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ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AT THE  
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA STUDENT EMPHASIS WEEK  
NORTHRUP MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM  
February 26, 1969

Edward Firestone:

Thank you and good evening. This week is International Week at the University of Minnesota. We have had the opportunity to hear the Israeli ambassador to this country and to attend two symposia. Later this week we can enjoy a foreign movie and hear a diplomatic representative from Kuwait. Tonight we shall enjoy two privileges. The first relates to a man who has served the University, the Twin Cities and the people of the State of Minnesota for 25 years. We honor him tonight on his last official appearance in convocation before retiring. I refer to one who has been a leader in bringing all of us to the opportunity to see, hear, enjoy and learn from concerts, opera, ballet, drama and all of the performing arts. It takes a great deal of work to bring an artist or the Metropolitan Opera to this campus. His efforts have made it possible for all of us over the last 25 years to enjoy the performance, and he has as well assisted many times in arranging for many persons of note who have come here to



address the University community. At this time, on behalf of all members of that community, I wish to thank him and tell him how much we appreciate his efforts. He is here on the platform, and I ask him now to rise: Mr. James Lombard.

The second privilege we have this evening is that of listening to our most junior professor. He will be introduced to you by Dean E. W. Zeibarth of the College of Liberal Arts, who is, apparently, his boss. But first, a few notes of welcome from the President of the University, President Malcolm Moos.

Malcolm Moos:

Chairman Firestone, Mr. Vice President (you're going to have to be patient with me, it's going to take a while to say Professor Humphrey), Mr. Lombard, Dean Zeibarth, students of the University of Minnesota, ladies and gentlemen.

I want to salute the patient work that has gone into this week, International Emphasis Week. You have already had a distinguished speaker here, and we're waiting eagerly with bated breath for our distinguished speaker tonight. It's a moving experience for me to welcome back to the University

of Minnesota a man who was a student with me at the University of Minnesota, and I welcome him enthusiastically back to our campus where I know our students are all looking forward to an intellectual adventure and to be a companion in adventure with Vice President Humphrey as he explores the many domains here in public affairs, in foreign affairs that so beset us today. I am not unmindful of the fact that when I look back to Johns Hopkins where I spoke on Saturday on their 93rd birthday, an institution where I taught for some 20 years, Russell Baker, who was a student of mine and a columnist for the New York Times and knows of the friendship of Mr. Humphrey and Malcom Moos for many years, put in his column, "Cynic's Almanac", early in January that "Mr. Humphrey begins on February 22 his first lecture at the University of Minnesota, completes it March 1." So, we're a little late in getting started, Mr. Vice President, but I want to assure you, sir, that we welcome you with open arms back to the University of Minnesota, and I now will introduce Dean Zeibarth who will present our speaker this evening. Thank you.

E. W. Zeibarth:

Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Firestone, Mr. Lombard - congratulations. Mr. Firestone, anyone who would pretend to boss Mr. Humphrey, as I know from long experience, would be a foolish and a rash man indeed. It is, Mr. Firestone, a real privilege to be able to participate even in a very small way in the celebration of International Emphasis Week, dealing, as you pointed out, with the theme, "Youth in the International Community". We are all pleased to join with the Minnesota Student Association in the presentation of tonight's program and to congratulate its members on setting up the events of the week. If there is any truth in the comment that a university community is made up of leaders and those who refuse to be led, we may see good, helpful evidence of it during weeks of this kind. As Dr. Moos heard me comment sometime ago, as a child I was reminded that one had to eat a good deal of stale crackerjack before finding a prize in a box. In this case the prize has been glimpsed by Mr. Firestone, the Dean, and President Moos, and Mr. Lombard, and will be found in very good measure in the distinguished speaker who will address us in just a moment. I, therefore, as the stale

crackerjack which comes between, shall be even more than ordinarily brief, reminding you only that our speaker tonight is, as the President said, a former member of this academic community and that he is now joining us once again to share with both students and faculty not only some, we hope many, of his experiences at the highest government level, but to share with us what is much more important: his thoughtful and considered conclusions about those experiences. Our guest tonight has, with singular skill, as we all know, treaded his way between the shoals and rocks which beset the political pathways of this nation, avoiding both Scylla and Charybdis in that environment is not an easy task, and he would not pretend, nor has he ever pretended, to be totally unscarred. But he has not, I think, used a device about which I learned in a rather dramatic way last August. I was in Czechoslovakia after the eve of the Russian invasion. And in Prague during the visit of Yugoslavia's Tito in this very tense and, to me, tragic period, enormous crowds gathered to pay Tito tribute. One of my Czech friends, who was a publisher, described Tito's political ability by telling a story which is very popular in Prague and which I heard many times after that and which

does, at least to me, seem revealing. It deals with the simultaneous visit by Russia's Brezhnev and President Johnson of the United States, a somewhat unlikely circumstance perhaps. They were both riding in an official car with Tito, according to the story, when they approached an intersection and the driver turned to ask which way to turn. Brezhnev promptly said, "Left." Johnson equally firmly said, "Right." The chauffeur looked at Tito, who said quietly, "Signal to the left but turn to the right."

Neither, I think, has Mr. Humphrey, as did Robespierre, say, "The mob is in the street. I must see which way they are running, for I am their leader." Our distinguished speaker has frequently made references to the fact that while he is delighted to join the faculty of this University and of Macalester College and that we were indeed his first collegiate choice, we are, after all, really second choice. He felt that a certain residence in Washington might be more desirable. But he usually adds quickly, "A number of people felt otherwise." It's difficult perhaps, Mr. Vice President, to know how consoling it may be,

but I would remind our speaker that critics in London once very vigorously and almost uniquely unanimously urged a composer to seek another occupation. His name, Mr. Vice President, was Beethoven. To comment either generally or in detail about the career of our speaker would be patently absurd. It's thoroughly familiar to the people of the nation and particularly to the people of this state. Our distinguished colleague has chosen to attack tonight one of the most complex and certainly one of the most difficult questions faced in our time. Perhaps as one of our friends commented backstage just a few minutes ago, it is a question of astronomical proportions. That somewhat dramatic phrasing made me wonder for just a moment whether Professor Humphrey, if I may Mr. President, might have some feeling for a comment made by the President of the Rockefeller Foundation at Mount Palomar some time ago when a major telescope was being dedicated. He quoted these lines: "Astronomically speaking" said the philosopher, "man is completely negligible." And to this the astronomer replied, "Astronomically speaking man is the astronomer." If we are to look with insight at the subject upon which the former Vice President of the United



States will speak to us, it seems quite clear that man as the astronomer must be trusted with this role because there is no alternative. And we will now, with Mr. Humphrey, address ourselves to that role as we welcome him back to Minnesota. Ladies and gentlemen, Professor Hubert Humphrey speaking on arms control and national security.

Hubert H. Humphrey:

Thank you very much. President Moos and Dr. Zeibarth, our good friend Jim Lombard to whom a most appropriate tribute has been paid this evening, and Mr. Firestone and fellow students.

I want first of all to tell my friend from the New York Times that even though the lecture here starts four days later, he having indicated that I would start my lecture on February 22 and conclude it on March 1, that in order to keep my contract with the University, I will start it on February 26 and conclude it on March 4. So there will be no time lost.

Dr. Zeibarth, I thank you for your introduction. This is a wonderful evening for Democrats. I thought I would inject a partisan note early. After all, I'm professor

at two universities presided over by two former associates of President Eisenhower, and I feel that on occasion I have to give some balance to the academic community. Senator Fred Harris is this very hour addressing another audience at Macalester College while I am here. I gather that somebody will be asking for equal time or possibly Dr. Moos will have to be before the legislative committees a little longer than he has been. But I am going to approach this subject matter tonight in a way which I hope is not going to cause him any difficulty. My timing has been off most of my life. I decided to run for President in the primaries of 1960. I was foolish enough to contest with John Kennedy. I decided to run for the Presidency of the United States in 1968. And I forgot that we had been practicing guerrilla warfare tactics in the Democratic party and were spending much of our time shooting each other. And then I come back to the University of Minnesota; and when I was here before it was a meadow of meditation and it was an island of tranquillity. And now the campus of today is where college presidents, administrators and faculty get combat pay. I didn't negotiate that either, so

I want to open the contract once again. But it's a time of great interest. I spent yesterday for better than two hours at the University of California at Los Angeles with several thousand students in a wide ranging discussion of a complexity of current events and current issues ranging from everything from the urban crisis to our relationship with Communist China. I don't know of any time when I've had a more invigorating or a more satisfying session. I believe that we all learned something from it. Tonight I come to you to talk about a subject that is at the very heart of our nation's well-being, and it is, I believe, an appropriate subject for the International Emphasis Week. I am not one that believes that the United States of America can withdraw from the world. I do not believe that the choice is just to take care of things at home and ignore what goes on elsewhere. But I am one that believes that the time is long overdue for us to take a careful inventory of our commitments around this world, to tidy them up and to recognize that we are a partner in the world rather than a master. And when we do this, we will, I think, begin

to understand more appropriately what we mean by national security. This is not a world owned by us. It is a world in which we are a significant member of the family of nations and of the human race. And if the space age has helped us in any way outside of science and technology, and I think it has, I believe the missions of Gemini and Apollo and particularly the recent missions have taught us how small this little planet is and yet how vital it is and how beautiful it can be and, therefore, that we are stewards of this planet. Not its owners but stewards. And we must, therefore, judge our actions on the basis not of exploitation by ownership but rather of conservation by stewardship. I think it is fair to say that most nations are concerned about their security and their development; and in the time in which we live communism is not the prevailing "ism." It is nationalism. And nationalism is, in a sense, pride. Pride of people. Pride of culture. But like with any form of pride, it can become arrogant and dangerous. And yet it is necessary to have that sense of pride. And what we hope to be able to create in this time and space is a spirit of nationalism or national security and a development within a framework of national cooperation and international responsibility. Time

does not permit us to discuss how we ought to restructure the United Nations. Sometime I want to talk to you about it because I believe that it is time that we think about it and that we act upon it, particularly as we come now very close to the 25th year of that great international body. But tonight I want to discuss with you the problems of security, and I would like first of all to define it. The security of a modern nation is to be found not only in what we call its military power but with equal and possibly greater significance in the sum total of its political, social and economic and military strength. This is what many people have been concerned about. The fact that we may have emphasized too much the Pentagon at the expense of the host of activities that a government ought to conduct on behalf of its citizens. And while we undoubtedly have made many mistakes, one of the things that this great system of ours permits is the redress of grievances and it permits us to find answers and to look again, to start all over again if need be, to alter the situation. And I believe the time is again at hand at this period as we see a different world in which there are different power relationships, a dangerous world to be sure, but different

power relationships than 20 years ago, that we start once again to redefine what do we mean by national security. I have given you one indication of my understanding of it. Now a national security policy, while requiring the expert and the technological advice of those skilled in military science, must ultimately be determined by the political leaders. The World War I French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau once said that, I believe I quote him somewhat accurately, that he observed that war was too important to be left to the generals. There is another way that we in the humanities or the social sciences can talk about it. Experts are to be on tap not on top. That means civilian control and political decision is the ultimate in both domestic and national security policy. Now this 20th century of ours is a century of contradictions and paradox. It's already seen two world wars and a host of regional and local conflicts, all of which have taken millions of lives, left ingrained bitterness and hatred, consumed untold resources of men and material and brought man quite literally dangerously close to the brink of a nuclear holocaust. In many ways I think you could call the 20th century the century of destruction, and yet a more



objective view paradoxically, this same century has seen the liberation of millions of people from colonial exploitation and colonial rule. It has witnessed a steady rise in the living standards of many more millions of people. We have seen the development of some of the most prestigious and important international institutions ever created by the mind and hand of man to preserve peace and to promote social justice. The same people that can wage war in its cruelest forms can also have the creativity and the sensitivity to design instruments and institutions dedicated to social and economic betterment the likes of which mankind has never known. So it has been a century of war and it has been a century in the search of peace. It's been a century of destruction and it's been a century of development. It's been a century of the tragic waste of human life and yet there has been more done about human rights, at least an awareness of the necessity of doing something for the protection of human rights, than in any other comparable period. We have entered the nuclear age and the space age with its potential for human progress and peaceful exploration of the universe. And what a laboratory this universe offers us. And yet that same century has a potential for incredible catastrophe and death and mass

killings. Now this is the background to any discussion of the issue of security or the issue of war and peace in our time. I think we have to understand what we're dealing with. More specifically we now face a crucial decision. We're not talking theory now. We're talking a decision about a decision that's going to be made in the next few months. We're talking and going to talk tonight about a decision in which your voice, in which your opinion, may very well be the deciding factor. This issue is closely contested with men of good judgment, decent motives, intelligent men on both sides of the question. I intend to state my side of it. Recognizing that I undoubtedly have serious limitations of knowledge but also recognizing that I have sought to inform myself and to present at least a case that makes sense to me. Now what is that crucial decision? I'll put it in the form of a question. Will we continue the search for ways to halt or slow down the momentum of the nuclear arms race, or will we by decision or inaction begin yet another round of arms building? We are at a point in the destiny of this nation where we're going to make a decision on a number of weapon systems that have been on the drawing board for 10 years. And the time is

now at hand when the President and the Security Council and the Congress will chart a course for this nation. This is why I thought the last election was so important. Regrettably we couldn't get a dialogue on this. Regrettably there was so much histrionics and so much emotion on things that were really less important that we couldn't get serious discussion about whether or not this planet will survive the last third of the 20th century. This is today's crucial, critical political issue. Because we have moved to a new family of sophisticated weaponry such as the Sentinel Anti-ballistic Missile Defense System. It's ready to be deployed, and it will be come exceedingly difficult if not impossible to restore the strategic balance on which our security ultimately rests if that deployment takes place. This is my judgment. And I have thought about it carefully. I am not at all infallible. I'm very fallible. I may be wrong, but I believe that on balance the evidence says, "No." Since the dawn of the nuclear age and the unleashing of the terrible destructive power of atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we have tried, this country, through official policy to prevent the use of this

indescribably destructive atomic military power. I hope that we do not have to come to our conclusions through what I call the education by the process of fear or horror. But I wish that I had the charts that have been shown to me a dozen, a hundred, times through my years in the Senate and at least twenty-five times in my years as a member of the National Security Council of the destructive power of a nuclear exchange between ourselves and the Soviet Union. I want to remind this audience that we are the most vulnerable nation in the world in many ways, because we're urbanized. The least vulnerable of the great powers or the potential great powers is China because it has a wide dispersal of people. Well, in these post-war years since 1945, we have not neglected our defense. We have provided for our defense. And we have provided for the protection of all mankind from nuclear war through a philosophy of deterrence or, more precisely, a strategy of mutual assured destruction. Now, no man can contemplate a rational defense in a nuclear war that would leave millions of people dead. And make no mistake about it, the first nuclear exchange between ourselves and let's say the Soviet Union would leave one hundred million Americans dead. What your defense analysts are speaking of is whether or not you can harden the silos in which the missiles.

are encased so that you can have a second strike. There is something wrong, my fellow Americans, when we think only of how you harden a silo. We must, therefore, I suppose depend instead upon our ability to deter attack to prevent a nuclear war from ever beginning. And that's what we've been trying to do now for better than 25 years. Walking that very frail tightrope over a great chasm and hoping that nothing goes wrong. Now we've provided ourselves with the ability to prevent any aggressor from attacking us with impunity. You can be sure of that tonight. The power that we have of nuclear weaponry is beyond your imagination. It is not merely the power to kill but to overkill. And the same is true of the Soviet Union. We have the capacity and the means to destroy any nation or group of nations that should choose to unleash a nuclear holocaust against us or to threaten our vital interests or those of our allies. And we understand the fatal dangers to the United States if we should ever initiate a nuclear strike. As a result, there has been no nuclear war because we're not going to initiate a nuclear strike. There's been no nuclear war, not even in the darkest days of our political conflict with the Soviet Union. And while there

are many pessimists at loose in the world today, I think there are some people that ought to acknowledge the fact that at least mankind has had enough sense, enough balance not to indulge in this madness of nuclear confrontation or nuclear warfare. We came close to it in the Cuban crisis. And it is just my casual observation, without any inside information, that it's most likely one of the reasons Mr. Khrushchev was removed, and he was removed by his peers, by his associates, because he was too dangerous. He went too far. He came too close to what could have been a disaster. Well, this relying on the strategy of deterrence for me is not enough. How long can you stay tense? How long can you have a balance of horror and still be rational in your political judgments? You see, we must also guard against the danger that nuclear weapons will be acquired by nations not directly involved in the equation of deterrents which restrains and controls the actions of the great powers. Too often conflicts between small nations, such as in the Middle East, have grown into conflagrations which could involve others. In a nuclear age no one can rationally predict the consequences if a single nuclear weapon exploded in some far-off, supposedly limited



conflict detonated by some small country with very limited military power. A whole defense system is based upon an immediate response to a nuclear explosion and you might trigger a kind of response that would put a whole world into nuclear warfare. For this reason we have labored long and hard for the years to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. In fact, you ought to remember that your government went to the United Nations in 1946 with the Barruch Plan at that time asking the Soviet Union to forego nuclear weapons and so would we. We found out four years later why that was not accepted, because four years later the Soviet Union, in fact slightly less than four years, was a nuclear power in its own right both with fission and fusion. So we've labored to keep these terrible devices out of the hands of smaller nations and other nations and sometimes, as we viewed them, less responsible nations. And I'm pleased to say that we've achieved at least our first measure of success. During the recent administration, the Johnson-Humphrey administration, we negotiated over a long period of time, much of it very

quietly, with the Soviet Union and other countries a nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and I think that treaty is possibly the singularly most important building block in this hopeful structure of peace since World War II. It represents first steps towards preventing the world from becoming hostage to the mad act of some irresponsible government, some little country that may get into a conflict or some militarist that has no regard for whatever his act may be. I have long supported this effort and was deeply involved in that negotiation. In fact, my visit to Europe in April 1967 centered around Article III of the treaty to convince some of our allies without driving off the Soviets that they had to be willing to accept some form of inspection. And I am happy to say that we made some progress. I can say here since I'm no longer in the administration that I was the first to discuss publicly the possibility of this treaty. I spent 10 years as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Disarmament and Arms Control in the United States Senate, and we discussed then in 1958 and as late as 1961, I mean as early as 1958 and from there on to 1961 and on, the possibility of a non-proliferation treaty. It took 7-8 years, and the last 4 years of intensive negotiation. Peace is not instant. Not at all. It's hard business,

hard work, requiring infinite patience and skill. I support this treaty, did so when it came to the Congress, and support it now and am happy to say tonight since I prepared these remarks the other day that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported out the committee favorably, I believe it was a 14 to nothing vote with one or two abstentions, and now the Senate of the United States can ratify it. And this begins, this means a real forward move. Now by halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons among the nations, we make a great forward step but it is not enough. Because that just halts others. It in no way limits us. Or the Soviets, or the French, or the British. And since the Chinese refused to sign, it obviously does not limit them. I think that we ought to remember, however, that one of the articles of that treaty calls upon the signers of the treaty to engage in broader discussions and negotiations on the total overall picture of armament and particularly strategic offensive and defensive armament. Now we need... this halting of the proliferation requires that we halt the nuclear arms race among the super powers. And this is a step that we

must take if the non-proliferation treaty is to achieve its desired results. We cannot ask others to forego the nuclear weapons that they think they want if we and the Soviet Union fail to restrain ourselves in the needless accumulation of destructive nuclear power. But there is another more fundamental reason for halting the strategic arms race with the Soviet Union. We are now on a strategic nuclear plateau. Now there's been all kinds of terminology used about this: Is it parity, is it sufficiency, what is it? I say that there is a strategic nuclear plateau where neither side can commit nuclear aggression without incurring unacceptable destruction in return. This is what we mean by the balance of terror, the deterrence. And in these circumstances there is a relative measure of nuclear security for the United States and the Soviet Union. Both nations today have less reason to fear a surprise attack by the other. And this easing of tensions which comes from this situation has been achieved after long efforts and at great costs. Today both of the super powers upon whom the peace of this world depends possess sufficient nuclear power for mutual deterrence. But tomorrow if we allow the

nuclear arms race to accelerate once again, where we're in open competition, we may find ourselves fearing for our lives and our safety. We must not, in short, return to the fears and insecurity of the 1950's by introducing new uncertainties into the strategic arms balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. Now there is some evidence, and there is reasonably good evidence, that the Soviet Union appreciates the dangers in a further escalation of the arms race. I've had the privilege of visiting the Soviet officials on this matter, and others with greater responsibility have negotiated with them directly. The Soviets have, for example, continued to confine their anti-ballistic missile activity to a rudimentary system around Moscow. And there is reason to believe that that system was built primarily to intercept the B-70's which we never constructed. It only shows once again what happens when people become panicky. On the other hand, the Soviets have continued to strengthen their offensive missile forces, and every time we talk about having a vast superiority, there is a military clique in the Soviet Union just as there is here, Hawks and Doves are not

exactly indigenous just to the United States, and they say, "We've got to catch up." But I repeat, the Soviets have indicated their willingness to begin comprehensive talks on a limitation of both offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons. And those talks might well have been under way had it not been for the tragedy of Czechoslovakia. They were ready to move. Czechoslovakia alone was tragedy enough for lovers of freedom and peace. When you think that a by-product of that invasion was the setting aside of the preliminary steps which had already been made to get a conference between ourselves and the Soviet Union on ... looking to an agreement on halting the nuclear arms race, you can see what a tragedy it all is. I believe we can now join the Soviet Union in productive talks on controlling the strategic arms race, and this is a political decision that we must make. To those who say that you cannot successfully negotiate with the Soviets, I reply that we have successfully negotiated with them on many occasions. And no negotiation is really effective unless it is mutually satisfactory, having mutual benefits. We have many precedents beginning with the Limited Nuclear



Test Ban Treaty of 1963. Some of us started advocating that treaty as early as 1956. Seven-eight years later it was a reality. It takes time. But it takes a start. We subsequently reached an agreement to establish a hot-line between Moscow and Washington, and it was used to avert a confrontation during the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. How important that was. And at the United Nations we have achieved a treaty to ban weapons of mass destruction from outerspace, and we concluded a counsellor convention and a civil air transportation agreement with the Soviet Union. All of these mutually beneficial and therefor enforceable. I've supported all of these measures, and many of them I proudly and humbly say at least initiated in terms of discussion. Add pioneering and the advocating of the test ban treaty and the space treaty. I advocated the space treaty at Fairleigh Dick inson University in 1960. It was several years later that it was successfully negotiated at the United Nations. Now we know that success is never guaranteed. There can be failures and there may well be. Yet I think that we have no alternative but to begin the talks in an effort to halt or slow down the arms race. We simply

have to try. And to those who say that you cannot rely on the word of the Soviets, I reply that that's not the question. It's no matter of relying on good faith alone. Any agreement to be acceptable must be subject to both inspection and enforcement, and modern technology has made this more easily accomplished than anyone would have dreamed possible even five years ago. And when you pass judgment on the space program, if that program had done nothing else but to develop reconnaissance satellites with a multiplicity of sensory devices which makes enforceable arms control agreements possible, every dollar that we spent on it would be worthwhile. The Apollo Program, The Gemini Program, and all the money that's gone into it are very, very small amounts when you consider the cost of an arms race or a war. And that space program has now made it possible so that with Project Bella and other projects we have we can monitor seismic movements, nuclear explosions, we do know where missiles are located, we do know what their capacity is. We can enforce an agreement. And how well I remember when we were told that it couldn't be done. Maybe some in this audience will remember the Burchner

Report which was lying idle for two to three years in the '50's until some of us said we will activate it and literally forced upon the Executive branch of the government the money to get it done. And it's out of the Burchner Report, which President Eisenhower himself called for but which regrettably the defense establishment for a period of time did not activate, that the great programs today of reconnaissance, sensory devices, Project Bella and others that are so vital to arms control enforcement and inspection have come about. So modern technology has been our ally, and we are at a point in international relations where we can, through the advance techniques now, inspect and monitor agreements limiting strategic nuclear weapons and missiles. To those who say that we cannot risk losing the time that may be necessary for these negotiations to succeed, I reply from a background of information that we now have the time to do this without jeopardizing our national security. We may not have the time two years from now, but we have it now. In other words, if we could enter into negotiations now, we can enter without fear that we will come out second best in terms of our own defense. Our offensive nuclear strength based

on our Polaris fleet with its modernization program, our Minuteman Missiles, our hardened bases, our manned long-range bombers and all of this fantastic missile weaponry gives us the opportunity to take the time to explore in depth with the Soviet Union the steps to preserve this existing strategic plateau and to avoid another round of weapons deployment. We then can examine the ways to reduce existing stockpiles of weapons by mutual action. Now, it's been suggested in recent weeks that we . . . that these talks that I've advocated tonight should be postponed, and, now, this is another major policy decision. That these talks should be postponed until they can be linked to more general settlement of outstanding political problems. In other words, there is the view held in high places that if you're going to talk to the Soviet Union about arms control, let's talk about a divided Germany, let's talk about every political issue and try to settle them in one package or at least try to bring some pressure to bear to settle them. I cannot agree with this position as much as I would like to see political settlements. The urgency of the present

problem, the danger that's here now, the urgency to prevent a further round of the nuclear arms race before it is irreversibly launched cannot wait upon the solution of political disputes that have been many years in the making and will be many years in solving. Nor are these broader agreements necessary for the success of these talks to limit the arms race. Indeed, we have negotiated the Limited Test Ban Treaty and the Non-Proliferation Treaty during the time of the war in Viet Nam when our relations with the Soviet Union and the other communist states were severely strained. Actually, we made great progress during this period with the Soviets. But there's one word of caution. It must be clearly understood that our desire to negotiate an end to the strategic arms race in no way condones the aggression of the Soviet Union against Czechoslovakia nor would it condone similar acts in the future. They ought not to be tied together. Nothing that we do now can erase from our memories the brutal repression last August in Prague. Now, we're sometimes told that our allies in Western Europe would be concerned lest our approaches to the Soviet Union on arms control should delay the day when Czechoslovakia

will again be free. I do not agree with that. I believe that our allies understand the grave issues involved in ending the arms race. They know that they're in the middle. They know that they cannot afford to participate because modern armament is too expensive for anybody but the richest. And I believe that with adequate consultation and counsel on our part that they will strongly support that move. And may I take a moment here to say that I am one of the opposition party that fully supports President Nixon's present visit to Europe. I believe that it was timed properly; I believe that whatever discussions we have with the Soviet Union on the Middle East, on Viet Nam, on arms control, on defensive and offensive missiles, will require, of course, at first some understanding amongst ourselves and our allies. At least consultation. And the President of the United States is engaging in that. And I speak up tonight not as critic but as concerned American. I speak up of what I would have done myself and what I said I would have done had I had the opportunity: To consult



with allies and then to make it very clear that we are at that crucial point in our national history and in our policy making that we have to decide now whether we're going to go into a great new arms race or whether we're going to call it to a halt and hopefully turn it back. Indeed, an effective agreement, it's my judgment, that an agreement to halt the nuclear race will make it far more likely that we and the Soviets and their allies will be able to go forward with our allies towards the solution of outstanding political problems. Every time we arrive at an agreement which is acceptable and enforceable, we strengthen diplomacy, we strengthen the processes of peace. Every time we leave one of these issues unsolved with no agreement, we increase tension and thereby make the possibilities of political settlement all the more remote. But the fundamental requirement for this process of consultation that I speak of is strategic stability. Anything that we do to maintain that strategic stability, to freeze for the moment the arms race, at near today's levels or to reverse it, I believe will improve our political relations. Ladies and gentlemen, this is the argument:

Will it or won't it? There is a strong block in and out of Congress and in and out of the government, Democrat or Republican, that believes that we should proceed first with the political issues and then come around to arms control. There's another block that says that we should proceed with the arms control and recognize, as I believe that I do, that if we succeed in this area, we make a more reasonable atmosphere, we improve political environment for the possibilities of some political solution to the political problems. Anything, therefore, that we do to disrupt that strategic stability will lead us back to the darkest days of the Cold War, and may we avoid that. Now there is today an immediate danger to all of this, and that's the impending decision by the Administration and the Defense Department to proceed with the deployment of the Sentinel Anti-ballistic Missile System. I want to repeat once again that the President has put a halt on it for a few days . . . I think about 30 days and possibly more. But the argument rages in Congress and in the government; and I have a feeling that the President would like to hear from us. I think he wants to hear from the American people on this question, because if we start down

the road, you'll find out what momentum means. Let me be clear. I've always supported, and I'll continue to support in public and in private life, any effort to provide for the security of the United States. I believe that that's the least that I can do. There can be and there will be no compromise with our adequate defense. But the question is: Is this Anti-Ballistic Missile System a significant contribution to that defense? A significant contribution to national security when national security is more than just military. I believe it is not. Therefore, I firmly oppose the deployment of the Sentinal ABM System at this time. The Sentinal ABM System, as you've read, originally designed to nullify an attack by China against the United States during the 1970's. I've said in another article and I repeat it here: That I think Secretary McNamara, when he made the presentation to the Congress for this limited system, had the best arguments against it. It was made, however, in the feeling that with the rising power of China that something ought to be done since we ... our defense structure would require considerable modification. It was also made

with the thought in mind that by production and development and the authorization of deployment that we could engage the Soviets in negotiations. And I say from this platform that those negotiations were well on the road to be undertaken when that tragic day in August came that upset everything - the invasion of Czechoslovakia. I am one that believes, and have said again tonight, that while that should have caused us to pause and we must look upon it as a tragedy and never condone it, that it tells us something else: That if we live in a time in which a nation like Czechoslovakia, a socialist state, can be taken over literally by its big brother, by the Soviet Union, it tells us of the dangers in which we live and all the more reason that we should try to limit the arms race - all the more reason. And we should not let those who try to terrify us by the spectre of Soviet movements in Eastern Europe keep us from doing what is in our national interest and what is in the interest of peace and in the interest of preventing the tragic expenditure of resources. Well, if the Sentinal would do what it was said to do. That is, to provide some defense against China after China acquires the ability to launch a limited number of nuclear missiles,

and if it would not erode our security in other ways, I would support its immediate deployment even though it would only be needed to deal with the mad act of a Chinese leader whose own country would be destroyed in return. But it is my view the Sentinal System will not do this. Even its advocats do not now claim that the Sentinal will provide absolute immunity from a Chinese attack. Or even major immunity. There are serious questions with regard to its technical feasibility and reliability. And we've had grave problems with reliability of weapons we've been able to test. And this is particularly true against a carefully planned or executed attack. Sometime you'll have a technician who will come to you and explain to you all the decoys that can be put up. This is a very intricate matter. It would be difficult if not impossible for this system to be adequately tested without renouncing the Atmospheric Nuclear Test Ban Treaty that we worked so long and hard to achieve. And knowing of the mistakes that have been made and

the weakness that we found in other weaponry of a highly sophisticated nature that depends particularly upon radar control, I would suggest that to deploy systems that have not been proven to be reliable would not only be from a technical point of view fallacious but from a political point of view it could be even worse. Deploying an anti-ballistic missile system allegedly against China, however imperfect that system would be and for however few years it would be partially effective, I say would have serious repercussions on our relations with the Soviet Union. And those relations are the most important relations that we have. We can have arguments with almost anybody else, and even limited conflicts, but the peace of the world depends, at least for the foreseeable future, upon the capacity and the ability of the United States of America and the Soviet Union to find a way to live on this planet. That's the highest task of statesmanship. We cannot therefore afford to upset the strategic nuclear balance with the Soviet Union which we presently have, and the Sentinel System will do just that. If we begin, therefore, to deploy this system, we



will inevitably raise doubts in the minds of the Russians about our intentions, and they have politicians in their country too who know how to take power, to depose people, to take over; there are powerful forces at work within the Soviet Union right now that any student of Soviet affairs knows about. We will, I believe, force them to improve their own offensive missile forces as we deploy our ABM's, thereby postponing a further freeze in the arms race. We will add new uncertainties to a strategic balance that can remain stable only when each side is satisfied that it knows the composition of that balance. Today we pretty well know what they have and they pretty well know what we have. And we have a healthy respect for each other... a healthy respect about an unhealthy situation. And there are further dangers. Major weapons systems once begun have a long lifeline and a tendency to expand and to get more costly. There's always a new series. The Sentinel System would not be any exception, in fact, it would be, I think, one of the weapons systems that would have many new series. It's already under strong pressure to transform

it from the so-called "thin" system to a more elaborate and costly deployment directed against Soviet strategic nuclear forces. Now, for every advance we achieve then in the anti-ballistic missiles, the Russians, I submit, will be able, for much less effort, to recapture the same ability to wreak destruction on the United States through more sophisticated offensive weapons, and the same argument applies in reverse to us and would make a serious Soviet attempt to build anti-ballistic missiles as defenses equally futile. We can build offensive strength sooner and at less cost. The offense can always be a step ahead of the defense. This is something on which our generals and scientists agree. So what are we now facing? Well, it's the prospect of embarking on the project that will provide us at best with only a marginal increase in our physical protection against China yet it will almost surely introduce grave political problems and uncertainties into our relations with the Soviet Union if we are seeking to negotiate an agreement. And if history is at all instructive, it is likely that the defensive weapons system will be obsolete approximately the same time that its initial deployment is completed.

That's what happened to the DEW Line. That's what happened to our first missiles. All of the missiles that we originally deployed in the Atlas class, for example, all have been taken out. Then there were others. On balance then, the risks of deployment far outweigh the risks of continuing to maintain this system at the research and development stage. Now, I want it clear that the reason that I take this position is because I know that we have the offensive strength that has the healthy respect of the Soviet Union and, therefore, gives us time to be rational human beings and to hopefully negotiate, to practice the art of diplomacy rather than the art of technology and weapons development. On balance then, the risks of deployment far outweigh the risks of continuing to maintain this system at the research and the development stage. I believe we should do that. To postpone or abandon deployment of the Sentinal System does not mean that we are leaving ourselves to the mercy of a Soviet technological breakthrough of some sort, because

we can, we are, and we must continue with research and development of the ABM technology, and we've been doing it at great cost. The issue is not development. The issue is not research. The issue is not our capacity to create these weapons. The issue is deployment, not development. And deployment now when the prospects at least of negotiation are reasonably good. And the question of cost: Well, the present system, the limited Sentinel System, will cost at least ten billion dollars. Oh, they said only four at first, but it's been going up. A full system directed against the Soviet Union would cost from forty to fifty billion dollars at a minimum. And that's before you modernize the one that turned obsolete. Now these are dollars that I submit are vitally needed for meeting the problems of poverty, the decay in our cities, the explosive bombs of division and discord in America, and they would be extra dollars on already an eighty billion dollar defense or ninety billion defense budget. And I don't think they'd add much, if anything, to our real defense. We would purchase new weapons with little or no new security at the price of

further postponing our efforts to improve our society at home. And it's now being argued that the deployment of the Sentinal System will help us in our negotiations with the Soviet Union to control the arms race. This is the latest argument. We are supposed to trade it away, in other words. First deploy it, then trade it away for a comprehensive agreement on the more vital questions of limiting all offensive and strategic defensive nuclear weapons. Well, now I question this view, and I'll tell you why. Because our military has never had any doubt but what we could break through the anti-ballistic missile system that protects Moscow. And I can't see why a deployment today of a missile system around some of our cities would be anything that would compel the Soviet Union to think they ought to come around on certain other things simply because we had already deployed them and promised that we wouldn't deploy any more or would dismantle them. If we've learned anything from our experience in two decades of confrontation and negotiation with the Soviets, it is that uncertainty in a strategic balance produces

not agreement but fear and escalation of the arms race which makes agreement more difficult. With the bomber-gap of the 1950's and the feared missile gap of the 1960's, there were grave complications as a result in our ability to deal with the Soviets on political matters. A stalemate, no agreements. The Soviet fearful, pouring its resources in and we pouring our resources. But when we got to a point where there was strategic plateau of balance, we were then able to talk sense. I repeat and summarize for you: We should halt the deployment of the Sentinal System. I join those in the Congress and elsewhere that ask that it be halted and not out of emotion but out of study and careful analysis. And I believe that we should begin as expeditiously as is humanly possible. First the preliminary negotiations and then the basic negotiations with the Soviet Union on the reduction not only on halting not only the ABM deployment but also the reduction of all offensive and defensive strategic weapons. There is one further, one crucial, point. For many years we have been concerned with the problem of preserving a strategic balance with the Soviet Union, of planning against the



emergence of China as a nuclear power, and preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This has consumed our thought. But all too often we have looked at these problems only in terms of weapons and hardware. Or, should I say, predominantly in terms of weapons and hardware instead of diplomacy and ideas. There is one hard fact of life in this nuclear age, and mark this well: A determined aggressor, armed with nuclear weapons, few or many, will be able to cause damage to any nation beyond our power to comprehend . . . no matter what your defense is, even though the aggressor would likely be destroyed in the process. The hope for the world to avoid this ugly fate, therefore, ultimately lies in the pursuit . . . therefore, does not, I should say, ultimately lie in the pursuit of more elaborate technology of destruction but in the pursuit of peace through the only means that can make real peace and can make lasting peace. And these are political means. If the existing strategic balance is upset, the prospects for understanding and conciliation are reduced. And if we think of mainland China only in terms of an irrational nuclear attack and

build a defense against that, we will stand to lose our chances in the coming years to encourage Peking to take an active peaceful part in the affairs of the world community. And I'll tell you that it's my view that the most important thing that we can do for peace insofar as China is concerned is to reexamine our entire posture with her. Hardware alone is not going to detour China. Political processes may have some effect. And if we think of non-proliferation only in terms of weapons and ignore the real conflicts and misunderstandings that impel nations to acquire these weapons, I think we may find ourselves one day in a world made far more dangerous by the existence of many more nuclear powers. We must, in short, come to understand that real security, as I said in the beginning, is the compound of many elements and surely not just the military weapons system developed by the professional defense establishment. Important as that establishment is, and it is important, in the pursuit of the real national security, we must not chase after shadows and illusions

which will cloud our vision of the more difficult but ultimately no less necessary political settlements. And this brings me to a matter that I didn't put on this text, but I want to cite it for you. There's been a growing concern for years in this country and in this government as to whether or not the defense department had a predominant influence in making political policy. Who has the responsibility ultimately for peace, and who should be the spokesman? Well, it is my view, of course, that the President of the United States must be that spokesman. It is also my view that a department that has fantastic sums of money at its disposal must with the best of management and with men in charge that are devoted to peace, and we've had such men, I think Secretary McNamara was devoted to peace, I believe that Secretary Clifford was devoted to peace, and there are others; but there is such a thing as the industrial military complex which has a way of influencing public positions and public policy in this country. And I do not want to add another measure of strength to it by entering upon a new weapons system,

a new nuclear arms race, if there's any way on God's earth that we can prevent it without sacrificing the security of this country. President John Kennedy said at American University in June 1963, and by the way every student ought to read that speech about once a week because it had something to say about peace-making that needs to be understood: the hard, courageous business, the time-consuming, persevering business of being a peace-maker. Well, he said, "Let us examine our attitude towards peace itself. Too many think it is unreal, but that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, and that we are gripped by forces that we cannot control. We need not accept this view. Our problems," said the President, "are man-made. Therefore, they can be solved by men, and man can be as big as he wants." The late President did not say that they would be solved by machines or even technology. He said they were man-made, these problems, these threats to the peace, and they would be solved by men, reasonable men, rational men, through the arts of conciliation, reconciliation, diplomacy.

I happen to believe that we can be masters of our destiny; and if we can't believe that, then it is a hopeless situation. But we must believe it, and we can walk the difficult path that it takes, and it is difficult. It will require courage, conviction, and hard, rational thought, an indomitable will, and patient perseverance. I do not think that this is too high a price to pay for the survival of mankind. I think that America must take the risk for peace, the risk to halt the arms race. We've taken other risks. We're taking them now on a battlefield. I think that the moral equation in this country needs to be put in a better balance. I happen to believe that the price that we pay is not too high a standard to require of men who hold in their hands the power of nuclear destruction. Remember, we created this weapon. We have a special obligation to control it. We were the first to use it. We have a special obligation to see that it's never used again. We have created the most of these weapons. We have a special obligation to see that they are cut back. And I believe that the year 1969 is going to be decisive. Quite candidly, this is why I wanted to be President. Because I felt that

in this time, in this country, we could make a decision that could have effects and ramifications for mankind yet unborn. It's simply that we as creators and stewards of the most terrible power ever known to man owe to ourselves and to future generations a special sense of restraint and a special sense of responsibility. And I say that we must pay this price, and the people must speak. I say that we must find this way to peace even if it requires sacrifice. Thank you.





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