

John Kenneth Galbraith address

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L You in this room represent directly almost
50 million Americans. But in a large sense you also
represent the people in the metropolitan areas
surrounding your cities. And the metropolitan areas
you represent have more than 90 million people.

It was only 45 years ago that people in our
cities began to outnumber people on our farms. In
some states that change has taken place only in the
past decade.

L But today two-thirds of our people live in
metropolitan areas. Our population grows at the rate
of about three million a year, and nearly all of that
growth is in our urban areas. In the next ten years
our cities and suburbs will have to absorb another
30 million people.

L This growth has come in several forms. One
has been mass migration from our farms to our cities.

One has been mass migration of Negroes out of the South -- virtually all of it to central cities.

Another has been the mass migration of middle- and upper-income people from the core city to the suburbs.

And a large part of growth has come from a higher birth rate, as well as from the longer lives of our citizens. - all changes - challenges

I know what this growth has done to your tax rates. You have gone heavily into debt to pay for services and facilities. In the past ten years, state and local debt has more than doubled, while the Federal debt has risen only 15 per cent. Between 1952 and 1962, total Federal spending increased only one-third as much as spending by your cities.

I know that you are doing your best to cope with your problems and that you want to do better.

Services
Shared
Revenues

Revenues
K162
Fed
Great
collecting
about
65%.

Local 20%
State 20%

In 1900 - 50% Local
38% Fed
12% State

In most cities good work is being done. Magnificent buildings have risen ... slums have been cleaned out ... new highways built ... and most of our people live in decent housing.

↳ But we still have over nine million homes that are run down or deteriorating. ↳ And we have more than four million homes without running water or plumbing.

↳ Our greatest challenge lies before us. Two massive forces are converging in our cities: the force of growth and the force of decay. By the end of this century population will double in our urban centers, the need for land will double, We will have to build again what we have built since the first colonist set foot on this soil.

↳ The problem is people and the quality of the lives they lead.

↳ We must build not just housing units, but neighborhoods.

challenge is the

↳ We must build schools, but also educate
our children.

↳ We must raise income, but also preserve and
create beauty.

↳ There is no time to lose, for the damage
is already great. We are wasting people. At the
present rate, one out of every three children now
in the fifth grade will drop out before finishing
high school.

↳ We are poisoning our streams and air.

↳ We are blighting the soil and littering the
countryside.

↳ One-fifth of our people are not sharing the
abundance and opportunity of this rich nation.

↳ There is crime in our streets and a lack of
humanity.

There is oppression in parts of our nation.

Every device of human ingenuity has been used to deny
some of our citizens their rights.

The worst damage is the damage to the human
spirit. Lack of opportunity can crush the soul. So
can lack of education, or lack of decent housing, or
lack of a green place for a child to play.

yes. Our cities are in trouble. But we can overcome
that trouble. We have immense resources. We are a
vital and hopeful people and that vitality is felt most
strongly in the city. There is intelligence and initiative
in city hall. There has never been a time in our history
when we have failed to rise to the challenge of crisis.

yes. Our cities must dig into their resources to meet
the challenges of growth and decay. Most of the work
must be done by private initiative. We are a free-enterprise
system and we must be enterprising.

L But the federal government is also ready to help.

Team work
cooperate

This Administration has done so by launching a comprehensive program.

There are proposals for a significant expansion of housing for low- and moderate-income families;

There are proposals to extend FHA mortgage insurance to coordinate planned land development;

There are specially adapted public facility loans for planning and financing community facilities; and

Urban renewal will continue at the present high rate with better planning facilities included.

L At the heart of our help for the city is the Education Bill, a bill which will help more than 90 per cent of the school districts of this country where the help is most needed.

Edgar

This is a great bill, an essential bill, and it will be passed in this Congress.

L Many of you are already deeply involved in developing community action programs in the war on poverty. There are many other federal programs which will help the city -- the Job Corps ... work-training projects ... small business loans. These programs will be ~~expanded~~ expanded.

War on
Poverty

VISTA

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Then there are the many things to be done to conserve and restore natural beauty. This Administration has asked for grants for landscaping ... for acquiring and clearing areas for small parks, and squares and pedestrian malls ... for creating attractive cityscapes along roads and in business areas.

Nat Beauty

L We have also recommended acquisition of new recreation areas and called for a White House Conference on Natural Beauty.

L ~~Finally,~~ and perhaps most important of all, this Administration has proposed establishment of a new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

L Almost every group in this country has a voice at the Cabinet level in this government: but not the city. L That is wrong. I ask you to exert your influence in support of this bill.

L American cities today are at a time of great decision.

L We can be crushed by their unchanneled vitality if we do not impose civilizing controls. But, with hard work and creative thought, we can build centers in our society which create revenue rather than waste it ... which enrich lives rather than destroy them ... which offer opportunity, health and culture to our citizens. Together we can do this task. And now is the time to begin.

① See - America

② International - Sister City Project!

③

SPEECH BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
MARCH 31, 1965

President Henry Maier and Vice President Jerry Cavanagh, members of the executive board, and my very good friends the Mayors of our municipalities, their ladies and the guests that are here. I'm glad that my aide just got in here at the last moment because I said to him, "You know everything's fine on these remarks that I prepared except that I left the things that I really wanted to say back to the office." And I see that he's come about now and has performed his duties with the dispatch that one would expect of a competent assistant.

First, may I say that you've had a wonderful conference. I've looked over your program. And some of us have had a lot of fun here and I hope you all have. I want the Mayors that were not with us yesterday afternoon to know that the President of the United States believes in a policy of non-discrimination and while you can't get everybody in to a meeting or at the White House at one time we intend to keep on with these meetings. And we intend to have further meetings so that we can have the Mayors of all the cities that belong to this great association to be with us.

When my friend the Mayor of Milwaukee introduced me he made some reference to Minneapolis being one of its more illustrious, and he could have said some other kind words about it, one of its finer suburbs, I'm sure that Mayor Naftalin of Minneapolis will properly take care of that sort of, should I say "side remarks." It is hardly worthy of response from the Vice President of the United States. Henry I want you to know that some years ago one of your Senators from Wisconsin stood on the Senate floor and gave a speech about the glories, the beauties, and the wonders of Wisconsin. I happened to be there on that occasion listening to his speech because I am a man that loves fiction as well as fact, and while I was there listening to this speech this Senator became all enthused with his topic. And he lifted himself to new heights of oratorical eloquence. And he said, "Do the members of this Senate

realize that Wisconsin is the gateway to Paradise?" And I arose and said, "Will the Senator yield?" He said, "Yes." And I said, "I realize it, indeed it is the gateway because Paradise is the next State West, Minnesota."

Now, Henry permit me that little luxury because you know politics is an uncertainty. And I like to keep my base back home. This is another way to tell all these young budding politicians in Minnesota not to get too ambitious. Then Jerry, just a word or two for you. I was so impressed when I heard Jerry Cavanagh being introduced as Vice President and I'd really forgotten that Jerry was the Vice President of the National League of Cities. But then I should have known that he was because I see how energetic he is, I see how hard he works, I see how he throws himself in every enterprise with great enthusiasm, and it sort of reminds me of other Vice Presidents. And I'm reminded, I'm also reminded that ad that they have for these drive-yourself cars. We try harder, we have to, we're only number two.

Truly I feel very much at home with my friends of the cities. It was at the 23rd annual convention of the American Municipal Association in Chicago, as has been noted by the distinguished and outstanding Mayor of Milwaukee that I was elected to the Executive Committee of that body. I participated in all of the municipal organizations, representing my city, U.S. Conference of Mayors, the American Municipal Association, and the League of Municipalities. Now we come to this outstanding national organization representing over 13,000 cities and the President of the United States has given me my most interesting assignment when he asked me if I would act as his man, the liaison, the man to work with the Mayors, the representatives of local government, on behalf of this Administration. When he gave me that assignment my eyes sort of just took on a new glow and my whole work as Vice President seemed to take on new meaning. After all, you know, the duties of a Vice President, by law, are rather limited, and sometimes it's a question of some doubt as to just whether

you need a Vice President. But the President of the United States is a man that believes if he has any help around he ought to put it to work, and I can assure you that this distinguished President of ours has had no difficulty at all in finding enough assignments to keep Hubert Humphrey busy for the next few years.

I want to talk to you today about your cities, about our country. I don't look upon cities as being different than the Nation. I am not interested in the business of promoting animosity between State and local government, between Federal and State Government or between Federal, State and local government. I find all too often that those who spend their time conjuring up all sorts of enmity or promoting enmity and animosity between the levels of government, are all too often the very people who have no programs, really have no initiative, and have no vision as to the kind of a society in which they'd like to live. They prefer trouble rather than accomplishment. But nevertheless we have our problems between the levels of government and the time is at hand to take a good look at them.

This morning you heard, or was it yesterday, I believe it was today, from the distinguished economist and public servant, teacher, John Kenneth Galbraith. I had a chance to quickly look through his message and it was, I think, and is, one of the most responsive, constructive and forward-looking messages on municipal government, on the whole area of government, that I've ever had a chance to glance through or to observe. Dr. Galbraith cited to you this morning the changes that have taken place, the change from a rural society into an urban society, everybody knows it, the trouble is nobody seems to want to deal with it. The change of population, and if we had no other problem before us at all between now and the year 2000 and the population growth, it would be enough to keep the most intelligent, wise and statesman-like mayor and municipal official busy for the foreseeable future. Because this

wonderful America that is ours will double its population between now and the year 2000. Everything that we have will have to be bigger, everything that we create will have to be of higher quality, we'll have to improve our management, not only of business and of universities, not only of trade unions and of farms, but we're going to have to improve the management of our areas of government. And that means Federal Government, State Government and local government. Therefore, as citizens first, and then as local officials, let us just settle down to the task of facing the facts of a growing America, not the America of yesterday, that's gone. If you want to study history do so. It gives one an understanding of this Nation, but I have a better suggestion for you. Why not make some history, not only study it, make it for your time, make it for your Administration, make it for our decade, and let's make some good history for the American people and the free world, this the second half of the Twentieth Century. It's the making of history that's the joy of life and the challenge of it. It's the studying of history, yes, that trains the mind. It gives one a sense of perception and of vision and understanding, but it's the action man, it's the can-do man, it's the person that does things, that meets the current problems, that plans for the tomorrows, that really adds chapters of history that can be meaningful to the American people.

Today, yes, two-thirds of our people live in metropolitan areas. Ten years from now 30 million more, five years from today, my fellow Americans, 90 million automobiles on your streets and highways, 90 million, 30 million more than you have now. If you have no other problem than where you're going to park them, how they're going to get in and out of the city, what this mass of steel in the form of a vehicle means to the core city, what it means to your merchants, what it means to your policing, what it means in terms of crime, of traffic safety, if you had no other problem than that, you could spend weeks with the best brains that this country has trying to figure out

the answers. Now this growth of population, which, of course, relates itself, and identifies itself in every other aspect of human endeavor, has come in several forms. One has been the mass migration from our farms to our cities, ladies and gentlemen, this is going to continue primarily because the city seems to offer greater opportunities. One of the reasons that I have interested myself in agricultural economics, one of the reasons as a former mayor of a great city that I spent a good deal of time on farm programs, is because I believe that it was important to America to preserve rural communities, important in terms of social values, important in terms of the problems that big cities are facing with the in-migration of masses of people, hundreds of thousands, yea millions of people, from the rural areas. And mind you, many of the people that migrate from the rural areas today, not all, but many come because of the poverty that drove them from the farm. The poverty of the purse, the poverty due to illiteracy, the poverty due to the inability to adjust themselves to an industrialized modern society. And Mr. Mayor, you're inheriting them, and they come to your cities by the thousands, through no fault of their own particularly, but literally the victim of a fast-moving changing society, the technology of today. And one other change in population has been the mass migration of Negroes out of the South, virtually all to the central cities. And my fellow Americans this is why the problem of race relations is a national problem and a national challenge as well as a local one. Because a Negro that may come from an area where he has been denied education may come to your city where you have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to educate what you thought were your people only to find out that you've inherited from someplace else where the job was not adequately performed, where the educational services were inadequate, where the opportunities were lost and were limited, that person and family comes to your city to leave on your doorstep, on the steps of your welfare

administration, your police administration, your economic structure, serious human problems. We are our brothers keeper. There isn't any such thing as isolating yourself from the others. There is no state in America that has the right to do anything less than the best, and there is no city in America that has any right to have its own standards at the expense of someone else, because in a free society where people can move, where they can get in their car, where they can get on a bus, where they can move from State to State and locality to locality, all Americans must have equal opportunity. And all Americans must be encouraged to make something out of their lives, and all States and all cities, in cooperation with the Federal Government must seek to elevate the quality of life and the standards of opportunity for the American people.

Another aspect of the population problem has been the mass migration of middle- and upper-income people from the core city to the suburbs. We've talked about it time after time, and may I say when the customer starts to leave the store having been brought up as the son of a merchant, it's time to take a look at your merchandise and your displays. When the people start to leave the core city, Mr. Mayor, take a look at the city, there must be a reason. And the reason is obvious, because when people gain a little more income, where their appetites for the better things of life are not merely theoretical but real, then they seek to go where they can commune with nature, where the air is a little cleaner, where the grass is a little greener, where the water is a little purer, where children and mother and family can live a more wholesome existence, and the only way that I know to bring people back into the life of the core city is to make the core city a place that is livable, a place not only where you work and die, but a place where you can live and live the good life with music, with art, with recreation, with social services, with schools, with churches, with neighborhoods, and all

that neighborhoods mean, because neighborhoods mean something more than the accumulation of housing units, neighborhoods are like a person, they have a soul and a spirit and a vitality of their own. And when the core city becomes adulterated or corrupted through misuse and abuse, through lack of care and attention, through loss of beauty, it becomes like a human being that has dissipated his life, and the beauty of life has been extinguished. And only the ugly nature of the physical makeup is left. Yes, these are the changes, the challenges. Now let me make it crystal clear, this great America of ours has room for millions of people. We're not overcrowded. This is the land of opportunity and it should be what we say it is, America the Beautiful. And it should be what we say it is, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. And if you don't believe it quit having the children repeat it, I don't believe that a public official has a right to inculcate hypocrisy in the youth. And we have been asking our young people to repeat this pledge of allegiance to our country, we've been asking them to stand there like little soldiers talking about one Nation, indivisible, one Nation under God, indivisible, and we have not acted as it were one Nation, and we have not acted as if it were indivisible, we have divided it by regions, by ethnic groups, by race, and by jurisdictions of government. And then we talk about liberty and justice for all, and you know as well as you know your name, you know as well as you know that you're in the city of Washington that it has not been liberty and justice for all. It has been liberty and justice for many, but you judge a society not on the basis of the benefit that it gives to the many but you judge a society on what it does for the least of these. That's the difference between the free society and the totalitarian. Because in the free society the individual is important, not the mass. In the totalitarian society the mass, the average, the conglomerate, the aggregate, that's the way they talk. But may I say in

the presence of a distinguished churchman, the whole space of democracy is a spiritual one. It's the only justification for it because democracy is an untidy business of government, but it is the best, not because it is the best in form, not because it is the better or the best in structure, but because we believe that it brings out the best in man and it recognizes that God did create man in his own image, and as such no man has the right to be governed without the consent, without his consent, and no man has the right to be denied the fulfillment of his life's purpose by another man, therefore the duty of government is to promote justice, in liberty, and to make life to the best of our ability, meaningful. At least government should be a constant force of emancipation. It should seek to remove the barriers that stand in the way of the fulfillment of the purpose of life, and government that does that is worthy of the respect of the people. Government that doesn't do that is unworthy of the respect of the people.

Now let me talk to you about a few mundane things. I know that you have problems with your tax base. I know what city growth has done to your tax rates. I know, as was said to you this morning, and I intended to say to you myself as something on my own initiative, that the change of the requirements of revenues for cities today as compared to 50-60 years ago was almost fantastic. The demand for services from the cities increase. The debts of our cities and local governments increase. Why? Because of poor management? To the contrary. Because of more people, because of more needs, because of the requirements of a growing economy. This is no longer agrarian, it is urban. This is no longer a government where the local government tax base is adequate. And we must look forward to a form of revenue-sharing. There must be a way to provide the bloodline, the bloodstream of economics of revenues for the corporate body called the municipality and the local government and the state governments. The Federal Government cannot

continue to absorb the lion's share of the available public resources without making some effort to redistribute some of those resources for the purposes of the needs and the services of local government. And as I've said to some of our mayors in these seminars and studies that we've had, we need to look ahead to the kind of feasible workable program of improving revenues for local instrumentalities, shared revenues. But let me add that with all of your problems magnificent things are happening in our cities, new buildings, beautiful structures are rising, many slums have been cleared out, new beltlines, highways and parkways are being constructed, and more and more of our people live in decent housing, schools by the thousands have been erected, improvement, yes, improvement. But it's always a race, isn't it? Between the city that is in decay and the city that is in growth. And I think the facts reveal it.

We still have over 9 million homes in our cities that are rundown or are deteriorating. And this is why certain mayors have talked to Federal officials this week as they have earlier, about the need of improving our legislative program for cities so that we can do something about preserving neighborhoods that are in the process of deterioration, helping to rehabilitate before they are lost. We need to do this with neighborhoods just as we do with people. We know that we have, imagine in this Nation, 4 million homes without running water or plumbing. Now this ought to be a challenge to every sanitary engineer, to every plumber, to every contractor, if you need an economic motive, there's one, and it surely ought to be a challenge to every public health officer.

But our greatest challenges and our greatest challenge lies before us. Two massive forces are converging on you, the force of growth and force of decay. And by the end of this century, population will double in our urban centers. The need for land will double. We'll have to build again what we built since the first pilgrim set his foot on the Eastern Shores. The problem

is people and the challenge is the quality of lives that people are to live. This is what the Great Society is all about. Our President speaks to us, encourages us and inspires us to the fulfillment of the challenge of the Great Society. And let me say that the Great Society is more than a big bank account. It is more than extra carloadings. It is more than an increase in the gross national product. The Great Society is more than quantity, it is quality. The quality of our life, the quality of our products, the quality of our people, the quality of our art and our culture, the quality of our countryside, the quality of America, because what we're engaged in here is not in building things. We build things in order to help people build better lives. And the city should be the garden of life, not the trashyard. The city should be the inspiration for the good life, not its oppressor, because the city throughout the ages has stood for the rich and the meaningful life. So I say we must build not just housing units but neighborhoods. We must build schools but also educate our children. We must raise income but also preserve and create beauty and there is no time to lose. Why? Because we're engaged in massive waste. We are wasting people. This is the worst of all waste because it's irreplaceable. At the present rate one out of every three children now in the fifth grade in your cities will drop out of school before finishing high school. And my fellow Americans a Nation that lets that happen has permitted an enemy within its midst more dangerous than Communism or any form of fanaticism because a society that refuses or doesn't properly educate its children is a society that forfeits its future, it writes its obituary, and it in a very, very real sense denies itself security and progress. The wisest investment that a parent ever made, and the best investment that a community ever made, was in the finest education that modern brain and technology can provide. And why we should have to exhort Americans for this is beyond me.

It would seem to me that people would be pushing in upon their public officials demanding better, rather than having some public officials say, don't you think we ought to do better. My fellow Americans if one out of three young people in America are to be school dropouts before they finish high school, then America has lived its best days. Because in this competitive world where the totalitarian educates its young whether they like it or not, and where education is an incentive and a motivating force, in the Soviet Union, in Communist China, where there are unbelievable resources of people and materiel, if this great republic and this citadel of freedom doesn't do something more about its educational needs and about coming to grips with the problem of its young people dropping out of school, then this the twentieth century will be our last century of glory.

What else has happened? We are poisoning our streams, our fresh air, and we are. And we ought to be ashamed because these streams were not given to us by any man. These are part of the natural inheritance. These are part of God's gifts. And you have no right, nor do I have any right as a citizen of this generation to leave less than I found. We have no right in the name of profit or industry or progress to pollute the air that we breathe and to pollute the water that is our great resource of recreation and health. One-fifth of our people in this the richest nation of all times, at the period of our greatest wealth one-fifth of our people are poor, they are not sharing in the abundance and the opportunity of this rich nation. This is wrong. But thank goodness that we realize that it's wrong. I think the greatest testimonial to America today, the one that gladdens my heart more than anything, and I know of its power, I think I possibly know more about the power of America than any man in this room because of my privilege of serving on the National Security Council. Unbelievable power, unbelievable wealth, unbelievable discoveries, but my fellow Americans what makes me proudest of

all is that America at its hour of greatest triumph and wealth for the many, had a President, had public officials, civic leaders, spiritual leaders, who reminded us that even though we were rich and mighty, that within the family of our people there were those that were dispossessed, those that had been denied, those that had been forgotten, those that had been passed by. This is the test of character. Can a Nation that is prosperous have a conscience? And the answer comes back today. I say in all reverence, thank God, yes we have a conscience. And that conscience is being aroused as we see little children from broken homes that are sick, mentally retarded, physically retarded, and we have a program called "Head Start" to give these little children a chance so that all of their lives they won't run behind. Surely this country owes everybody an equal starting place. You can't expect some people to be in the race and compete well if they're shackled or if they're put ten paces behind the others.

There's crime in our streets and there is in all too many places a lack of humanity. Yes there is oppression in many parts of our Nation. And every device of human ingenuity has been used to deny some of our citizens their rights. And all of these things, my fellow Americans, must come to an end. They should have come to an end a long time ago. We've paid a terrible price for bitterness. We've paid a terrible price for racism. I would have thought that Hitler would have taught us that lesson. How much madness does this world need, how much tragedy, before we learn the lessons of human conduct? You really don't have to be a modern theoretician, truly you don't have to go to a great university to learn these basic truths, because the truths have been known. Do unto others as you would have them do unto you, as I heard last evening and as I've heard all my life. Put yourself in the other fellow's position and see how you would react. And you'd be surprised of the answers that you come up with.

Our greatest need is that of understanding. Our greatest sin is that of the closed mind, of the prejudiced attitude, of the bigoted spirit. And in this America of ours, my fellow Americans, there is no room for bigotry, racial or religious, for intolerance, for discrimination and for all of the evil forces of human nature. We have to try to discipline ourselves and we do it where we live. We do it in our daily lives, we do it in our cities. And what we do as individuals we have the right to try to translate into public policy. And if we believe certain of these truths individually, then we should believe them by law and by ordinance and by administrative action. So the worst damage is not to our physical structure but to the human spirit. The lack of an opportunity can crush the soul, so can the lack of an education, or even the lack, yes, of decent housing, or the lack of a green place for a child to play. Children were not brought up to play on concrete, that is not the natural habitat. Parks are as important to life as bread and clean air is as important to life as clean thoughts. And clean water is as important to life as sanitary food. And the things that I speak of we do in the public sector as well as the private. Yes, our cities are in some trouble but I say we can do something about it, that's the best thing. I'm not an old pessimist, I guess I'm a born optimist. And I'm an advocate. The first thing we need to do in all though is the problem and once we understand the problem then we turn that problem into a challenge. Once we understand the difficulty, we turn it into an opportunity because you can go around and moan and groan for the next hundred years about the problems, and you can talk about the good old days, and they never were any good anyhow and you know it. The best days are ahead. If the best days aren't ahead then there'll be no more days. That's one of the advantages of living in this turbulent and troublesome world of ours, of the nuclear age. Either we do better or we won't do at all. Either we go ahead or we end up in

catastrophe.

It's sort of like my dad told me one time. I said, "Dad, I can't afford these things." He said, "Son, you get a little bit into debt and you work a little harder and you'll start to afford them."

I said to dad one time, "You know I'm a little bit worried." I remember when our first little baby was on the way, I said, "Dad, what am I going to do." I said, "I, I, we don't even have enough money to sort of take care of ourselves." He said, "Well, son if I'd a thought about affording you, you'd still been just a dream and a wistful thought."

So, I'm not advocating that one just be totally carefree. But I am saying that occasionally a problem can be (laughter) I am saying that once in a while a problem can be a challenge.

Yes, you know I had the advantage of fine, practical, philosophical father. I don't like to tell people what not to do because you seldom get a very good response. My father never once ever told me what time to go to bed. He never scolded me for coming in late, never. But he was the best getter-upper in the entire county. And I asked him years later, I said, "Dad, why was it that you never ever scolded me for coming in at those unbelievable hours." And I must confess they were slightly late. Mother used to think so. And he said, "Well I just figured out if you didn't have enough sense to know, that you couldn't get in at 3, and 4 o'clock in the morning and get up at 6 and go to work, you weren't worth savin'."

So I am the getter-upper type. If you want to stay out all night, if we want to waste our money a little bit over there, that's your privilege, that's freedom of choice. But there are some things we have to do. And we need to take a look at the resources that we have to to them, and we have them. We have a vital and a hopeful people, and that vitality is felt most strongly in the city. There is an intelligence and there is an initiative

in City Hall. And there has never been a time that our cities and our people haven't been able to rise to the challenge of crisis. So I ask our cities to dig in, working with government at Federal and State level, but remembering primarily that most of the work must be done by private initiative, because we are a free enterprise system. And that means that we must be enterprising. But the Federal Government is prepared to be on the team, on the team. I learned as chairman of the Space Council, looking into these great activities of our space scientists, that the only way you get anything done in this time and this period of human existence is by cooperation, putting together the best that you have. Now the totalitarian has a way of doing it. The Communist society just orders it, it owns everything. It has what they call Statism or State Capitalism. We have a different system. Our Government is but a part of our total economy. Our Government is only a section of our power. It is essentially a free economy. So in this economy we must cooperate and have unity rather than to have somebody dominate and have unanimity.

And cooperation requires intelligence, persuasion, motivation. It also requires understanding. Now we've placed before the Congress a number of proposals that mean something to your cities. I shan't go through each and every one of them but to say for the first time that a President of the United States has presented a comprehensive urban message to the Congress. Not just a housing message but an urban message including the establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. And I ask every Mayor here that believes ^{that} / his government is big and complex, and surely it is, I ask you to help us streamline this government in terms of the municipal activities, the things that we can do as a cooperative partner with our cities. And how do we get that job done? Why not have in the government a Department that represents cities, just as we have in this government a Department that

represents business, and represents labor, and represents agriculture. I think the time is long overdue and it's nobody else's fault but our own. And let's make this year of 1965 the banner year for the city in the Congress of the United States.

Now my friends I want to just move along quickly because I've kept you for sometime. There are community action programs awaiting your direction in this war on poverty. And this poverty is much of it in your area, sure to be sure in rural areas too. And we want to work with you on these programs. And then there are other things that we can do. As some of you heard from the President yesterday, let's make our cities a little more beautiful. Let's take seriously this challenge of natural beauty, every courthouse ought to represent not merely the government, every city hall ought not to merely represent a municipality, but the grounds around the city hall should be veritable gardens.

Say what you will about the kings and the royalty of Europe, they never ever once put up a public structure but what there was a garden around it. At least they had some respect for the esthetic nature of man. And if those who add little or no regard for the great multitude of people could take the time and expend the resources for marvelous gardens around palaces, it would seem to me that mayors and county commissioners and governors might take a little more time to encourage a few little gardens, a few shrubs, bushes and trees, around the city hall, tear up a little of that concrete, it'll give somebody a job. Besides that let the people take a look at good old mother earth. It's there, it purifies itself to the sunlight. Plant seeds, start the program.

And might I add, Mr. Mayor, having been one myself, that if you will enforce your housing ordinances and your class ordinances, and your cleanup ordinances, as well as your traffic officers enforce your parking ordinances,

you'd have the most beautiful city in all of America.

Or can I put it negatively, why not a few tags and tickets for overflowing garbage cans? Why not a few tags and tickets for people that refuse to take care of their properties? Why not, let me say better a few incentives to garden clubs with the horticulturists, the botanists, with the P.T.A., with the mothers, with the Scouts, with the Four H'ers, with whatever you have to work with, to get your city spruced up, cleaned up, make it lovely. Why? Because we're going to ask people to come see you.

There's a massive program being launched this year to See America. And I've been talking to some of you Mayors, and my goodness, if everything is as good in your city as you say it is, the whole world ought to come see you.

I don't want to choose up sides. I think all your cities are marvelous but I want to just venture a daring guess, I think there is room for improvement in each and every one. We want you to make your city a mecca for the visitor. We want you to have your city top Number One on the Hit Parade list of where the visitor should come, whether it's a foreign visitor or a domestic one. And may I say to my friends on the Eastern Seaboard, when you go West you go further than Buffalo. And may I say to my friends in the Far West, when you go East you'll go further than Denver. Get to see America. Open it up, the highways are here, the roads are here, the hotels, the motels, the cars. And if some of us would just get a little of that spirit of braggadocio and then back it up with just a little substance, if we just start to talk about our cities and our States, and our countryside, if we'd start to tell the story of the wonders of America, I have a feeling that more people would be interested in travelling up and down the Mississippi, rather than on the Rhine, or the Rhone, or some other river in faraway places. So see America, and continue

your great efforts in the Sister City program. I want you to know that this program means a great deal to our country because this is the way that we carry the spirit of America and the diplomacy of America to the people of the world, and place it in the hands of those persons who have common denominators and common aspirations.

Now I would be negligent if I didn't ask you to support something else, because we're not just municipal officials or public officials. For the belief that the world need not destroy itself by war. We need to believe this. We need to believe that mankind has the intelligence to settle his problems without nuclear capacity. And we need to believe that we Americans can help others to find a better society. Now we hear many voices these days saying that America is over-extended in this world. And I imagine ~~that~~ all of us have said it at times. And we hear people say that other problems in other parts of the world, other people's problems are not ours. We have those voices that say we ought to close up shop overseas and come home and enjoy our luxuries and fruits here in good old USA.

My fellow Americans, when that time comes that we just pull up, close up shop and come home, this Nation is doomed. I ask these questions, who in this world will work for freedom, die for it, struggle for it, if we do not. We are the leaders, we're the powerful ones, we're the privileged. Your America and my America consumes over fifty percent of everything that's produced and sold in the world. We 192 million Americans consume and produce 50 percent of all the goods of the world. So when somebody says we do too much, isn't it a fair question to ask, do we have too much, if you were the other fellow? Who in the world, I ask you, can preserve the peace if we do not? Our adversaries are not interested in peace. Theirs is the world of chaos, of disorder, and of violence. Ours is the world of

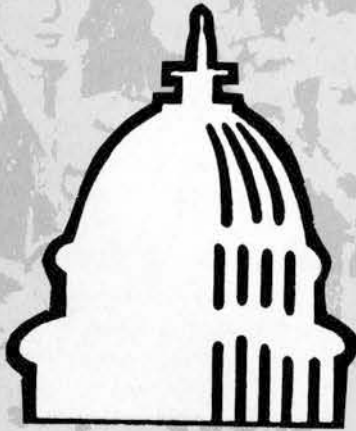
peace, of order and of justice. And who in the world can set the example, can offer the needed hand, if we do not. We live in a time when everything is difficult. There are no easy, quick answers. We live in a time when we must exert our perseverance and our patience as never before. But the question I ask is, have we the patience? Have we the patience, for instance, to bleed, to struggle, and to die 5,000, 7,000 miles away from home, for months and for years. And not even be sure of ultimate success. Well I can tell you this my friends, if we lack the patience, if we lack the perseverance, our enemies do not, because the totalitarian has that patience. He seeks it not to blow this world to pieces, he seeks to pick it up piece by piece.

What I've said to you today is, in my mind, what the Great Society is all about. It is, as I've said from many a platform, the recognition that the material goods of life are not just enough. It is a recognition that we stand for something, not seen before in this world. That we stand for human dignity, for human rights, for the rich and the poor, for the strong and the weak, for the white and the black. That we stand for the fulfillment of individual man and woman. And we stand for something else too. We stand for the chance for each person to make something better of himself. And we stand for free speech. Freedom to worship. For human dignity. We stand for government of the people, and by the people, for the people. And we stand for peace with honor, peace through strength, peace without conquest. We stand too for the belief that others in less fortunate places should have the opportunities for the blessings of abundance and should be free from tyranny. We stand for freedom, and we seek to broaden those horizons of opportunity. And we stand for the pledge made by men and women years ago who left the old ways and fought out a living out of a soil of a new continent.

This is what America is all about. This is why we're in public life,

not to enrich ourselves but to give of ourselves. And what the world needs today from America more than it's ever needed anything at any time, is an example of selflessness, an example of courage with generosity, of bravery with compassion, and, above all, a responsibility at home and abroad. And I call upon the local officials that are ^{here} to stand with your President and your country and making this commitment that America will not only have been what will continue to be the last, best hope on earth. And in the words of Lincoln, "With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, we shall do the right."

PROCEEDINGS



First National Legislative Conference of the NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

ADVISORY ORGANIZATIONS

United States Conference of Mayors
International City Managers Association
American Association of Port Authorities
American Institute of Planners
American Public Works Association
American Waterworks Association
Building Officials Conference of America
Institute Of Traffic Engineers
International Association of Assessing Officers

International Association of Chiefs of Police
International Association of Fire Chiefs
International Institute of Municipal Clerks
Municipal Finance Officers Association
National Association of Housing and
Redevelopment Officials
National Institute of Municipal Law Officers
National Recreation Association
Water Pollution Control Federation

March 30 - April 1, 1965, Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

America's cities have a new name for their national organization. Known since 1924 as the American Municipal Association, it became the National League of Cities on December 12, 1964, the 40th anniversary of its founding. Coincident with the change of name has come an expanded program of services for the nation's cities, more than 13,000 of which are represented in the National League through their state leagues and through direct, voluntary membership.

For nearly 20 years the basis for the association's entire activities has been the formulation and implementation of the National Municipal Policy, a guideline of actions for local, state, and national governments to improve and strengthen municipal government and thereby strengthen the whole republic. To make more effective the implementation of those portions of the National Municipal Policy which call for action by the federal government the League in 1965 has not only expanded its legislative staff and its committee activities, but also organized and conducted its first National Legislative Conference March 30-April 1, 1965 in Washington, D. C.

The purpose of the conference was not to formulate any new national municipal policies, a process which is undertaken at the League's annual Congress of Cities. Its purpose was to focus attention of the general public and of their representatives in the national government upon the problems of cities and on various proposals being considered for their solution. It was particularly timely because of the greatly accelerated attention being given to the problems of urban America by both the President of the United States and the U. S. Congress, resulting in more significant legislative proposals affecting cities than ever before in the history of this country.

Joining with the National League of Cities as advisory organizations were the national and international associations of municipal officials listed on the cover of these proceedings. Thus, the occasion also marked the beginning of a new relationship between associations of municipal governments and their officials at the national level, a relationship which we hope will continue and grow stronger in the future.

So many requests were received for copies of speeches given at the conference that publication of complete proceedings became a necessity. We recommend the many excellent papers published herein as excellent reference material for officials at all levels of government.

Patrick Healy
Executive Director

May 17, 1965

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NATIONAL GOALS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

by

Henry W. Maier, President
Mayor, City of Milwaukee

This morning we begin our First National Legislative Conference. During this little Congress of Cities, we will take a close look at our own policies — and also examine the policies, programs and proposals of the Federal Government.

We hope to leave this meeting with sounder positions for our League. We hope to take home a more complete picture of the Federal Urban Program. And we hope to leave behind us here in Washington a deeper, fuller realization of the needs and aspirations of our urban areas.

We have before us a heavy agenda.

It includes the work of fourteen of our committees going over the National Municipal Policy. When these committees are convened again in Detroit at the annual Congress of Cities this summer, they will have the facts and the expert opinion needed to develop an outstanding document of goals and proposed action for our municipal governments. In addition, the committees will have status reports from consultants concerning federal legislation and administration which relates to our policy. We will be in a position to evaluate national efforts to meet our goals and to press for action where performance does not equal the need.

This conference will set before us the views of our national leaders on the role of our communities in national progress. We will hear from our Vice President, from cabinet officers, senators and congressmen, as well as federal agency heads and our distinguished keynote speaker, John Kenneth Galbraith — the man who discovered affluence. We hope this will be a two way conversation. We shall learn much of the problems and programs of our national government, its goals and plans. In turn, these national leaders will learn of our municipal problems and goals.

At the age of forty, life is just beginning for our League. Last year your Executive Committee, under the leadership of Mayor John Collins, devoted considerable time and energy to reshaping the League — to make it into an instrument more responsive to our needs, to make it more flexible in its organization. Life has genuinely begun anew in this forty-first year. This National Legislative Conference is the bench mark of that beginning. It would be worth the effort if all we did here was to conduct a workshop on the operation of the Federal Government in urban affairs. But that is only a side benefit of the meeting. Our main effort here is to achieve national recognition of the nation's most significant problem — the urban problem.

The President has said that the city is at the center of our society. In this age of cities, the future of America is one with the future of the streets of our own municipalities. This then is

"truly the time of decision for the American City."

While we cannot here legislate, while we cannot direct, while we cannot appropriate federal funds, we can bring to this most important capital of the world a national urban presence. And that presence can speak in the name of the 13,000 municipalities in which more than two-thirds of America now lives.

Our message to the Federal Government in Washington in this meeting is that the urban problems of this country cannot be put off, cannot be ignored, cannot be played down if we wish to have progress and prosperity in the future. Our message is that the federal leaders in Washington must work with and through the leaders of our communities.

The year of 1965 should be the turning point for our cities. We are fast approaching a time when self-government may lose its meaning as we know it. In years past, it was possible to talk of municipal problems as purely local matters, as issues and concerns of the "City Fathers." That simply isn't true today. Great urban regions have come into being; rural populations are moving steadily to our urban areas; national economic shifts create problems and prospects for large and small communities alike. We now live in the new age of mass communication when problems in one small town can overnight become the top agenda topic in Washington, D. C., the state capital, all of our major cities all over urban America. Today's headlines anywhere can and do generate tomorrow's action at home.

Where do our municipalities stand in this national pattern of change and dynamism? Here is where most of the nation's major domestic issues must be met. We face the first impact of events. We stand on the firing line day by day. We make the first and most critical response to the issues, the poisoning of our air and water, blight and decay, slum conditions and, indeed, human relations themselves. At the same time, we must provide the basic framework of services and programs which distinguish urban life. As every practicing mayor knows, his job is no longer the sedate overseeing of routine services. We must lay down a whole new range of programs.

We do this in the face of a steady decline of our taxing resources and against a relentless escalation of our local budgets. Prohibited from lucrative tax fields by state and federal pre-emption, on the one hand, we must carry superimposed obligations, on the other. While we must act with renewed vigor to sustain a dignified environment for the families of America we have, as cities, remained something of a forgotten child, sharing last in the funding of government in our nation. Our objective here in this Conference is to come to full partnership in the councils of government for our nation. We have made a beginning.

In this year of 1965, we meet at the point of decision for Urban America. Do we continue down the road of doing things the same old way, the road of status quo — the road that leads to the twilight of our cities? Or do we take the high road — the way of experimentation and innovation that leads to a shining future. Our nation can move up this bright road. It cannot move, however, without our strong, unified leadership. The time when we could sit back and wait for a benevolent state capital or Washington to act someday on our behalf has passed. Someday must be today.

Our mission in Washington is to carry this message to the Federal Government. We must show the way to move forward. Let it be known that we came to this Washington Conference on the crest of a wave of leadership for a rightful consideration of community needs by the national government.

The present administration in Washington has made several moves which we welcome and applaud. President Johnson, as you know, designated Vice President Humphrey as the coordinator

of federal urban programs. The Vice President met with a representative group of mayors on March 8 and with a second group yesterday. He has given us assurances that federal-local problems can be brought to his office and, if necessary, moved on to the President's desk. This is sound progress in federal attention to our concerns. It is the kind of progress which we want to retain in future administrations, for it is crystal clear that urban problems have no partisan character. Whether the President is Republican, Democrat, or Vegetarian.

Our work is set before us, then. When we return home, as before we came here, we will continue the effort to preserve the peace, protect the public, develop the framework for an abundant and satisfying life for our citizens. But we must also grasp this opportunity placed before us by our President to establish a dialogue with Washington and to insist that federal efforts are consistent with our local programs.

On the national level we seek a national program of public works assistance — not limited to the so-called depressed areas or to certain population groups as were the accelerated public works program or the community facilities loan program — but equally available to all cities. There has been much recent talk about preservation and development of the beauty of our great country. We support the efforts which will be made in this field. But beauty without improvements in local public works — streets, sewer and water systems, public buildings, mass transit systems, expressways, bridges, tunnels, the necessary facilities for a growing and prosperous local economy — this backlog is approaching 100 billion dollars. Practically all of this construction will be financed at the community level, but help is needed and we must seek it.

In our great metropolitan areas, government is often a crosspatch of relationships and jurisdictions. We seek a rationalization of current federal programs so that an even and related development can take place throughout these giant regions. A step in this direction will be the enactment of the proposed Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1965, and we urge its enactment.

For all our cities we seek a cabinet officer as our representative in the highest councils of the Federal Executive Branch and we back legislation towards this end. This should not be a move towards federal domination of our independent municipalities. Rather, it should be a reasonable development of local government representation in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. We insist that this officer of government be our man, that he serve and advance our cause, and that he remain responsive to our objectives. Indeed, we ask for a secretary of a department of housing and urban development as a step in maximizing home rule. And we warn that this cannot be considered as a department for big cities only with another agency handling the concerns of smaller communities. While the problems of great and small cities vary in scale, the intensity of the impact of these problems and their strain on resources give all of our cities a common concern.

The President's recent message to Congress on the cities was followed by the omnibus housing and urban development bill for this year. The legislation provides for extension of many of the basic programs which cities are using in the continuing effort to revitalize their blighted areas. Enactment of the legislation is vital to our interests. We must note, however, that some amendments to the legislation should be sought. It is clear that the urban renewal program should be financed at a level of at least 1 billion dollars per year — not 750 million by 1963 as proposed by the administration. I further think that the "New Communities Proposal" should be evaluated with extreme care. We do not want to see an instrument created to add further complication to our rapidly expanding metropolitan areas. Nor do we want to see one more inducement to encourage the flight of leadership from our established communities. We should, in short, seek an improved bill, but we cannot lose sight of the fact that a bill is indispensable.

Cities have faced and fought poverty since long before the official declaration of hostilities. We welcome, therefore, the recent interest of our national government in the eradication of

poverty, just as a nation long at war with a dreadful enemy welcomes a powerful ally. This program must be adequately funded by Congress and must remain intimately related to the communities which are on the front line of the effort. The administrators of this program should see our local programs as the first step on the road to victory over the common enemy. We entered the fray first, we've been there the longest, and we'll be there after the campaign has ended.

There are other federal programs and actions which we could enumerate — but I do not think that we need exhaust the list. It is time, for example, that the Federal Government became a good citizen locally by establishing an equitable system of payments in lieu of real property taxes just as it should dispose of and construct federal property in accordance with local plans and codes.

Careful attention should be given to the Water Pollution Control Program in the near future. The President has expressed himself strongly on this subject. He is seeking to make the Potomac River a model river, and he wants all rivers free of pollution. We support the clean-up of our nation's waterways but we note that in the past almost all of the effort has come from local governments. If we are to accelerate our efforts locally, then Congress and the Administration should consider more appropriate federal incentives related more clearly to local costs and needs.

These, then, are some of the goals of our National League. These are some of the goals of this Conference.

We are here on a serious mission — a better life for the citizens of Urban America.

Let us not lose sight of this goal during this First National Legislative Conference. This meeting can be, it will be, what we make of it.

Let's make it then, not only a historic first for the National League of Cities, but a vital mark of progress towards the attainment of our dream of the good life in the good city in an age of greatness for Urban America.



NATIONAL URBAN ISSUES

by

John Kenneth Galbraith
Professor of Economics, Harvard University

This is the first time I have ever been invited to give a Keynote Address. It is a peculiar ceremonial among our folk arts. A keynoter is judged by the resonance of the oratory, never by the content of his words. The latter, judging by experience gleaned at national conventions and elsewhere, is often pretty thin. In recent years, I have had some diplomatic experience; that is not bad training in saying nothing with unction and force. Still I don't think I would have run the risk with this art form had it not been for the intercession of one of the more effective public servants in the United States. I refer, of course, to my friend John F. Collins, the mayor of Boston. A man who can persuade Boston to reform itself sitting down is not easy to resist by anyone as naturally malleable as I am.

I do not appear here today as an expert on urban problems. To the extent that I have any qualifications on this subject, it is that of an ordinary victim. Rather I wish to speak as a social historian. I would like to try to place the problems with which you are struggling — in my view the most serious domestic problems of our time — in the context of such social history. And then I would like to suggest a few broad political tenets on which all of you — Democrat, non-partisan, Republican; western, eastern, southern; statesman, operator — should unite in search for a solution. We have all heard of the lady who learned, rather late in life, that all these years she had been speaking prose. My task this morning is to persuade you that you are living history. And, as the lady unquestionably was impressed by the need to make a contribution to prose, so, perhaps, the knowledge that you are historic figures will strengthen not only your dignity but your determination.

The nineteen-twenties and the nineteen-thirties, in the United States, were the years of our great agrarian crisis. They are so established in our history. In those years a technological revolution, the counterpart of the first industrial revolution, struck our rural communities; it turned agriculture from an enterprise dependent on animal and human power to a mechanized industry. It turned it also from a major user of manpower to a minor one. And it marked our change from a nation where population, economic life and political power were based on the farms and small towns to one where, increasingly, these would center on the cities. Such readjustments are not easy; these were painful years in the farm belt and not all of the difficulties of this transition have yet been eased or erased. It also cost a great deal of money. The Federal Government spent generously on the readjustment.

If the twenties and thirties were the years of agricultural crisis, the fifties and sixties will be known as those of the urban crisis. The urban crisis is not yet as formed in our mind as was the farm crisis. I would like to suggest something of its form. Four elements are evident.

The first element, which I have already mentioned, is the rapid and continuing diminution of rural America as a significant source of employment. In all history until the present century, most men made their living growing food and producing fiber. Cities were islands in the rural landscape; they existed on the small surplus which the farmer or peasant had left over after filling his own stomach. The number of farms in the United States, which was 6.5 million in 1920, is now down to around 3.5 million, and the bulk of the food is produced on fewer than a million. In 1929, 30.6 million people lived on farms or 25 percent of the population. By 1964, the number had dropped to 13 million or 6.7 percent. With this decline of agricultural population has gone the decline of the rural community that served agriculture. We have become, for all practical purposes, a city — and suburban — state.

The second element which forms the urban crisis is the growth of our population. To those going to the cities from the farms and small towns, have been added those coming from heaven or wherever, in this sophisticated age, small babies are said to come. Our population which was 76 million in 1900 is now 192 million. Our birthrate is declining; we do not have the really explosive birthrate of the countries which cannot afford it. But, by the end of the century, we will have a population of around 300 million and most of them will be in the cities.

The third element of the urban crisis involves a conflict between social philosophy and social reality. For close on to two centuries, it has been argued that man could meet most of his needs from the private sector of the economy — from the market. The public economy was a necessary evil — a cost to be born by the producers. The man who made a case for improved public services had to be kept on a close rein; at best, he was a spendthrift. At worst, he was an exponent of socialism.

The private market economy, subject always to a variety of public services and a certain amount of refined rigging, did not serve badly the agrarian and early industrial economy. Adam Smith was not wrong for his time. Nor was Thomas Jefferson. The market continues to have a large area of useful service. But the market and the private economy do not meet the urgent and civilizing needs of our cities. It does not provide schools, police and fire departments. Nor does it provide parks, traffic control or good libraries. It is rather efficient, considering the difficulties interposed by men, in providing heroin, cocaine and other solvents of reality. It does nothing to deal with the consequences of drug addiction. As I have said, on other occasions, the market will provide vacuum cleaners to keep our houses clean but not sweepers to clean the streets and one key index of progress is that we have clean houses and filthy streets. The market cannot be relied upon for transportation into and within the metropolis, as we are gradually discovering. Nor can it be relied upon to provide desirable patterns of destruction and construction or even livable patterns of growth. (Even that arch-exponent of laissez-faire and Barry Goldwater and the tribune of the unreconstructed right, Mr. William Buckley, has recently come out against General Motors and the destruction of the Savoy Plaza. However, one imagines that Marx, on occasion, may have been miffed at the Post Office.) One of the reasons cities such as Florence, pre-war Dresden or Fatehpur-Sikri are (or were) so charming was that they were built before the age of classical economics when no one imagined that a city could grow without plan in accordance with the dictates of private profit and the real estate market. The city is a public enterprise; in very large measure, it must be a planned economy; we will provide the requisite sustenance only if this is recognized. Yet such is the religious commitment to an ideology appropriate to an earlier agrarian society that we have been most reluctant to concede these highly pragmatic truths. We have some people, at least, who are prepared to make urban existence impossible in pursuit of a principle.

The fourth and final element of the crisis lies in the relationship between our several units of government. It can be quickly summarized: with economic growth, expanding population and increasing urbanization go increased public revenues and increased social problems. The Federal

Government, broadly speaking, gets the revenues. The states and especially the cities get the problems. As our fiscal system is now arranged; the fruits go one place, the burdens of growth go another. In 1902, 51 percent of public revenues were received by localities and 38 percent by the Federal Government. By 1962, localities were collecting 19 percent; the Federal Government was collecting 63 percent.¹ I venture to think that the problems of public management — the national security apart — have grown in roughly the reverse proportion. We have here, and no one should be in the slightest doubt as to the fact, a fundamental flaw in social design.

Men have anciently asked for the grace to accept what cannot be changed and the power to change what can be changed and the ability to distinguish between the two. Some elements of the urban crisis cannot be altered — at least by a mayor. Urbanization will continue. So, although the birthrate has been declining, will population growth. We can hope, in the future, that neither the stampede to the cities nor to the delivery rooms will be entirely unplanned. But both will continue. The other elements of the crisis can be altered, and must.

We must bring social doctrine abreast of circumstance. We live in our cities as we live in our houses; both require and respond to planned attention and liberal investment. Public needs are constantly increasing. There will be rare and eccentric instances where an administrative genius can get more services out of the same amount of money. But, generally speaking, we must assume that a mayor who does not have a steadily expanding outlay is abdicating his responsibilities. In accordance with the cherished procedures of our democracy, he should be thrown out on his can.

We must bring our public living standard up to our private living standard. And our goals in public housekeeping must be eclectic. It is not sufficient that you improve the services of your cities, although that is important. And it is not sufficient that you enhance their prosperity, although that is important. All must also look forward to the day when mayors, on leaving office, will be principally asked whether they have left their cities more beautiful than when they took over. That will be the real test as to whether you get a statue in the park and go on to be a United States Senator or return to the private practice of law.

As regards our cities, the doctrines of laissez-faire and the primacy of the private economy are in their last gasp. Not even conservatives seriously avow them. The future belongs to those who see and proudly avow that our cities are a public enterprise. In the end, private enterprise will also flourish in the clean, well-groomed, well-planned cities that educate their young and take seriously their claims to beauty. And it will desert the others.

But, most important, the present error in our fiscal design must be corrected. As I have noted, there is no worthwhile improvement that does not cost money. And, with economic growth, the money flows in upon the Federal Government while the problems flow in upon the cities and the states. While our cities starve for funds, the Federal Government contemplates new tax reductions to keep an excess of revenues from imposing a fiscal drag on the economy. The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, is, perhaps, the only public official in the world who spends his time exploring ways and means of winning support for tax reduction. Mr. Henry Fowler, President Johnson's new and distinguished nominee for this post, should be required to pay something to have such a pleasant job.

We have already taken some steps to correct this gross anomaly. A downstream flow of funds from Washington to the states and, in enlarged volume, to the localities has long been a feature of the American Federal system. Federal payments to the states and localities which (in constant 1962 dollars) were \$2.00 per capita in 1927 were \$15.00 per capita in 1940 and \$41.00 per capita in 1962. The states paid \$10.00 per capita to localities in 1927; \$28.00 in 1940 and \$58.00 in 1962.² In speaking of greatly increased Federal assistance to local functions we are not speaking of any new or radical departure. We are speaking of the need to bring an old

instrument much more strongly to the service of a now deeply aggravated problem.

Discussion of Federal aid to states and localities in the past has been affected by the dead hand of doctrine. In a Jeffersonian society, it was not needed. Though Jefferson wouldn't have applied his principles to Harlem or the South Side, his less discriminating disciples apply them everywhere. And, as often happens, the doctrine has been embraced by those who sense its pecuniary advantage. Were the Federal Government to come seriously to the assistance of states and localities, with their multitude of needs, it would cost money. Federal taxes, particularly the income tax, fall heavily on the comfortable and well-to-do. It is hard to argue for a policy of being tender to the rich. But if it can be made a matter of high and ancient principle, nothing could be more agreeable.

We can no longer afford this nonsense. Nor can we take seriously any longer the ancient fear that the independence of states and local governments will be prejudiced by Federal aid. This fear is still voiced only by a few stalwart conservatives, mayors and governors, before taking office. After their first budget, they invariably find their character far stronger than they imagined. They discover they can take Federal funds without doing it any damage at all. We know, as a matter of long experience, that states and localities can survive Federal assistance. It is far less certain that they can survive indefinitely fiscal starvation.

I think there is great merit in Walter Heller's idea of a general reallocation of Federal revenues to states and localities. If you are serious about your problems, this proposal, or some close variant, should have your support.

By the same token, you must take a strong line against further Federal tax reduction as long as local needs are as pressing as at present. To be reducing Federal taxes while our localities starve for funds makes no sense. I would have preferred to see the excise taxes, which are about to be reduced, collected and redistributed to states and localities. Certainly we must have no other tax reductions while our needs are so great. Resistance to such myopic and regressive economics, even though it has a superficial aspect of modernity, must be at the very top of your political agenda.

The new Department of Housing and Urban Development should also, of course, be high on your agenda. It will be a natural focal point for your interests — an executive lobby if you will — and one that is much needed. It is equally needed as an instrument for urban planning. You must, however, be sure that it is a fresh and vigorous spokesman for all of the needs of the cities and not the mere defender of urban redevelopment, public housing and the other vested bureaucracies and entrenched programs. Cabinet status is not a cure for bureaucratic arteriosclerosis or a failure of public imagination. On the whole, the Department of Agriculture has worked imaginatively for rural America. The cities should ask for something just as good — and the \$6,357 billion for which agriculture is budgeted in fiscal 1966 should also be a subject for your thoughtful reflection.

The political changes which the cities require — particularly the redirection of Federal revenues, the resistance to tax reduction and the regeneration of the agencies serving urban America — will not be achieved by political incantation and prayer. They will come about only by exercise of political power. And here I come to my last suggestion; it also arises from our earlier experience with the rural crisis.

That crisis brought an extremely able group of senators and congressmen to Washington. They remained in town and tended to business. They also, at important periods, submerged sectarian and partisan differences and worked together to meet the needs of the farmer. There was, we may remind ourselves, a Farm Bloc. They acted this way because absentee, indifferent,

uncommitted, uncooperative or lazy legislators were a luxury rural America could not afford.

Urban legislators are still far, far below this standard. They work less hard; they are less often in town; they pursue special interests rather than the broad spectrum requirements of their urban constituency; and one does not sense a common feeling of responsibility for the urban crisis and its solution. More than anything else, the attitude of the urban legislator explains why the cities do so badly in Washington. They rise admirably to issues involving civil rights, social security, trade unions and Israel. But the paradox of urban fiscal starvation and Federal tax policy arouses no cohesive interest. Nor do other specifically urban issues.

Some of you, at least, are not helpless in this matter. I urge you to see that your representatives are better spokesman for the cities — or to band your efforts to getting new ones. My plea is wholly non-partisan. I am not suggesting that Democrats be replaced with Republicans — I am suggesting only that useless Democrats be replaced with good Democrats. But do go over the list.

Let me conclude with one word of comfort. The hardest jobs are the most interesting. They are also the source of the greatest possible honor. In the old days of isolation it was pleasant being Secretary of State — but hardly worthwhile. When theft of public property was a major hazard, everyone had his eye fixed on the Secretary of the Interior. Nothing does so much for a Secretary of Labor as a rash of strikes. In the months and years ahead, the urban crisis and its attendant disorders and disasters will amply insure your distinction. I congratulate you on this.

1. The Costs of American Governments. Frederick C. Mosher and Orville F. Poland. Dodd Mead, 1963, p. 63. State governments during the period increased their share from 11 to 18 percent.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 54, 56.



REMARKS

by

The Vice President of the United States

Hubert H. Humphrey

I want you to know that the President of the United States believes in a policy of non-discrimination. Since you can't get everyone into a meeting over at the White House at one time, we intend to keep on with these meetings. We want the mayors of all the cities who belong to this great association to meet and talk with us.

I feel very much at home with my friends in the cities. At the 23rd Annual American Municipal Congress in Chicago, as the distinguished and outstanding mayor of Milwaukee mentioned, I was elected to your Executive Committee. I participated in all of the municipal organizations — the League of Minnesota Municipalities, the American Municipal Association (now N.L.C.) and the U. S. Conference of Mayors.

The President of the United States has given me my most interesting assignment. He asked me if I would act as his liaison man to work with the mayors, the representatives of local government, on behalf of this administration. When he gave me that assignment my eyes sort of took on a new glow, and my work as Vice President seemed to take on new meaning. After all, you know, the duties of the Vice President are rather limited and sometimes there is a question whether you need a Vice President. But the President of the United States is a man who believes that, if he has any help around, he ought to put it to work. And I can assure you that this distinguished President of ours is having no difficulty at all in finding assignments to keep Hubert Humphrey busy for the next few years.

I want to talk to you today about your cities and about our country. I don't look upon cities as being different from the nation. I am not interested in the business of promoting animosity between state and local government, between Federal and state government, or between Federal, state and local government. I find all too often that those who spend their time conjuring up all sorts of enmity or promoting animosity between the levels of government are all too often the very people who have no program, who really have no initiative or vision for the kind of society in which they'd like to live. They prefer trouble to accomplishment. Nevertheless, we have our problems between the levels of government, and the time has come to take a good look at them.

This morning you heard from the distinguished economist, public servant and teacher, John Kenneth Galbraith. I had a chance to look through his message and it was one of the most responsive, constructive and forward looking messages on municipal government that I have ever read. Dr. Galbraith cited the changes we have experienced as our society changed from rural to urban. Everybody knows about it, but nobody seems to want to deal with it. The growth in population, without considering other problems we will experience between now and the year 2000, would be enough to keep the most intelligent, wise, and statesmanlike mayor and municipal official busy for the foreseeable future.

This wonderful America that is ours will nearly double its population between now and the year 2000. Everything that we have will have to be bigger; everything that we create will have to be of higher quality. We'll have to improve our management of, not only business and universities, not only trade unions and farms, but all areas of government. That means Federal Government, state government and local government. Therefore as citizens first, and then as local officials, let us just settle down to the task of facing the facts of a growing America. Not the America of yesterday, that's gone. If you want to study history, do so, it gives one an understanding of his nation. But I have a better suggestion for you. Why not make history, rather than study it? Make it for your town, make it for your administration, and while doing so let's make some good history for the American people and the free world during this the second half of the twentieth century. It's the making of history that is the joy and challenge of life. History gives one a sense of perception, vision and understanding, but it is the action man, the can-do man, who does things to meet current problems, who really adds chapters of history which will be meaningful to the American people.

Today, two-thirds of our people live in metropolitan areas. Ten years from now 30 million more. Five years from today 90 million automobiles will be on your streets and highways — 30 million more than at present. If you had no other problems than where to park them and how to get them in and out of the city, you could spend weeks with the best brains of this country trying to figure out the answers.

This growth of population, which of course relates to and identifies with every other aspect of human endeavor, has come in several forms. One has been the mass migration from our farms to our cities. This is going to continue because the city seems to offer greater opportunity. One of the reasons that I have interested myself, as a former mayor of a great city, in agricultural economics is because I believe that it is important to America to preserve rural communities. It is important in terms of social values, important in terms of the problems that big cities are facing with the in-migration of masses of people by the millions from the rural areas. Not all, but many of the people who migrate from the rural areas today come because of the poverty of the farm. The poverty of the purse, the poverty of illiteracy, the poverty of an inability to adjust to a modern industrialized society. And, Mr. Mayor, you inherit their poverty. They come to your cities by the thousands as victims of a fast-moving, changing society — the technology of today.

Another change in population has resulted from the vast migration of Negroes out of the South, virtually all coming to the central cities. This is why the problem of race relations is a national problem and challenge, as well as a local one. Negroes who come to your city from areas where they have been denied education, leave on your doorstep serious welfare, economic and human problems. We are our brother's keeper. There isn't any such thing as isolating yourself from the others. There is no state in America which has the right to do anything less than the best, and there is no city in America which has any right to have its own standards at the expense of others. In a free society, such as America's, where people can move from state to state, and from locality to locality, all people must have equal opportunity. And all Americans must be encouraged to make something out of their lives, and all states and all cities, in cooperation with the Federal Government, must work to elevate the quality of life and the standard of opportunity for the people of our nation.

Another aspect of the population problem has been the mass migration of middle and upper income people from the core city to the suburbs. We've talked about it many times. May I say, having been brought up as the son of a merchant, that when customers start to leave the store, it's time to take a look at your merchandise and displays. When the people start to leave the core city, Mr. Mayor, take a look at the city. There must be a reason, it is obvious. When people gain a little more income and when their appetites for the better things of life become real instead of merely theoretical, they seek to go where they can commune with nature, where their air is a little cleaner, where the grass is a little greener, where the water is a little purer, where the family can live a more wholesome existence. And the only way that I know to bring them back into the life of the core city is to make it a place that is liveable — a place where you do more than work and die, a place where you can live and live the good life with music, art, recreation, social services, schools, churches, neighborhoods. Neighborhoods are more than an accumulation of housing units. They are like a person; they have a soul and a spirit and a vitality of their own. When the core city becomes adulterated or corrupted through misuse and abuse, through lack of care and attention, through loss of beauty, it becomes like a human being who has dissipated his life, and its beauty has been extinguished and only the ugly nature of the physical makeup is left. Yes, these are the changes, the challenges.

Now let me make it crystal clear: this great America of ours has room for millions of people. We're not overcrowded. This is the land of opportunity, and it should be what we say it is — America the beautiful. It should be what we say it is — one nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. We have been asking our young people to repeat the pledge of allegiance to our country, we have been asking them to stand there like little soldiers talking about one nation under God, indivisible, but we have not acted as though it were one nation, and we have not acted as though it were indivisible. We have divided it by allegiance, by ethnic groups, by races, and by jurisdictions of government. Then we talk about liberty, and justice for all. You know as well as you know your name that it has not been liberty and justice for all. It has been liberty and justice for many, but you judge a society, not on the basis of the benefits it gives to many, but on what it does for the least of these. That's the difference between the free society and the totalitarian. In the free society the individual is important, not the mass. In the totalitarian society the mass, the aggregate, is important. May I say in the presence of a distinguished churchman, that the whole spectrum of democracy is a spiritual one. It's the only justification for it. Democracy is the best government, not because it is the best in form and not because it is the best in structure, but because we believe that it brings out the best in man. It recognizes that God did create man in his own image and that, as such, no man has the right to govern him without his consent, and no man should be denied the opportunity to fulfill his life's purpose. Therefore, the duty of government is to promote equal justice and equal liberty in order to make life meaningful. Government should be a constant force for emancipation. It should seek to remove the barriers that stand in the way of the fulfillment of the purpose of life. A government which does that is worthy of the respect of the people. Government which does not do that is unworthy of the respect of the people.

Now let me talk about a few mundane things. I know that you have problems with your tax base. I know what city growth has done to your tax rate. I know that the changes in the requirements for revenues by cities today, as compared to 50 or 60 years ago, have been almost fantastic. The demand for services from the cities increase, and the debts of our cities and local governments increase. Why? Not because of poor management but because of more people, greater needs, and the requirements of a growing economy. Our country is no longer agrarian, it is urban. Local government tax bases are no longer adequate, and we must look forward to a form of revenue sharing. A way must be found to provide the blood stream of economics with revenues for the corporate body called the municipality and for the state governments. As I have said to many mayors in seminars, we need to look ahead to the kind of peaceful, workable program for improving the

revenue sources for local government.

But let me add that, with all of your problems, magnificent things are happening in our cities. New buildings, beautiful structures, are rising. Many slums have been cleared away. New beltways, highways and parkways are being constructed, and more and more of our people live in decent housing. Schools by the thousands have been erected. We have experienced improvement, vast improvement.

But it always is a race isn't it? A race between the city that is in decay and the city that is in growth. I think the facts reveal it. We still have over nine million homes in our cities that are run-down or deteriorated. This is why certain mayors have talked to federal officials this week, as they have earlier, about the need for improving our legislative programs for the cities so that we can do something about preserving neighborhoods that are in the process of becoming deteriorated. We need to do this with neighborhoods as we do with people. We know that we have four million homes without running water or plumbing. Now this ought to be a challenge to every public health officer, sanitary engineer, plumber and contractor. If you need an economic motive, there is one.

Our greatest challenge lies before us. Two massive forces are converging on us — the force of growth and the force of decay. By the end of this century population growth will have doubled in our urban centers. The need for land will double. We will have to build again what we built when the first pilgrim set his foot on the eastern shores. The problem is people, and the challenge is the quality of life that people are to live. This is what the Great Society is all about. Our President encourages and inspires us to fulfill the challenge of the Great Society.

The Great Society is more than a big bank account. It is more than an extra car loading. It is more than an increase in the gross national product. The Great Society is more than quantity. It is quality. The quality of our life, the quality of our products, the quality of our people, the quality of our art and our culture, the quality of our countryside, the quality of America. Because what we are engaged in is not building things, but building in order to help the people build better lives. And the city should be the guardian of life, not the trash yard. The city should be the inspiration for a good life, not its oppressor, because the city throughout the ages has stood for the rich and the meaningful life. So I say we must build, not just housing units, but neighborhoods. We must build schools, and also educate our children. We must raise income, and also preserve and create beauty.

There is no time to lose. Why? Because we are engaged in massive waste. We're wasting people. This is the worst of all waste because they are irreplaceable. At the present rate, one out of every three children now in the fifth grade will drop out of school before finishing high school. My fellow Americans, a nation that lets that happen has permitted an enemy, more dangerous than communism or any form of fanaticism, to operate within its midst. A society that refuses or doesn't properly educate its children is a society that forfeits its future; it writes its own obituary by denying itself security and progress. The wisest investment that a parent ever makes and the best investment that a community ever makes is in the finest education that modern brains and technology can provide. Why we should have to exhort Americans for this is beyond me. It seems to me that people should be pushing their public officials for better facilities and services, rather than having some public official say, "Don't you think we ought to provide them?" My fellow Americans, if one out of three young people in America is to be a school dropout before finishing high school, then America has lived its best age. In this competitive world, where the totalitarian state educates its young whether they like it or not — and where education is an incentive and a motivating force in the Soviet Union and Communist China, our great republic and citadel of freedom must do something more about its educational needs and about coming to grips with the problem of its young people dropping out of school. If it doesn't, the twentieth century will be our last century of growing.

What else is happening? We're poisoning our streams and our fresh air. And we ought to be

ashamed, because these are part of our natural inheritance, part of God's gift. And you have no right, nor do I have any right as a citizen of this generation, to leave less than we found. We have no right in the name of profit or industry or progress to pollute the air that we breathe and to pollute the water, that great resource for recreation and health.

One-fifth of the people in this, the richest nation of all times, at the period of its greatest wealth, are poor. They are not sharing in the abundance and the opportunity of this rich nation. This is wrong, but thank goodness that we realize that it is wrong. I think the greatest testimonial to America today, the one that gladdens my heart more than anything I know of, is its power. I think I possibly know more about the power of America than any man in this room because of my privilege of serving on the National Security Council. It has unbelievable power, unbelievable wealth, and unbelievable discoveries, but what makes me even prouder is that America has a President, public officials, and civic and spiritual leaders who remind us, even though we are rich and mighty, within the family of our people there are those who are dispossessed, who have been denied, who have been forgotten, who have been passed by.

This has been the test of America's character — that a nation which is prosperous can have a conscience. The answer comes back today. I say in all reverence, thank God; yes, America does have a conscience. That conscience is being aroused as we see little children from broken homes that are sick, mentally retarded, physically retarded. We have a program called Headstart to give these little children a chance so they won't run behind all of their lives. Surely this country owes everybody an equal starting place. You can't expect some people in the race to compete well if they're shackled or if they're put ten paces behind the others.

There is crime in our streets, and there is, in all too many places, a lack of humanity. Yes, there is oppression in many parts of our nation. Every device of human ingenuity has been used to deny some of our citizens their rights, and all of these things must come to an end. They should have come to an end a long time ago, and we've paid a terrible price for bitterness. We paid a terrible price for racism. I would have thought that Hitler would have taught us that lesson. How much madness does this world need, how much tragedy, before we learn the lessons of human conduct? You really don't have to be a modern theoretician, or go to a great university to learn these basic truths. The truth is known — "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," as I have heard all my life. Put yourself in the other fellow's position and see how you would react. You'd be surprised with the answers that you'd come up with.

Our greatest need is that of understanding. Our greatest sin is that of the closed mind, of the prejudiced attitude, of the bigoted spirit. In this America of ours there is no room for bigotry, racial or religious, for intolerance, for discrimination or for all of the evil forces of human nature. We have to try to discipline ourselves, especially where we live our daily lives, and what we do as individuals we have a right to try to translate into public policy. If we believe certain of these truths, then we should breathe them by law, ordinance and administrative order. The worst damage is not to our physical structure, but to the human spirit. The lack of an opportunity can crush the soul — the lack of education, the lack of decent housing or the lack of a green place for a child to play in. Children were not born to play on concrete. Parks are as important to life as bread. Clean air is as important to us as clean thoughts, and clean water is as important to life as sanitary food. The things that I speak of we do in the public sector, as well as the private.

Yes, our cities are in some trouble, but I say we can do something about it. I'm not an old pessimist; I guess I'm a born optimist, and I'm a born advocate. The first thing we need to know is the problem, and once we understand the problem we can turn that problem into a challenge. Once we understand the difficulty, we can turn it into an opportunity. We can go out and moan and groan for the next hundred years about the problem, and you can talk about the good old days — they never were good anyhow, and you know it. The best days are ahead; if the best days aren't

ahead then there'll be no more days. That is one of the advantages of living in this turbulent, troubled world of ours, the Nuclear Age. Either we do better or we won't do at all. Either we go ahead or we end up in catastrophe.

There are some things we have to do. We need to take a look at the resources that we have. But we have the resources; we have a vital and hopeful people, and that vitality has developed most strongly in the cities. There is intelligence and there is initiative in city hall, and there's never been a time that our cities, our people, have been unable to rise to the challenge of crisis.

So I ask our cities to dig in, to start working with government, at both federal and state levels, remembering primarily that most of the work must be done by private initiative. We are a free enterprise system, and that means that we must be enterprising. The Federal Government is prepared to be on the team. I learned, as Chairman of the Space Council, that the only way you get anything done, in this time and this period of human existence, is by cooperation, by putting together the best that you have. Now the totalitarian state has a way of doing this — the communist society just orders it since it rules everything. It has what is called statism or state capitalism. We have a different system. Our government is but a part of our total economy. Our government is only a section of our power. It is essentially a free economy. So in this economy we must cooperate and have unity, rather than to have somebody dominate and have unanimity. Cooperation requires intelligence, persuasion, motivation and understanding.

We have placed before the Congress a number of proposals that mean something to your cities. I can't go through each and every one of them, except to say that, for the first time, the President of the United States has presented a comprehensive urban message to the Congress. It is not just a housing message, but an urban message which includes the establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Development. I ask every mayor here to believe that his government is big and complex. I ask you to help us streamline this government in terms of municipal activities — the things that we can do as a cooperative partner with our cities. How do we get that job done? Why not have in the government a department that represents cities just as we have departments that represent business, labor and agriculture. I think a Department of Housing and Urban Development is long overdue — it is nobody's fault but our own — but let's make 1965 the banner year for the cities in the Congress of the United States.

There are community action programs awaiting your direction. This War on Poverty applies to rural as well as urban areas. We want to work with you on this program. Then there are other things that we can do, as some of you heard from the President yesterday. Let's make the cities a little more beautiful. Let's take seriously this challenge of natural beauty — every courthouse ought to represent not merely the government, every city hall ought not to merely represent the municipality. The grounds around the city hall should be veritable gardens. Say what you will about the kings and the royalty of Europe; they never ever once built a big public structure but there was a garden around it. At least they had some respect for the aesthetic nature of man. If those who had little or no regard for the great multitude of people could take the time and expend the resources for marvelous gardens around palaces, it seems to me that mayors, county commissioners and governors might take a little more time to encourage a few little gardens, shrubs, bushes and trees around public buildings. Tear up a little of that concrete. It'll give somebody a job. Besides that, let the people take a look at good old mother earth. It's there; it purifies itself through the sunlight. Plant the seeds, start the program. And might I add, Mr. Mayor, that if you'll enforce your housing ordinances, your trash ordinances, your cleanup ordinances and your parking ordinances, you will have the most beautiful city in all of America. Or, negatively, why not a few tags and tickets for overflowing garbage cans and why not a few tags and tickets for people who refuse to take care of their property. Let's offer a few incentives to the garden clubs, the horticulturist, the botanist, the PTA, the mothers, the Scouts, the 4-Hers, whatever you have to work with so that you can get

your city spruced up and cleaned up. Why? Because we're going to ask people to come see you.

There is a massive program on this year called "See America". I have been talking to some of you mayors, and if everything is as good in your city as you say it is, the whole world ought to come see it. Now I don't want to choose up sides; I think all your cities are marvelous. But I want to just venture a guess that there is room for improvement in every one. We want to make your city a Mecca for the visitor. We want your city to be number one on the hit parade list of places where visitors both foreign and domestic should come. And, may I say to my friends on the eastern seaboard that when you go West, you go farther than Buffalo. And, may I say to my friends in the Far West that when you go East, you go farther than Denver. See America, open it up; the highways, the hotels, the motels and the cars are here. If some of us would just get that spirit of adventure, and then back it up with just a little substance, if we just start to talk about our cities, our states and our countryside, if we start to tell the stories of the wonders of America, I have a feeling that more people would be interested in traveling up and down the Mississippi rather than on the Rhine or the Rhone or some other river in far away places.

Continue your great efforts in the sister city program. I want you to know that this program means a great deal to our country because it is the way you carry the spirit of America and the diplomacy of America to the peoples of the world and place it in the hands of people who have aspirations similar to yours.

I would be negligent if I didn't ask you to support something else. We're not just municipal officials, but public officials, so believe that the world need not destroy itself by war. We need to believe this, we need to believe that mankind has the intelligence to solve this problem without nuclear catastrophe. We need to believe that we Americans can help others to find a better society. Now we hear many voices these days saying that America is over extended in this war. I imagine that all of us have said it at times. We hear people say that problems in other parts of the world, are not our problems. We have heard those voices say we ought to close up shop overseas, come home and enjoy the luxuries and food here in the good old USA. My fellow Americans, when that time comes, this nation is doomed. I ask these questions: Who in this world will work for freedom, die for it and struggle for it, if we do not? We're the leaders, we're the powerful ones; we're the privileged. Your America, my America, consumes over fifty percent of everything that is produced and sold in the world. We 192 million Americans consume and produce fifty percent of all the goods of the world. So when somebody says we do too much, isn't it a fair question to ask whether we have too much? If you were the other fellow, who in the world would you ask to preserve the peace if you don't ask the United States. Our adversaries are not interested in peace — theirs is the world of chaos, disorder and violence while ours is the world of peace, order and justice. Who in the world can set the example, offer the needed hand, if we do not?

We live in a time when everything is difficult. There are no easy, quick answers. We live in a time when we must exert our preservance for peace as never before. So the question I ask is whether we have the patience to bleed, to struggle and to die five thousand, seven thousand, miles away from home for months and for years without being sure of ultimate success. Well, I can tell you this my friends, if we lack the patience or the perseverance, our enemies do not. The totalitarian state has that patience and seeks, if not to blow this world to pieces, to pick it up piece by piece.

What I've said to you today is what I believe the Great Society is all about. It is, as I've said from many a platform, the recognition that the material goods of life are not just enough, it is the recognition that we stand for something. That we stand for human dignity, for human rights, for the rich and the poor, for the strong and the weak, for the white and the black. We stand for the fulfillment of the individual man and woman, and we stand for the chance for each person to make something better of himself. We stand for free speech, freedom of worship, human dignity.

We stand for government of the people and by the people and for the people.

And we stand for peace for them — peace through strength, peace without conflict. We stand also for the belief that others in less fortunate places should have the opportunity for the blessing of abundance and should be freed from tyranny. We stand for freedom, and we seek to broaden horizons of opportunity. We stand for the pledge made by men and women years ago who left the old ways and fought a living out of the soil of a new continent.

This is what America is all about, this is why we're in public life — not to enrich ourselves but to give of ourselves. What the world needs today from America more than it has ever needed anything, at any time, is an example of selflessness, of courage, of generosity, of laboring with compassion and, above all, of responsibility at home and abroad. And I call upon the local officials who are here to stand with our President and our country. Help fulfill the commitment that America will not only have been, but will continue to be, the last and best hope on earth.

And, in the words of Lincoln, "With fullness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, we shall do the right."



LEGISLATIVE EFFECTIVENESS — THE MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS
IN THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Speech by

Albert Rains, Former Chairman, Housing
Subcommittee, United States House of Representatives

Your keynote address almost took the core out of the speech I'm supposed to make about legislative effectiveness. However, I still have some things to say, as one who has battled the cities in Congress for nearly 20 years.

In the first place, the most important constituent a Congressman has is his mayor. And, while it is true that a great many of the members of Congress who come from the big urban centers are not as well versed in the affairs or the problems of urban development as others are, there is a reason for this. The Congress of the United States operates by the ancient committee method, and legislation is written in the committees. This old established system in the Congress has been based upon seniority since the beginning, and there is nothing you can do about changing it. The men and the women in the Congress of the United States who write the laws are the ones who hold a top committee assignment and who have been there long enough to exert the power and wield the influence necessary to get legislation passed.

Before I came to Congress many years ago, I was a member of the Alabama legislature; in fact I was the floor leader for the cities of my state when I was a youngster. I always said that you could send all but 20 out of the 106 members of the Alabama legislature home and you would get the same result. As a matter of fact, the result might have been better. And, while I don't want to say anything unkind about any of my colleagues, past, present or future, I would make the same statement — increase the numbers somewhat — about the Congress of the United States.

The simple truth is that the mayors and the city officials of this country have failed to keep up good liaison with their members of Congress. A Congressman likes one thing — publicity in the form of recognition for what he has done and his votes. This recognition can take the form of contributions when a campaign comes along. We often talk about private interests, and they do occupy much of a Congressman's thinking, particularly during a campaign when contributions are being made. We might as well face the facts as they really are.

The mayors of this country would do well to find the time to become more active politically, especially with regard to selecting the type of Congressmen and Senators that are needed in the Congress of the United States. They should become active, not in terms of just making a speech or appearing on television for him, but in terms of helping him with the miriade of problems that a man in public life has to bear, especially when he runs for office every two years. Now, I've been in local government, I've been a city attorney, I've been all the way up through the steps of local government; and I recognize the pains and sorrows of outrageous fortune that a mayor suffers. But, if you think that is a tough job, you ought to try being a United States Congressman when you are running for

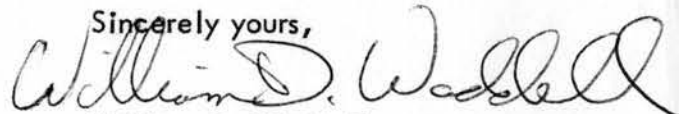
November 12, 1965

Mr. Neal Peterson
Assistant to the Vice President
Room 711
1626 K Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Peterson:

Thank you for sending us the enclosed copy of the "Proceedings of the First National Legislative Conference of the National League of Cities" for our consideration.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William D. Waddell".

William D. Waddell
Editor

WDW/cpl



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