

# EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AT THE PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SERVICE CONFERENCE  
SPONSORED BY GROUP W, WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, OCTOBER 26, 1966



*Group W, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, held its sixth public service programming conference in Philadelphia, October 23-26, 1966. More than 350 broadcasters, educators and civic leaders participated in an extensive examination of the problems of urban America. Some 30 urban experts explored the urgent dilemmas of the nation's cities especially in the areas of education, race relations, crime, housing, planning, government and taxation. A highlight of the four-day conference was the address by Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States.*



Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey is welcomed to the Philadelphia Conference by Donald H. McGannon, President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

In this historic city of Philadelphia, with the Conference topic "The Unfinished American Revolution," it would seem appropriate to refer to early American Patriots.

John Adams wrote of what he called "the spirit of public happiness" as follows: "It was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control in self-discipline, and in dedication."

What America needs if we are going to come to grips with our problems is the spirit of public happiness. We ought to look upon our experience in public life as a joy. I have said many times that politics ought to be fun. Government and public service and civic consciousness must also be imbued with public happiness.

John Adams was right. Victories are won before the battle is even joined if there is delight in the work we are doing.

Thomas Jefferson has reminded us that "The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government." If we keep that in mind, we will understand why the Constitution imposed two mandates, and only two, upon the representatives of the American people: to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Everything else is optional. Those are the mandates for every public official.

It is all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract philosophic principle or political slogan, but there remains the question: What kind of life is our society providing for the people who live in it? Liberalism is not just a matter of ideas; it relates to people, to their well-being, their happiness, their opportunities, their right to identity and dignity.

#### **City Beautiful Possible**

This question of what kind of a life we will live must be answered in our own time and in our own society. It is a question we must ask ourselves time and again as we measure what we have done, what we have not done, what we are doing and, more importantly, what we seek to do.

Let's talk for a moment about some facts that are all too familiar. Today seven out of ten Americans live in urban areas. Twenty years from now eight out of ten will live in urban areas. But what kind of a life are we living? Are we really creating the good life and the Great Society, or are we building just big things, material things, without any regard to human values?

We build massive, even beautiful office buildings. And we say, "Look at the wonder of America." Despite our affluence, our phenomenal technological progress, the fact is that far too many Americans are not living well. Within the shadow of these magnificent and costly structures there are urban ghettos and filthy slums. It is within the restless minority in the slums and ghettos that the major problems of our time are found. Today—late in the day, but not too late—we have awakened to the fact that life in America falls far short of what it ought to be, and can be. We have made it our national business, at long last—to make the possibility of the city beautiful a reality. But at least we have begun.

Now let me put everything that I am about to say in its proper perspective. Much about our cities is good. The city embodies great cultural institutions, universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera, beautiful buildings, magnificent parks. There is much in the American city today that is inspiring. When we speak of the problems of the city, let us not forget the achievements.

I say this because there is a tendency among many of us to speak as if the whole city were the problem, when that is not the case. What we are seeking to do is not to tear down what we have which is good but to build up the solid foundations that are presently here. We will build upon what is good, beautiful, creative and progressive. We should draw strength and inspiration from it and see whether we cannot make it the universal pattern.

So I say that in urban America we have made some good beginnings. It is my view that the city should be one of the finest expressions of man's genius and enlightenment.

In ancient times, people built walls around cities to protect themselves from the barbarians on the outside. Now we have not walls of stone to keep people outside from coming in, but psychological walls, economic and social barriers, which imprison people within the city's slums and ghettos and areas of obsolescence.

#### **Confronting The Problems**

I know that we are surrounded by a host of problems, but we are no longer pushing them aside. We are facing up to them. We are facing up to the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. We are facing up to the problems of war and peace. We are facing up to the problems of building international organizations, even while some people preach naked nationalism.

America is growing up but there are some growing pains—some turbulence and uncertainty.

We talk about slums and crime and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, shortage of parks and playgrounds, and the constant need for revenue. But to those who live in the ghettos of our cities these terms are not mere words. These are cruel and personal experiences...

I speak of the problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence because police protection is

inadequate in the slum. I speak of problems of people living without self respect, without hope, without any real tie to the rest of our prosperous nation. They are the victims of educational deprivation, of poverty, of ill health, of lack of work skills.

I repeat, the people of whom I speak are cut off from the mainstream of American life. They live as if they are in a separate nation. President Johnson called it "the other nation" in his famous Howard University speech. In America there is no room for two nations. There is no room for two classes of citizenship. This must be one nation with one citizenship.

We are no longer a people of farms and towns. We still have many people in those areas, but most of our people live in cities. We are no longer a people primarily engaged in producing goods.

Most of our people today are in metropolitan society. Most of them earn their living by providing services for others. The move towards metropolitan society and the growth in services are two distinct trends. They both will continue and we must adjust ourselves to these facts.

#### **Contradictions Of Urban America**

Then, there is the growth in our population. It has grown 47% since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60% by the year 2000; and that is not far away.

Added to the increase in population is the constantly increasing demand of our people for an ever higher standard of living. What do I mean by an ever higher standard of living? Not just more income, nor the accumulation of material things, but more schools, more universities, more parks, and more hospitals. We need to have more and better-trained men and women in public and private life who can think about building and rebuilding for those to come. We need to double our entire educational facilities in the next twenty-five years—to do as much in twenty-five years as we have done in three hundred!

The legitimate demands for the rewards of life, added to the obsolescence of that which they have, is in large part what is creating the contradictions of urban America. We have a revolution of rising expectations in every part of America. People are no longer willing to accept that which was. The restlessness of the poor in this land, the people who feel that they have not been

given a fair deal, is a fact of our time. We show them the good life on television, they read of it in the press, in the journals, in the magazines, on the billboards. They hear of it on the radio.

Rising expectations in Africa and Asia, where people hear not, see not, read not, where better than two-thirds of all humanity is illiterate, where radio and television are seldom even known? That rising expectation is but a small, little tremble, just a feeble little vibration compared to the massive earthquake of demand and of restlessness that we find in this America of ours.

#### **Government Structures Obsolete**

And we have the means if we have the will to do something about it—the will to order and to control change and growth in our cities. As it stands now, however, those who traditionally would be in control have the titles, but all too frequently not the authority. Or, if they do have the authority, they cannot get the money to do the job.

The number of officials and official bodies that function in this America is like a crazy-quilt pattern of city authority. It has its rationale only as a subject for doctoral theses, for public administration students at universities, or as a testament to misdirected ingenuity. Ours is a nation of over 80,000 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, but we cling to obsolete governmental structures as if they were sanctioned by holy writ. If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, the case for local control would be hopeless. But we have seen in the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment a major shift on the state level which should soon be reflected on the local level. As a matter of fact, both state and city governments are becoming more viable and energetic in meeting urban problems.

A city may have a Home Rule Charter, but it is the grant or the gift of the state legislative body. The police authority exercised by local government is entirely the prerogative of state government. The county, the city, the community are each agents of the state. State governments historically have been rural-oriented, rural-dominated, though we are presently 70 percent urbanized. And it



is going to take time, even with reapportionment, to restructure state governments, since in many states the civil service perpetuates departments and agencies oriented to yesterday's problems.

State constitutions need to be updated. City charters need to be rewritten. State law needs to be rewritten in light of the fact of our time: That seven out of ten people live in cities. Local government needs revision. We need new combinations of local government units. The voluntary associations of locally elected officials in metropolitan areas are a beginning. These associations are in reality councils of local governments banded together to solve mutual problems—many of which are unresolvable when attacked separately by each individual unit of government.

Let me make it quite clear that I do not think we should destroy all that we have. We need to take a long, hard look at what we have and to make changes and revisions to help both urban and rural governments. For example, differences in standards of health in adjacent metropolitan areas work against the total interest, for disease does not respect any geographical boundary. Certain basic services—health services, police services, fire services—need to be on a basis of pooled authority.

#### **Some Encouraging Developments**

Local governments stunted by historical accident must be helped to upgrade their manpower. There is a significant shortage all over the nation of trained manpower. Without the trained manpower—the managers, the technicians, the professionals—without incentives to stay on the job, without adequate salaries and tenure and all that comes with them, no amount of money will solve our problems. We must expand the training base in our public administration sector.

Some things have been happening that are encouraging. At long last, due to the activity of local officials and the leadership of our President, we have a Cabinet-level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dwellers' interest at the highest levels of government, but it also means a place where the great variety of federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated. It means greatly improved communications between the Federal government, the local government, the state government.

We have new programs to cleanse our water and our air. We have rent supplements so that low-income families may have good housing. We have a Department of Transportation. We have vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education, of health, of skill, of earning power. All of these affect the urban person.

The task ahead of your government today is to put these programs to work. Our task now is to digest what we have, to assimilate it, to understand it, to adapt it, to apply it, to experiment with it.

We are bringing this whole array of policies and programs that I have mentioned into a single and efficient focus through the Demonstration Cities program, which is designed to stimulate, strengthen and reward the coordinated planning and action which will be necessary if our cities are to be centers of good living.

#### **Demonstration Cities Explained**

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to bring all the federal programs that apply to cities and people into a concentrated attack on the problems of a major area within a city. There are certain criteria to be met for a city to qualify for this special program.

An area must be large enough so a project will have a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city.

The area must contain a significant part of the deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and the plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing.

The plan must pay attention to the social needs of the community, with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed.

The qualifying cities must show they have the administrative and financial capacity to carry out the plan. Many housing and urban development programs will normally be included in a given Demonstration Cities project. These will include programs of housing, renewal, and mass transit. But each demonstration may also include other existing federally-assisted programs, such as welfare, health, economic opportunity and education.

The Demonstration Cities program means bringing to bear upon a problem area the total resources of the Federal, state, and local

governments working with private enterprise to make a significant impact upon the well-being of the city.

The planning of local programs must come from the local community. It must be inspired at home. It must be directed at the local level. It must relate to the needs of a community. No Federal government is wise enough to write a prescription for every city in America; and even if it were, it should not. I would be opposed to any Federal program that sought to dominate the planning or the activity of the municipalities.

In addition to concentrating these federally-assisted programs and providing planning funds, we will provide Federal supplemental funds to expand and finance entirely new local activities. The only restriction is that such activities must be geared to the achievement of the overall objectives of the community plans.

### **Programs Not Panaceas**

There is also the Metropolitan Development Act which makes available additional dollar incentives from the Federal government to help orderly metropolitan development, to meet the problems of urban sprawl.

In nearly every city there are colleges and universities which can be action centers as well as centers for study, reflection, and meditation. We call upon the great university centers to put their top talent to work in helping to build better communities.

We call upon the great corporations of America, engaged in what is known as systems analysis, to offer their services to the metropolitan authorities. Systems analysis—the new technique used in the development of new systems of defense and space exploration—needs to receive much more emphasis.

We are asking local communities to gear up for action and to tap every resource available. And we ask these local communities to tell the Federal Government their needs. But above all we encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

None of these programs are panaceas—there are no instant solutions to such long-standing problems. These programs provide good long-term solutions. They are landmarks in our Federal aid program.

Let me, then, put the problems of our cities into perspective for

the future. Our gross national product this year will be over three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Federal revenues will be running \$50 billion more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965, on the same tax base, and will continue to increase as the economy grows. Ours is the richest and the most powerful society ever created on earth. There is little doubt that we can, and very soon, reverse the trends that we see in our cities. Life in our cities can be much more than crowded tenements, more than dirty air and polluted water, more than clogged highways and congested streets, more than bursting classrooms and underpaid teachers, more than violence and despair and discrimination and hopelessness, more than temporary material satisfaction.

I believe that a way of life is open to build a society in which human values are uppermost. We have some very real assets to build upon. We have a tremendously strong, vigorously growing economy, which will generate the revenue we need. We have dedicated public officials. We have the beginnings of an aroused and informed public opinion, of the kind we had to arouse to get action on public education. We have a new partnership of Federal, state, and local officials and private groups, all working together in what President Johnson calls "creative federalism." And, when we achieve the kind of peaceful world we are working for, we can look forward to applying to our domestic needs some of the funds presently required for defense.

### **Pool Urban Experience**

I served in the Senate when America was spending billions of dollars in the war in Korea. I saw that same America unwilling to make adequate and long overdue investments in education, health, housing and our other needs at home when the Korean War was over. Had we been willing, as a people and as a nation, to invest half as much in our cities as in the Korean War we would not be in the predicament we are in today.

My fellow Americans, on the day that peace comes in Viet Nam, this Administration will be asking you to make a similar commitment of our national resources to build a better America.

We can get a good start toward achieving our aims by pooling our municipal redevelopment experience on a formalized basis. For example, let's pool information on what has been done in Phila-

delphia, in Boston, in Omaha, and in other places. The people need to know more about this. We should use television to show what can be done, what has been done, and what needs to be done—show the beautiful new areas that once were slums; show the slum areas as they now are and as they could be. We should show the city of the future with clean air, clean water, and traffic that can move—with schools and with green and open spaces.

We ought to have regular international conferences on urban problems and programs, because other nations are building better cities than we are. Let us find out what is happening in the more congested cities of Western Europe and how they handle their problems.

### **Low-Rent Housing Greatest Need**

I think we need an advisory council of both public officials and private citizens for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development—a strong, speaking-up, non-rubber stamp advisory council, one that becomes a bit obstreperous on occasion. Outside people who do not have quite as much responsibility as people in government can be a little more daring.

I think that we need to treat our slum areas exactly as we treat the underdeveloped nations in our foreign aid program. The cities no longer have the resources to manage these problems.

Let me be more explicit. We have a Peace Corps that works overseas. We have a Volunteers in Service to America that works back home, a domestic Peace Corps. We have a foreign aid program that works overseas. We need a domestic aid program that works at home.

We have the pieces of it already. We have these great programs of Federal assistance. But we need something else. If we have guaranteed loans for American business to make investments in housing and other projects in foreign countries, we also need them here in the United States.

The greatest single need today in the metropolitan core, the center city, is low-rent housing. And not just a mass of concrete and building block, but trees and shrubs and green spaces and clean streets and playgrounds and schools. We need real neighborhoods—not just house after house like barracks, but homes.

We have the beginnings with present programs. But let us dream a little. I want to get you doing something about this. Don't expect

others to fight this battle. And don't expect the mayor to fight it alone. It will take aroused businessmen of the biggest corporations in America, the hundred largest ones. Instead of reading about the top corporations and their profits, I want to know about their social consciousness...

I would like to see a National Housing Development Fund for cooperatives and non-profit corporations, just as we did with R.E.A. Do you think you would ever have had electricity in the countryside without the Rural Electrification Administration that provided long-term loans at low rates of interest? Private industry cannot make money in most instances in low-income housing, unless it gets some help.

The Mayor of Omaha told me tonight how private industry is doing some remodeling and some rehabilitation in Omaha and making it profitable. More power to them. We need to learn from that experience.

### **Do We Have The Will?**

Any country which can put a man on the moon ought to be able to put a man on his feet here on earth. I am Chairman of the Space Council and I am for putting the man on the moon. But, if we can do this, why in the name of common sense can't we provide a wholesome urban environment wherever it needs to be done? We can, if we want to.

In our space program, there is no tolerance for failure. We demand excellence of our producers, of our industries, of our managers, of our scientists, and we pour in billions to get it. We have made it a matter of national pride.

I want our country to be first to the moon, but I also want it to be first in achieving the good life for all its people. And most of them are going to live in the great metropolitan urban areas of America.

I submit that, with the necessary dedication, we can make this the good life. The critical question is: Do we have the will? When enough Americans answer that question "yes" and when enough Americans say they are willing to pay the price for victory over communism, we will have defeated both—because the greatest menace at home is what I call slummism.

Remember what the late beloved Pope John XXIII said:

"In a world of constant want, there is no peace..."

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WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY



## PROCEEDINGS

Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's  
Urban Affairs Conference

Address:

VICE PRESIDENT, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Wednesday Evening, October 26, 1966

University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

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WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY'S

URBAN AFFAIRS CONFERENCE

Wednesday Evening, October 26, 1966

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MR. FRANK TOOKE: Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The big moment has finally arrived. It certainly is no secret why we're here. We are looking forward to the address by the Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey, and we're most grateful to him for being able to arrange his, believe me, very hectic schedule so that he can be with us tonight.

I think I should let you all know that half of our audience this evening has been with us for the past three and a half days attending our Public Service Conference, and for these delegates tonight is the concluding event of a very busy schedule. The other half of our audience is sort of brand new to this conference business, for they have just joined us especially for this happy occasion. You are indeed all most welcome and we're delighted to see you.

We're doing a radio and television broadcast

of this event and that's why there are lights and cameras and microphones on, and now we'll get to the broadcast portion of our evening, starting with my introduction of the President of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, Mr. Donald H. McGannon. (Applause)

MR. DONALD H. MCGANNON: Mr. Vice President.

For the past three days a significant cross-section of American broadcasters have been meeting in this historic City of Philadelphia. Their purpose was to reassess the problems of urban America and to explore possible solutions. Westinghouse Broadcasting Company has been privileged to sponsor this meeting under the title of "The Unfinished American Revolution."

We've heard discussions of education, human rights, environmental pollution, transportation, housing, and such similar subjects that make up the whole context of the urban dilemma. As individuals, you and I can draw a whole myriad of conclusions and reactions, but to me as one individual two basic principles emerge. First, the urban problem of this great country is widespread, is extremely difficult and is rapidly reaching the so-called critical mass stage. Secondly, each one of us is involved with this problem and, therefore, any solution -- if, yes,



there is to be a solution -- must involve the participation of each one of us.

In this regard it's axiomatic, I am sure, that the greater our resources, the stronger our talents, the more pervasive our power of communication, then also the greater our responsibility to act and to do something about these problems.

To crown these days of dialog and this important effort we are privileged this evening to have as our guest and speaker the Vice President of the United States. His presence is most appropriate at a meeting discussing urban affairs. I say this because it was Hubert Humphrey's voice over twenty years ago that came out of the midwest when he was Mayor of Minneapolis and first discussed the matter of civil issues. It was Hubert Humphrey's voice that just a few hundred yards from here, at the convention of 1948, gave a most courageous and, I might say also, the first important speech on civil rights at the time of that convention. And bear in mind that was six years before the first Supreme Court decision.

It was also his voice that you heard on the floor of the Senate, when he was a member of that august body, as early as 1949 talking about Medicare. And, indeed,



as Democratic Whip he was in the forefront of what I call "people" causes and, as such, developed also an important approach to the urban problems.

His views and concerns as expressed over this period were not readily recognized or conceded or regarded well, certainly not as well as they are today when we're blessed with ten to twenty years of hindsight. However, I contend that these views, courageously advanced as they were by him, gave great testament to his perception, to his foresight, and to his humanitarianism.

It is for these reasons, ladies and gentlemen, and for many more that I take great special pride in presenting to you the Vice President of the United States.

(Applause as audience arose)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

My thanks to you, Mr. McGannon, and Mr. Tooke, and Dr. Rainey and our friends of the broadcasting industry, and particularly the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's representatives here this evening, and my fellow Americans; and I understand that we may have a few students and others from lands outside of America that have come here to share this evening with us.

First may I thank Westinghouse for this invitation to share with you tonight some thoughts on where we're going to live and how we're going to live. What could be more important than thinking about the kind of a life that we will have here on this earth, not only the longevity but the quality of life.

I couldn't help but think as I sat here on the platform while these early proceedings were under way of the history that is truly involved in the statement "The Unfinished American Revolution," because, fortunately, the American Revolution is the unfinished business of free men everywhere. I have always believed that the hope of the world was not to be found in the sterile, cold, dogmatic doctrines of Marx and Lenin, but much more so in the writings and in the philosophy of Jefferson.

I happened to find in my pocket just as I was getting ready to stand before you a card that I carry. I have several of them because I keep losing them, and I asked my aid who was with me if he could quickly produce one from a little booklet that I gave to him. Let me just read to you what I have on this card.

It is my view that President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life the spirit

described by John Adams as one of public happiness. (You will have to forgive what some people might term a partisan reference.) But let me describe to you what is this spirit of public happiness, because it is entirely fitting and appropriate for this occasion and indeed it embodies the message that I want to give to you, which will take much more time, regrettably, for you than this brief quotation.

John Adams described this spirit of public happiness as follows: "It was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication."

I think that's a very worthy quotation for a conference such as the one that you have had these two or three days because surely what America needs if we are going to come to grips with any of these problems that we speak of is the spirit of public happiness. It cannot be one of drudgery or one of constant burden, bearing down oppressively upon the backs of the people. We ought to look upon our experience in government and in private life as a joy. I have said so many times that politics ought



to be fun, and I surely must say to you that government and public service and private civic consciousness must also be within this concept of public happiness.

John Adams was right. Victories are won before the battle is ever joined if there is a delight in the work to be done and, as he put it, a delight in participation in public discussion and, of course, public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline and dedication.

I find a joy in my citizenship and I hope you do -- I think you do -- and I know that there is a delight here in the participation and public discussion. From discussion and debate we go to decision, and now let us see if we can make some decisions.

One other great American that is within this revolutionary concept of which we speak, this unfinished business of the American Revolution, is Thomas Jefferson; and I have on the wall in my office a constant reminder of why I'm there. Jefferson once said: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government." If we keep that in mind, then we will understand why the Constitution placed two imperatives and mandates, and only two, upon



those who are the elected, the appointed representatives of the American people, and the American people themselves: to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Other than that everything else is optional. Those are the mandates, the directives, to every citizen and to every public official.

It's all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract or philosophic principle or political slogan, but in the end there comes a time and there remains the question: What kind of life is our society providing for the people who live in it? As I've said to many of my liberal friends, liberalism is not just ideas; it relates to people, their well-being, their happiness, their opportunities, their right for identification, for being a person.

Now, this question of what kind of a life will we live must be answered in our own time and in our own society. It's a question we must ask ourselves time and again as we measure what we have done, and maybe what we haven't done, and what we are doing and, more importantly, what we seek to do.

Let's just talk for a moment about some of the facts that you all know, but I must say that before

one can deal with the problem he needs to identify it. He needs to know its dimensions, its intensity. He needs to know its tenacity, its persistence. Then he can fashion and design possibly a solution.

Today seven out of ten Americans live in urban areas. Twenty years from now eight out of ten will live in urban areas. But what kind of a life are they living? We build massive, beautiful commercial structures, huge office buildings. They glisten in the sunlight. They sparkle in the moonlight and the starlight. And we say, "Look at the wonder of America." Yet within the shadow of those very same magnificent costly structures are to be found the urban ghettos, the filth of the slums. So we have to ask ourselves: Are we really creating the good life and the Great Society, or are we building just big things, material things, without any regard to human values?

You see, despite our affluence, our technological progress, which is phenomenal -- despite our demonstrated progress on every front -- the fact is that far too many Americans are not living too well; and it is within this restless minority, but yet a sizeable segment, that the major problems of our time are found. Today --

late in the day, but not too late -- I think that we have awakened to the fact that urban life in America falls far short of what it ought to be, indeed what it can be; and we have made it our national business at long last -- and I repeat: at long last -- only within the last two and three years -- to make the possibility of a beautiful city a reality. In fact, I can say that in urban America we have begun.

Now let me put everything that I am about to say in proper context and within what we call the proper frame of reference. Much of our cities is good. The city embodies great cultural institutions, such as this museum, magnificent universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera, beautiful buildings, magnificent parks. The fact is that there is much in the American city today that is inspiring, and when one speaks of the problems of a city or of urban America let us not forget also the accomplishments and the achievements.

I say this early in my remarks because there is a tendency among many of us when we deal with a problem to make it appear as if the whole city is the problem, when that is not the case. What we're seeking to do is not to tear down that which we have, but to build from



the foundations that are presently here; and that which we have which is good and which is beautiful and creative and which represents progress -- social and economic and material -- that we should embrace and seek to draw strength and inspiration from it and to see whether or not we can't make that a pattern that is universal.

So I say in urban America we have some good beginnings. We have begun. It is my view that the city or the metropolitan area -- but for purposes of discussion the city -- should be the finest creation of man's genius, ingenuity and technology. People came to the cities in early days to get the good life. They came for protection. They came for safety. They came for culture. They came so that they could share in what was then the limited technology and the abundance of their time. They built walls around these cities to protect themselves from the barbarian on the outside, from the invader.

Now we have built within our cities, regrettably, walls that trap the people within the city -- not to keep the people from the outside from coming in, but like prisons within the city, our slums, our ghettos, our areas of obsolescence.

I know that we're surrounded by a host of



problems, but we are no longer pushing them aside, thank goodness. We're facing up to them. We're facing up to the problems of our urban areas, of poverty in the midst of plenty. We're facing up to the problems of war and a desire for peace. We're facing up to the problems of building international organizations even as some people preach naked nationalism.

I think America is growing up, but like with most growing experiences or the experiences of maturity there are some pains and, indeed, some turbulence and uncertainty.

We've talked about our urban problems in abstract terms such as slums and crime and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, shortage of parks and playgrounds, and the need for revenue. And I can underscore the last; that's not so abstract, because there is a terrific need for revenue. But to those who live in the ghettos of our great cities these terms are not abstract. These are cruel and personal equations. They feel as oppressed as if a tyrant and a despot is on their back.

These are the problems of people, not of dissertations or articles in learned journals. They are

problems of old people living on miserably small incomes in single, musty, lonely rooms. Just as once we shunted aside our mentally retarded and our mentally ill we have lightly pushed aside our elderly. Some of the most tragic cases of human misery are to be found in the elderly who live in the attics or the tenements.

These are the problems of children whose play areas are littered and dirty. And let me be very frank about it. There is no excuse in any city in America for a littered or a dirty playground. There is plenty of revenue and plenty of manpower and plenty of people power to keep them supervised, clean, illuminated, and litter-free.

These are the problems of Negro families denied housing everywhere but in the ghetto, or if they get housing to be abused unmercifully; or pay an exorbitant rent for broken-down tenements or unheated apartments.

I speak of the problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence. Of all the places that need police protection and of all the people it is the slum and the poor, and if there was as much emphasis upon adequate police protection as so-called police brutality the slum areas would be a better place.

I speak of problems of people living without self-respect, without hope, without any solid tie to the rest of our growing prosperous nation. In fact, many of those living in our urban slums today are like immigrants from a foreign land, indeed from another world. They come from rural societies, sometimes from the sharecrop economy of the south. They frequently become the victims of educational deprivation, uneducated and illiterate. The richest nation on the face of the earth, with eleven million adult illiterates: the United States of America. They're unaccustomed to industrial and urban life, to the work discipline that is required in a manufacturing plant.

My fellow Americans, if we were as concerned about some of our own underdeveloped areas as we are the rest of the world, at least in our pronouncements, I think we'd have the battle on slums well won even by now. And I intend to emphasize this tonight with you.

I repeat that the people of which we speak have been cut off from the mainstream of American life. They live as if they're in a separate nation. President Johnson called it "the other nation" in his famous Howard University speech. And in America there is no room for two nations. There is no room for two classes of citizen-



ship.

We now know that we're no longer a people of farms and towns. We have many in those areas, but most of our people are not. And we are no longer primarily a people engaged in producing goods. The fact of the matter is that there are very few and I doubt that there are any more people in manufacturing today than there were thirty years ago. The last figure I saw showed that we had just now approximated the number of people in manufacturing that we had in 1930.

Most of our people today are in metropolitan society. Most of the people earn their living by providing services for others. Machines make goods; people service the machines. So we have two trends: the move towards metropolitan society and the growth in services; and they both can be expected to continue and we have to adjust ourselves to these facts.

Then, too, there is this growth in population. We worry about everybody else's population. May I suggest that we give some thought to our own. There is plenty of room in America for more people, but let's face up to what population growth means. It has grown 47% since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60%

by the year 2000; and that's not far away.

Added to the increase in population is that constantly increasing demand of a larger and larger percentage of our people for an ever-higher standard of living. And what do I mean by an ever-higher standard of living? Not just more income; not just the accumulation of material things, but more schools, more universities, more parks, more hospitals: the other things outside of the bank account that add to the standard of living. And we need to have men and women in public and private life that can think about rebuilding a whole new America in the next twenty-five years: not to destroy that which we have, but to add on in the next twenty-five years as much as we've already accumulated since the Pilgrim Fathers.

We need to expand and double our entire education facilities in the next twenty-five years. We need, in other words, to do as much in twenty-five years as we've done in three hundred. The interesting part of it is we can. The figures seem staggering, but the resources at hand are unbelievable.

The legitimate demand of more people for the rewards of life added to the obsolescence of that which they already have is in a large part what is creating

the galloping muddle of urban America. And, my fellow Americans, every one in this audience has said, heard it or read it: the revolution of rising expectations. It's not all in India and it's not all in Africa. It's right here in Philadelphia. It's in every part of America. People are no longer willing to take that which was. If you think the peoples of Asia and Latin America and Africa are restless, visit your neighbor. The restlessness of the poor in this land, the people who feel that they have not been given a fair deal, far exceeds that of any other country on the face of the earth. And why? The media. You bring it to them. You show them the good life on television; even if not their television, then somebody else's. They see it in the press, in the journals, in the magazines, on the billboards. They hear of it on the radio.

Rising expectations in Africa and Asia, where people hear not, see not, read not, where better than two-thirds of all humanity is illiterate, where the radio and the television in many areas are seldom even known? That rising expectation is but a small, little tremble, just a feeble little vibration compared to the massive earthquake of demand and of restlessness that we find in this America of ours. But once again may I say that we



have the means if we have the will to do something about it.

So we see a situation of accelerated change in growth, but we must never equate change with progress. Change can be progress providing we know how to order it, change and growth in our cities has been in the main uncontrolled. Those who traditionally would be in control have the titles, but, if my fellow Mayors will forgive me, frequently not the authority. Or where they have the authority they cannot get the money to do the job. There is no more challenging office today than that of a municipal official, the Mayor of a great city, and there is no place where we need better talent.

I can say tonight, after having worked with more of the Mayors of this nation than any other public official at any time in our history, that we're blessed with having some very fine public officials as Mayors and City Managers and City Councilmen and Commissioners in our cities. But frequently they have the title -- they all have the title -- but little or no authority, and those that have title and authority, most of them, have no money or inadequate money for what their needs are.

The number of officials and official bodies

that function in this America is like a crazy-quilt pattern of city authority. It has its rationale only as a subject for doctoral theses, for public administration students at universities, or as a testament to inhuman ingenuity. Ours is a nation of over 80,000 separate local governmental units, and in New York metropolitan area alone there are over 1,400 units of government, all as independent as the Duchies on the Confederation of the Rhine in the late 18th century.

Today's problems do not respect yesterday's governmental structures, but we hang onto the governmental structures like they're holy writ. If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, that is, if it couldn't be changed, the case for local control would be hopeless and helpless and futile. But we have seen in the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment a major shift on the state level which I hope will soon be reflected on the local level.

Let me explain what I mean. Since the beginning of this Republic there has been inadequate and unfair representation of metropolitan areas. Remember that every city is a creature of the state. I see the distinguished Mayor of the City of Philadelphia here. He

has no more authority than the state government is willing to give him. He may have a Home Rule Charter, but it is as the grant or the gift of the legislative body. The police authority which is exercised by local government is entirely under the Constitution of the United States the prerogative of the state government. The county, the city, the community is an agent of the state. State governments historically have been rural-oriented, rural-dominated; not that rural people wanted to be unkind, but they did not know the problems of the cities. And it's going to take time even with reapportionment to recondition state government because in many of our states the civil service structure itself leaves people in charge of departments and agencies that have an orientation of a yesterday and the incapacity to come to grips with the problems of today. So it's going to take some time. That is why this public official has said that even with plenty of money our problems are not readily soluble.

State constitutions need to be updated. City charters need to be rewritten. State statutory law needs to be rewritten in light of the facts of our time: seven out of ten people living in our cities. But they haven't been rewritten and constitutions have not been



revised, and city charters are harder to change than it is to carve solid granite with a soft lead pencil. I tried as a Mayor to change one all the time that I served.

The autonomous units which cluster around our center cities must realize that they're in the same boat as the big brother, the center city, and if that goes down all aboard are in the swim. We have a need of councils of local government. Let me make it quite clear that I don't think we have to destroy the units that we have. I think what we need is a federation of local governmental units in which there is a pooling of some authority and some services.

For example, why is it that in a metropolitan area you should have several police departments? It's inefficient. It's costly. The greatest waste in government is in local government simply because we insist upon preserving and duplicating services when there needs to be a much closer integration of those services. There are certain health services. Why should you have standards of health in one metropolitan area and have none in the next? Do you think disease stops and respects a boundary? Certain basic ordinances -- health services, police services, fire services -- need to be on a basis of pooled

authority, federation; if not federation, then confederation. We've had some experience in this in certain limited areas.

Local governments stunted by historical accident must have help, yes, but not only money. There is more money going to local governments today from the federal government than ever before in the history of our country. But, as I've said, other kinds of help are needed: for example, the upgrading of manpower. There is a terrible shortage of trained manpower in the United States for public administration.

I spoke this afternoon in Washington, D.C. to the Sixtieth Annual Conference of the Public Administration Service (used to be called the Civil Service Assembly). We have a tragic shortage today all over the world not only of capital, but of trained manpower; and without the trained manpower -- the managers, the technicians, the professionals -- with incentives to stay on the job, with adequate salaries and tenure and all that comes with it, all the money that you can produce will not solve your problems. You can pour billions into a nation without trained manpower and all you'll do is waste it. At least you'll never get your value out of it.

What we need, then, above all now is to expand the training base in our whole public administration sector. Your government in Washington, fortunately, for the coming year is thinking of programs right now to do that.

Some things have been happening that are encouraging. At long last, due to the activity of local officials in the main and the leadership of a President -- several Presidents in fact, we have a Cabinet level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dwellers' interest at the highest levels of government, but it also means a place where the scattered federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated.

When President Johnson appointed me as the liaison officer with local governments I started looking around to see what programs we had. And I want to tell you what I found. I found the federal government was like a huge supermarket with unlabeled commodities, and the poor local official would come down to Washington and he would literally wander around wondering where he should go, what he could do when he got there, and who he should see and what the programs were about. And I think my



friend Mayor Tate will agree with me that at least this year we finally got the labels on the products long before we passed truth in labeling in the Congress, or truth in packaging.

We now can point out what the program is, what its authority is, what its authorization is, how much money is there, how you apply for it, who you go to see, and what it's about; and, more importantly, we even have one standard form. We have what we call the General Form that you can just fill in and send to Washington, and it ends up some place. Somebody gets hold of it and finally gets it over to the agency where it belongs. Before that Mayors and local government officials in cities much smaller than Philadelphia, where you don't always have high-paid, well-trained professionals, would be groping around literally in the dark trying to find the application blank, trying to find an application blank for a program that the Congress had passed and authorized.

This is one of the reasons, my friends, today that much of the programming that has been recently passed is unused. There is a lack of communication between the federal government, the local government, the state government. People just don't know what is on the

shelves.

I want to announce tonight the supermarket is open; the packages are labeled; there is a reasonable degree of truth in packaging; and some of the clerks and the floor managers are there: at least this one. In case you have a problem I'll be happy to help out.

We have new programs to cleanse our water and our air. We have new rent supplements so that low income families need not face the inevitable choice of rent or food. We have a new Department of Transportation. We have undertaken vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education, of health, of skill, of earning power. All of these affect the urban person, and when we speak of cities we're speaking of people.

I want to say quite candidly that I think the biggest task ahead of your government today is to implement these programs. We have come forth with an avalanche of programs. Most people don't even know what's in them. Our task now is to digest that which we have, to assimilate it, to understand it, to adapt it, to apply it, to experiment with it; and that's why I think that these fine organizations of our local officials serve such a worthy purpose.

We're increasingly matching our creed with deed when it comes to human rights, and we're committed to overcoming both the physical and human blight through a broad range of new policies and programs. But let me say right now that cities have a job on their hands to do with what they presently have. If the city officials will be as adamant in enforcing the Housing Code as they are the Traffic Code, you would have less and fewer slums.

I'm not advocating that we quit handing out traffic tickets, because I shouldn't be advocating any lack of law enforcement. But I want to say this: that if we had the same zeal for catching the offender who owns a slum dwelling, who violates every health ordinance and every building ordinance and every housing ordinance on the book, as we do have in catching the fellow that speeds down the track or down the road or crosses through a traffic light--if we had the same zeal you'd be surprised how much improvement you could get.

There are laws that affect both, and I call upon every municipal official, wherever he may be, to start enforcing them. And when some people have to pay the penalty for violation of the law they'll either do away with the slum or they'll fix it up. At least it will



help.

We are bringing all these policies and programs that I've mentioned, this vast array, into a single and efficient focus through the new Demonstration Cities program, a program designed to create, strengthen and reward the coordinated planning and action which will be necessary if our cities are to be centers of good living.

There is many a doubter in Washington these years. I worked on the Demonstration Cities Bill, and Congressman Barrett of this state had a great deal to do with it. I want to pay him tribute and respect from this platform. He was chairman of the committee that had to do something about this, and he took the chance when other people said it couldn't be done or shouldn't be done. I worked with him. Senator Muskie of Maine and others did, too. The Demonstration Cities Bill represents the first coordinated plan of attack upon the problems of the municipality. I have a copy of that bill here and everybody who is interested in cities ought to read it.

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to bring together those federal programs that apply to cities and people that live in cities into a single con-

centrated attack on the problems of a major area within a city or a whole city. There are certain criteria. They must be large enough so a project will have a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city. The plan must contain a significant part of deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and a plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing.

They must pay attention to the social needs of the community with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed.

No more urban renewal where you just kick the people out and open up the land, but urban renewal with a sense of compassion. Urban renewal: important, yes; very important; highly successful; but there must not be the price paid that human beings are uprooted with no place to go.

The cities must show they have administrative and financial capacity to carry out a plan. Many housing and urban development programs will be naturally included in a given Demonstration Cities project and I know there are Mayors here tonight who are just waiting for the opportunity to work under the Demonstration Cities Bill. These will include programs of housing, renewal,

and mass transit, but each demonstration may also include activities under a wide variety of existing federally assisted programs ranging from welfare, health and economic opportunity to education.

Demonstration Cities means merely putting to bear upon a problem the total resources of the federal, state and local governments and private enterprise in an area -- large enough to envelop all of these programs, large enough to make a significant impact upon the well-being of the city, and, hopefully, the whole city.

It's an additional increment of federal assistance, but the planning must come from the local body. It must be inspired at home. It must be directed at the local base. It must relate to the needs of a community. No federal government is wise enough to write a prescription for every city in America; and if it was, it shouldn't. I would be opposed to any federal program that sought to dominate the planning, sought to dominate the activity of every municipality in this land.

In addition to concentrating these federally assisted programs we will provide supplemental funds to expand and finance entirely new local activities. The only restriction is that such activities must be geared



to the achievement of overall objectives of the community plans.

Then there is the Metropolitan Development Aid which gives additional dollar incentives now from the federal government to help orderly metropolitan development, to meet the urban sprawl.

Then let me add this. In every great city (with few exceptions) you find colleges and universities. If there are professors here tonight, or university administrators, may I say that American universities are not islands of reflection, nor are they to be sort of meadows of retreat. They're supposed to be action centers, with reflection and meditation. You can have a little of both. And we call upon the universities, we call upon the great university centers to put their top talent to work in helping to build a better community.

We call upon the great corporations of America to engage in what is known as systems analysis, to offer their services to the metropolitan centers and the metropolitan authorities. My fellow Americans, if systems analysis is good enough for your Pentagon, then it's good enough for City Hall. And systems analysis is the new technique that is used for the defense of this nation and

for the development of whole new systems of defense. That same concept which is being experimented with on the West Coast and here some places on the East Coast needs to have much more emphasis.

In short, we are asking local communities to gear up for action and to tap every resource available. Mobilize the university, the business sector. And we ask these local communities to tell the federal government their needs. But, above all we encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

None of these programs are panaceas and there are no instant solutions. You do not have any instant cities. You didn't get any instant problems and there are no instant answers. You can have instant coffee to think about these long-term solutions. But I do submit that these programs at least are landmarks in our federal aid program.

Let me then put the problems of our cities in perspective for the future. Our gross national product this year will be over three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Federal revenues will be running \$50 billion more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965, at the same tax base, and will continue to increase as the economy grows.

Ours is the richest and the most powerful society ever created on earth, and there is little doubt that we can, and very soon, reverse the trends that we see in our cities. Life in our cities can be much more than steaming asphalt and crowded tenements, more than dirty air and polluted water, more than clogged highways and congested streets, more than bursting classrooms and underpaid teachers, more than violence and despair and discrimination and hopelessness, indeed more than temporary material satisfaction.

You see, I believe that the way lies open to build a society in which human values above all count uppermost. I guess there's another way of putting it. We have some real assets and we need to take an inventory. The real assets I've listed in part: tremendous national economy, which we ought to keep going at a reasonably good pace of growth, that will generate unbelievable amounts of revenue. Hopefully we will have at least in the foreseeable future peace in this world, and surely peace for our America, so that we can divert the funds which we presently have to put into war and defense into constructive programs at home.

But let me tell you something right now. Many a speaker is saying just what I said, and most of them



when they say it get the reaction "Wasn't it nice to hear that fine liberal voice?" But I served in the Congress a long time and I saw America spend billions in the war in Korea and I saw that same America unwilling to spend the same billions after the war in Korea on education and health and housing and the other things. Had we been willing to divert one-half of what we were spending in the war in Korea to our cities -- the cities were here -- Philadelphia was here in 1956 just as it is in 1966 and its problems were worse then than now -- had we been willing as a people and as a nation to divert those funds we wouldn't be in the predicament we are today.

So when I hear the voices come up from public and private places, and public and private people -- that "if we could only stop the war in Viet Nam look what we would do" -- what we should say is "look what we could do" if there is the will to do it.

My fellow Americans, our experience to date is that when the wars have stopped we haven't done it. If you want a leader to follow I'll give you some leadership, because on the day that that peace comes in Viet Nam this man is going to be asking you to be willing to spend the same amount of money to build a better America.

And I'll see who follows.

I spent sixteen years of my life in the United States Senate blowing a sound and true trumpet, not an uncertain one, and I didn't have many people hearing it. And there were other voices raised, too. So as much as I pray for peace and as much as we search for peace -- and, God willing, we'll find it -- I want to be sure that the people that are equally interested in that peace pursuit will be willing to pay the price for building a better America. Or will they say, "Oh, let's not spend that money?" Or will they say, "We must cut back?" Or will they say, "We don't need to do this?" And will they be ready to use it if it is available?

Prepare thyself for the blessed day of peace, my fellow Americans, because it will come.

May I say to every state, every locality, every city, every university: Prepare thyself for the new day, because it will come. And then be sure that you have enough support to make it more than a hope, to make it a reality. I am not a cynic. I've just been there, that's all.

Let me talk about these real assets: this great economy; this reawakening in America; the growth

of our cities; of the sprawl of the urban areas; dedicated public officials (and here they were today; I understand you had a fine conference); the beginning of an aroused and informed public, just as once we had to arouse the American people about public education; a new partnership of federal, state and local and private groups working together. We call it creative federalism: a variety of programs, the likes of which we have never known before, of federal aids, of state aids. And we can do even more.

May I suggest now something for your consideration, and don't interpret this as administration program because I do not speak tonight in terms of forthcoming administration program. I speak about something that you maybe ought to help make administration program, whatever administration is there. There will be plenty of work to do. This won't be accomplished in the two terms of President Johnson. It won't be accomplished in the immediate future, but we can get a good start.

Let me suggest for your consideration just such simple things as this: a pooling of our municipal redevelopment experience on a regularized, formalized basis. We have certain clearinghouses, but, frankly, it has been mostly the exchange of paper. I've been at this a long



time. I've read more municipal bulletins than I am days old. What we need is to see what happens. I talked to the Mayor of Omaha here tonight. I'm interested in his program of neighborhood rehabilitation. I know what has been done here in Philadelphia. I see what is being done in Boston, many wonderful things. We need to know more about it -- not just the Mayors, but the people need to know more about it. And thank goodness for the media that are beginning to show us.

If we can take these television cameras and move them out to show what can be done, what has been done, and then what needs to be done -- show the new, beautiful areas that once were the slums; show the slums that now are and what they could be; predict the city of the future with clean air, clean water, and traffic that can move; schools; open spaces; green spaces.

That's one thing we can do. That won't cost any money.

We ought to have a constant international conference on urban problems and programs because other societies are building better cities than we are. Let us find out what happens in the more congested cities of Western Europe and how they handle those problems.

I think we need an advisory council of both public and private people through the new Department of Housing and Urban Development: a real strong, speaking-up, non-rubber stamp advisory council, one that becomes a bit obstreperous on occasion and will speak up. Government by its nature is timid. Some outside forces that don't have quite as much responsibility as people in government can be a little more daring. By the time we get through with it it will be tamed down.

I think that we need to treat our slum areas just exactly as we treat the underdeveloped nations on the basis of foreign aid. They're in just as bad a shape as many of the countries that we seek to help. The cities no longer have the resources to manage these problems, and if the federal government will do in this area what we are doing with the Peace Corps and VISTA we'll have something going.

Let me be more explicit. We have a Peace Corps that works overseas. We have a Volunteers in Service to America that works back home, a domestic Peace Corps. We have a foreign aid program that works overseas. We need a domestic aid program that works at home.

We have the pieces of it already. We have

this great program of federal assistance. We have a new Department of Housing and Urban Development. But we need something else. I don't know how much trouble I'm about to get in for saying this, but I tell you that if we have guaranteed loans for American business abroad to make investments in housing and other things in foreign countries, we need them also in the United States right down here.

(Applause)

The greatest single need in the metropolitan core center, the center city, today is low income housing, low rent housing. And not just a mass of concrete and building block, but trees and shrubs and green spaces and clean streets and playgrounds and schools: real neighborhoods; not just house after house like barracks, but homes.

We have the beginnings with the Demonstration Cities program, with the public housing program, with the rent supplements for private housing. But let us dream a little. I want to get you doing something about this. Don't expect me to fight this battle for you. And I don't expect just the Mayor to fight it. He is looked upon, too, as a public official. I want an aroused businessman of the biggest corporation in America, the



hundred large ones. Instead of reading about the top five hundred corporations and what their profits are, I want to know about their social consciousness. I want to take their conscience temperature, not just look at their graph on earnings, important as those earnings are. And I'm all for the profit system and all for earnings, because everything we talk about depends on it.

I'd like to see a National Housing Development Fund for so-called non-profit cooperatives and corporations, just as we did with REA. Do you think you would ever have had electricity in the countryside if you hadn't had the Rural Electric Administration that provided long-term loans at low rates of interest? Private industry can't make money in most instances in slum housing, unless it gets some help, particularly if you're going to clean it out and rebuild it.

The Mayor of Omaha gave me an idea tonight about how private industry there is doing some remodeling and some rehabilitation and making it profitable. More power to him.. Other Mayors can do the same. We need to learn from that.

Government doesn't need to do all of this. In fact, what government ought to do is to aid and assist.

We don't need too much public housing. What we need is housing -- open housing, too. We need good housing and modern housing.

Those are just a few ideas I'll toss out for you. I thought maybe you ought to have a little something new tonight instead of just what we've been saying. So, you see, I'm quite confident that we can do what we need to do. We have the knowledge. We have the resources. And I believe we have the wisdom to put them intelligently together. Any country that can put a man on the moon ought to be able to help put a man on his feet here on earth. That's my view of it. (Applause)

I'm Chairman of the Space Council and I'm for putting the man on the moon. I think we've got quite a country. I don't think it's a bargain-counter operation, a pine board store. I think it's a number one, first-class country and I think we can afford to do what we need to do, because you can't afford to do what you ought not to do. You have to do what needs to be done.

We have 400,000 people presently engaged in our space activity. I'd like to get 40,000 engaged in our urban activities. And that doesn't mean you have to take the 40,000 from the other. If you can provide a

wholesome environment for two men to be in a space capsule for two weeks and come out healthy, why in the name of commonsense can't you provide a wholesome environment in a block of metropolitan area that is considered to be dilapidated and sium?

If you can keep the air clean for a man to breathe in outer space, why can't you clean up air pollution? You can if you want to do it.

But when it comes to the space program we don't have any tolerance for failure. We don't permit people to say "I'll do it tomorrow." We say it has to be perfect, that it has to be excellent, that it has to be top grade. We demand of our producers, of our industries, of our managers, of our scientists excellence; and we pour in billions. We've made it a matter of national priority, a matter of national pride.

I want my America to be first to the moon, but I'd also like to have my America to be first in the good life for its people. And most of its people are going to live right here in the great metropolitan urban areas of America.

I submit that with equal dedication we can make this the good life. The critical question is: Do we



have the will? And when enough Americans answer that question "yes" and when enough Americans say they're willing to pay the price for victory over slumism just as we are willing to pay the price for victory over communism, we will have defeated both, because it is this man's judgment that the greatest menace at home is what I call slumism. The menace abroad in its most militant form is communism.

Remember what the late beloved Pope John XXIII reminded you of: In a world of constant want there is no peace. And in a community of poverty and deprivation and want there is no peace. For those of you that love peace and believe in it, may I suggest that we do the work of peace.

Thank you very much.

(Applause)

MR. MCGANNON: Mr. Vice President, on behalf of the delegates to the Public Service Conference and our guests tonight let me thank you for a challenging and enlightening talk. For a while, Mr. Vice President, it seemed we could only repay you with our gratitude, and sincere though this was we were not content. And so we entered into a conspiracy -- a moral and legal one -- with

your son Bob and ascertained through him that you've a great devotion and interest in Thomas Jefferson. We searched through the many collections of historic documents to try to find an instrument and a document which Thomas Jefferson signed when he was Vice President under John Adams from 1797 to 1801.

Mr. Vice President, I hope you will not think this is prophetic in any sense of the word, but Thomas Jefferson signed very few documents when he was Vice President. Our search, then, was in vain and we have done the next best thing. We found one that he signed when he was President on September 29, 1803, a hundred sixty three years ago. It was a ship's pass permitting its entry into the United States ports for a ship called "The Snow Palace." It has a great redeeming grace to it as well, because in addition to Thomas Jefferson's signature it bears the countersignature of James Madison, who was Secretary of State, which post he filled under President Jefferson from 1801 to 1809.

(Applause as presentation was made to Vice President Humphrey.)

Ladies and gentlemen, the conference is adjourned.

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(The meeting was adjourned at 10:40 p.m.)





REMARKS

Donald McHannon  
Franklin Tooke  
Dr Rainey

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY'S URBAN AFFAIRS

CONFERENCE

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

OCTOBER 26, 1966

unfeminized  
American Revolution

When Protagoras said that "man is the measure of all things" he was promptly attacked by Plato, who charged Protagoras with replacing objectivity with prejudice.

In the light of 25 hundred years' evidence since then, I think Protagoras overstated his case when he said man is the measure of all things. But I also think he had the best of the argument.

It is all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract, philosophic principle or political slogan. But, in the end, there must remain the question: What kind of life is our society providing to the people who live in it?

"Jefferson 'The Care of Human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of Good Government'"

This is the question we must answer in our own society. This is the question we must ask ourselves, time and again, as we measure what we have done ... what we are doing ... what we seek to do.

Today more than 7 out of 10 Americans live in urban areas. - and more to come.

What kind of life are they living?

well, Despite our affluence ... despite our technological capacity ... despite our demonstrated progress, far too many of these Americans are not living well at all.

L Today -- late in the day, but not too late -- we have awakened to the fact that urban life in America falls far short of what it can be. And we have made it our national business to make possibility and reality meet. In urban America, we have begun.

~~But suppose we had not begun.~~

~~It takes no great imagination to see in our minds'~~  
~~eyes the dead and dying cities that would, by the year 2 thousand,~~

stand as grim jokes against a people preaching human dignity and freedom -- if we had not begun.

It takes no great gift of prophecy to envision the sprawling, deteriorating, poorly-serviced suburbs -- the slurbs -- extending endlessly around the decaying and racially-segregated central cities -- if we had not begun.

It takes no great vision to imagine the strangled transport ... the poisonous water and air ... the increasing crime and delinquency ... the loss of community and of elemental human concerns ... the hatred of those within for those without that would accompany, in the years ahead, continued indifference to our urban areas -- if we had not begun.

*yes* We are surrounded by problems. But we are no longer pushing them ~~conveniently~~ aside. We are facing *up to* them. ~~We are determined to do something about them.~~



~~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~~  
*But to those living in the*  
ghettoes of our great cities, ~~for more immediate~~ *there are*  
~~crucial personal~~

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 *& dirty*  
~~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.

*In fact, many of those living in  
our urban slums are like  
immigrants from a foreign country  
rural - uneducated - unaccustomed to*

# Industrial - Urban life.

-5-

~~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 per cent since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60 per cent by the year 2 thousand.

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

*and* ~~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 urban America.

*Schools  
Hospitals  
Universities  
Health  
Centers*

↳ 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 they  
authority, they cannot get the money to do the job.

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



L Ours is a nation with 80 thousand separate, local governmental units. In the New York metropolitan area alone, there are over 14 hundred 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.~~

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

*Reapportionment*  
But we have seen in reapportionment a major shift on the state level, which I hope will be soon reflected on the local level. (*metropolitan-urban orientation*)

The autonomous units which cluster about our cities must realize that they are in the same boat, and if it goes down, all aboard are in the swim. — *Need of Councils of local Govt - Federation of local Govt*

And local governments, stunted by historical accident, must have help — *but not only money*

*State Constitutions - State Law  
State Administration Cooperation*

and Trained manpower.  
And - We must overcome Voter Apathy!

At the federal level we are providing some of that help.

↳ At long last we have a Cabinet-level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dweller's interest at the highest level of government, but a place where the scattered federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated.

↳ We have new programs to cleanse our water and air. | ✓

↳ We have a new rent supplements program so that low-income families need not face the inevitable choice: rent or food?

↳ We have a <sup>new</sup> Department of Transportation. ~~maintained~~

↳ We have undertaken vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education ... of health ... of skill ... of earning power among our citizens who need help.

We are increasingly matching our creed with deed when it comes to human rights.

Educ

} all of  
help  
to  
cities

The Congress further finds and declares that cities, of all sizes, do not have adequate resources to deal effectively with the critical problems facing them, and that Federal assistance in addition to that now authorized by the urban renewal program and other existing Federal grant-in-aid programs is essential to enable cities to plan, develop, and conduct programs to improve their physical environment, increase their supply of adequate housing for low- and moderate-income people, and provide educational and social services vital to health and welfare.

The purposes of this title are to provide additional financial and technical assistance to enable cities of all sizes (with equal regard to the problems of small as well as large cities) to plan, develop, and carry out locally prepared and scheduled comprehensive city demonstration programs containing new and imaginative proposals to rebuild or revitalize large slum and blighted areas; to expand housing, job, and income opportunities; to reduce dependence on welfare payments; to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and ill health; to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency; to enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; to establish better access between homes and jobs; and generally to improve living conditions for the people who live in such areas and to accomplish these objectives through the most effective and economical concentration and coordination of Federal, State, and local public and private efforts to improve the quality of urban life.

#### BASIC AUTHORITY

SEC. 102. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") is authorized to make grants and provide technical assistance, as provided by this title, to enable city demonstration agencies (as defined in section 112(2)) to plan, develop, and carry out comprehensive city demonstration programs in accordance with the purposes of this title.

#### ELIGIBILITY FOR ASSISTANCE

SEC. 103. (a) A comprehensive city demonstration program is eligible for assistance under sections 105 and 107 only if—

(1) physical and social problems in the area of the city covered by the program are such that a comprehensive city demonstration program is necessary to carry out the policy of the Congress as expressed in section 101;

(2) the program is of sufficient magnitude to make a substantial impact on the physical and social problems and to remove or arrest blight and decay in entire sections or neighborhoods; to contribute to the sound development of the entire city; to make marked progress in reducing social and educational disadvantages, ill health, underemployment, and enforced idleness; and to provide educational, health, and social services necessary to serve the poor and disadvantaged in the area, widespread citizen participation in the program, maximum opportunities for employing residents of the area in all phases of the program, and enlarged opportunities for work and training;

(3) the program, including rebuilding or restoration, will contribute to a well-balanced city with a substantial increase in the supply of standard housing of low and moderate cost, maximum opportunities in the choice of housing accommodations for all citizens of all



We are committed to overcoming physical ~~blight~~ <sup>both</sup> ...

<sup>and Human?</sup>  
~~we are committed to overcoming human~~ blight through a broad  
new range of policies and programs. (But cities must  
enforce Housing & Health  
Codes)

My thanks to Business for its Help!  
And, now, we are acting to bring all these policies  
and programs into single and efficient focus through the new  
Demonstration Cities program -- a program designed to  
create, strengthen and reward the coordinated planning  
and action which will be necessary if our cities are, ~~to be~~  
centers of good living.  
~~to meet the measure of man.~~

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to  
bring together all the good federal programs ~~of the past~~  
into a single concentrated attack on the problems of a  
major area within a city or the whole city. - ~~SP~~

Such areas must share these criteria to be eligible:

--They must be large enough so a project will have  
a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city;

--They must contain a significant part of the deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and a plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing;

--They must pay attention to the social needs of the community, with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed;

--The cities must show they have the administrative and financial capacity to carry out a plan.

Many housing and urban development programs will naturally be included in a given Demonstration City project -- including programs of housing, renewal and mass transit. But each demonstration may also include activities under a wide variety of existing federally-assisted programs -- ranging from welfare, <sup>Health</sup> to economic opportunity, *and* to education.

In addition to concentrating federally-assisted programs, in such an area, we will provide supplemental funds to finance expanded or entirely new local activities. The only restriction here is that such activities must be geared to the achievement of the overall objectives of the community's plans.

Briefly, the financial formula will provide additional funds up to 80 per cent of local contributions toward all federally-assisted activities in a project area. *Formula*

If a city is contributing 50 per cent of the cost of a new park, for example, it would be entitled to ask supplemental funds equal to 80 per cent of that contribution. The money would not have to be used to complete the park, however -- not if the city decided to spend that money for something else in the demonstration plan.

Companion to the Demonstration Cities program is the program of Metropolitan Development Aid which gives substantial dollar incentives to help orderly metropolitan development ... to meet the problem of urban sprawl.



and there is much more we can do.  
We have many

Uninterested  
Experts to help  
Be Community Partners

This legislation ~~--- also only recently enacted ---~~ will permit cities of all sizes and in all sections of the nation to start experimenting in truly rehabilitating pockets of poverty and despair.

[ In short, 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. —

~~now~~ may I try to put the problems of our cities in perspective.

*then to Univer  
+ colleges to  
help*

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.

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

We have real assets -

- (1) Dedicated Public Funds
- (2) the beginnings of an aroused & informed public
- (3) a new Partnership of Fed - State - Local - & Private
- (4) a growing Economy
- (5) a variety of Programs

and We can do more -

may I suggest for your consideration

- (1) Pooling of our municipal redevelopment experience
- (2) International Conferences on Urban problems & programs
- (3) an Advisory Council of Public & Private to HUD
- (4) a National Housing Development fund for ~~private enterprise~~ Non-Profit Corp - at 2% interest
- (5) Guaranteed loans to Private Enterprise for housing etc



There is little doubt that we can -- and very soon --  
reverse the trends we see today in our cities. — ~~80% of the~~

*our cities are basically good* ← 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, above all, count uppermost.

*Big commercial buildings —  
+ Slums on the  
Shadows* } The way lies open to cities filled with green and open  
spaces ... 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.

We have the knowledge. We have the resources.

And I believe, we should have the wisdom to put them intelligently together.

- Put a man on the moon  
Deep Put a man on his feet  
on Earth

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? - Need Public + Private

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

# # #

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

10-29-66

As per your request.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Chili" or similar, with a stylized, cursive script. The signature is written over a horizontal line.



Excerpts from an Address

by

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

at

Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's  
Urban Affairs Conference  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
October 26, 1966

It is my view that President Kennedy and President Johnson brought back to American life the spirit described by John Adams as one of public happiness. (You will have to forgive what some people might term a partisan reference.) But let me describe to you what is this spirit of public happiness, because it is entirely fitting and appropriate for this occasion and indeed it embodies the message that I want to give to you, which will take much more time, regrettably, for you than this brief quotation.

John Adams described this spirit of public happiness as follows: "It was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication."

I think that's a very worthy quotation for a conference such as the one that you have had these two or three days because surely what America needs if we are going to come to grips with any of these problems that we speak of is the spirit of public happiness. It cannot be one of drudgery or one of constant burden, bearing down oppressively upon the backs of the people. We ought to look upon our experience in government and in private life as a joy. I have said so many times that politics ought to be fun, and I surely must say to you that government and public service and private civic consciousness must also be within this concept of public happiness.

John Adams was right. Victories are won before the battle is ever joined if there is a delight in the work to be done and, as he put it, a delight in participation in public discussion and, of course, public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline and dedication.

I find a joy in my citizenship and I hope you do -- I think you do -- and I know that there is a delight here in the participation and public discussion. From discussion and debate we go to decision, and now let us see if we can make some decisions.

One other great American that is within this revolutionary concept of which we speak, this unfinished business of the American Revolution, is Thomas Jefferson; and I have on the wall in my office a constant reminder of why I'm there. Jefferson once said: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government." If we keep that in mind, then we will understand why the Constitution placed two imperatives and mandates, and only two, upon those who are the elected, the appointed representatives of the American people, and the American people themselves: to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Other than that everything else is optional. Those are the mandates, the directives, to every citizen and to every public official.

It's all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract or philosophic principle or political slogan, but in the end there comes a time and there remains the question: What kind of life is our society providing for the people who live in it? As I've said to many of my liberal friends, liberalism is not just ideas; it relates to people, their well-being, their happiness, their opportunities, their right for identification, for being a person.



Now, this question of what kind of a life will we live must be answered in our own time and in our own society. It's a question we must ask ourselves time and again as we measure what we have done, and maybe what we haven't done, and what we are doing and, more importantly, what we seek to do.

Let's talk for a moment about some of the facts that we all know. Today seven out of ten Americans live in urban areas. Twenty years from now eight out of ten will live in urban areas. But what kind of a life are we living? Are we really creating the good life and the Great Society, or are we building just big things, material things, without any regard to human values?

We build massive, beautiful structures, huge office buildings. And we say, "Look at the wonder of America." Despite our affluence, our technological progress, which is phenomenal -- despite our demonstrated progress on every front -- the fact is that far too many Americans are not living too well. Within the shadow of those very same magnificent costly structures are to be found the urban ghettos, the filth of the slums. And it is within the restless minority of the slums and ghettos that the major problems of our time are found. Today -- late in the day, but not too late -- I think that we have awakened to the fact that urban life in America

falls far short of what it ought to be, indeed what it can be; and we have made it our national business at long last -- and I repeat: at long, last -- only within the last two and three years -- to make the possibility of a beautiful city a reality. In fact, I can say that in urban America we have begun.

Now let me put everything that I am about to say in proper context and within what we call the proper frame of reference. Much of our cities is good. The city embodies great cultural institutions, such as this museum, magnificent universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera, beautiful buildings, magnificent parks. The fact is that there is much in the American city today that is inspiring, and when one speaks of the problems of a city or of urban America let us not forget also the accomplishments and the achievements.

I say this early in my remarks because there is a tendency among many of us when we deal with a problem to make it appear as if the whole city is the problem, when that is not the case. What we're seeking to do is not to tear down that which we have, but to build from the foundations that are presently here; and that which we have which is good and which is beautiful and creative and which represents progress -- social and economic and material -- that we should embrace and seek to draw strength and inspiration from it and to see whether we can't make that a universal pattern.

So I say, in urban America we have some good beginnings. It is my view that the city or the metropolitan area -- but for purposes of discussion the city -- should be the finest creation of man's genius, ingenuity and technology. People came to the cities in early days to get the good life. They came for protection. They came for safety. They came for culture. They came so that they could share in what was then the limited technology and the abundance of their time. They built walls around these cities to protect themselves from the barbarian on the outside, from the invader.

Now we have within our cities, regrettably, walls not of stone to keep people outside from coming in, but psychological walls of economic and social barriers which imprison people within the city slums and ghettos and areas of obsolescence.

I know that we're surrounded by a host of problems, but we are no longer pushing them aside. We're facing up to them. We're facing up to the problems of poverty in the midst of plenty. We're facing up to the problems of war and a desire for peace. We're facing up to the problems of building international organizations even as some people preach naked nationalism.



I think America is growing up, but as with most growing experiences or the experiences of maturity, there are some pains and, indeed, some turbulence and uncertainty.

We talk about our urban problems in abstract terms. We say, slums and crime and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, shortage of parks and playgrounds, and the constant need for revenue. But to those who live in the ghettos of our cities these terms are not abstract. These are cruel and personal equations. They feel as oppressed as if a tyrant and a despot were on their back.

These are the problems of people, not of dissertations or articles in learned journals. They are problems of old people living on miserably small incomes in single, musty, lonely rooms. Some tragic cases of human misery are to be found in the elderly who live in the attics or the tenements. These are the problems of children whose play areas are littered and dirty. These are the problems of Negro families denied housing everywhere but in the ghetto, or to be abused unmercifully if they do get housing; or pay an exorbitant rent for broken-down tenements or unheated apartments.

I speak of the problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence because police protection is inadequate in the slum. I speak of problems of people living

without self-respect, without hope, without any solid tie to the rest of our prosperous nation. They are the victims of educational deprivation, of poverty, of ill health, of lack of work skills.

I repeat, the people of whom I speak have been cut off from the mainstream of American life. They live as if they're in a separate nation. President Johnson called it "the other nation" in his famous Howard University speech. And in America there is no room for two nations. There is no room for two classes of citizenship.

We now know that we're no longer a people of farms and towns. We have many in those areas, but most of our people are not. And we are no longer primarily a people engaged in producing goods. The fact of the matter is that there are very few and I doubt that there are any more people in manufacturing today than there were thirty years ago. The last figure I saw showed that we had just now approximated the number of people in manufacturing that we had in 1930.

Most of our people today are in metropolitan society. Most of the people earn their living by providing services for others. Machines make goods; people service the machines. So we have two trends: the move towards metropolitan society and the growth in services; and they both can be expected to continue and we have to adjust ourselves to these facts.

Then, too, there is this growth in population. We worry about everybody else's population. May I suggest that we give some thought to our own. There is plenty of room in America for more people, but let's face up to what population growth means. It has grown 47% since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60% by the year 2000; and that's not far away.



Added to the increase in population is that constantly increasing demand of a larger and larger percentage of our people for an ever-higher standard of living. And what do I mean by an ever-higher standard of living? Not just more income; not just the accumulation of material things, but more schools, more universities, more parks, more hospitals. We need to have more and better trained men and women in public and private life that can think about rebuilding and building for those who are to come after us. We need to expand and double our entire educational facilities in the next twenty-five years--to do as much in twenty-five years as we've done in three hundred!

The legitimate demand of more people for the rewards of life added to the obsolescence of that which they already have is in a large part what is creating the contradictions of urban America. We have a revolution of rising expectations in every

part of America. People are no longer willing to take that which was. The restlessness of the poor in this land, the people who feel that they have not been given a fair deal, is being made manifest. We show them the good life on television; they read of it in the press, in the journals, in the magazines, on the billboards. They hear of it on the radio.

And we have the means if we have the will to do something about it--the will to order and to control change and growth in our cities. Those who traditionally would be in control have the titles, but, if my fellow Mayors will forgive me, frequently not the authority. Or where they have the authority they cannot get the money to do the job.

The number of officials and official bodies that function in this America is like a crazy-quilt pattern of city authority. It has its rationale

only as a subject for doctoral theses, for public administration students at universities, or as a testament to misdirected ingenuity. Ours is a nation of over 80,000 separate local governmental units. In the New York metropolitan area alone there are over 1,400 units of government, all as independent as the duchies of the Confederation of the Rhine in the late 18th Century.

Today's problems do not respect yesterday's governmental structures, but we hang onto obsolete governmental structures as if they were sanctioned by holy writ. If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, if it couldn't be changed, the case for local control would be hopeless. But we have seen in the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment a major shift on the state level which should soon be reflected on the local level. As a matter of fact, both state and city governments are becoming more viable and energetic in meeting urban prog



urban problems. A city may have a Home Rule Charter, but it is as the grant or the gift of the state legislative body. The police authority exercised by local government is--under the Constitution of the United States--entirely the prerogative of state government. The county, the city, the community are each agents of the state. State governments historically have been rural-oriented, rural-dominated, though we are presently 70 percent urbanized. And it's going to take time even with reapportionment to restructure state governments since in many states the civil service perpetuates departments and agencies oriented to yesterday's problems.

State constitutions need to be updated. City charters need to be rewritten. State law needs to be rewritten in light of this fact of our time: seven out of ten people live in our cities. Local government needs revision, and we have a need of councils of local government.

Let me make it quite clear that I don't think we should destroy all that we have. I think what we need is to take a long, hard look at what we have in light of present facts and make changes and revisions to the best advantage of all--urban and rural, too. For example, there is <sup>great waste in</sup> our preserving and duplicating services when there needs to be a much closer integration of those services. Differences in standards of health between adjacent segments of a metropolitan area work against the total interest, for disease does not respect a geographical boundary. Certain basic ordinances--health services, police services, fire services--need to be on a basis of pooled authority, of federation; if not federation, then confederation. We've had some experience in this in certain limited areas.

Local governments stunted by historical accident must have help with upgrading of manpower. There is a tragic shortage today all over the world of trained manpower; and without the trained manpower--

the managers, the technicians, the professionals-- with incentives to stay on the job, with adequate salaries and tenure and all that comes with it, no amount of money will solve our problems.

What we need, then, is to expand the training base in our whole public administration sector. Your government in Washington, fortunately, for the coming year is thinking of programs right now to do that.

Some things have been happening that are encouraging. At long last, due to the activity of local officials and the leadership of our President, we have a Cabinet level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dwellers' interest at the highest levels of government, but it also means a place where the great variety of federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated. It means greatly improved communication between the Federal government, the local government, the state government.



Though across the nation we encounter many problems, we can approach them with many assets.

We have new programs to cleanse our water and our air. We have a new program of rent supplements so that low income families may have good housing. We have a new Department of Transportation. We have vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education, of health, of skill, of earning power. All of these affect the urban person, and when we speak of cities we're speaking of people.

Quite candidly, I think the biggest task ahead of your government today is to put these programs to work. Our task now is to digest that which we have, to assimilate it, to understand it, to adapt it, to apply it, to experiment with it.

We are bringing all these policies and programs that I've mentioned, this vast<sup>+</sup> array, into a single and efficient focus through the new Demonstration Cities program which is designed to create, strengthen

and reward the coordinated planning and action which will be necessary if our cities are to be centers of good living.

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to bring all those federal programs that apply to cities and people into a single concentrated and coordinated attack on the problems of a major area within a city. There are certain criteria:

An area must be large enough so a project will have a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city.

The area must contain a significant part of deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and a plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing.

The plan must pay attention to the social needs of the community with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed.

The cities must show they have administrative and financial capacity to carry out a plan. Many housing and urban development programs will be naturally included in a given Demonstration Cities project. These will include programs of housing, renewal, and mass transit. But each demonstration may also include other existing federally-assisted programs ranging from welfare, health, and economic opportunity, to education.

Demonstration Cities means bringing to bear upon a problem area the total resources of the Federal, state, and local governments working with private enterprise to make a significant impact upon the well-being of the city.

The planning of local programs must come from the local community. It must be inspired at home. It must be directed at the local base. It must relate to the needs of a community. No Federal government is wise enough to write a prescription for every city in America; and even if it were, it



shouldn't. I would be opposed to any Federal program that sought to dominate the planning or the activity of the municipalities in this land.

In addition to concentrating these federally-assisted programs and providing planning funds, we will provide Federal supplemental funds to expand and finance entirely new local activities. The only restriction is that such activities must be geared to the achievement of overall objectives of the community plans.

Then there is the Metropolitan Development Aid which makes available additional dollar incentives from the Federal government to help orderly metropolitan development, to meet the problems of urban sprawl.

In nearly every city there are colleges and universities which can be action centers as well as centers for study, reflection, and meditation. We call upon the great university centers to put their top talent to work in helping to build better communities.

We call upon the great corporations of America to engage in what is known as systems analysis, to offer their services to the metropolitan centers and the metropolitan authorities. Systems analysis is the new technique that is used for the defense of this nation and for the development of whole new systems of defense. That same concept, which is being experimented with on the West Coast and in some places on the East Coast, needs to have much more emphasis.

We are asking local communities to gear up for action and to tap every resource available. And we ask these local communities to tell the Federal government their needs. But above all we encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

None of these programs are panaceas and there are no instant solutions. You do not have any instant cities. You didn't get any instant problems and there are no instant answers. These programs provide good long-term solutions. They are landmarks in our Federal aid program.

Let me, then, put the problems of our cities in perspective for the future. Our gross national product this year will be over three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Federal revenues will be running \$50 billion more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965, at the same tax base, and will continue to increase as the economy grows. Ours is the richest and the most powerful society ever created on earth, and there is little doubt that we can, and very soon, reverse the trends that we see in our cities. Life in our cities can be much more than steaming asphalt and crowded tenements, more than dirty air and polluted water, more than clogged highways and congested streets, more than bursting classrooms and underpaid teachers, more than violence and despair and discrimination and hopelessness, indeed more than temporary material satisfaction.

I believe that the way lies open to build a society in which human values count uppermost. Toward this end, we have some real assets: We have tremendous national economic growth to generate the revenue we need. With the peace we are working



toward, we can divert into constructive programs at home the funds which we presently have to put into war and defense.

You have heard that before, but your experience to date is that when the wars have stopped, it is not done. On the day that peace comes in Viet Nam, this man is going to be asking you to be willing to spend the same amount of money to build a better America.

Let me talk about our real assets: This great economy; this great America; the growth of our cities; our dedicated public officials; an aroused and informed public, a variety of programs, the likes of which we have never known before, of Federal aids, of state aids, of local aids and we have a new partnership of Federal, state and local governments and private groups working together which we call creative federalism.

We can get a good start toward achieving our aims, by pooling our municipal redevelopment experience on a regularised, formalized basis. For example, lets pool information on what has been done in Philadelphia, in Boston, in Omaha, and in other places. The people need to know more about all of it. We should take these television cameras and move them out to show what can be done, what has been done, and then what needs to be done--show the new, beautiful areas that once were the slums; show the slums that now are and what they could be; predict the city of the future with clean air, clean water, and traffic that can move; schools; open spaces; green spaces.

That's one thing we can do.

We ought to have a constant international conference on urban problems and programs because other societies are building better cities than we are. Let us find out what happens in the more congested cities of Western Europe and how they handle those problems.

I think we need an advisory council of both public and private people through the new Department of Housing and Urban Development: A real strong, speaking-up, non-rubber stamp advisory council, one that becomes a bit obstreperous on occasion and will speak up. Outside forces that don't have quite as much responsibility as people in government can be a little more daring.

I think that we need to treat our slum areas just exactly as we treat the underdeveloped nations on the basis of foreign aid. They're in just as bad a way as many of the countries that we seek to help. The cities no longer have the resources to manage these problems, and if the Federal government will do in this area what we are doing with the Peace Corps and VISTA we'll have something going.

Let me be more explicit. We have a Peace Corps that works overseas. We have a Volunteers in Service to America that works back home, a domestic



Peace Corps. We have a foreign aid program that works overseas. We need a domestic aid program that works at home.

We have the pieces of it already. We have these great programs of Federal assistance. But we need something else. I don't know how much trouble I'm about to get in for saying this, but I tell you that if we have guaranteed loans for American business to make investments in housing and other things in foreign countries, we also need them here in the United States.

The greatest single need today in the metropolitan core, the center city, is low-rent housing. And not just a mass of concrete and building block, but trees and shrubs and green spaces and clean streets and playgrounds and schools: real neighborhoods; not just house after house like barracks, but homes.

We have the beginnings with present programs. But let us dream a little. I want to get you doing something about this. Don't expect others to fight this battle. And don't expect just the Mayor to fight it. It will take aroused businessmen of the biggest corporations in America, the hundred largest ones. Instead of reading about the top corporations and what their profits are, I want to know about their social consciousness. And I'm all for the profit system and all for earnings, because everything we talk about depends on it.

I'd like to see a National Housing Development Fund for so-called non-profit cooperatives and corporations, just as we did with REA. Do you think you would ever have had electricity in the countryside if you hadn't had the Rural Electrification Administration that provided long-term loans at low rates of interest? Private industry can't make money in most instances in low-income housing, unless it gets some help.

The Mayor of Omaha told me tonight about how private industry is doing some remodeling and some rehabilitation in Omaha and making it profitable. More power to them. We need to learn from that experience.

Any country which can put a man on the moon, ought to be able to help put a man on his feet here on earth. I'm Chairman of the Space Council and I'm for putting the man on the moon. But, if you can provide a wholesome environment for two men to be in a space capsule for two weeks and come out healthy, why in the name of commonsense can't you provide a wholesome environment in a city block wherever it needs to be done? You can, if you want to.



But when it comes to the space program we don't have any tolerance for failure. We don't permit people to say, "I'll do it tomorrow." We say it has to be perfect, that it has to be excellent, that it has to be top grade. We demand excellence of our producers, of our industries, of our managers, of our scientists, and we pour in billions. We've made it a matter of national propriety, a matter of national pride.

I want our country to be first to the moon, but I'd also like to have America to be first in the good life for its people. And most of its people are going to live right here in the great metropolitan urban areas of America.

I submit that with equal dedication we can make this the good life. The critical question is: Do we have the will? And when enough Americans answer that question "yes" and when enough Americans say they're willing to pay the price for victory over slums just as we are willing to pay the price for victory over communism, we will have defeated both, because the greatest menace at home is what I call slumnism.

Remember what the late beloved Pope John XXIII reminded you of:

In a world of constant want, there is no peace. And in a community of poverty, deprivation and want, there is no peace. For those of you that love peace and believe in it, may I suggest that we do the work of peace.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

20510

November 2, 1966

TO: TED VAN DYK  
FROM: NEAL D. PETERSON  
RE: ATTACHED SPEECH

I need to send this to Westinghouse as soon as possible.  
Would appreciate your "OK".

300 of these have been reproduced and have gone out to  
editors throughout the country.

Dave Williams did the final editing.

Excerpts from an Address

by

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

at

Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's  
Urban Affairs Conference  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
October 26, 1966

John Adams wrote of what he called "the spirit of public happiness" as follows: "It was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication."

I think that's a very apt quotation for a conference such as this, because what America needs if we are going to come to grips with our problems is the spirit of public happiness, not of drudgery. We ought to look upon our experience in public life as a joy. I have said many times that politics ought to be fun. Government and public service and civic consciousness must also be imbued with public happiness.

John Adams was right. Victories are won before the battle is even joined if there is delight in the work we are doing.



Thomas Jefferson once said: "The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government." If we keep that in mind, we will understand why the Constitution imposed two mandates, and only two, upon the representatives of the American people: to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Everything else is optional. Those are the mandates for every public official.

It's all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract philosophic principle or political slogan, but there remains the question: What kind of life is our society providing for the people who live in it? Liberalism is not just a matter of ideas; it relates to people, to their well-being, their happiness, their opportunities, their right to identity.

This question of what kind of a life we will live must be answered in our own time and in our own society. It's a question we must ask ourselves time and again as we measure what we have done, what we haven't done, what we are doing and, more importantly, what we seek to do.

Let's talk for a moment about some facts that we all know. Today seven out of ten Americans live in urban areas. Twenty years from now eight out of ten will live in urban areas.

But what kind of a life are we living? Are we really creating the good life and the Great Society, or are we building just big things, material things, without any regard to human values?

We build massive, even beautiful office buildings. And we say, "Look at the wonder of America." Despite our affluence, our phenomenal technological progress, the fact is that far too many Americans are not living well. Within the shadow of these magnificent and costly structures there are urban ghettos and filthy slums. It is within the restless minority in the slums and ghettos that the major problems of our time are found. Today -- late in the day, but not too late -- we have awakened to the fact that urban life in America falls far short of what it ought to be, and can be. We have made it our national business, at long last -- and I repeat: at long last, only within the last two or three years -- to make the possibility of the city beautiful a reality. But at least we have begun.

Now let me put everything that I am about to say in its proper perspective. Much about our cities is good. The city embodies great cultural institutions, universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera, beautiful buildings, magnificent parks. There is much in the American city today that is inspiring. When we speak of the problems of the city, let us not forget the achievements.

I say this because there is a tendency among many of us to speak as if the whole city were the problem, when that is not the case. What we're seeking to do is not to tear down what we have, but to build upon the foundations that are presently here -- upon what we have which is good and beautiful and creative and progressive. We should draw strength and inspiration from it and see whether we can't make it the universal pattern.

So I say that in urban America we have made some good beginnings. It is my view that the city should be one of the finest expressions of man's genius.

In ancient times, people built walls around cities to protect themselves from the barbarians on the outside. Now we have within our cities, regrettably, not walls of stone to keep people outside from coming in, but psychological walls, economic and social barriers, which imprison people within the city slums and ghettos and areas of obsolescence.

I know that we're surrounded by a host of problems, but we are no longer pushing them aside. We're facing up to them. We're facing up to the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. We're facing up to the problems of war and peace. We're facing up to the problems of building international organizations, even while some people preach naked nationalism.



America is growing up but there are some growing pains -- some turbulence and uncertainty.

We talk about slums and crime and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, shortage of parks and playgrounds, and the constant need for revenue. But to those who live in the ghettos of our cities these terms are not mere words. These are cruel and personal experiences . . .

I speak of the problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence because police protection is inadequate in the slum. I speak of problems of people living without self-respect, without hope, without any real tie to the rest of our prosperous nation. They are the victims of educational deprivation, of poverty, of ill health, of lack of work skills.

I repeat, the people of whom I speak have been cut off from the mainstream of American life. They live as if they're in a separate nation. President Johnson called it "the other nation" in his famous Howard University speech. In America there is no room for two nations. There is no room for two classes of citizenship.

We're no longer a people of farms and towns. We still have many in those areas, but most of our people are not. And we are no longer primarily a people engaged in producing goods. . .

Most of our people today are in metropolitan society. Most of them earn their living by providing services for others. Machines make goods; people service the machines. So we have two trends: the move towards metropolitan society and the growth in services. They both can be expected to continue and we have to adjust ourselves to these facts.

Then, too, there is the growth in our population. It has grown 47% since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60% by the year 2000; and that's not far away.

Added to the increase in population is the constantly increasing demand of a larger and larger percentage of our people for an ever-higher standard of living. What do I mean by an ever-higher standard of living? Not just more income, not just the accumulation of material things, but more schools, more universities, more parks, more hospitals. We need to have more and better-trained men and women in public and private life who can think about rebuilding and building for those who are to come after us. We need to double our entire educational facilities in the next twenty-five years -- to do as much in twenty-five years as we've done in three hundred!

The legitimate demand of more people for the rewards of life, added to the obsolescence of that which they already have, is in large part what is creating the contradictions of urban America. We have a revolution of rising expectations in every part of America. People are no longer willing to accept that which was. The restlessness of the poor in this land, the people who feel that they have not been given a fair deal, is being made manifest. We show them the good life on television; they read of it in the press, in the journals, in the magazines, on the billboards. They hear of it on the radio.

Rising expectations in Africa and Asia, where people hear not, see not, read not, where better than two-thirds of all humanity is illiterate, where the radio and the television in many areas are seldom even known? That rising expectation is but a small, little tremble, just a feeble little vibration compared to the massive earthquake of demand and of restlessness that we find in this America of ours.

And we have the means if we have the will to do something about it -- the will to order and to control change and growth in our cities. As it stands now, however, those who traditionally would be in control have the titles, but all too frequently not the authority. Or, if they do have the authority, they cannot get the money to do the job.



The number of officials and official bodies that function in this America is like a crazy-quilt pattern of city authority. It has its rationale only as a subject for doctoral theses, for public administration students at universities, or as a testament to misdirected ingenuity. Ours is a nation of over 80,000 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, but we cling to obsolete governmental structures as if they were sanctioned by holy writ. If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, the case for local control would be hopeless. But we have seen in the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment a major shift on the state level which should soon be reflected on the local level. As a matter of fact, both state and city governments are becoming more viable and energetic in meeting urban problems. A city may have a Home Rule Charter, but it is the grant or the gift of the state legislative body. The police authority exercised by local government is entirely the prerogative of state government. The county, the city, the community are each agents of the state. State governments historically have been rural-oriented, rural-dominated, though we are presently 70 percent urbanized. And it's going to take time, even with reapportionment, to restructure state governments, since in many states the civil service perpetuates departments and agencies oriented to yesterday's problems.

State constitutions need to be updated. City charters need to be rewritten. State law needs to be rewritten in light of this fact of our time: seven out of ten people live in our cities. Local government needs revision. We need new combinations of local government units. The voluntary associations of locally elected officials in metropolitan areas are a beginning. These associations are in reality councils of local governments banded together to solve mutual problems -- many of which are unresolvable when attacked separately by each individual unit of government.

Let me make it quite clear that I don't think we should destroy all that we have. I think what we need is to take a long, hard look at what we have and make changes and revisions to the maximum advantage of all -- urban and rural both. For example, there is great waste in our preserving and duplicating services when there needs to be a much closer integration of those services. Differences in standards of health between adjacent segments of a metropolitan area work against the total interest, for disease does not respect any geographical boundary. Certain basic services -- health services, police services, fire services -- need to be on a basis of pooled authority. We've had some experience in this in certain limited areas.

Local governments stunted by historical accident must have help with upgrading of manpower. There is a tragic shortage all over the world of trained manpower. Without the trained manpower--the managers, the technicians, the professionals--without incentives to stay on the job, without adequate salaries and tenure and all that comes with them, no amount of money will solve our problems. What we need, then, is to expand the training base in our whole public administration sector.

Some things have been happening that are encouraging. At long last, due to the activity of local officials and the leadership of our President, we have a Cabinet-level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dwellers' interest at the highest levels of government, but it also means a place where the great variety of federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated. It means greatly improved communications between the Federal government, the local government, the state government.

Though we encounter many problems across the nation, we have many assets.

We have new programs to cleanse our water and our air. We have a new program of rent supplements so that low-income families may have good housing. We have a new Department of Transportation. We have vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education,

of health, of skill, of earning power. All of these affect the urban person, and when we speak of cities we're speaking of people.

The task ahead of your government today is to put these programs to work. Our task now is to digest what we have, to assimilate it, to understand it, to adapt it, to apply it, to experiment with it.

We are bringing this whole array of policies and programs that I've mentioned into a single and efficient focus through the new Demonstration Cities program, which is designed to stimulate, strengthen and reward the coordinated planning and action which will be necessary if our cities are to be centers of good living.

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to bring all the federal programs that apply to cities and people into a single concentrated and coordinated attack on the problems of a major area within a city. There are certain criteria:

An area must be large enough so a project will have a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city.

The area must contain a significant part of the deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and the plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing.

The plan must pay attention to the social needs of the community, with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed.



The cities must show they have the administrative and financial capacity to carry out the plan. Many housing and urban development programs will normally be included in a given Demonstration Cities project. These will include programs of housing, renewal, and mass transit. But each demonstration may also include other existing federally-assisted programs, such as welfare, health, economic opportunity and education.

The Demonstration Cities program means bringing to bear upon a problem area the total resources of the Federal, state, and local governments working with private enterprise to make a significant impact upon the well-being of the city.

The planning of local programs must come from the local community. It must be inspired at home. It must be directed at the local level. It must relate to the needs of a community. No Federal government is wise enough to write a prescription for every city in America; and even if it were, it shouldn't. I would be opposed to any Federal program that sought to dominate the planning or the activity of the municipalities.

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In nearly every city there are colleges and universities which can be action centers as well as centers for study, reflection, and meditation. We call upon the great university centers to put their top talent to work in helping to build better communities.

We call upon the great corporations of America, engaged in what is known as systems analysis, to offer their services to the metropolitan authorities. Systems analysis--the new technique used in the development of new systems of defense and space exploration--needs to receive much more emphasis.

We are asking local communities to gear up for action and to tap every resource available. And we ask these local communities to tell the Federal government their needs. But above all we encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

None of these programs are panaceas--there are no instant solutions to such long-standing problems. These programs provide good long-term solutions. They are landmarks in our Federal aid program.

Let me, then, put the problems of our cities into perspective for the future. Our gross national product this year will be over

three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Federal revenues will be running \$50 billion more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965, on the same tax base, and will continue to increase as the economy grows. Ours is the richest and the most powerful society ever created on earth. There is little doubt that we can, and very soon, reverse the trends that we see in our cities. Life in our cities can be much more than crowded tenements, more than dirty air and polluted water, more than clogged highways and congested streets, more than bursting classrooms and underpaid teachers, more than violence and despair and discrimination and hopelessness, more than temporary material satisfaction.

I believe that the way lies open to build a society in which human values are uppermost. We have some very real assets to build upon. We have a tremendously strong, vigorously growing economy, which will generate the revenue we need. We have dedicated public officials. We have the beginnings of an aroused and informed public opinion, of the kind we had to arouse to get action on public education. We have a new partnership of Federal, state, and local officials and private groups, all working together in what President Johnson calls "creative federalism." And, when we achieve the kind of peaceful world we are working for, we can look forward to applying to our domestic needs some of the funds presently required for defense.

I served in the Senate when America was spending billions of dollars in the war in Korea. I saw that same America unwilling to spend billions on education, health, housing and our other needs at home.

Had we been willing, as a people and as a nation, to invest on that scale in our cities, we wouldn't be in the predicament we are today.

My fellow Americans, on the day that peace comes in Viet Nam, this Administration will be asking you to make a similar commitment of our national resources to build a better America.

We can get a good start toward achieving our aims by pooling our municipal redevelopment experience on a regularized, formalized basis. For example, let's pool information on what has been done in Philadelphia, in Boston, in Omaha, and in other places. The people need to know more about this. We should use television to show what can be done, what has been done, and what needs to be done--show the beautiful new areas that once were slums; show the slum areas as they now are and as they could be. We should show the city of the future with clean air, clean water, and traffic that can move--with schools and with green and open spaces.

We ought to have regular international conferences on urban problems and programs, because other nations are building better cities than we are. Let us find out what is happening in the more congested cities of Western Europe and how they handle their problems.

I think we need an advisory council of both public officials and private citizens for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development--a strong, speaking-up, non-rubber stamp advisory council, one that becomes a bit obstreperous on occasion. Outside people who



don't have quite as much responsibility as people in government can be a little more daring.

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Let me be more explicit. We have a Peace Corps that works overseas. We have a Volunteers in Service to America that works back home, a domestic Peace Corps. We have a foreign aid program that works overseas. We need a domestic aid program that works at home.

We have the pieces of it already. We have these great programs of Federal assistance. But we need something else . . . If we have guaranteed loans for American business to make investments in housing and other things in foreign countries, we also need them here in the United States.

The greatest single need today in the metropolitan core, the center city, is low-rent housing. And not just a mass of concrete and building block, but trees and shrubs and green spaces and clean streets and playgrounds and schools. We need real neighborhoods--not just house after house like barracks, but homes.

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fight it alone. It will take aroused businessmen of the biggest corporations in America, the hundred largest ones. Instead of reading about the top corporations and their profits, I want to know about their social consciousness . . .

I'd like to see a National Housing Development Fund for cooperatives and non-profit corporations, just as we did with REA. Do you think you would ever have had electricity in the countryside without the Rural Electrification Administration that provided long-term loans at low rates of interest? Private industry can't make money in most instances in low-income housing, unless it gets some help.

The Mayor of Omaha told me tonight how private industry is doing some remodeling and some rehabilitation in Omaha and making it profitable. More power to them. We need to learn from that experience.

Any country which can put a man on the moon ought to be able to put a man on his feet here on earth. I'm Chairman of the Space Council and I'm for putting the man on the moon. But, if we can do this, why in the name of commonsense can't we provide a wholesome urban environment wherever it needs to be done? We can, if we want to.

In our space program, we don't have any tolerance for failure. We demand excellence of our producers, of our industries, of our managers, of our scientists, and we pour in billions to get it. We've made it a matter of national pride.

I want our country to be first to the moon, but I also want it to be first in achieving the good life for all its people. And most of them are going to live in the great metropolitan urban areas of America.

I submit that, with the necessary dedication, we can make this the good life. The critical question is: Do we have the will? When enough Americans answer that question "yes" and when enough Americans say they're willing to pay the price for victory over slums just as we are willing to pay the price for victory over communism, we will have defeated both--because the greatest menace at home is what I call slummism.

Remember what the late beloved Pope John XXIII said:

"In a world of constant want, there is no peace . . ."

# # #

BEU-3

pk/VICE PRES. CONF./Tooke

20510

November 7, 1966

Dear Mr. Tooke:

Attached is the final edited version of excerpts from the Vice President's talk at the Westinghouse conference. The Vice President has authorized this version for printing.

If you find that you can do the reprints, I am enclosing also a copy of the "Better Cities for Tomorrow" reprint to give you an idea of the format we have found to be the most desirable.

It has been a pleasure to work with you and I also hope we have an opportunity to become better acquainted in the future.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Neal D. Peterson  
Assistant to  
the Vice President

Mr. Franklin A. Tooke  
Vice President  
KYW and KYW-TV  
1619 Walnut Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103  
cc: Vice Pres. Conf.-2 ✓



Excerpts from an Address

by

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

at

Westinghouse Broadcasting Company's  
Urban Affairs Conference  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
October 26, 1966

In this historic city of Philadelphia, with the conference topic "The Unfinished American Revolution," it would seem appropriate to refer to early American Patriots.

John Adams wrote of what he called "the spirit of public happiness" as follows: "It was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication."

What America needs if we are going to come to grips with our problems is the spirit of public happiness. We ought to look upon our experience in public life as a joy. I have said many times that politics ought to be fun. Government and public service and civic consciousness must also be imbued with public happiness.

John Adams was right. Victories are won before the battle is even joined if there is delight in the work we are doing.

Thomas Jefferson has reminded us that "The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government." If we keep that in mind, we will understand why the Constitution imposed two mandates, and only two, upon the representatives of the American people: to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Everything else is optional. Those are the mandates for every public official.

It is all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract philosophic principle or political slogan, but there remains the question: What kind of life is our society providing for the people who live in it? Liberalism is not just a matter of ideas; it relates to people, to their well-being, their happiness, their opportunities, their right to identity and dignity.

This question of what kind of a life we will live must be answered in our own time and in our own society. It is a question we must ask ourselves time and again as we measure what we have done, what we have not done, what we are doing and, more importantly, what we seek to do.

Let's talk for a moment about some facts that are all too familiar. Today seven out of ten Americans live in urban areas. Twenty years from now eight out of ten will live in urban areas.

But what kind of a life are we living? Are we really creating the good life and the Great Society, or are we building just big things, material things, without any regard to human values?

We build massive, even beautiful office buildings. And we say, "Look at the wonder of America." Despite our affluence, our phenomenal technological progress, the fact is that far too many Americans are not living well. Within the shadow of these magnificent and costly structures there are urban ghettos and filthy slums. It is within the restless minority in the slums and ghettos that the major problems of our time are found. Today -- late in the day, but not too late -- we have awakened to the fact that urban life in America falls far short of what it ought to be, and can be. We have made it our national business, at long last -- to make the possibility of the city beautiful a reality. But at least we have begun.

Now let me put everything that I am about to say in its proper perspective. Much about our cities is good. The city embodies great cultural institutions, universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera, beautiful buildings, magnificent parks. There is much in the American city today that is inspiring. When we speak of the problems of the city, let us not forget the achievements.



I say this because there is a tendency among many of us to speak as if the whole city were the problem, when that is not the case. What we are seeking to do is not to tear down what we have which is good but to build upon the solid foundations that are presently here. We will build upon what is good, beautiful, creative and progressive. We should draw strength and inspiration from it and see whether we cannot make it the universal pattern.

So I say that in urban America we have made some good beginnings. It is my view that the city should be one of the finest expressions of man's genius and enlightenment.

In ancient times, people built walls around cities to protect themselves from the barbarians on the outside. Now we have not walls of stone to keep people outside from coming in, but psychological walls, economic and social barriers, which imprison people within the city slums and ghettos and areas of obsolescence.

I know that we are surrounded by a host of problems, but we are no longer pushing them aside. We are facing up to them. We are facing up to the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. We are facing up to the problems of war and peace. We are facing up to the problems of building international organizations, even while some people preach naked nationalism.



America is growing up but there are some growing pains -- some turbulence and uncertainty.

We talk about slums and crime and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, shortage of parks and playgrounds, and the constant need for revenue. But to those who live in the ghettos of our cities these terms are not mere words. These are cruel and personal experiences . . .

I speak of the problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence because police protection is inadequate in the slum. I speak of problems of people living without self-respect, without hope, without any real tie to the rest of our prosperous nation. They are the victims of educational deprivation, of poverty, of ill health, of lack of work skills.

I repeat, the people of whom I speak are cut off from the mainstream of American life. They live as if they are in a separate nation. President Johnson called it "the other nation" in his famous Howard University speech. In America there is no room for two nations. There is no room for two classes of citizenship. This must be one nation with one citizenship.

We are no longer a people of farms and towns. We still have many people in those areas, but most of our people live in cities. We are no longer a people primarily engaged in producing goods.

Most of our people today are in metropolitan society. Most of them earn their living by providing services for others. The move towards metropolitan society and the growth in services are two distinct trends. They both will continue and we must adjust ourselves to these facts.

Then, there is the growth in our population. It has grown 47% since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60% by the year 2000; and that is not far away.

Added to the increase in population is the constantly increasing demand of our people for an ever higher standard of living. What do I mean by an ever higher standard of living? Not just more income, nor the accumulation of material things, but more schools, more universities, more parks, and more hospitals. We need to have more and better-trained men and women in public and private life who can think about building and rebuilding for those to come. We need to double our entire educational facilities in the next twenty-five years -- to do as much in twenty-five years as we have done in three hundred!

The legitimate demands for the rewards of life, added to the obsolescence of that which they have, is in large part what is creating the contradictions of urban America. We have a revolution of rising expectations in every part of America. People are no longer willing to accept that which was. The restlessness of the poor in this land, the people who feel that they have not been given a fair deal, is a fact of our time. We show them the good life on television; they read of it in the press, in the journals, in the magazines, on the billboards. They hear of it on the radio.

Rising expectations in Africa and Asia, where people hear not, see not, read not, where better than two-thirds of all humanity is illiterate, where radio and television are seldom even known? That rising expectation is but a small, little tremble, just a feeble little vibration compared to the massive earthquake of demand and of restlessness that we find in this America of ours.

And we have the means if we have the will to do something about it -- the will to order and to control change and growth in our cities. As it stands now, however, those who traditionally would be in control have the titles, but all too frequently not the authority. Or, if they do have the authority, they cannot get the money to do the job.



The number of officials and official bodies that function in this America is like a crazy-quilt pattern of city authority. It has its rationale only as a subject for doctoral theses, for public administration students at universities, or as a testament to misdirected ingenuity. Ours is a nation of over 80,000 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, but we cling to obsolete governmental structures as if they were sanctioned by holy writ. If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, the case for local control would be hopeless. But we have seen in the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment a major shift on the state level which should soon be reflected on the local level. As a matter of fact, both state and city governments are becoming more viable and energetic in meeting urban problems.

A city may have a Home Rule Charter, but it is the grant or the gift of the state legislative body. The police authority exercised by local government is entirely the prerogative of state government. The county, the city, the community are each agents of the state. State governments historically have been rural-oriented, rural-dominated, though we are presently 70 percent urbanized. And it is going to take



time, even with reapportionment, to restructure state governments, since in many states the civil service perpetuates departments and agencies oriented to yesterday's problems.

State constitutions need to be updated. City charters need to be rewritten. State law needs to be rewritten in light of the fact of our time: That seven out of ten people live in cities. Local government needs revision. We need new combinations of local government units. The voluntary associations of locally elected officials in metropolitan areas are a beginning. These associations are in reality councils of local governments banded together to solve mutual problems -- many of which are unresolvable when attacked separately by each individual unit of government.

Let me make it quite clear that I do not think we should destroy all that we have. We need to take a long, hard look at what we have and to make changes and revisions to help both urban and rural governments. For example, differences in standards of health in adjacent metropolitan areas work against the total interest, for disease does not respect any geographical boundary. Certain basic services -- health services, police services, fire services -- need to be on a basis of pooled authority.

Local governments stunted by historical accident must be helped to upgrade their manpower. There is a significant shortage all over the nation of trained manpower. Without the trained manpower -- the managers, the technicians, the professionals -- without incentives to stay on the job, without adequate salaries and tenure and all that comes with them, no amount of money will solve our problems. We must expand the training base in our public administration sector.

Some things have been happening that are encouraging. At long last, due to the activity of local officials and the leadership of our President, we have a Cabinet-level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dwellers' interest at the highest levels of government, but it also means a place where the great variety of federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated. It means greatly improved communications between the Federal government, the local government, the state government.

We have new programs to cleanse our water and our air. We have rent supplements so that low-income families may have good housing. We have a Department of Transportation. We have vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education, of health, of skill, of earning power. All of these affect the urban person.

The task ahead of your government today is to put these programs to work. Our task now is to digest what we have, to assimilate it, to understand it, to adapt it, to apply it, to experiment with it.

We are bringing this whole array of policies and programs that I have mentioned into a single and efficient focus through the Demonstration Cities program, which is designed to stimulate, strengthen and reward the coordinated planning and action which will be necessary if our cities are to be centers of good living.

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to bring all the federal programs that apply to cities and people into a concentrated attack on the problems of a major area within a city. There are certain criteria to be met for a city to qualify for this special program.

An area must be large enough so a project will have a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city.

The area must contain a significant part of the deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and the plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing.

The plan must pay attention to the social needs of the community, with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed.



The qualifying cities must show they have the administrative and financial capacity to carry out the plan. Many housing and urban development programs will normally be included in a given Demonstration Cities project. These will include programs of housing, renewal, and mass transit. But each demonstration may also include other existing federally-assisted programs, such as welfare, health, economic opportunity and education.

The Demonstration Cities program means bringing to bear upon a problem area the total resources of the Federal, state, and local governments working with private enterprise to make a significant impact upon the well-being of the city.

The planning of local programs must come from the local community. It must be inspired at home. It must be directed at the local level. It must relate to the needs of a community. No Federal government is wise enough to write a prescription for every city in America; and even if it were, it should not. I would be opposed to any Federal program that sought to dominate the planning or the activity of the municipalities.

In addition to concentrating these federally-assisted programs and providing planning funds, we will provide Federal supplemental funds to expand and finance entirely new local activities. The only restriction is that such activities must be geared to the achievement of the overall objectives of the community plans.



There is also the Metropolitan Development Act which makes available additional dollar incentives from the Federal government to help orderly metropolitan development, to meet the problems of urban sprawl.

In nearly every city there are colleges and universities which can be action centers as well as centers for study, reflection, and meditation. We call upon the great university centers to put their top talent to work in helping to build better communities.

We call upon the great corporations of America, engaged in what is known as systems analysis, to offer their services to the metropolitan authorities. Systems analysis -- the new technique used in the development of new systems of defense and space exploration -- needs to receive much more emphasis.

We are asking local communities to gear up for action and to tap every resource available. And we ask these local communities to tell the Federal government their needs. But above all we encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

None of these programs are panaceas -- there are no instant solutions to such long-standing problems. These programs provide good long-term solutions. They are landmarks in our Federal aid program.

Let me, then, put the problems of our cities into perspective for the future. Our gross national product this year will be over

three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Federal revenues will be running \$50 billion more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965, on the same tax base, and will continue to increase as the economy grows. Ours is the richest and the most powerful society ever created on earth. There is little doubt that we can, and very soon, reverse the trends that we see in our cities. Life in our cities can be much more than crowded tenements, more than dirty air and polluted water, more than clogged highways and congested streets, more than bursting classrooms and underpaid teachers, more than violence and despair and discrimination and hopelessness, more than temporary material satisfaction.

I believe that the way lies open to build a society in which human values are uppermost. We have some very real assets to build upon. We have a tremendously strong, vigorously growing economy, which will generate the revenue we need. We have dedicated public officials. We have the beginnings of an aroused and informed public opinion, of the kind we had to arouse to get action on public education. We have a new partnership of Federal, state, and local officials and private groups, all working together in what President Johnson calls "creative federalism." And, when we achieve the kind of peaceful world we are working for, we can look forward to applying to our domestic needs some of the funds presently required for defense.

I served in the Senate when America was spending billions of dollars in the war in Korea. I saw that same America unwilling to make adequate and long overdue investments in education, health, housing and our other needs at home when the Korean War was over. Had we been willing, as a people and as a nation, to invest half as much in our cities as in the Korean War we would not be in the predicament we are today.

My fellow Americans, on the day that peace comes in Viet Nam, this Administration will be asking you to make a similar commitment of our national resources to build a better America.

We can get a good start toward achieving our aims by pooling our municipal redevelopment experience on a formalized basis. For example, let's pool information on what has been done in Philadelphia, in Boston, in Omaha, and in other places. The people need to know more about this. We should use television to show what can be done, what has been done, and what needs to be done -- show the beautiful new areas that once were slums; show the slum areas as they now are and as they could be. We should show the city of the future with clean air, clean water, and traffic that can move -- with schools and with green and open spaces.

We ought to have regular international conferences on urban problems and programs, because other nations are building better cities than we are. Let us find out what is happening in the more congested cities of Western Europe and how they handle their problems.



I think we need an advisory council of both public officials and private citizens for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development -- a strong, speaking-up, non-rubber stamp advisory council, one that becomes a bit obstreperous on occasion. Outside people who do not have quite as much responsibility as people in government can be a little more daring.

I think that we need to treat our slum areas exactly as we treat the underdeveloped nations in our foreign aid program. The cities no longer have the resources to manage these problems.

Let me be more explicit. We have a Peace Corps that works overseas. We have a Volunteers in Service to America that works back home, a domestic Peace Corps. We have a foreign aid program that works overseas. We need a domestic aid program that works at home.

We have the pieces of it already. We have these great programs of Federal assistance. But we need something else. If we have guaranteed loans for American business to make investments in housing and other projects in foreign countries, we also need them here in the United States.

The greatest single need today in the metropolitan core, the center city, is low-rent housing. And not just a mass of concrete and building block, but trees and shrubs and green spaces and clean streets and playgrounds and schools. We need real neighborhoods -- not just house after house like barracks, but homes.



We have the beginnings with present programs. But let us dream a little. I want to get you doing something about this. Don't expect others to fight this battle. And don't expect the Mayor to fight it alone. It will take aroused businessmen of the biggest corporations in America, the hundred largest ones. Instead of reading about the top corporations and their profits, I want to know about their social consciousness . . .

I would like to see a National Housing Development Fund for cooperatives and non-profit corporations, just as we did with REA. Do you think you would ever have had electricity in the countryside without the Rural Electrification Administration that provided long-term loans at low rates of interest? Private industry cannot make money in most instances in low-income housing, unless it gets some help.

The Mayor of Omaha told me tonight how private industry is doing some remodeling and some rehabilitation in Omaha and making it profitable. More power to them. We need to learn from that experience.

Any country which can put a man on the moon ought to be able to put a man on his feet here on earth. I am Chairman of the Space Council and I am for putting the man on the moon. But, if we can do this, why in the name of commonsense can't we provide a wholesome urban environment wherever it needs to be done? We can, if we want to.

In our space program, there is no tolerance for failure. We demand excellence of our producers, of our industries, of our managers, of our scientists, and we pour in billions to get it. We have made it a matter of national pride.

I want our country to be first to the moon, but I also want it to be first in achieving the good life for all its people. And most of them are going to live in the great metropolitan urban areas of America.

I submit that, with the necessary dedication, we can make this the good life. The critical question is: Do we have the will? When enough Americans answer that question "yes" and when enough Americans say they are willing to pay the price for victory over slums just as we are willing to pay the price for victory over communism, we will have defeated both -- because the greatest menace at home is what I call slummism.

Remember what the late beloved Pope John XXIII said:

"In a world of constant want, there is no peace . . ."

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