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no sp
me in Senate

X Hedley Donovan
X Bob W. Lauder

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON CITY LIFE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DECEMBER 9, 1965

Upholds Compulsions
Talker

It is indeed a privilege for me to participate
in this symposium on "The Troubled Environment"
sponsored by the ACTION Council for Better Cities.

I have long admired the numerous action
programs you have sponsored--programs dealing
with the complex tasks of living, working, and
traveling within our urban areas.

The Council has been instrumental in
stimulating creative thinking and action in such
areas as community mobilization, urban research
and education, and technical services.

↳ So it is not surprising that ACTION should sponsor this symposium on the most confounding -- and crucial -- problem of them all, the relationship of the socially and economically deprived residents of urban America to the vital task of urban development. *#1 Bomester Challenge*

↳ It is especially significant that this symposium is not just trying to understand the nature of these complex and challenging issues.

↳ You are also asking the critical questions:

↳ What can we do about them?

How can we make our contribution in the struggle to rescue our cities?

~~in~~ President Johnson noted last year in his historic message to the Congress on housing and urban development: "Whatever the scale of its programs, the Federal Government will only be able to do a small part of what is required. The vast bulk of resources and energy, of talent and toil, will have to come from state and local governments, private interests and individual citizens..."

As the President also noted in this important message--and as I am sure this symposium will demonstrate--"...We do not have all the answers... we need more thought and wisdom and knowledge as we painfully struggle to identify the ills, the dangers and the cures for the American city."

Obvious

↳ Consider our present state of affairs. Within the past two years:

↳ --Congress has established a Department of Housing and Urban Development;

↳ --Congress has agreed that a system of rent supplements for low-income families should be developed to supplement the traditional approach of public housing;

↳ --Congress has enacted new and expanded programs to fight air and water pollution;

↳ --Congress has established a program of urban mass transportation and approved the construction of a mass transit system in the District of Columbia;

↳ --Congress has passed historic education laws
and an expanded poverty program to provide new
weapons for an attack on the educational and
social problems of the slums;

↳ --Congress has passed a variety of new housing
and urban redevelopment programs, designed
especially to avoid mistakes of the past and to meet
needs of the future.

*open spaces
recreation*

↳ Yet it is clear we are only at the beginning.

The design by which we shall overcome the
shame of enduring slums, in the richest nation
in the world, is still unclear.

↳ It is unclear to the government.

↳ It is unclear to the experts.

And our recent efforts -- while making progress in many areas -- have also demonstrated the complexity and tenacity of the problems which confront us.

↳ We have learned there are no simple solutions...and no single answers.

↳ We are open to the widest and most creative thinking in this field, from builders and land developers, planners and architects, mayors and bankers, political scientists and businessmen.

↳ In this spirit, we look forward eagerly to the conclusions and recommendations of this symposium.

↳ ~~Although~~ ^{while} we have not yet produced the design that contains all the answers, we are coming to understand more fully the most pressing problem facing us in our cities.

It is this, to eradicate the explosive combination
of poor housing...poor schools and inadequate
public services...high rates of unemployment and
crime...and the prejudice and discrimination which
comprise the slums of urban America.

All other urban problems pale by comparison.
And until we are capable of improving the lives of
people--largely Negro--who live in these areas
passed over by our national prosperity and
affluence, we will be stymied in all other attempts
to restore and redevelop our cities.

We are sophisticated enough to know that
physical slums alone do not produce the economic
and social problems concentrated there.

↳ If it were possible to replace overnight the tenements in our great cities with new housing, we would not at the same time overcome unemployment, juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, poor education, ill health, and family breakdown.

↳ For this reason ^{the} President ~~Johnson~~ has stressed the importance of mounting comprehensive area-wide attacks on the interrelated problems of housing, employment, education, crime, and health.

↳ Only as we attack simultaneously the problems generated by both the physical environment and socio-economic conditions can we hope to make significant progress in this difficult struggle.

One of the most significant tasks of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development will be to assist our cities in organizing this type of comprehensive attack. In this regard, the following matters merit priority attention:

① --First, we must grasp the relationship between increased income of slum residents and their ability to secure more adequate housing and other services from the private and public sectors.

As the poor achieve the level in our economic structure where honest choices are open to them in ~~securing~~ housing, I am confident the forces of our free enterprise system will respond to this market.

The housing industry has provided millions of middle-income Americans with good housing, in quality and physical facilities.

∟ The problem has been that large numbers of our people -- especially those caught in our urban ghettos -- cannot bid for this housing in the private market.

∟ For this reason, the success of the war on poverty and related programs is critically important in our struggle to build better cities.

It is also necessary to continue our programs of public housing as authorized in the Omnibus Housing Act of 1965 and, in particular, to secure appropriations as promptly as possible for the rent supplements program authorized in the same legislation.

{ Public Housing

Rent

∟ The rent supplement approach is a new attempt to provide low income housing in partnership with the private sector of our economy -- low income housing that is attractive

and does not carry the stigma associated with mammoth institutionalized public housing projects. This approach must be given a full and fair trial.

↳ It is also essential that housing be made available to all Americans on a non-discriminatory basis. Persons who can afford housing cannot have that opportunity denied to them because of prejudice and discrimination.

↳ As in the field of employment, there exists in the area of housing ample opportunity for voluntary private action by builders, real estate agents, and bankers.

↳ But, there also exists a responsibility for government at all levels to take appropriate steps if that voluntary action is not effective in meeting this serious problem

② L-- Secondly, we must understand the urgent necessity to provide quality education in our slum areas.

L Our schools can rescue millions of youngsters caught in the downward spiral of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency, dependency and despair.

Here is the chance to disprove the myth that children from slum areas are unable to learn-- that schools can only provide some form of custodial care until they drop out and become unemployed or delinquent.

*what
negative
thinking.*

Each child is an adventure into a new tomorrow--an opportunity to break the old pattern and make it new. Today we have the chance to make that pattern one of self-esteem, self-respect, ambition and responsibility. Project Head Start, for example, is showing us what can be done to give children an early start on these things.

*Head
Start*

③ Thirdly, we must use fully, and wisely, existing programs for urban redevelopment and rehabilitation.

As the Omnibus Housing Act of 1965 demonstrated, we have provided new and more

flexible tools in this complicated and difficult business
of rebuilding or restoring blighted areas in a selective
manner that recognizes the legitimate interest of the
existing residents. And which preserves the unique
character of neighborhoods.

neighborhoods

④ It is, however, incumbent upon our states and
local governments to develop imaginative programs which
put these new tools into effective operation.

Cooperate

④ -- Finally, in our efforts to develop area-wide responses
to the fundamental problems of housing, transportation,
education, and employment, we must not ignore the
smaller dimension wherein the individual can experience
the rewards of a rich and varied life.

④ In particular, government policy must be directed toward
encouraging the restoration and, where necessary, the creation
of vibrant and living neighborhood communities.

↳ In the final analysis, a city cannot simply be a place to live... to work... to exist.

↳ A city must be a community in the deepest meaning of the word--a combination of material and spiritual resources which provides every individual an opportunity to lead a secure and meaningful existence.

People

↳ This involves a concern for humane and intimate details--as well as a determination to conquer the major social and economic ills. This means a concern for the small park, the corner store, the neighborhood center and recreational area.

People

↳ These are some of the matters which deserve priority attention as our states and local governments, in partnership with the federal

government, mount comprehensive attacks on the urban slums and ghettos of America.

↳ But the problem of the slums is largely a problem bequeathed to us by the past.

↳ The problems of the future raise very different considerations.

↳ We know that the next few decades will see a great increase in American population, and an even greater increase in urban population.

Population

↳ Americans hope that the next wave of urban expansion will provide a better environment than the last wave created.

↳ The suburban expansion of the late forties and fifties provided good housing, but in most cases it did not provide the essential elements of good communities.

L I am not one of the critics of American suburbia.
It is a remarkable accomplishment, one which has provided
more good housing for more people than perhaps any
development in history.

L But the planning 20 years ago that guided the
construction of schools, transportation facilities, waste
and water systems, and civic facilities often was not enough.

L Today, our people are better educated, more prosperous,
and legitimately demand that their living environment should
work as well as their well-engineered kitchens and family
rooms. (*environment - space*)

L This is primarily a task for private and corporate
imagination. ~~the~~

L Government -- acting alone -- is not sufficiently
flexible or sufficiently free from a variety of pressures
to build good and imaginative towns.

↳ But I believe government can help provide the basic facilities, the framework in which local initiative, private enterprise and non-profit groups can build good towns.

↳ Government, at all levels, ~~help~~ can create stronger and more enlightened planning instruments to help make key public decisions as to where and how the urban expansion should take place.

↳ It can explore measures which might reduce land costs in urban development.

↳ It can provide government loans for good quality and far-sighted planning and building of water supply and waste disposal facilities.

↳ It can provide the funds for good the transportation planning, and for/building of a mass transit system to supplement the freeway system.

↳ It can provide loans and grants for better schools and better cultural and recreational facilities.

I feel all these are appropriate tasks.

↳ But, beyond all these, we need a good ^{deal} of creativity and imagination, from architects and planners, political leaders and social and political experts, builders and land developers, the great corporations and great financial institutions that are increasingly drawn into the field of urban development.

Business

↳ The programs of the federal government are often attacked for the failures of American urban development--inadequate planning, urban sprawl, barrack-like public housing, poor public transportation, poor recreational and social facilities.

↳ Certainly we must shoulder a good deal of the blame.

↳ But as we develop new legislation, new approaches, I believe more and more of the responsibility for urban development -- its failures and its successes -- will be properly in the hands of local communities and the private forces of the development.

↳ In this process -- as has happened in a number of cities -- the business community can play a vital and major role.

↳ It can provide some of the money for local planning -- some of the talent necessary to analyze problems and devise solutions -- some of the public support we will need.

∟ The intellectual and financial resources of our universities and foundations are also needed. ∟ The educational community must not be fearful of grappling with these intractable problems. ∟ The university must not just be a tower of ivory, but a tower of strength in the daily life of the people.

∟ And I believe these additional resources can help provide the imagination and creative thinking that will produce American cities to match and surpass anything we have achieved so far.

∟ There is one factor which must not be overlooked: For the first time in history we possess the resources to create cities that reflect man's highest aspirations. }

While we do not presently have all the answers, I, for one, do not doubt for a minute our ability to discover them. Nor do I doubt our capacity to implement these solutions once they have been discovered.

And what an exciting challenge this is. !!

Is there a higher calling than liberating millions of our fellow Americans from the vicious trap of deprivation and defeat? Is there any task more vital than improving the quality of life for every American?

And as we progress along this difficult road -- as we build cities worthy of the human spirit -- we will be preserving for countless generations the values of our nation and civilization.

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The Council has been instrumental in stimulating creative thinking and action in such areas as community mobilization, urban research and education, and technical services.

So it is not surprising that ACTION should sponsor this symposium on the most confounding -- and crucial -- problem of them all: the relationship of the socially and economically deprived residents of urban America to the vital task of urban development.

It is especially significant that this symposium is not just trying to understand the nature of these complex and challenging issues.

You are also asking critical questions:

What can we do about them?

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As President Johnson noted last year in his historic message to the Congress on housing and urban development: "Whatever the scale of its programs, the Federal Government will only be able to do a small part of what is required. The vast bulk of resources and energy, of talent and toil, will have to come from state and local governments, private interests and individual citizens..."

As the President also noted in this important message -- and as I am sure this symposium will demonstrate -- "...We do not have all the answers...we need more thought and wisdom and knowledge as we painfully struggle to identify the ills, the

dangers and the cures for the American city."

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All other urban problems pale by comparison. And until we are capable of improving the lives of people--largely Negro--who live in these areas passed over by our national prosperity and affluence, we will be stymied in all other attempts to restore and redevelop our cities.

We are sophisticated enough to know that physical slums alone do not produce the economic and social problems concentrated there.

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A C T I O N

Council for Better Cities

Luncheon

SPEECH OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

Washington, D. C.

December 9, 1965

WARD & PAUL

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

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A C T I O N

Council for Better Cities

Luncheon

- - -

December 9, 1965

1:35 p.m.

- - -

SPEECH OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

OF THE UNITED STATES

WARD & PAUL

Blue Room - Shoreham Hotel

Washington, D. C.

917 G St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.

1 (Applause.)

2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

3 Thank you very much, my good friend, Phil Putznick
4 and I will vouch for every word that you have said, all those
5 complimentary words in particular. Every once in a while, Phil,
6 when I am out on the speaking circuit, someone has contacted
7 the State Department and receives one of those official notes
8 that explains the proper protocol in introducing members of
9 this government and for some reason or another, it generally
10 says just "The Vice President." And I am so happy that you
11 didn't call because I like to hear some nice things every once
12 in a while, too.

13 (Laughter.)

14 This isn't always the easiest job and you might know that
15 occasionally I get a little lonesome for your words of praise
16 and your expression of friendship.

17 (Laughter.)

18 I am very happy that it is my good fortune to be a partici-
19 pant in this symposium. I have been looking over your program
20 as it was printed and as it was sent to me some time ago. And
21 I see that it is much like many other things in the world,
22 slightly changed.

23 (Laughter.)

24 My name is not Wilbur Cohen.

25 (Laughter.)

1 Wilbur is an honorable man and he is a very competent,
2 able public official and I don't want him to get into any
3 trouble for the things that I say here today.

4 (Laughter.)

5 It is bad enough for me to be in trouble, but I am more
6 accustomed to it than Wilbur is. And I notice also that Mr.
7 Hedley Donovan is going to have the closing luncheon address,
8 but I gather he has already given the address of this confer-
9 ence. And I have heard so many words of praise about it that I
10 thought I would just get in on the act and let him know that
11 we might be pleased and proud of his participation and statement.

12 There is one other observation that I should like to make
13 before I indulge myself into the topic of the day, and that is
14 sort of a similarity between Phil Putznick and Hubert Humphrey.
15 Phil has been chairman of this conference for a day and a half
16 and has not been permitted to make a speech. I have been the
17 presiding officer of the United States Senate ever since
18 January, and during the time that I was the presiding officer
19 of the Senate under the rules of the Senate I have not been
20 able to make a speech. I have been able but not permitted to
21 make a speech.

22 (Laughter.)

23 No crueler punishment could have ever been given out.--

24 (Laughter.)

25 to the Vice President. I sometimes think that some of the

enthusiastic support which I had amongst my colleagues prior to the Atlantic City Convention was based upon their feeling that this is the only way to get even with this fellow and shut him up.

(Laughter.)

But I think you would be interested in knowing that all rules of the Senate were suspended on one occasion and at the unanimous consent request of Geirge Aiken of Vermont I was given three minutes.

(Laughter.)

And I rationed it.

(Laughter.)

I took two minutes for that occasion and saved a minute for when I thought I might need it.

(Laughter.)

And I still have it.

(Laughter.)

So there will be a day of reckoning yet in the Nation's Capital. So, Phil, your day and a half is child's play, may I say. But since Congress has been out I have been having a time for myself, no one around to stop me, either the rules of the Senate or the President. And I have been on the go.

(Laughter, Applause.)

The topic of this symposium, the trouble environment suggests a number of approaches to a discussion of our social

1 structure and of our cities and our communities. I have long
2 admired the numerous actions programs that have been sponsored
3 by the ACTION Council for Better Cities. Because these are
4 programs dealing with the complex tasks of living and working
5 and traveling within our urban areas. The trouble is that all
6 too often what we do is exist within these areas rather than
7 really live.

8 This council has been instrumental in stimulating, as I
9 have noted already by the remarks of Mr. Donovan and Mr.
10 Weaver, has been instrumental in stimulating creative thinking
11 and action in such areas as community mobilization, urban re-
12 search and education and technical services. This city of
13 ours -- and indeed not only this city but many -- this federal
14 government and state governments are very strong on thinking.
15 And as a refugee from the classroom, I am fully aware of the
16 tremendous interest that people have in research.

17 May I say that after the thinking and the research there
18 is a time for action. It is like the four D's of democracy --
19 discussion, dissent, debate and then decision. And some people
20 are awfully strong on discussion and dissent and debate. But
21 when it gets down to decision-making that is when you separate
22 the men from the boys, as we put it.

23 And I am pleased that the ACTION Council has been active
24 and it lives up to its title. So it is not at all surprising
25 to me that ACTION should sponsor this symposium on the most --

1 and I underscore the most -- confounding and crucial problem
2 of them all, at least on this domestic scene. The relationship
3 of the socially and economically deprived residents of urban
4 area to the vital task of urban development, because it is a
5 fact that we are talking about people.

6 I said in this very hotel yesterday, speaking of our Civil
7 Service and of our government agencies, that there are times
8 when people become so institutionalized they forget their pur-
9 pose. And the whole purpose of every institution in this land
10 is to serve the people, whether it is a church or club or a
11 school or a city or a government -- serve the interests of the
12 people. And we need to be reminded of it.

13 I have seen far too many intelligent, gifted, talented
14 people who become so involved in their research, in their own
15 sophisticated erudition relating to a particular subject that
16 they forget that they are here to serve the people. And since
17 this is a government of the people and by the people and for
18 the people, and since we do believe in individualism and it is
19 a commitment and an ideal, I want to emphasize the service to
20 the people.

21 It is especially significant that this symposium is not
22 just trying to understand the nature of these complex and
23 challenging issues. We are also asking crucial and I think
24 vital questions. What can we do about these problems and
25 issues? Not only what do we understand about them, but what

1 can we do? How can we make our contribution to the struggle,
2 to rescue our cities before it is too late?

3 Now, President Johnson noted last year in his historic
4 message to the Congress on housing and urban development, what-
5 ever the scale of its programs, the federal government will only
6 be able to do a small part of what is required. The vast bulk
7 of resources and energy of talent and toil will have to come
8 from the state and local governments, private interests, and
9 individual citizens.

10 What the President is saying and has said is so obvious
11 that it ought not need to be said, but we need to be reminded
12 of it. There is a tendency whenever the government moves into
13 any area for some people to say, "Well, let the government take
14 care of it." I would remind my fellow Americans that the
15 government of the United States, or the government of a state
16 or locality, cannot take care of these problems. And even if
17 it could it shouldn't. It can help, it can be a partner, it
18 can be an agent, it can expedite, it can assist -- but the main
19 burden of the responsibility rests upon we, the people, and our
20 voluntary organizations, our business corporations, our private
21 groups.

22 The President also noted in this message -- and I am sure
23 that this symposium will demonstrate the validity of his comment
24 -- that we, meaning the government, do not have all the answers.
25 We need more thought and wisdom and knowledge as we painfully

1 struggle to identify the ills, the dangers and the cures for
2 the American city. And once again I make note -- identify the
3 ills. We can identify cancer but what about its cure? We can
4 identify the ills of our cities and the problems that beset
5 our people, but what about the answers? The solutions? And I
6 hope that this conference doesn't proceed any longer without
7 trying to come up with some answers. We need to try and ex-
8 periment and be unafraid of the fact that we may be making a
9 mistake. Because the greatest mistake is to do nothing. And
10 the second greatest mistake is to do what we have been doing
11 because that hasn't worked. Therefore, we ought to start to do
12 something better.

13 Franklin Roosevelt once said, "The sins of omission are
14 worse than the sins of commission." And I am afraid that we
15 are guilty all too often in many of these social problems of
16 the sort of timidity, of fear that somehow or other someone is
17 going to accuse us of having made a mistake. Well, this world
18 was built because people made some mistakes and learned from
19 them. I am not advocating the role of making mistakes. I am,
20 however, saying that if you are unwilling to try and if you are
21 unwilling to take the blow and the criticism that comes from
22 making a mistake, you will never get anything done.

23 Consider the present state of affairs within the past two
24 years. Consider these affairs, the present state of affairs in
25 light now of the accomplishments and some of our achievements.

1 Congress has by -- has established a Department of Housing and
2 Urban Development. I think this is maybe one of the most sig-
3 nificant acts of this 89th Congress, if not the most. And that
4 is why it is -- it has taken a great deal of time to study its
5 formation, what will be the scope of its jurisdiction, how
6 shall it work and coordinate its efforts with state and local
7 agencies and government and private groups to proceed hastily
8 on the establishment of this department might set back the
9 whole cause of our cities a decade.

10 I want to be sure that we know what we are doing and that
11 we have the right motivation and the kind of driving leadership
12 that makes this department stand at the forefront of all
13 governmental activities. Most of the problems that you and I
14 face from here on out are going to be in our cities, that is
15 where we are going to live, or at least that is where we will
16 reside, hopefully that we will be able to live in the full sense
17 of the word.

18 Congress has agreed that a system of rent supplements for
19 low-income families should be developed to supplement the
20 traditional approach of public housing. This is an experiment
21 but it is one that needs to be tried. Congress has enacted new
22 and expanded programs to fight air and water pollution. I am
23 not at all sure people are taking this seriously, but they had
24 better.

25 I don't think man was designed or created to live in the

1 prisons of asphalt and concrete and an environment of carbon
2 monoxide. Maybe we can adjust ourselves to it in a thousand
3 years or so, but that will be a little bit beyond my expecta-
4 tion. And I think we ought to try to find a way to do some-
5 thing about it now.

6 Day before yesterday I flew out of New York City --
7 beautiful sunset, lovely evening, it was about 4:30 -- 5:00
8 o'clock, I should say. And as our plane lifted off that air-
9 port you could literally see waves of smoke and dirt over that
10 great city. It was as if we were ashamed of the city and
11 wanted to cover it up. And this isn't true only of New York,
12 it is true of Los Angeles and almost every great city in the
13 United States.

14 Congress has established a program of urban and mass
15 transportation and approved the construction of a mass transit
16 system in the District of Columbia. I again divert from these
17 hastily prepared remarks to tell you that if we were as in-
18 terested in getting a system of mass transportation as we are
19 exploring outer space, we would have had it by now. Don't
20 tell me we can't figure that one out. I venture to say that if
21 we had to find an answer to the defense of our country, to move
22 the troops, to move the equipment, we would find out how to
23 transport it. It wouldn't take long and nobody would stand
24 around and say, "Well, I don't think we ought to do it that
25 way. I don't think we ought to do it that way." It could be

1 done. Maybe we have to attach a defense tag to it. In fact I
2 think we should and I have often wondered if the enemy really
3 wanted to get the best of us, there are a couple of things
4 that they might do -- one of which was already exhibited the
5 other night.

6 (Laughter.)

7 However, I am not sure but what we would out-finagle them
8 in the dark. I don't know, maybe we --

9 (Laughter.)

10 But more seriously this business of movement of people --
11 if you can't move people to and from their jobs with the best of
12 police control and the best of modern devices and traffic con-
13 trol, what do you expect we will do if they become terrified?

14 Congress has passed historic education laws and expanded
15 the poverty program, the war on poverty, to provide new weapons
16 for an attack on the educational and social problems of the
17 slums. And let me pause once again to say that here again un-
18 less we try something new, unless we try to find some new
19 answers, unless we are willing to experiment, unless we are
20 willing to pioneer -- and don't look at that page, it isn't
21 there --

22 (Laughter.)

23 Unless we are willing to really --

24 (Applause.)

25 Unless we are really willing to do something different, we

1 are not going to find any answers.

2 You know, I must say since I enjoy these speeches, it is
3 so seldom that other people, but I enjoy them --

4 (Laughter.)

5 -- and I was at the Ed Murrow Center not long ago, at
6 Tufts and one that thing that Ed Murrow was above all was that
7 he was a reporter and he said that to be a reporter you had to
8 be there. Sometimes I feel we ought not to even have any text,
9 just be there. I use this text only to get warmed up.

10 (Laughter.)

11 This is just like we used to do back in the Dakota days
12 when you used to put a little naptha in the gas to start the
13 motor on a cold morning, you see. Some of you old timers
14 remember that.

15 Well, Congress passed new laws in education and the war on
16 poverty. And I can just the stories -- now I have already seen
17 them -- and I am not critical of what is being printed because
18 much of it is true. What I am saying is that if we do not
19 approach these problems of the helpless and the hopeless, the
20 chronically poor, of the people that have been locked into
21 these prisons of poverty -- if we do not make some new approaches
22 then we are wasting the public's money. We have to find new
23 ways. And this means experimentation, this means to try. And
24 it means to make some mistakes. And I only hope that those of
25 us that have responsibility to these programs will not run

1 under fire.

2 Harry Truman said if you can't take the heat, get out of
3 the kitchen. And there are a lot of bisquits that need to be
4 baked and some new recipes, I might add, are needed.

5 Congress has passed a variety of new housing and urban re-
6 development programs, designed especially to make, to avoid
7 mistakes of the past and to meet the needs of the future. Some
8 of it is not so new. I didn't think it was really new to sug-
9 gest to people that shrubs and trees and grass was desirable.
10 But it was quite a shocker when it got up to Congress.

11 (Laughter.)

12 And you know, some of the people that voted against it --
13 were the ones first to vote against them were the ones that
14 come from where they got all kinds of grass and open spaces.

15 (Laughter.)

16 We have to design our communities to be communities. What
17 we have done, however, as I have indicated, is only a beginning.
18 But I wanted to put all of these qualifications on. I think
19 that you ought to sort of tell people before you start what
20 the pitfalls are. Those two astronauts, before they took off,
21 they were told that there is a possibility that this thing
22 might not work -- good-by, you know.

23 (Laughter.)

24 But we took every precaution to make sure that it would
25 work. There are definite possibilities that some of the things

1 that we have authorized to be done will not work. We author-
2 ized a half billion dollars of funds for heart, cancer and
3 throat research. And I venture to say that some of it won't
4 work. In fact it hasn't been working very well, they have
5 been dropping dead all over the place. The rate of heart
6 disease is up and stroke is up and cancer is up. And we have
7 poured hundreds of millions or billions of dollars into this
8 fund.

9 But you don't go around and say, "Well, now, Doc, you
10 didn't do it so you -- you're fired. And we don't want to talk
11 to you scientists and doctors any longer. You haven't found
12 any answers. We have given you over a billion dollars for
13 research over these years. You still haven't come up with the
14 answer and let's call it quits."

15 You know what we do? We said build another laboratory.
16 Pour in some more money. Recruit some more scientists. Get
17 some more doctors -- keep trying, trying, trying. Now I know
18 that a number of people are going to die from cancer. Far too
19 many people are afflicted with this dread disease. Heart
20 disease and stroke. The President said in his message about it
21 that it cost us something like over \$30 billion in lost income
22 because of sickness and premature deaths.

23 But there are a whole lot more people, my friends, that
24 are living in the filth of our slums who are emotionally sick,
25 physically sick, politically sick. And we haven't found the

1 answers. That is what we are here for. Each and every one of
2 us are in a sense the searchers and doctors and practitioners
3 now. The design by which we shall overcome the shame of
4 enduring slums in the richest nation in the world is still un-
5 clear. It is unclear to the government, it is unclear to the
6 experts. Our recent efforts, while making progress in many
7 areas, have all demonstrated the complexity and the tenacity
8 of the problems that confront us. But we have learned at
9 least one thing: There are no simple solutions, there are no
10 single answers.

11 It is going to take what the military calls the systems
12 approach. You are not going to be able to do this in neat
13 little compartmentalization of one little answer at a time.
14 We open to the widest and most creative thinking in this field,
15 from builders and land developers, planners and architects,
16 mayors and bankers and political scientists and businessmen.
17 And in this we look forward eagerly to the conclusions and the
18 recommendations of what you do here, this symposium.

19 Now why we haven't yet reached or produced the design that
20 contains all the answers, we are coming to understanding more
21 fully the most pressing problem facing us in our cities. And
22 it is this: To eradicate the explosive combination of poor
23 housing, poor schools, inadequate public services, high rates
24 of unemployment and crime, prejudice and discrimination which
25 comprise the slums of urban America.

1 There it is. All other urban problems pale by comparison.
2 Until we are capable of improving the lives of the people and
3 in a large measure this means the Negroes who live in these
4 areas, passed over by our national prosperity and affluence,
5 we will be stymied in all of our attempts to restore and de-
6 velop our cities.

7 I think we are sophisticated enough now to know that physical
8 slums alone do not produce the economic and social problems
9 concentrated therein. If it were possible literally to replace
10 overnight the tenements in every city with new housing and good
11 housing, we would not at the same time overcome unemployment,
12 delinquency, drug addiction, poor education, ill health and
13 family breakdown. I think it would have some effect, but it
14 surely would not overcome these intricate and integrated highly
15 related problems.

16 For this reason the President has stressed the importance
17 of mounting comprehensive area-wide attacks on the interrelated
18 problems of housing, employment, education, crime and health.
19 And only as we attack simultaneously the problems generated by
20 both physical environment and the socio-economic conditions
21 can we ever hope to make significant progress in this difficult
22 struggle.

23 One of the most significant tasks of the new Department of
24 Housing and Urban Development will be to assist our cities in
25 this type of comprehensive attack. I think that is its mission.

1 And that is why it has to be staffed, organized and given the
2 charter, so to speak, of jurisdiction and authority to be able
3 to rally the forces. We have always talked about having a
4 unified or at least a coordinated Defense Department so that
5 each service didn't run off in its own direction. Now I know
6 that this is important and much has been done to accomplish it.
7 So that today we do have a Department of Defense and a defense
8 establishment that is united and coordinated. But the biggest
9 battle that we are fighting is not in South Vietnam, my friends.
10 That is a big one but it isn't the biggest one. The toughest
11 battle that we are fighting, and the one that we seem to have
12 more trouble with than even how to face up to these wars of
13 liberation, as they are called, these guerrilla wars, is the
14 battle in our cities, to remake them and to help people help
15 themselves, to gain their self respect, to have a marketable
16 skill, to feel that they are active participants in the life of
17 this nation.

18 Therefore, I would say that as we establish this depart-
19 ment that there ought to be matters that merit priority atten-
20 tion. First we must grasp the relationship between increased
21 income of slum residents and their ability to secure more
22 adequate housing and other services from the private and public
23 sectors. As the poor achieve the level in our economic struc-
24 ture where honest choices are open to them in housing, I am
25 confident the forces of the free enterprise system will respond

1 to that market. The housing industry has provided millions of
2 middle-income Americans with good housing in both quality and
3 physical facilities. The problem has been that large numbers
4 of our people -- especially those caught in the urban ghettos
5 -- cannot often bid for this housing in the private market.
6 For this reason the success of the war on poverty and the re-
7 lated programs of upgrading the talent and the skill of our
8 people so that they have a marketable skill is critically im-
9 portant in our struggle to build better cities.

10 It is also necessary to continue our programs, of course,
11 public housing, as authorized in the Omnibus Housing Act of
12 1965, and to secure appropriations as promptly as possible for
13 the rent supplements program authorized in that same legisla-
14 tion. This rent supplement approach is a new attempt, as I
15 have said, to provide low-income housing in partnership with
16 the private sector of our economy. And low-income housing that
17 is attractive and does not carry the stigma associated with the
18 mammoth institutionalized public housing projects. This ap-
19 proach must be given a full and fair trial. And I hope that
20 the private industry of America, the private sector of our
21 economy, will insist that it be given a fair trial. And if
22 it is not being adequate consulted, then it ought to be, so
23 that the proper regulations and standards are established.

24 It is also essential that housing be made available to all
25 Americans on a non-discriminatory basis. Persons who can afford

1 housing cannot have that opportunity denied to them because of
2 prejudice and discrimination. And, make no mistake about it,
3 this is the next breakthrough that must come in the civil
4 rights field. As in the field of employment, there exists in
5 the area of housing ample opportunity for voluntary private
6 action by builders, real estate agents and bankers -- but there
7 also exists in this a responsibility for the government at all
8 levels, federal, state and local, to take appropriate steps
9 if voluntary action is not effective in meeting this serious
10 problem.

11 Secondly, we must understand the urgent necessity to pro-
12 vide quality education in our slum areas. Our schools can
13 rescue millions of youngsters caught in the downward spiral
14 of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency,
15 dependency and despair.

16 Let me give you a shocker. There are two million young
17 people in this country, young men, between the ages of 16 and
18 21, that are unemployable today. They are dropouts, poorly
19 educated, no functionals -- no -- they are technologically
20 illiterate, no functional literacy, no skills. And yet I read
21 about a shortage in the labor force. There are shortages of
22 skilled people and even semi-skilled people and surely of pro-
23 fessional people in this expanding economy. But I am here to
24 say that there is a reservoir, there is a pool yet untapped.
25 Oh, it is going to take some work. We are going to have to

1 refine it, you are going to have to develop it. I can give
2 you a very good analogy.

3 My state of Minnesota have provided for this nation for
4 better than seventy years over three-fourths of all the iron
5 ore that was used in America, high-grade iron ore out of the
6 great pits of Northern Minnesota, the Massaby
7 Range, the Kyuna and the Vermillion. World War II depleted
8 those ranges and we found ourselves in competition with all
9 sorts of high-grade ores from Labrador and other parts of
10 Canada, from Africa and elsewhere. The question was, was there
11 anything that could be done for in this instance for less than
12 adequate ores, just like with the less than adequate people,
13 with the unskilled -- in this instance the low-grade ores.
14 And my state stood there with a rate of unemployment in that
15 area as high as forty per cent for over five to five years,
16 in some areas less than that, twenty per cent.

17 And then we decided that we could upgrade the ore and we
18 have to decide that you can upgrade people. And we found a
19 rock that was a very low-grade -- had a very low-grade content
20 of iron ore known as taconite, as hard as granite, requiring
21 the toughest diamond drill to even penetrate it, the most
22 difficult of substance. But there it was in unlimited quanti-
23 ties, over two billion tons of known deposits. And it cost
24 a good deal to fabricate it because it had to be manufactured.
25 You couldn't just take it out of the earth and ship taconite

1 rock. Nobody could use it. The blast furnace couldn't use it.
2 And yet there we were with the whole section of our state, once
3 the treasure house of America. And there it was prostrate,
4 bankrupt, unemployed.

5 You know what we did? We found ways and means of using
6 taconite and today there is a greater investment in St. Louis
7 County, Minnesota in the development of taconite than the
8 entire investment in all of the Appalachia program by the
9 federal government. One county. Why? Because we found out
10 we could upgrade it. Oh, many companies said you couldn't but
11 we did the experimentation at the University of Minnesota.
12 Great steel companies saw to it to join us in this experiment-
13 ation. We took the lowest of low-grade ores and made it the
14 highest of high-grade ores and we compete all over the world.

15 We shipped out last year in exports of over seven millions
16 tons into the markets of the richest iron ore. I say if you
17 can do that with taconite by research, by education, by new
18 tools, by experimentation, by new processes -- don't tell me
19 that this great reserve in tool and manpower, youngsters, many
20 of them, yes, many of them presently inadequately educated,
21 many of them hopelessly in despair, many of the cynical, many
22 of them sick, emotionally and physically -- don't tell me that
23 you can't upgrade them. You can if you have to. You can do
24 anything you want to if you have to. We just have to make up
25 our mind that we are going to do it. And if we don't do it,

1 it will spread like the plague. There will be no peace for
2 anyone.

3 City after city will explode. Watts will look like an
4 afternoon picnic. We need to put ourselves to this task, my
5 fellow Americans, before it is too late. That is why I came
6 here, to tell you this from my heart and my mind and my ex-
7 perience. There is a simmering, smoldering explosion here just
8 waiting to go off. I should say explosive waiting to go off.
9 And yet this, like nuclear power itself, can be used either
10 for destruction or for peace, it depends on what we want to do
11 with it.

12 And I think the first thing that we need to do is take a
13 good look at these schools. I was the Mayor of Minneapolis for
14 a few years. I have recited this many times. It is not new,
15 but what is new? I haven't heard much that is new, anyhow.
16 Education is essentially repetitious and most people learn by
17 osmosis, you have to soak them in it. And you know it.

18 I went into areas of my city where there was the lowest in-
19 come, where the poor people lived. And just as surely you went
20 in there, that is where you found the lousiest, the worst state
21 police station, the worst out-patient clinic, and without a
22 doubt the most broken down schools. And this isn't a very old
23 city and it is a beautiful city and one that has parks and
24 playgrounds and many wonderful attributes of city life.

25 But if it is true of a rather young city, imagine what it

1 is in some of the older and larger cities; and what do we have?
2 We have education upside-down. In the areas where the incomes
3 were \$25,000, \$50,000 a year, \$100,000 -- beautiful schools,
4 magnificent libraries, fine extra curricular activities, con-
5 sultants, consulars, psychiatrists, you name it, they had it,
6 marvelous schools. Every one of those youngsters came from a
7 home where they could have had private schools for them, pri-
8 vate tutors. They had a library in their home, they had good
9 music in their home, they had good diets in their home. Hope-
10 fully, they had good advice and counsel.

11 Then you went to the area where people were on relief or
12 assistance and what did you find? You found the school that
13 had been condemned for twenty years under the fire code. That
14 is a fact. I did something about it, I want you to know, but
15 I said, "Look, if you can close up this beer hall because it
16 is violating the fire code and demand that he either build a
17 new one or not get his license back, you are going to close up
18 this school and build a new one, too, as long as I am mayor.
19 I am not going to let you send your children into a firetrap.
20 So let's get busy. Let's pass the bond issue."

21 And, I am happy to say, that I was a little more spirited
22 then than I am now and we got the job done.

23 (Laughter.)

24 But what I seek to impress you with is this: that the
25 best schools ought to be where they are needed the most. This

1 is not to lower the quality of education for others, for the
2 Humphrey children, whose parents can afford to give him a good
3 education. What about the parents who can't afford a good
4 education? What about the area of your city that has poor
5 teachers, poor facilities, no audio-visual aids, no teaching
6 machines, little or no attention? You will never whip the
7 problems of the city that way.

8 So we now have the chance to disprove the myth that
9 children from slum areas are unable to learn. I have heard
10 that intellectual garbage far too often, that schools can only
11 provide some form of custodial care until they drop out and
12 become unemployed or delinquent. If that isn't the refuge of
13 an inner lazy soul I never heard one. Each child is an ad-
14 venture into a new tomorrow. And each child is an opportunity
15 to break the old pattern and make a new one.

16 Today we have a chance to make that pattern one of self
17 esteem and self respect and that is the first thing that is
18 needed, of ambition and responsibility. Project Headstart is
19 showing us what can be done to give children an early start on
20 things and is showing us something else, too. If you just
21 follow that child you to all the sources of the difficulty. We
22 are learning that young children, little ones can learn quickly,
23 even from deprived homes.

24 We are also finding out a whole lot about new teaching
25 methods. We are also finding out that if you have a child around

1 which you center your activity, you don't have so many problems
2 about whether you are integrated or not. Your people just get
3 together. They -- it will work for children. When you get to
4 be an adult you want to fight. For children, they will work.
5 And if the people in education and in business and in government
6 and in social work will follow that child he will take you right
7 back to the home where the problem starts and right back into
8 the community.

9 If all we are going to do is to have Project Headstart
10 and get these blessed little ones just a little -- just a few
11 weeks or a few months in a wonderful educational experience and
12 then dump them right back into the slum, right back into the
13 same conditions that produced the problem that the child had
14 when he came to the school, then we have in a very, very real
15 sense wasted money.

16 It has been an enjoyable research endeavor or a worthwhile
17 one, but it doesn't produce the results. So we need to follow
18 the child right back to the source of the problem.

19 Thirdly, we must use fully and wisely the existing programs
20 for urban development and rehabilitation. The Housing Act
21 provides a new and more flexible tool in this complicated and
22 difficult business of rebuilding and restoring blighted areas
23 in a selective manner that recognizes the legitimate interests
24 of existing residents and which preserves the unique character
25 of neighborhoods.

1 I think it is incumbent upon our states and local govern-
2 ments to help develop imaginative programs which puts these
3 new tools into effective operation. And I want to say this to
4 you because you have your own contacts back home. This federal
5 law isn't going to work unless the state governments and the
6 local governments are prepared to work with it.

7 I met here last year, by sheer accident, with the legis-
8 lative leaders, majority and minority, of all the fifty legis-
9 lators -- legislatures. They came to Washington and they were
10 looking around and nobody was really talking to them and --
11 you know, I didn't have too much to do on that day --

12 (Laughter.)

13 -- so I met with them in the Conference Room at the
14 Capitol. And I found out that very few of them had ever been
15 contacted about their responsibilities in implementing this
16 legislation. Very few of them had ever been contacted about
17 their responsibilities in the implementing the anti-poverty
18 program. And there isn't a single statute that has been passed
19 by this Congress that doesn't call for federal-state and local
20 implementation.

21 I think the first thing we ought to do is to teach one
22 another, those of us in government, what we have done. Quit
23 keeping it a secret and say, "Now, we know but you try to find
24 out."

25 (Laughter.)

1 We simply have to go to work with each other.

2 (Applause.)

3 And, finally, in our efforts to develop area-wide responses
4 to fundamental problems of housing and transportation and educa-
5 tion and employment, we must not ignore that smaller dimension
6 wherein the individual can experience the rewards of a rich
7 and varied life. The particular government policy must be
8 directed towards encouraging the restoration and, where neces-
9 sary, the creation of vibrant and living neighborhood communi-
10 ties. I want to emphasize the word "neighborhood."

11 In the final analysis a city cannot simply be a place to
12 live, to work and to exist. A city must be a community in the
13 deepest meaning of the word, a combination of material and
14 spiritual resources which provides every individual an oppor-
15 tunity to lead a secure and meaningful existence.

16 Now this involves a deep concern for humane and intimate
17 details as well as a determination to conquer the major social
18 and economic ills. This means a concern for a small park, the
19 corner store, the neighborhood center, and the recreational
20 area. These are not world-shaking problems but they are the
21 problems that affect the lives of most people. These are
22 some of the matters which deserve the priority attention of
23 all levels of government in partnership with the federal
24 government, to mount comprehensive attacks on urban slums and
25 ghettos of our nation.

1 This problem of slums is largely one that has been be-
2 queathed to us by the past. And the problems of the future
3 raise even different considerations. We know that the next
4 decades or a few decades will see a tremendous increase in our
5 population and in the city population. You know those fact,
6 I shall not bother you with them. Americans hope that the
7 next wave of urban expansion will provide a better environment
8 than the last wave created. Suburban expansion of the late
9 forties and fifties did provide good housing. But in most
10 cases it did not provide the essential elements of good com-
11 munities.

12 I am not one of the critics of America's suburbia. It is
13 a remarkable accomplishment, one which has provided more good
14 housing for more people than perhaps any development in history.
15 But the planning twenty years ago that guided the construction
16 of schools and transportation facilities, waste and water
17 systems, and civic facilities, often was not enough. It was a
18 skimpy effort.

19 Today our people are better educated and more prosperous
20 and legitimately demand that their living environment should
21 be -- should work as well as their well-engineered kitchens
22 and family rooms. I just wish we could get as excited about
23 providing a good living environment for those of us around
24 this earth as we are about those fellow that are going to go
25 to the moon. And I know of what I speak.

1 When I leave here I go to do a transcription on the space
2 program. I am Chairman of the Space Council and I work at it.
3 We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to provide a
4 living and livable environment in a space capsule for these
5 two wonderful astronauts that are now orbiting this earth. I
6 am not critical of that. This is a splendid thing to do and
7 I think we have learned much. It has upgraded our industry.
8 It has improved our education. It has taught us a lot of
9 things that we can do.

10 But I am one of those, even in my role as chairman of the
11 Space Council, that believes that if you can afford to spend
12 \$25, \$40 billion -- or whatever amount it is -- in an Apollo
13 program, a lunar program to put a man on the moon, and provide
14 him with an environment in which he can live and breath and
15 walk and work -- you ought to be willing to make some invest-
16 ments to help put a man on his feet right here on this earth
17 in a reasonably good environment.

18 It is just that simple and yet that profound. Now much of
19 this is a task not only for government but for private and
20 corporate imagination. The government alone is not sufficiently
21 flexible or free from a variety of pressures to build the new
22 and imaginative towns that we need. But I do believe that the
23 government can help with the basic facilities. Government at
24 all levels can create stronger and more enlightened planning
25 instruments to help make key public decisions as to where and

1 how the urban expansion should take place. Government can ex-
2 plore measures which might reduce land costs in urban develop-
3 ment. It can provide loans for good quality and farsighted
4 planning in building a water supply and waste disposal facil-
5 ity. And government can provide the funds for a good
6 transportation planning and a mass transit system. It can pro-
7 vide loans and grants for better schools and better cultural
8 facilities. All of these are appropriate tasks for government.

9 But beyond all of these we need a good deal more of
10 creativity and imagination, from architects and planners and
11 political leaders and social and political experts and builders
12 and developers and the great business corporations and the
13 great financial institutions.

14 The programs of the federal government are often attacked
15 as failures. I have commented on some of these inadequacies
16 here today. But they are really not failures. We can shoulder
17 our share of the blame but as we develop new legislation and new
18 approaches, I believe more and more of the responsibility for
19 urban development, its failures or its successes, will be in the
20 hands of local communities and the private forces of the
21 government. And in this process the business community can
22 and should -- and I understand you are committed to it -- play
23 a vital and major role. It can provide some of the money for
24 the planning and it ought to, and some of the talent necessary
25 to analyze problems and help muster some of the public support

1 that will be needed, and the intellectual and financial re-
2 sources of our universities and foundations are needed and
3 should be put to work.

4 These universities should not be permitted to live in the
5 isolation of their well-kept lawns. I want the universities
6 to be put right into the center of all of the problems of our
7 lives. They will be better universities, better professors
8 and the people that they serve will be the better. The educa-
9 tional community must not be fearful of grappling with these
10 intricate problems. The university must not be a tower of
11 ivory, but rather a tower of strength in the daily life of our
12 people.

13 And I believe these additional resources can help provide
14 the imagination and thinking that will produce American cities
15 to match and surpass anything we have achieved thus far. There
16 is one factor which must not be overlooked, for the first time
17 in history we do possess the resources to create cities that
18 reflect man's highest aspirations. While we do not presently
19 have all of the answers, I do not doubt for a single minute
20 that we have the ability to discover them. Nor do I doubt
21 that our capacity to implement these solutions, once they have
22 been discovered.

23 What an exciting challenge it is. I ask you, who have
24 been so civic-minded as to come to this symposium, is there a
25 higher calling than liberating millions of your fellow

Americans from the vicious trap of deprivation and defeat. And millions are trapped. Is there any task more vital than improving the quality of life for every American? Letting them become true citizens and as we progress along this difficult road and build cities worthy of us and our human spirit, I think we will be preserving for countless generations the values of our nation and civilization. This is the challenge awaiting our response. And frankly I come here to ask for your help. I know of no way to meet this challenge unless you join in the fight even more vigorously than you have thus far.

Thank you, Phil.

(Applause.)

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