

“There is little doubt that we can—
and very soon—reverse the trends
we see today in our cities.”

Address by Hubert H. Humphrey,
Vice-President of the United States
delivered on September 13, 1966
at the Washington, D. C. conference
“Our People and Their Cities”
sponsored by Urban America, Inc.



Mr. Humphrey: Most of us are going to be living in cities, so we have a very personal interest—and an economic, social and political interest as well—in what they offer to human beings. Institutions are made for people, and the justification of the city, like that of every other human institution, is to make life better, to release the potential of man. That is my own frame of reference in discussing the city and its future.

In the Middle Ages, sober and civilized citizens surrounded their cities with high, fortified walls. The gates in these walled cities were closed at night to keep out the savage marauders of the countryside.

Today, in the middle of the 20th century, we are in danger of creating new walled cities—but cities from which the “sober and civilized citizens” will largely have fled—cities in which violence lies on the *inside*...cities in which the remaining inhabitants will be surrounded not by walls of stone, but by unbreachable social, economic and political barriers.

We are in danger—in a society that prides itself on being an open society...in a society that espouses the democratic ideal—of making large parts of our cities not centers of enlightenment and higher aspiration, but stagnant and congested places to be avoided except on the most necessary missions of commerce or of politics.

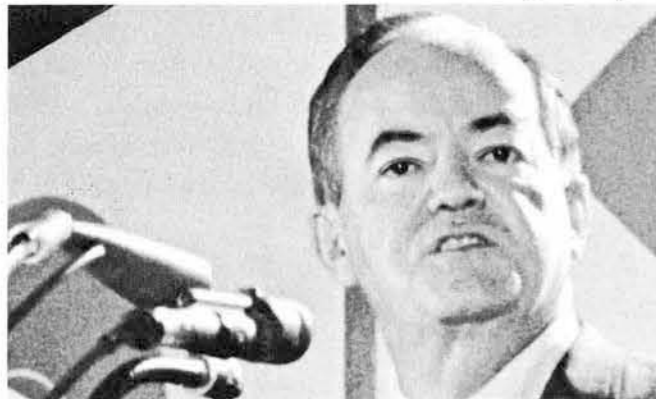
There is much that is beautiful about our cities—handsome buildings, museums and cultural monuments, fine boulevards, well-kept parks and playgrounds, gracious neighborhoods—things that make life richly rewarding for many. But in the older parts of the city—the core, so to speak—there are slums as far removed from these showplaces as the moon is from the earth.

Every child is taught in the classroom that we are “one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.” But if he goes to a slum school, he has only to step outside to see that there are two nations—where he is and the other America, perhaps only a few blocks away, of beauty and

As Mayor of Minneapolis (1945-48), Vice-President Humphrey was confronted directly with specific examples of the complex problems that he discusses here.

splendor—magnificent buildings, fountains, boulevards, fine apartment houses, and handsome homes. And it is this very contrast that makes the ugliness of the slums all the more intolerable.

St. Augustine wrote of the City of Man and the City of God. I don't know that the analogy is strictly applicable—but there is certainly all the difference in the world between the city that you



and I live in and the city that too many of our people have to live in.

We are in danger—unless we act wisely and quickly—of letting slumism spread and entrench itself to the point when our cities become places where business goes on but where human life, in its fullest sense, cannot be lived.

We know our problems. We talk about them, in the abstract, as slums, crime, crowding, lack of clean air, overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, a shortage of playgrounds and parks, and the need for revenue.

But they are, to the human beings living in the ghettos of our great cities, far more immediate. They are problems of people—of old people living on miserably small incomes, in single, musty, lonely rooms...of children whose play areas are littered, uncleaned gutters...of Negro families denied housing everywhere but in the ghetto, paying exorbitant rent for unheated apartments...of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence.

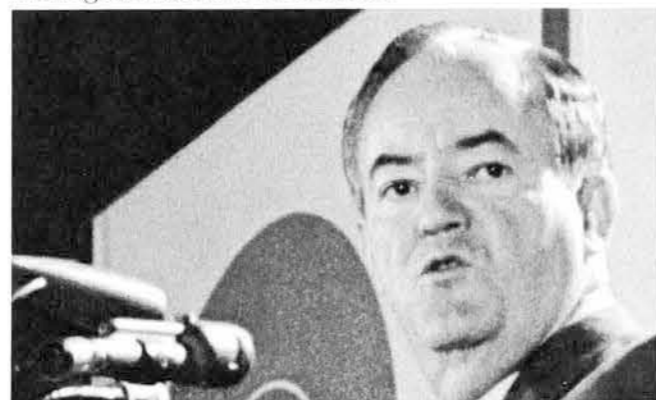
They are problems of people living without self-respect, without hope, without any solid tie to the rest of our growing and prosperous nation.

It is this loss of self-respect and identity—this feeling of being lost in the mass, sunk in filth and grime—that concerns me most of all. I feel that

people sometimes strike out in violence just to show that they *do* exist. Foolishly, yes. Wrongly, yes. But it may be that they are trying to say to the world: "Here am I—look at me!" And surely our democratic society should assure to everyone human dignity and self-respect.

What brought us here and what can we do about it?

First, we must recognize major changes in our society. Not only are we no longer primarily people of farms and towns, but we are no longer primarily a people engaged in producing goods—although we grow more farm produce and make more goods than ever before.



Most of our people earn their livings by providing services for others.

Both these trends—the move toward a metropolitan society...the growth in services—can be expected to continue.

Then, too, there is the growth of our population. We have increased our population by 47 percent since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60 percent by the year 2000.

Added to the increase in population is the constantly increasing demand of a larger and larger percentage of our people for an ever-higher stand-



ard of living.

And I would like to take this moment to point out that our standard of living is not just an accumulation of material things; it includes education and recreation and beauty and leisure.

This legitimate demand of more people for more of the rewards of life—added to the obsolescence of what we already have—is what in large part is creating the galloping muddle of our cities.

So we see a situation of accelerated change and growth—but change and growth that in our cities has been largely uncontrolled.

Those who traditionally would be in control have the titles but not the authority, or where they have the authority, they cannot get the funds to do the job.

The number of officials and official bodies that function in the crazy-quilt pattern of the city authority has its rationale only as a subject for doctoral theses, or as testament to inhuman ingenuity.

Ours is a nation with 80 thousand separate, local governmental units. In the New York metropolitan area alone, there are over 1,400 units of government. Today's problems do not respect yesterday's governmental structures.

They are often as not metropolitan problems and there is usually no metropolitan framework in which they can be solved.

As our problems gather speed, all those who might have been drivers are in the back seat.

If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, the case for local control would be hopeless.

But we have seen in reapportionment a major shift on the state level, which I hope will be soon reflected on the local level.

It is important for the autonomous units which cluster about our great cities to realize that they are in the same boat, and if it goes down, all aboard are in the swim.

At this moment in history, it is obvious that the problems have gotten out of hand and local governments, stunted by historical accident, must have help.

I have worked with mayors and municipal officials at President Johnson's request, and I know that they have both dedication and competence. But they are fighting massive problems with dwindling resources.

These require more, not less, services and the Federal Government is doing its best to be of help. But I think it would be unhealthy indeed for local government to adopt an attitude of "let Washington do it."

What is needed is a cooperative effort at and between the city, state, and Federal levels—and the private sector—to solve the problems which neglect and growth have caused.

That is what the concept of creative federalism—a concept much discussed but still not fully understood—is all about.

This is a concept that at the outset recognizes the importance to the national economy of viable, economically sound urban areas.

It is a concept that also recognizes the importance of local political institutions.

It is a concept that recognizes the importance of local decisions and of local direction.

It is a concept that rejects and rejects vigorously the idea that the Federal Government should make decisions for local communities.

It is a concept that says that Federal assistance, both monetary and technical, is necessary to help metropolitan areas solve their problems, but that the particular solutions should be local in character.

Creative federalism means programs, policies, and projects locally inspired, locally developed, locally administered—but with a broader design that includes state and regional development, backed and supported by Federal assistance and resources.

In the past several weeks there have been a number of statements made to the effect that the Federal Government has failed in its responsibility to America's cities.

I will not attempt to respond to this criticism.

In these past few years we have been engaged in a rapid and massive effort to catch up to problems too long ignored.

We have created a new Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development.

We have, in the past three years, more than doubled our Federal investments in health.

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bled our Federal investments in education.

We have launched an unprecedented national war on poverty.

We have proposed a new Department of Transportation. We have worked for an economy both of expansion and of social justice. We have worked to eradicate discrimination.

We have, under forced draft, put our best minds and the most advanced management techniques to the task of creating integrated, systematic solutions to the encrusted problems of metropolis.

And, in the speed and vast scope of those efforts, there can be no question that we have made mistakes.

Some of our approaches have been experimental—many have succeeded, but a few have failed.

Some of our funds have undoubtedly gotten less immediate return—in terms of results—than we might have hoped.

And criticism is not only justified. It is welcome.

I would only say this: Just men...just money

...just material—no matter how high the level of each—will not be enough to make our cities what we want them to be.

As you know so well, what is required is a rational, responsible approach—an approach utilizing imaginative research...skilled administration...trained manpower...productive facilities and equipment—all brought to bear at the right places at the right time.

Today we have two proposals before the Congress which I believe will help us achieve such a systematic approach to our urban problems. I ask your support—and the support of all concerned with the American city—for these proposals.

I ask your support for the Demonstration Cities Bill and the Metropolitan Development Bill.

In proposing the Demonstration Cities Bill we have said to the nation's mayors, "We will fund plans for a large scale attack on urban blight for whole neighborhoods."

We have said, "Survey the Federal and state programs, put them all together in a rational way, and we will then give you a further grant which can fill the gaps."

In proposing the Metropolitan Development Bill we have said to the nation's communities: "In your consideration of programs requiring plans—airport programs, mass transit programs, land and water conservation programs, regardless of the Federal agency—the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development can add 20 percent to those grants if the plans for that program include the whole metropolitan area."

We ask local communities to tell us their needs, but encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

These programs are not panaceas, but they are certainly landmarks in our Federal aid program.

Finally, may I try to put the problems of our cities in perspective.

Our Gross National Product this year will be over three quarters of a trillion dollars.

Federal revenues will be running 50 billion dollars more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965 and will continue to increase as the economy grows:

Ours is the richest and most powerful society ever created on earth.

There is little doubt that we can—and very soon—reverse the trends we see today in our cities.

Life in our cities can be more than steaming asphalt and crowded tenements...more than filthy air and polluted water...more than clogged highways and congested streets...more than bursting schoolrooms and underpaid teachers...more than violence and hopelessness and discrimination and hate and despair...more than temporary material satisfaction.

The way lies open to build a society in which the human values come uppermost.

The way lies open to cities filled with green and open space...to transportation that is safe, comfortable, rapid...to neighborhoods once more filled with neighbors...to schools and universities that truly care about the future of our children...to rural areas, towns, cities, suburbs where people—because they are citizens, because they are people—can live together in harmony and cooperation, no matter what their age, the color of their skin, their religion, or their last name.

This is what we mean by America the Beautiful. It is not only bricks and mortar. It is the soul and spirit of our people. What concerns me is not so much obsolescence in our buildings, but erosion of the human spirit, of the human will.

We have the knowledge to make this great nation America the Beautiful. We have the resources. And, I believe, we should have the wisdom to put them intelligently together.

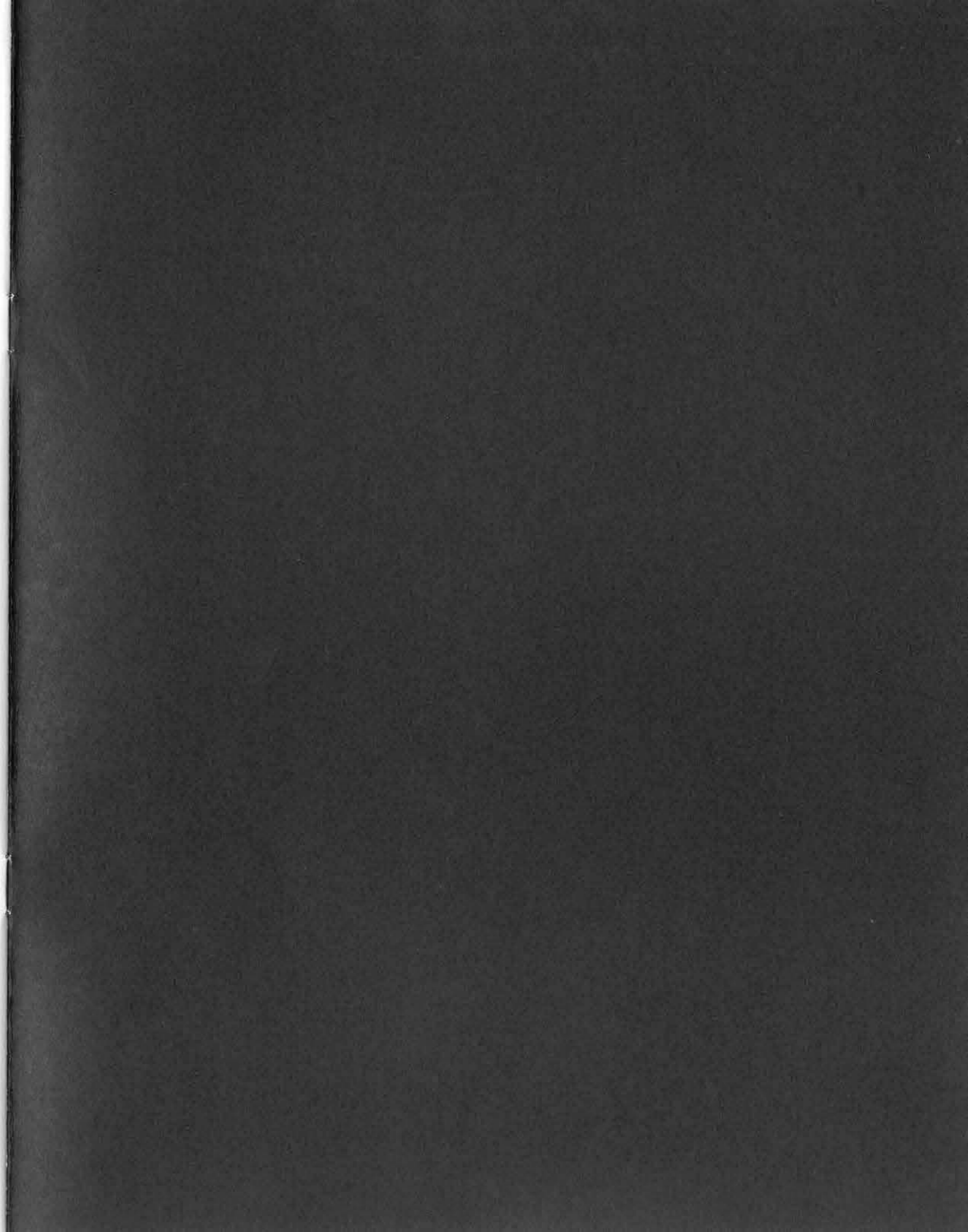
The critical question is this: Do we have the will?

Does each one of us really care enough to make it his personal business—as you have—to invest his time and effort to a task that does not immediately affect his own neighborhood, his own income, or his own place in life?

When enough Americans can answer "yes" to that question, we will be on our way.

Delivered September 13, 1966

The Urban Information Center of Urban America, Inc.
1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036



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REMARKS

Steven Currier

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

URBAN AMERICA CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1966

Baron
Von Hertzgen
Hertzgen

(X) Andrew
Herskill
51st Birthday
Today ✓

A new Day ✓

↳ In the Middle Ages, sober and civilized citizens surrounded their cities with high, fortified walls. The gates in these walled cities were closed at night to keep out the savage marauders of the countryside.

↳ Today, in the middle of the 20th century, we are in danger of creating new walled cities -- but cities from which city people who want to keep the good life the "sober and civilized citizens" will largely have fled -- cities in which violence lies on the inside... cities in which the remaining inhabitants will be surrounded not by walls of stone, but by unbreachable social, economic and political barriers.

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Bill Clayton

of enlightenment and higher aspiration, but stagnant and congested places to be avoided except on the most necessary missions of commerce or of politics.

↳ We are in danger -- unless we act wisely and quickly -- of making our cities places where business goes on but where life, in its real sense, is lost. —

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Paint

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state competitions, state public works
charters colleges

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— state const. revision
State Laws
City Charters

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We have, in fact, more than doubled our federal investments in programs for the cities.

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As you know so well, what is required is a rational, responsible approach -- an approach utilizing imaginative research... skilled administration... trained manpower... productive facilities and equipment -- all brought to bear at the right places at the right time. *UNSW Training Urban Affairs Centre*

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[Transcript]

ADDRESS OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES

SHERATON PARK HOTEL
September 13, 1966,
Washington, D.C.

URBAN AMERICAN CONFERENCE



VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

Thank you, my obviously good friend, Andrew Heiskell. And a happy birthday to you, too. I must say that you look very healthy, young man. And I can see that we are going to get many, many years of dedicated, devoted service beyond the call of duty from you -- at very low rates. (Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And we are most appreciative.

My good friend August Hecksher, a gentleman with whom I have had the privilege of working in the field of the Arts -- a new day has arrived for that field of human endeavor.

Stephen Currier, to whom we are indebted so much, not only for this great Conference, but you, Stephen, for many activities in the field of Human Relations, where you have contributed so much to the betterment of life.

And indeed to Baron von Hertzog we are honored by your presence because of your many great contributions to the better city, to the livable city.

I am delighted to have a chance to participate in this gathering, and I want you to be at ease that any suggestions, any criticisms, any proposals that you might have, that can be forwarded to the Administration, that you

will find a friendly conduit through the Vice President's office. So don't you hesitate to send them, at least through that route.

(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I was very pleased to note that Bill Slayton has become a part of this program and is so closely associated with you. That's a good sign in itself. I hold Bill in the highest esteem because I know of his great work in Urban Development Urban Renewal, and in the improvement of our lives and cities.

Well, we ought to be talking about cities, because that's where most of are going to live. And anybody that wants to talk about the tomorrows knows that practically everybody is going to be living in cities. So we have a very, very special, personal, social, polirical, economic interest in how our cities are going to be, what their design will be, what their condition will be and what they can offer to the human being. My political philosophy is one that the institutions of man are designed to enrich the lives of people. And the institution of the city and all that it means, in any way that you could or would define the city, has only one justification for its existence: Does it make life better? Does it tend to release the potential of man? Does it emancipate him? Does it give him forward thrust, so to speak, to do better and to live

better and to give more of himself to the common good. That's about where I would start. I think you have to have a premise for every discussion or as we used to say in academic circles, a frame of reference, if that fits the occasion now.

For just a moment I would like to take your minds back to other days and maybe it is good to go back to the Middle Ages because then you know that all of the problems of mankind are not in the Twentieth Century. They have had some too. And in those days, sober and civilized citizens surrounded their cities with high, fortified walls. Now of course they did that for the purpose of protection, but the city was at least considered to be the best that man had to offer. The gates in those walled cities were closed at night to keep out the savage marauders of the countryside; the bandits, the pirates. But today in the middle of the Twentieth Century, when we presume that we have made substantial advance, we are in the danger of creating a new kind of walled city. But cities from which citizens who want to live the good life -- you could call them the sober ones and those that feel that they would like all the benefits of civilization -- will largely have fled. Cities in which violence lies on the inside, not on the outside. But cities in which the remaining inhabitants will be surrounded not by walls of stone but by more

difficult and even stronger walls -- unbreachable, -- unbreachable social, economic and political barriers.

I have been doing a good deal of visiting with our fellow Americans about these cities of ours. And I am pleased, Andrew, that you said that I was once a Mayor. That doesn't give me any special insight into cities. As a matter of fact some people may feel that that is rather counterproductive as to any insight. I am not of that mind however as you shall find as I just visit with you today.

But I do think, quite frankly, that the biggest problem that we have today is that our dream of One America is being shattered; that this is no longer, or that it is running into the danger, I should say, our country is running into the possible danger of what President Johnson said at Howard University a little over a year and a half ago of the Other America. Or what I have said is the city within the city; the ghetto within the city.

Now I mention this to you because much of our city, most of it, in the city, is beautiful. Many cities have outstanding cultural attainments; beautiful buildings; magnificent neighborhoods; modern and beautiful parks; boulevards; playgrounds; every conceivable facility to make life enjoyable for many. And indeed for the majority. But within that Garden, within that City, is yet another city, and it is called the inner city or the core city which is

as far removed from the first that I have explained as the moon is from the earth. It is almost as if it was a foreign environment within our midst. And yet I remind you that every child in this nation has been brought up to believe and to say..."One Nation, Under God, Indivisible; with Liberty and Justice for All." And they can go right out of their classroom and find out that it's not true. That they find out that it isn't one nation. It is in a sense for their experience, two. If they live in the slum, it is the nation and the city and the state and they see there, and only a mile away, or a half a mile away, there is beauty and splendor; magnificent buildings and fountains and boulevards and golf courses and parks and beautiful apartments and homes. And it is this contrast that makes the slum the more ugly and the more evil and more threatening. That's why I say to you today that we are in danger in a society that prides itself on being an Open Society and a society of equal opportunity and a society that espouses the democratic ideal of human dignity of making our simple cities not centers of enlightenment and higher inspiration, but stagnant, congested places, to be avoided except on the most necessary mission of commerce of politics. You venture in as you do into a hostile territory. We are in danger unless we act quickly and wisely of making

our cities places where business goes on, but where life in its real sense is lost.

I come back to my premise again: The city should be man's finest development of his cultural life.

I remember as a student that I studied the writings of St. Augustine. And he wrote of The City of Man and The City of God. I am not sure that the analogy is fully appropriate but I must say that there is surely a great difference between the City that some people live in and the City that you and I live in; where we live. The city that is filled with good spirits, the good life and the city that is filled with hopelessness and poverty.

Now we know our problems but that's important to know. One of the advantages of this Conference is to identify the problem. You cannot heal thyself until you know what is the sickness. And we are in the process of identifying the problem and we are talking about them as we should. But we talk about them I am afraid sometimes in the abstract, as I have for a moment, as slums and crime. and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools and inadequate transportation or a shortage of parks and playgrounds and the need for more revenue. I think I just about covered the full spectrum now of the complaints. And you will note that the city is the focal point today of

practically everything that seems to be gnawing at our civilization. So really when we talk about poverty today in the broadest sense of that term we are talking about the problem of the cities. But we are also talking about a nation. Because poverty is no longer just a burden of the poor. It is the cancer of a society. And it spreads. And when we talk about slums, frequently it looks as if we are only talking about a problem that is related to the local community, the -- and the city fathers or the mayor. Or the real-estate board. But slums are no longer the problem of the city. They are the rot of a nation. And we have to directly identify every one of these problems in a broader picture.

So the city today is the focal point of everything that we are talking about with the exception possibly of the immediate aspects of national security -- and even there I think it affects us. Because I am one that believes that your foreign policy that you seek to project is no better than your domestic policy that you seek to implement.

(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: But having used all these known terms of slums and crowding and crime, I think we have to remember that human beings are living in these ghettos of our great cities. And to them these problems

are immediate. They are not generalities. They are problems of old people living on miserably small incomes in single, musty lonely rooms. And this is a serious social problem. We used to hide away our mentally retarded. But finally we were able to take them out into the broad sunlight of human understanding. But we filled up the old rooms with the old folks. Now slowly but surely we are bringing them out. And we are seeing what we do to one another. These are problems of children that I speak of. Whose play areas are littered and if you want something to do when you go home and I am sort of an actionist -- I used to go around my city of Minneapolis challenging people and engaging in competitive activities, like who could pick up the most rubbish around town -- well, if you want to do something for your children, get the playground cleaned of its litter. That doesn't take a Federal program. It really doesn't.

(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And I might say to any Municipal official that is here, you have ordinances. If you can arrest a man for overparking his car, you can arrest him if you please and give them a tag for litter. Just as easily. It's on the books.

(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: In fact, I did when I was Mayor. It worked, too. I called in the landlords. I said, "Look, if we are going to keep the saloons clean I expect you to keep your property clean." It worked. I don't think it was necessarily the most sophisticated statement of my life, but it was one of the most --

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- it was one of the most effective.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: But these are problems of people like Negro families that are denied housing everywhere but in the ghetto. We had better face up to that one pretty quick, too. And you can help a little while you are in town. There will be a vote tomorrow afternoon in the United States Senate. We are not even asking you at this time to help on the main substance. We would just like your help to get a chance to talk about the substance. And these are Negro families that frequently pay exorbitant rents for an unheated apartment. And I wish to say to my friends of the Municipal Authority, you can see to it that the water does run and that the lights do work. And you can see to it that the heat is on and you can see to it that the health ordinances are

enforced -- without any Federal program. And I speak of problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence. And you don't have to be poor, either. They are the problems of people when we speak of slums and overcrowding and all of this. Living without self respect, without hope, without any solid ties to our -- to the rest of our growing and prosperous nation. And of all the problems that I see today in the cities, it is this problem of the loss of self respect, of self identity, of being lost in the mass, of being sort of swallowed up in the filth and the grime and the obsolescence and the tension and the ferment. I sometimes feel that people have struck out in violence only for the purpose of self identity. Foolishly, yes. Wrongly, yes. But an effort at least to say to the world, "Here am I. Look at me," rather than just being lost. And surely a democratic society owes it to every member of that society for human dignity; for the rights of human dignity; for the preservation of human dignity; for self identification; for self respect.

I one time speaking in Philadelphia said that I recognized that we have many problems in this world, and most of them are tied to an "ism"; and I recognize the serious threat of the international scene of totalitarianism

and Communism. I have spoken on it so many times that some of my liberal friends are weary of it. But I also know that there is another "ism", and if I could get some of my liberal friends as worried about this as they are about the other, we would be in business. Slumism. Which is not merely the deterioration of buildings and things but the deterioration of the human spirit. The breakdown of will. Of self respect. Of dignity. The hopelessness, the despair that people feel. The sense of not being needed or wanted. Lost. In the City. That is slumism. And unless we defeat that "ism" I am afraid we won't do too well against the others.

Well, what brought us here? And what can we do about it? You've heard now all of my complaints. Well first I think that we all recognize that there are many major changes in our society. And it is good to identify those changes. And start to live by the facts of the change. Not only are we no longer primarily people of farms and towns, but we are no longer primarily a people engaged in producing goods. We have no more manufacturing workers than -- today than we had in 1932. Although we grow more farm produce and we make more goods than ever before. A few -- few are farmers and actually few are industrial workers. Most of our people earn their livings by providing services for others. Now both these trends

which are a move towards a metropolitan society and the growth in services can be expected to continue. There is no use of bemoaning the fact. It is there. Then, too, there is the growth of our population. We are always worrying about everybody else's population. I am not worried about ours, I just want us to start to count, that is all. We have increased our population by 47 per cent since 1945. And at the present rate it will grow another 60 per cent by the year 2000. And by the year 1980 there will be one solid city from Boston to Norfolk. One solid city of 100,000,000 people. And green spaces will be priceless. Open spaces will represent one of the great achievements of modern man. From Boston to Norfolk. There is a lot of space in this country too. I don't quite know why everybody wants to get in one spot. But I just came back from New Mexico and I was in Salt Lake City yesterday and I have been in Colorado and I have been out in Iowa and there is a lot of open space. But they didn't want to go there, all of them, so the best thing I can figure out is what are we going to do about the hundred million in the next 15 years. That's right, between now and 1980 between Boston and Norfolk. Because if you think you have traffic problems now, my dear friends, what do you plan on doing when there are another 25,000,000 automobiles on the same roads and the same streets? Where are you going

to put them? Where are you going to park, and what do you plan on breathing?

(Laughter.) (Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I have real hope for you. I was at Los Alamos on Saturday. And we are working on nuclear power if you can live long enough. That will do away with some of the debris from fossil fuels. But I am afraid you are stuck with gas and oil and coal for a little while longer. So we better figure out what we are going to do about it.

I'd like to take this moment to point out that this increase in population is a constantly increasing demand of a larger and larger percentage of our people for an ever higher standard of living. And I would like to take this moment to point out that our standard of living is not just the accumulation of material things. Because it includes education and recreation and beauty and leisure. And I don't need to tell you what we are going to have to do about classrooms. But we are going to do something. What we are going to have to do about higher education facilities. Except to tell you that in 25 years we will have to build more universities than we have had in the last 300 years. But I am not really overwhelmed by that because I think we can do it.

This legitimated demand of more people for more of the rewards of life added to the obsolescence of what we already have is what is in large part creating this galloping muddle of our cities. It is coming so fast that no one has had a chance to sort out the pieces. It is another way of telling you that there is the revolution of rising expectations even in an industrialized society. I bring you back to this because I have made so many speeches myself of what we ought to do for India and Afghanistan and South America; then I get on about that point that there is a revolution of rising expectations, quoting Toynbe, which identifies me with intellectual circles for a moment.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: But let me just bring you back to plain old home circles for a while.

There are rising expectations in every part of this land. And the television and the magazine and the periodical and the radio and communication and word-to-word and just travel have made rising expectations a revolutionary fact in the United States. People are not going to be content to live as second-class citizens while others mouth first-class-citizen rhetoric. So we just boil right down to a choice: do you want a divided nation or do you want a united nation? Do you want a nation at war with

itself or do you want one at peace? Do you want one that is spending its energy remedying its injustices and its inequities or one that is trying to defend it? And I think that is what you are here about. And that is why I wanted to be with you. Because I am on the side of trying to overcome these injustices. I want a United America, not only because it is our dream and our destiny and our purpose, but because I think it is vital, absolutely essential if we hope to have a better world; a peaceful world.

So we see this situation now that is the product of accelerated change and tremendous growth. But much of it uncontrolled. Just as we saw the industrial revolution earlier that was a fantastic change; and it was without controls; and it left in its wake child labor, sweatshops and great human misery even though it also brought with it tremendous capital formation and the possibilities of great advance. And I think that is where we are at the city level now. It is not all bad. And I think the tendency of most of us speakers is to point out all the bad. Because generally that's what gets the news. The fact is that there are patterns in every city that show what can be. We have the prototype, we have more than the pilot plan, we have going concerns in some of our cities, in most of our cities, as to what a city really could be and what it ought to be and I submit that if a city can

provide the good life for three-fourths of its people it can provide it for all of them.

If you can plan a city for most of your people so that it is livable, you can make it for the rest of them. If you really want to -- if you can pick up the garbage -- to get very mundane about it -- in most parts of the city, you can pick it up in the other part, too. But you don't.

Many times if you can have beautification where I live, you can have it where the poor relatives live, too. Or folks that you never met. Green grass is not made just for you. Trees and shrubery and beautification not just for some. As a matter of fact, the people who need it the most are the ones that get it the least. If you really believe in human rehabilitation, and that we do, at least we say we do -- now that all isn't in this speech, so don't look at it, if there are any of you that have a copy of it down there. I am just -- I always have two speeches -- one that I come with and one that I decide to give you.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: So --

(Applause.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- all this sort of bothers me when they are paging through, you know. As a matter of fact, it is a kind of a challenge. I just like to kind of louse them up.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Now let me talk to you about a subject on which I think I have a little knowledge -- because I used to teach, I am a refugee from a classroom, and in light of what I read these days I may want to have to renew my membership in the academic profession.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I like to mention this particularly in the presence of university personnel --

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- I did study American Government and was at once a Professor of it, and so I want to talk to you a little bit about that -- I really feel I owe most of my students a refund, but --

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- maybe they will forgive me.

You see those who traditionally would be in control of our metropolitan areas of our cities oftentimes have the title but not the authority. Now they don't want to admit that to you, just like it is hard for a vice president to admit how little authority he has.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I always do better when I am out of Washington. Folks haven't checked you so well, you see.

Or where they have the authority, and some municipal officials do -- or local government officials -- they cannot get the funds to do the job. Somebody once asked me what it took to make good government and I said good people and money. They are both in short supply.

Now the number of officials and of official bodies that function in this crazyquilt pattern of local authority and I say local and not just city because I am afraid we are losing sight of the county structure of government; and the county is a basic structure of state government; and don't just talk city now, you must talk in broader terms of what we commonly call the cities and if you use the city be thinking of it primarily in terms of local government.

Well, that crazyquilt pattern of local authority has its rationale only as a subject today of doctoral theses, or is a testament to inhuman ingenuity. Ours is a nation with 80,000 separate local governmental units. I thought you ought to know that because you read so often how local government is being stamped out.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: In the New York

Metropolitan area alone there are over 1,400 separate independent units of government. And I want my friends in New York from the highest office on down to evaluate that. I don't care how smart you are, you can't run that many.

Today's problems do not respect yesterday's governmental structures. What I am saying to you is after having told you that we changed from a rural society to an urban from an essentially industrial society to a service society you haven't changed your laws. You haven't changed your state constitutions. I spoke in New York here the other day at a rather spiritual occasion -- Democratic party convention up there --

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- and I reminded them that they had a chance as one of the great states to really do something fundamental besides electing the Democrats. I did plus that a bit.

But more importantly I said you can write a new state constitution. How many in this audience recognize that most of the States of the Union have no constitution that is related in any way to the present needs of our society? Or to the structure of our society? And if you think state constitutions are out of date, what about state law that has all been passed by rural dominated legislatures over years. And most of those state laws are

related to problems that no longer are even with us; and institutions that have lost their usefulness. And what is even more significant is the tradition of state government that was rural oriented that has not -- doesn't speak the language of the cities. It does not feel the problems of the city. The Bureaucracy is oriented towards another way because all of their ^{supervisors} bosses for years and years, all of their top men came from rural areas. This is not to say that rural people aren't wonderful people. It is simply to say that in this day and age you do not put in charge of the Department of Transportation the manager of the local livery stable. You try to find somebody that is aware of the problem of transportation now and in the year 2000.

And I submit that this is a basic, fundamental problem that you have to come to grips with. Because cities are the creatures of the state -- not the Federal government. The state has the police powers, not the Federal government. The state in most institutions sets the authority of the city and the county. The state by statutory law or constitution establishes the city charter. I tried to amend our city charter when I was Mayor of Minneapolis and I want to tell you I could have been to the moon and back there three times before you could amend

the city charter. They built in protections into that charter so that it would have taken a greater victory than we had in 1964 to even put on a small amendment. It required over 60 per cent of all of the voters that voted for the highest office in the last Presidential election.

How do you amend a charter? Did you ever try to? Have you ever figured out how many people really vote in a municipal election? I read in the papers here about elections in New York not long ago and that was a great election. We had -- why, I want to tell you, it is unbelievable that in a city of millions of people you get two, 300,000 voters.

The average participation in municipal elections is about 35 per cent of the eligible electorate. And maybe there is a reason for it. You can't change anything by voting -- why vote? Maybe the people are smarter than some people think they are.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Maybe they have come to the conclusion that you are just voting for an old -- not only an old machine in the sense that we know of a machine as a politician instrument -- but an old institution that no longer is related to the problems of today.

So you see that really most of our problems are not just cities. They are frequently metropolitan problems.

And there are no metropolitan frameworks except in very few instances. Occasionally you have an overlap in county government, such as in Denver where the city and the county are as one, so to speak.

Now as our problems gather speed, all those who might have been drivers are in the back seat. A lot of cars have been driven that way, but it is hazardous.

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And if our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable the case for local control would be hopeless. But it can be changed.

Now we have seen one great change -- reapportionment. A major shift on the state level; at long last, one man, one vote. And where were some of us when that fight was on? I thought that was the basic -- one of the most basic battles in this Congress. And a handful of Senators stood up. And the Vice President was around using what little influence he had at that time -- it is eroded since, but we were trying to prevent the Constitutional amendment that would have reversed the Supreme Court decision because that one vote, one man, is going to have more affect on the future well being of the cities than any meeting we hold. And it is going to take about a half a decade or a decade

for people to really know what has happened. And for the change of thinking within the governmental structure.

Have you ever tried to change the thinking within a department of government?

It's like trying to change it in a big corporation where the man on top says, "Well, that's what we will do", but the personnel officer seldom hears it. And his third assistant -- it is a whisper. It is like hollering loud from the Capitol steps and you can't even get a whisper when you get to Peoria. It is just gone. So it takes time to make these changes. But you have to keep at it.

Now it is important for the autonomous units which cluster around our great cities to realize that they are in the same boat. And if it goes down, they are all in the drink. The suburb is no escape. The suburb is like a lifeboat that is hitched to the dread naught, and can't get unhitched when the old boat starts to sink. Suction pulls it in. At this moment in history it is obvious that the problems possibly have gotten a bit out of hand. And local government, stunted by historical accident and obsolete law, must have help.

I have been spending two years as Vice President working with Mayors and municipal officials. I have had 16 major meetings with the Mayors of the largest cities of

this land, and the city managers, and county officials, down to cities of 30,000; and now we're working in the 30 and 15,000. And these meetings are not "quickies". They are two-day seminars. The mayors themselves and the city officials are surprised that we are willing to stay with them and not just to come out, come over and give them a talk and then run for cover -- but to listen to their question and their pleadings for help and their sense of desperation. They know that they are fighting massive problems with dwindling resources, and I want to tell you that the men that I have met and the men and women are people of dedication and competence. But they are like a field commander with obsolete weapons. It doesn't make any difference how brave you are or how well trained you are if you have nothing with which to defend yourself against a powerful enemy. You lose the fight.

These problems require more, not less, services. And the Federal government is trying to do the best that it can at this moment to be of help. But I want to say that I think it would be unhealthy indeed for local government to adopt an attitude of "Let Washington do it." And I will add a little extra note: I think it is wrong to pool in Federal money into a machinery that can't produce. I think you have to not only gear up your Federal services

but you have to reset and redesign your local institutions, bringing them together in consortium and contact so that we get them -- get the most out of these resources that we put in. And what is needed is what we have been talking about: cooperative effort, at the city, state and Federal levels. And the private sector, which you represent in substantial measure. To solve these problems of neglect and delay and growth. That is what we mean by creating Federalism. That is not a very sexy phrase, I know. It doesn't seem to make much impact.

But creative Federalism doesn't mean that you just spend more Federal money. This is one of the answers that we Americans have for most problem -- writing a check. You get into a jam overseas -- give them some more aid. You get into trouble at home -- give them a grant. This has even gotten so that it affects our families -- pay them off. That isn't the answer. And you know it and I know it. Creative Federalism. What is it all about.

Well it is a concept that at the outset recognizes the importance of the national economy of viable and economically sound urban areas. It is a concept that recognizes the importance, yes, of local institution, local political political institutions. But it recognizes the importance, above all, of local decision, local planning and local direction. And it rejects, and rejects vigorously

the idea that the Federal government should make the decisions for the local communities. It is a concept that says that Federal assistance, both monetary and technical, is necessary to help metropolitan areas solve their problems; but that the particular solution should be local in character. There is not anyone in Washington wise enough to plan for every city and even if there was, he shouldn't be here. It should be done where the cities and the people are.

Creative Federalism means programs, policies and projects locally inspired, locally developed, locally administered. But with a broader design that includes state and regional development, backed and supported by Federal assistance and resources.

Now in the past several weeks we have seen a number of statements made to the effect that the Federal government has failed in its responsibilities to America's cities. I will not attempt to respond to that criticism. I always believe that hearings are of benefit to the government. But it reveals to me that there is a ferment; that people are at long last beginning to think about this central problem of domestic American life -- where we are going to live and how is the life going to be in our cities.

I would say that in these past few years however we have been engaged in a rapid and massive effort to catch up on problems that have long been ignored, just as we ignored for a hundred years the civil rights problem. And just as we ignored for 200 years, almost for a hundred years, the conservation problem, up until Teddy Roosevelt awakened us to it. Just as we ignored the whole matter of space, until Sputnik made us stand up and take notice. And finally with riots and violence and tension and bitterness and lawlessness and the rise of crime, we have suddenly come to recognize that there is something wrong where we live, that it isn't all in Viet Nam, nor is it all in Africa or Latin America.

Now we have created new Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development. Oh, I know that doesn't seem like much, but I was working on that ten years ago. It took us ten years in Congress to get that. And I remember when we had the first hearings. I had to almost hire my cousin to come down to testify. You couldn't get anybody that was interested. And that is hardly an exaggeration. There were a few municipal organizations that said, "Oh, yes." But we had massive resistance. I was Chairman of that Subcommittee on Reorganization for ten years. I introduced that bill four times in four

separate Congresses. We have in these past years more than doubled our investments in health. And most of the people that are ill live in cities. Because most people live in cities.

We have in the past three years more than doubled our Federal investments in education. And most of this money is going into the cities.

We have launched an unprecedented national war on poverty, and most of the poverty is in the cities. And we are beginning to make progress.

All last week I met with advisory groups in this City on youth opportunity, youth employment, youth training, and there are some wonderful stories to tell. War on Poverty.

We have proposed a new Department of Transportation. You can help get it passed.

We have worked for an economy of both expansion and social justice. And I think we have made substantial progress.

We have worked to eradicate discrimination. We have under fourth draft what our best minds and the most advanced management techniques to the task of creating integrated, systematic, solutions to the encrusted problems of the metropolis.

1
2 We are going to take what we have done in the
3 Defense Department, the system approach, and put it on the
4 problems of the metropolis. And we can, and we must.

5 This business of going around putting band aids
6 on a bleeding sore is not enough. We have to get at it in
7 a clinical manner; a systems approach.

8 Now I know that some of our approaches have been
9 very experimental. And many have succeeded and some have
10 failed. And we generally hear of the failures. Some of
11 our funds have undoubtedly gotten less than immediate re-
12 turn. At least in what we hoped would be the return. And
13 criticism is not only justified, I think it is essential
14 and it is welcome. In fact, I believe that every American
15 ought to be aroused almost to fever pitch as to the im-
16 portance of making his city his city, the finest example
17 of man's creative ability.

18 I would only say this: that just men and just
19 money and just materials, no matter how high the level of
20 each, will not be enough to make our cities what we want
21 them to be.

22 As you so well know, what is required is the
23 rational, responsible approach, utilizing imaginative re-
24 search, skilled administration, trained manpower, productive
25 facilities and equipment; all brought to bear at the right

places at the right time.

We have advanced institutes for international studies at our great universities. At long last we are getting advanced institutes for urban studies at our great universities. And our universities generally respond to what is a need. And I commend every university that establishes its center for urban affairs. And I would hope that you would go home and see the president of your college or your university or speak to your board of regents or trustees and say, "When are we going to do it here?"

So that the university can bring to bear the interdisciplinary force, all of the many disciplines -- the engineering school, the school of technology, science, the life sciences, the humanities, to bear; the school of architecture, upon the problem of our cities.

Today we have two proposals before the Congress. And now I get right down to lobbying. And I ask your support. Because I think these proposals offer some hope.

I ask your support for the Demonstration Cities bill, and the Metropolitan Development bill. In proposing the Demonstration Cities bill we have said to the nation's local officials, to their mayors in particular, these words: We will fund plans for a large-scale attack on urban blight for whole neighborhoods." Not a little bit here and a little

1
2 bit there, but for whole neighborhoods; and you will be
3 paid off well if you will come in with a plan an effective,
4 comprehensive plan that you have designed, in cooperation
5 with your people, we will give you a hundred per-cent
6 grant on all the other programs that you have in your
7 cities. And we have said survey the Federal and state pro-
8 grams and put them all together in a rational way that meets
9 your needs, and we will then give you a further grant which
10 can fill the gaps.

11 I know this isn't all that we should do, but it
12 is a big first step. And that Demonstration Cities bill
13 has been languishing in this Congress for months. It is
14 important. It is important to civil right, civil liberties,
15 good living, economic progress, anything you wish to comment
16 on relating to a city.

17 Now, what about the Metropolitan Development
18 bill?

19 We have said to the nation's communities in your
20 consideration of programs requiring plans, airport pro-
21 grams, mass transit programs, land and water conservation
22 programs, regardless of the Federal agency, the Secretary
23 of Housing and Urban Development can and will add up to
24 20 per cent to those grants if the plans to that program
25 include the whole metropolitan area.

1
2
3 You see then all that we can do at the Federal
4 level is to offer incentives; say, a Governor or a state
5 legislature that has responsibility, statutory and Con-
6 stitutional, for a city, can offer more. The Federal
7 government has but one or two things: technical assistance
8 and money. And those of us that have been in this business
9 of government a long time know that just money is not
10 enough. It helps. But it is not enough.

11 So we are asking local communities to tell us
12 their needs. But we encourage them to plan for the whole
13 urban area. We know these programs are not panaceas. But
14 they are landmarks in our Federal aid program.

15 Now let me conclude then by trying to put the
16 problems of our cities in perspective.

17 Our Gross National Product this year will be
18 about three-quarters of a billion dollars -- or trillion
19 dollars. \$750 billion.

20 Federal revenues will be running \$50 billion more
21 per year at this same tax base in the year 1970 than they
22 were in 1965. And those Federal revenues will continue to
23 increase as the economy grows. Ours is the richest and
24 the most powerful society ever created on this earth. And
25 there is little doubt that we can and very soon can, re-
verse the trends that we see today in our cities. If we

1
2 make the necessary commitment.

3 Life in our cities can be better; and it can be
4 more than steaming asphalt and crowding tenaments. It
5 can be more for some than filthy air and polluted water.
6 And it can be more than clogged highways and congested
7 streets and more than bursting schoolrooms. And inadequate
8 and underpaid teachers in some instances. And more than
9 violence, hopelessness, or hate, or despair, or dis-
10 crimination. The way lies open to build a society in which
11 human values above all are uppermost.

12 And I think that the way lies open for us to
13 dream big dreams; to make great plans, of cities filled
14 with green and open space; of transportation that is safe
15 and comfortable and rapid. But we are going to have to in-
16 vest a great deal more in the research on it. To neighbor-
17 hoods once more filled with neighbors; and to schools and
18 univeristies that truly care about the future of their
19 children; and to rural areas and towns and cities and sub-
20 urbs where people, because they are people and because
21 they are citizens, can and do want to live in harmony and
22 cooperation, not matter what their age or the color of
23 their skin or their religion or their last name. These are
24 our objectives -- this is what we mean by America the
25 Beautiful. Beautification in this land is not just flowers
and shrubs, important as that is. America the Beautiful is

1
2 the beauty of our spirits. It is truly the beauty of our
3 commitment to our highest ideals.

4 We can demonstrate that dedication to beauty by
5 the tangible things that we have; the cities that we build;
6 the homes that we have; the factories and the shops. But
7 the real beauty of America is to be found in the soul and
8 the spirit of its people. And what worries me more than
9 anything else is not so much the obsolescence of our build-
10 ings that we readily tear down, at least for commercial
11 purposes; but what worries me is the erosion of the human
12 spirit, and of the human will.

13 Now we have the knowledge to make this a beauti-
14 ful country -- and it is beautiful in most areas. And we
15 have the resources. And I think we should have the wisdom
16 to put them together intelligently.

17 The critical question is: do we have the will.
18 Are we really willing to buckle down to the task.

19 Does each one of us really care enough to make
20 this his personal business, not just the government's
21 business, but his personal business, as you have; to in-
22 vest his time and his effort into a task that does not
23 immediately affect his own neighborhood. Or his own in-
24 come. Or his own place in life.

25 When enough American make it their personal

1
2 business to make the American city the finest development
3 of the human mind and the human spirit, then I think we
4 will be on our way.

5 And I want to thank you for manifesting that
6 spirit. And I thank you above all for coming to Washington
7 to share it with us. And don't you rest, don't you give up
8 until you see this objective fulfilled. Because really
9 what you are doing is building a better nation, not just
10 a better city.

11 Thank you very much.

12 (Applause.)

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