Remarks of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey Model City Press Tour Luncheon Rochester, New York December 4, 1967

For Release: Monday, December 4, 1967 (12 Noon, Eastern Standard Time)

We are all here today because we are concerned about America's cities. Even though the riots of last summer are now off the front pages, the poverty, overcrowding, poor housing, poor schools, unemployment---the frustration and the agitation that lay behind them---are still there.

For any of us who needs a reminder, there is a new publication that should be required reading. Here is a passage from it:

"When they have to get out on the street at 14 or 15 they consider themselves to be a man and are going to take on some responsibility because he is the only man in the house and he has little brothers and sisters in the house and he sees his mother and brothers and sisters going hungry, half starving and trying to get the rent in. It is a bare house, like it is a cold feeling even to be there and you have to go out on the street and become the subject of the same thing out there. There has to be a breaking point."

Here is another passage:

"Like it's nice of you ladies and gentlemen to come down and set up the ...hearings. But you put in more statistics and that is where it goes. You spend more money on statistics than on solving the problem."

Those words are from testimony gathered by the Commission on Civil Rights. They were published in a book called "A Time to Listen...A Time to Act." I suggest that anyone who wants to know the dimensions of the task ahead of us in urban America get a copy and read it.

This is the time to act, and I hope and believe that the Model Cities Program is the beginning of concerted action against the challenge of urban blight in America. I believe that we are now embarked upon a program that can remake our cities and, even more important, rescue the people who lack the income to do more than struggle for survival...people who live in housing that is unfit for human use...people who are deprived of the health and educational opportunities that a decent and productive life requires.

For years the Federal government, through a whole range of grant-in-aid programs, has attacked single problems with a single weapon. More than 200 separate programs have been developed, each with a specialized goal, each in response to a real need. State and local governments, private organizations and industries all over the country have established similar complementary programs. Those programs have produced significant results. But the results have been isolated, separated, fragmented victories.

Model Cities is more than a new program. It is a catalyst designed to pursue comprehensive, not isolated, use of resources to produce comprehensive, not isolated, results. The comprehensive input consists of all existing local programs...Federal programs...private programs...and unused resources which can be brought to bear on any aspect of urban decay or poverty. The comprehensive output must be not just jobs...not just houses...not just transportation...not just schools, but a new urban society...a society of full opportunity and full humanity for all.

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We expect a lot from this coordinated and concentrated use of Federal, state, local and private initiative---this Partnership for Progress in urban America. We expect to develop neighborhoods, now the most neglected ones with the most difficult problems, where all employable residents will be offered the opportunity for training and work, at a living wage and with prospects for advancement.

We expect to develop neighborhoods where every family can earn a decent standard of living by their own efforts. We expect to see health standards brought up to the national averages...schools that provide training commensurate with the ability and potential of the youngsters in them...recreation, transportation, public services fully comparable with those in the best neighborhoods. We expect to see a substantial increase in the supply of decent low-cost housing---open housing.

We expect full participation by Inner City leaders and residents themselves.

True, the program is off to a modest start, considering the enormity of the task before us. For awhile it was doubtful that Congress would pass any program at all. Then the President's request for appropriations was cut in half. But by mobilizing existing resources and consolidating programs that are already underway the Model Cities Program can mean solid progress.

It is appropriate that this week's tour of Model Cities areas should begin here in the State of New York and in the City of Rochester. New York State has a great record of experimentation and innovation in meeting urban

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need---first with low-cost public housing, first with labor union-sponsored housing projects, first with tenement housing laws which were the beginning of today's housing codes.

Rochester's successful Model Cities application reveals that it is an important example of both the needs and the opportunities that exist in urban America today. The typical urban ills are all here. But so are the critical positive ingredients---a dynamic Mayor, Frank Lamb...responsible and active leadership in the Inner City communities...industries like Kodak, Xerox, Graflex and many, many others which are ready to cooperate in job training and employment efforts. There are private groups already active in the assault on slum housing---Rochester Neighbors, Inc., Better Rochester Living, Inc., the Metropolitan Rochester Foundation, Rochester United Settlement House Corporation, Rochester Area Council of Churches Development, Inc., Community Interests, Inc. I doubt if most of these names existed five years ago. Today they spell public concern, private commitment to public problems...and progress. And there is a record of successful public-private cooperation.

The Midtown Plaza---the very building in which we are having lunch today---is a result of creative partnership between business and government. So is the Genesee Crossroads urban renewal project not far from here. Rochester is a leader, but it is not unique. The Model Cities applications received this year all reported similar efforts underway. Equally important, all reflect the beginnings of a constructive dialogue between City Halls and the residents of depressed neighborhoods. All reflected soul-searching, and a new awareness that this is indeed the time to act. All reflected a determi-

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nation to seek solutions---solutions that are more than a Bandaid or a handout... solutions that mean real opportunity to participate in the mainstream of American life for people who are now excluded.

Rochester and the 62 other cities which received Model Cities planning grants are now entering the third and critical phase in the development of the Model Cities attack on slums.

<u>Phase I was mobilizing public support and passing the legislation.</u> <u>There was a time when success in this phase was clearly uncertain. But we</u> <u>did it. Phase II was the intensive preparation, both at the local and Federal</u> <u>levels, that went into the first Model Cities proposals---proposals which I</u> <u>believe have been, for the most part, imaginative and well-conceived. In</u> <u>Phase III, our task will be to find the resources which we all believe are</u> <u>there...to mobilize the energies that we presume to exist...and embark on</u> <u>programs which will provide visible evidence of progress.</u>

Permanent results---a prospering, peaceful urban America---will be Phase IV. And it will not come overnight. Every American...every Inner City leader...every slum resident must recognize that fact. "Are we moving?"--not "Are we finished?"---will be the only realistic test of success for some time to come. Permanent results are going to come slowly because the despair in some neighborhoods is so deep, the legacy of deprivation so heavy---even though the people involved are a small minority of Americans. Permanent results will come slowly because rebuilding will cost a lot---even in this society which is rich and growing richer.

Permanent results will come slowly because too many Americans still

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tolerate prejudice in their housing codes, in their employment and promotion practices, in their hearts---even though this nation professes to be the land of the free.

I do not counsel only patience---although we will need that. "Patience" for too long has served some as an excuse for inaction. I counsel diligence, courage, responsibility and faith.

In the words of Thomas Wolfe:

"To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself; and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This...is the promise of America."

Working together, we shall fulfill that promise.

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~ Mayor Frank Lar Sheen Ralbi Dermatein n won Vai NOTE VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY MODEL CITIES TOUR LUNCHEON ROCHESTER, NEW YORK ambricans are concerned DAM BECAUSE WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT WE AMERICA'S CITIES. EVEN THOUGH THE RIOTS OF LAST SUMMER ARE NOW OFF THE FRONT PAGES, THE POVERTY, OVERCROWDING, POOR HOUSING, POOR SCHOOLS, UNEMPLOYMENT -- THE FRUSTRATION AND THE AGITATION ARE STILL THERE. a Since Wrging M THERE IS A READING _a ublin NEW PUBLICATION THAT SHOULD BE REQUIRED Civil Right C stend - a Time to fait

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"LIKE IT'S NICE OF YOU LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

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TO COME DOWN AND SET UP THE ... HEARINGS. BUT IT'S TOO BAD YOU DON'T HAVE THE POWER TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT. BUT YOU PUT IN MORE STATISTICS AND THAT IS WHERE IT GOES. YOU SPEND MORE MONEY ON STATISTICS THAN ON SOLVING THE PROBLEM." THOSE WORDS ARE FROM TESTIMONY GATHERED BY THE NIGHTS. PUBLISHED A FEW WERE BOOK CALLED I SUGGEST THAT ANYONE WHO WANTS TO KNOW THE DIMENSIONS OF THE TASK AHEAD S IN URBAN AMERICA GET A COPY AND mericas atus - the les culture mait americano Suce re THIS IS THE TIME TO ACT; AND THE MODEL CITIES PROGRAM IS THE BEGINNING OF CONCERTED ACTION AGAINST 🗭 URBAN BLIGHT IN AMERICA. Yet bur lities are infected a The Alumian Brekintown, Belazideted building of Broken People

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THAT CAN REMAKE OUR CITIES AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANT,

FOR YEARS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THROUGH A WHOLE RANGE OF GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS, HAS ATTACKED SINGLE PROBLEMS WITH SINGLE WEAPONS, MORE THAN 200 SEPARATE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED, EACH WITH A SPECIALIZED GOAL, EACH IN RESPONSE TO A REAL NEED, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AND INDUSTRIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ESTABLISHED SIMILAR COMPLEMENTARY PROGRAMS.

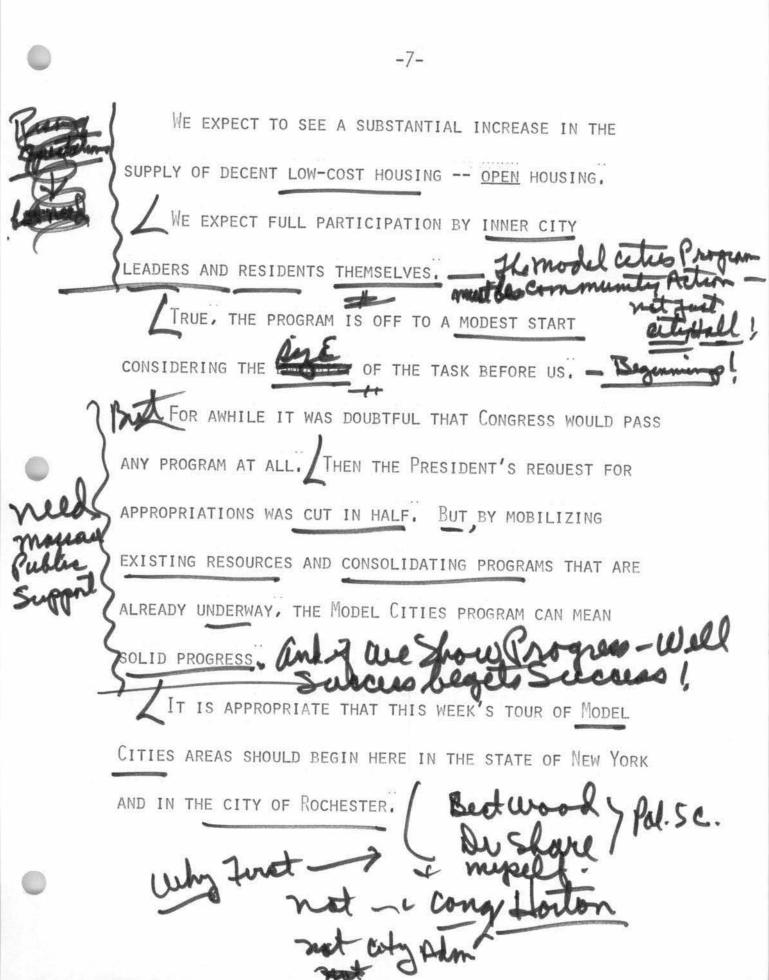
THOSE PROGRAMS HAVE PRODUCED SIGNIFICANT RESULTS. BUT THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN ISOLATED, SEPARATED VICTORIES. The war again Powerty and blight - was ITIES IS MORE A NEW PROGRAM. THAN DESIGNED TO COMPREHENSI NOT OF RESOURCES TO PRODUCE COMPREHENSIVE. NOT ISOLATED, RESULTS, THE COMPREHENSIVE INPUT CONSISTS OF ALL EXISTING LOCAL PROGRAMS ... FEDERAL PROGRAMS ... PRIVATE PROGRAMS . AND UNUSED RESOURCES WHICH CAN BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON ANY ASPECT OF URBAN DECAY OR POVERTY. THE COMPREHENSIVE OUTPUT MUST BE NOT JUST JOBS... TRANSPORT ... NOT JUST SCHOOLS, NOT HOUSES ... NOT BUT A NEW URBAN SOCIETY ... A SOCIETY OF FULL OPPORTUNITY AND FULL HUMANITY FOR ALL.

We expect from this coordinated and concentrated use of federal, state, local and private initiative -- this partnership for progress in urban America.

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WE EXPECT TO DEVELOP NEIGHBORHOODS

We expect to develop NEIGHBORHOODS WHERE EVERY FAMILY CAN EARN A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING BY CONNEFFORTS. We expect to see health schemes Brought up to the NATIONAL COMMENSURATE WITH THE ABILITY AND POTENTIAL OF THE YOUNGSTERS IN THEM...RECREATION, TRANSPORTATION, PUBLIC SERVICES FULLY COMPARABLE WITH THOSE IN THE BEST NEIGHBORHOODS.



How Gow Al Smith -8-New York State has a RECORD OF EXPERIMENTATION AND INNOVATION IN MEETING URBAN NEEDS - FIRST WITH LOW-REAL PUBLIC HOUSING, FIRST WITH LABOR UNION-SPONSORED HOUSING PROJECTS, FIRST WITH TENEMENT HOUSING LAWS WHICH WERE THE BEGINNINGS OF TODAY'S HOUSING CODES, Rochester's successful Model Cities Application REVEALS BOTH THE NEEDS AND THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT EXIST IN URBAN AMERICA TODAY. THE TYPICAL URBAN ILLS ARE MERE, BUT SO ARE THE CRITICAL POSITIVE INGREDIENTS --AYOR, FRANK LAMB, RESPONSIBLE AND ACTIVE THE INNER CITY COMMUNITIES ... INDUSTRIES LEADERSHIP IN Rochectin Telephone Co LIKE KODAK, XEROX, GRAFLEX, AND MANY, MANY OTHERS WI ARE READY TO COOPERATE IN JOB TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT The new dynamics of america Social Concern - Cicico, Urbanloolit: 1 Neld

Protest to Program. Community Development to portion mand With Cooperation of Eastman Kodak anothers- Heep in financing the burnesses and in Training - Tech . managinal Accistonies allen has been review rotand there m - aleo with mr Zich in Wept Commune, + mr Erwin Dipt an exected element in all of three efforts is a vig attrue, and rus promitly participation by the Pour themailues. Ste

Right here in Rochester we see several PRIVATE GROUPS ALREADY ACTIVE IN THE ASSAULT ON SLUM HOUSING -- ROCHESTER NEIGHBORS INC., BETTER ROCHESTER LIVING INC., THE METROPOLITAN ROCHESTER FOUNDATION, ROCHESTER UNITED SETTLEMENT HOUSE CORPORATION, ROCHESTER AREA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES DEVELOPMENT, INC., COMMUNITY INTERESTS INC. I DOUBT IF THESE NAMES EXISTED FIVE YEARS TODAY THEY SPELL PUBLIC CONERN, PRIVATE AGO_ COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC PROBLEMS ... AND AMO urban Pr AND THERE IS A RECORD OF SUCCESSFUL PUBLIC-PRIVATE enterging in the Sunse Co COOPERATION ... THE MIDTOWN PLAZA -- THE VERY BUILDING IN WHICH WE ARE HAVING LUNCH TODAY -- IS A RESULT OF CREATIVE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT. SO IS THE GENESEE CROSSROADS URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT NOT FAR FROM HERE.

Rochester is a leader, but it is not unique. THE MODEL CITIES APPLICATIONS RECEIVED THIS YEAR ALL REPORTED SIMILAR EFFORTS UNDERWAY L EQUALLY IMPORTANT, ALL REFLECTED THE BEGINNINGS OF A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN CITY HALLS AND THE RESIDENTS OF DEPRESSED NEIGHBORHOODS SOUL-SEARCHING, AND A NEW AWARENESS THAT THE TIME TO ACT ALL REFLECTED A DETERMINATION TO SEEK SOLUTIONS -- SOLUTIONS THAT ARE MORE THAN A ND OUT ... SOLUTIONS THAT MEAN REAL OPPORTUNITY OR A Part nevel TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE NOW EXCLUDED Rochester and the 62 other cities which received MODEL CITIES PLANNING GRANTS ARE NOW ENTERING A THIRD AND CRITICAL PHASE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODEL CITIES ATTACK ON SLUMISM.

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PHASE I WAS MOBILIZING PUBLIC SUPPORT AND PASSING THE LEGISLATION. THERE WAS TIME WHEN SUCCESS IN THIS PHASE WAS CLEARLY UNCERTAIN. BUT WE DID IT.

PHASE II WAS THE INTENSIVE PREPARATION, BOTH AT THE LOCAL AND FEDERAL LEVELS, THAT WENT INTO THE FIRST MODEL CITIES PROPOSALS -- PROPOSALS WHICH I BELIEVE HAVE BEEN, FOR THE MOST PART, IMAGINATIVE AND WELL-CONCEIVED. II OUR TASK WILL BE TO FIND THE RESOURCES IN PHASE WHICH WE ALL BELIEVE ARE THERE ... TO MOBILIZE THE THAT WE PRESUME TO EXIST ... AND EMBARK ON PROGRAMS WHICH WILL PROVIDE VISIBLE EVIDENCE OF PROGRESS. PERMANENT RESULTS -- A PROSPERING, PEACEFUL URBAN AMERICA -- WILL BE PHASE IV. AND IT WILL NOT COME but it can be a EVERY AMERICAN ... EVERY INNER CITY LEADER ... EVERY SLUM RESIDENT MUST RECOGNIZE THAT dill Jeans, cann a trunta

Time is neutral -work is positive -"ARE WE MOVING?" -- NOT "ARE WE FINISHED?" --WILL BE THE ONLY REALISTIC TEST OF SUCCESS FOR SOME TIME TO COME. PERMANENT RESULTS COME SLOWLY BECAUSE THE DESPAIR IN SOME NEIGHBORHOODS IS SO DEEP, THE LEGACY OF DEPRIVATION SO HEAVY -- EVEN THOUGH THE PEOPLE INVOLVED ARE A SMALL MINORITY OF AMERICANS . PERMANENT RESULTS WILL SLOWLY BECAUSE REBUILDING WILL WHICH IS RICH AND GROWING RICHER PERMANENT RESULTS COME SLOWLY BECAUSE TOO MANY AMERICANS STILL TOLERATE PREJUDICE IN THEIR HOUSING CODES, IN THEIR EMPLOYMENT AND PROMOTION PRACTICES, IN THEIR HEARTS -- EVEN THOUGH THIS NATION PROFESSES TO BE THE LAND OF THE FREE. I DO NOT COUNSEL ONLY PATIENCE -- ALTHOUGH WE

WILL NEED THAT. "PATIENCE" FOR TOO LONG HAS SERVED SOME AS AN EXCUSE FOR INACTION.

[I COUNSEL DILIGENCE, COURAGE, RESPONSIBILITY AND FAITH. - J coursel perserverance, determination

IN THE WORDS OF THOMAS WOLFE:

"To every man his chance, to every man, REGARDLESS OF HIS BIRTH HIS SHINING GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY. TO EVERY MAN THE RIGHT TO LIVE, TO WORK, TO BE HIMSELF; AND TO BECOME WHATEVER THINGS HIS MANHOOD AND HIS VISION CAN COMBINE TO MAKE HIM. THIS... IS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA."

WORKING TOGETHER, WE SHALL FULFILL THAT PROMISE.

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CITY OF ROCHESTER

NEW YORK

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BUREAU OF PUBLIC INFORMATION 8 CITY HALL ROCHESTER 14, N. Y.

December 7, 1967

Martin McNamara Office of the Vice President Executive Office Building Room 172 Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. McNamara:

Enclosed is an official transcript of the speech Vice President Humphrey gave in Rochester on the 4th. We were unable to get it finished before Mike O'Donnell left, and he asked that I send it to you.

Sincerely,

CITY OF ROCHESTER

Janua Judelson

Tanya Yudelson Assistant Director Bureau of Public Information

TY/ap

Enclosure

cc: Mike O'Donnell

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY. MIDTOWN TOWER PLAZA

4 DECEMBER 1967, COMMENCING APPROXIMATELY 1:35 p.m. EST.

BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY:

Mayor Lamb; Our very distinguished Churchman, Bishop Sheen; Doctor Scher and Congressman Horton; My friend and colleague from the Executive Branch in Washington, Secretary Wood; Mr. Vaughn; All those who address this in the representives of this great Rochester Community.

It's always a hazardous operation to start mentioning names because you leave some good friend out and that's the one you hear from a little later on ...but I want to include you in this circle of friendship and in this common endeavor, this community endeavor which is manifest here today.

First: May I say to the good Mayor of this City how grateful I am for an invitation to come to your City of Rochester. It is a fact that once I had the rare privilege of serving as the mayor of a very great City like Rochester ... of course; The City of Minneapolis, Minnesota. But, that's a long time ago and as my young family reminds me, "well, those were the old days Dad," and things have changed since then. And, I'm very grateful to get an invitation almost anyplace these days in the light of what I read. I sort of feel like that industrialist, Mr. Vaughn, that was taken seriously ill and he was sent off to the hospital and he never heard anything for about a week; nobody called him ... no letters. Another week went by; no calls, no letters, no cards, no visitors ... and finally the local union had a meeting of the executive board and he received a message and the message read something like this: "The Executive Board has met and considered your situation and by a vote of eight to seven, we wish you a speedy recovery."

Now, I don't know whether you have had a vote up here, but whatever you did, thanks for letting me come. It's really a pleasure. For a while I was a little worried about the electronics, but that's been --- that's been cured. I know that the film industry is good. Mr. Vaughn, if you can get these fella's to print some of those pictures, I'll appreciate it. I was addressing the White House photographers about a year ago and one of your fellow citizens reminded me of it and I said, "You know, I am known for making quite a few speeches and some of them are rather extended. But, "I said, "There's an old Chinese proverb that one picture is worth ten thousand words and if you fella's would just print those pictures you wouldn't have to listen to all these words." So, I want you to be sure that there's film in every camera, particularly down there in Washington.

But in all seriousness, I want to talk to you today about your City and our great Country and what we as citizens can do to make this a better country. I suppose the most simple way of putting it ... or the simplest way, is to say that you make a better Country by making yourself a little better . . . Sense of pride, sense of belonging, a willingness to share your share of the burdon as well as to claim your share of the rights. Bights and responsibilities go hand in hand. Freedom is not license nor is license the right to exploit. Americans are a concerned people and we ought to be. We live in a troubled world. We live in a troubled nation. In fact, we live in a troubled period of troublesome times. We're going through fantastic changes. I travel a great deal by plane and there's never a day that

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I travel but what I ask the pilot, "How's the weather?" I don't want to say that I'm a coward about flying, but a --because I have to fly too much. But I like to know what the weather is like and every once in a while, the navigator, the pilot will tell me, "Well Mr. Vice-President, we're going to have a little turbelence today." And I said, "What's the reason for that?" "Well, we're going out of a low weather system into a high." And all of us that are the users of modern air transportation know that whenever you pass out of one system --- weather system into another, you go through a period of turbelence ... and is particularly true when you come out of what they call a low pressure system, into the high pressure system. For a period of time you wonder whether or not that craft in which you're flying will hold together. You bounce around ... You're buffeted from one direction to another and you hope and pray that the pilot is competent and above all, that the machine is strong. Well my fellow Americans, that's what we're doing right now. We're going out of a low social system in which there's been segretion and bigatry and intolerance, in which too many people have been denied and deprived and I hope and pray that we're moving into a high system in

which people will be recognized . . . In which there will be clear skies and clear thoughts and in a sense, a whole new attitude about humanity. But I really believe that we're going through this turbulent period that represents, if we but have confidence and if we have built a ship of state in a social structure strong enough that we'll bring us into the clear skies of a better life and a better America.

You see, that's why we're concerned. We don't see any easy answers and we see difficult problems. We're concerned about war and I hope we always will be. We're concerned about the prospects for peace and I pray that we always will be and I hope that we're deeply concerned about the realization of human dignity and self respect ... And I trust that this will always be our mission.

Well, today we're concerned about our cities and we ought to be, because most people live there. Seventy percent of our people live on one percent of our land in the cities and a hundred million more of our fellow Americans yet to be born, will be asking for a place to live between now and the year two thousand. Where you going to put them? And what kind of cities will these cities be? What kind of an envirement will this generation yet unborn come into? And everyone of us has a responsibility to look to that future. There isn't much we can do about the past except learn from it. Maybe we've learned a little bit about the troubles and the violence and the riots of last summer. They're now off the front pages. But I must tell you that the poverty, the overcrowding, the poor housing, the poor schools, the unemployment, still remain. The frustration and the agitation are still there. There has to be a sense of urgency. That's why I'm here. I want to say that we must be literly possessed by a sense of urgency because time is running out. People are impatient and rightly so. But if they have hope; if they have reason to believe that things are changing for the better, then I believe that we will weather the storm and come through, into the clear skies of a better day.

There's a new publication that I want to call to your attention that ought to be required reading for all of us that are interested in these matters. It's a publication by the Civil Rights Commission entitled, "A time to listen and a time to act." Get it; read it; literly devour it. I suggest that anyone who wants to know the dimensions of the task ahead in Urban America, understand the message of that publication.

Now, we've been listening a long time and I know people get a little weary of being studied. So do I. I think we have some slow learners. There's a time now to act on what we have listened to and the studies that we've made. And this is the time to act because America's Cities ought to be the best of our culture. America's Cities today are the best and the worst of our culture. We want to make it really the ... the flowering of our intellect, of our spirit and of our material goods. Cities ought to have everything with which to liberate mans' capacities to permit him to make the most of his life.

Now, the Model Cities program that we're talking about and it is being instituted today, is the beginning and I want to emphasize the word ... The beginning ... of concerted action against urban blight in America. Now, our cities are not all bad. Frankly most of them are good. They're beautiful and wonderful things in our cities. Let's not downgrade what we've done ... Cities are both the manifestation of the best that mankind can achieve and the worst. But our cities are infected with what I've called for lack of a better word, slumism. And it is infectous and contaigous and coming from a rural area as I do out in the Midwest, it's sort of like a kind of ... as we call it, quack-grass or the kind of grass that grows in the field and seems to just encompass everything. Slumism is contaigous. But this slumism is more than broken down bukldings; that's the easiest thing to repair let me say. If our problem was lonly broken down, physical structures, the problem would be manageable right now. But we're talking about what you do about broken down people. People that feel hopeless and desprite, helpless, unneeded, unwanted, shoved aside . . . and when you deal with the human spirit in the human body, you run into the most difficult of problems. So lets not underestimate our task. It's momumental. And, while I'm considered to be one of the congenital optomist of the Washington scene, I would be less than honest with you if I didn't tell you that this task is so great and so big, that I sometimes wonder if we're up to it. But I think that we are. I must --- I tell you one of the reasons I am an optomist is that there's so many pesimests in Washington and the competition is too tough. So, I just looked around and found myself a little

preserve of my own. There are only two or three over there and I think we've lost one or two of those.

Well, we start today. We're starting on a program that can, if we will it, remake our cities and even more important, rescure the people. Rescue people who lack the income to do more than struggle for survival. And people deserve more than to survive. I want to remind my fellow Americans that the Declaration of Independence didn't talk about life, liberty and survival. / It talked about life, liberty and the purusit of happiness. There's a great deal of difference. Some people survive. Some idiologies say survival is enough. For us not. The pursuit of happiness is the whole purpose of our society. Genuine happiness. So, we seek to rescue people who lack the income for more than survival. People who live in housing that you know is unfit for human use. People who were deprived of health and educational opportunities that a decent and productive life requires. Now for years the Federal Government has, through a whole range of grant and aid programs, attack single problems with single weapons. We found that this wasn't enough. These programs to be sure have produced some significant results. But the results have been limited,

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isolated, separated and fragmented victories. The war against slumism, proverty and blight has at best been a stalemate and on many areas, the battle is being lost. So, we simply had to face up to the facts ... We've had to revise our stratedgy; Change our tatics and learn how to apply new methods. Why not? We do it with everything else, from war to industry, from organization of a labor union to the building of a church. We don't do it the same old way, so why shouldn't we try to attack the problems of our cities in new ways?

Now, Model Cities is an interesting phrase. I don't know if we really understand just what it means. I think the full understanding will come as we learn from doing. You know, we Americans are not much for dogma or doctrine. We're pragmatists. We learn by doing and I venture to say that two, three years from now when we talk about Model Cities, we'll look back at what we said and what we started out doing and say, "Was that really what it was all about?" Because we're going to learn a great deal as we go along, and that's good. I'd rather have us learn as we do it, rather than have somebody tell us how to do it without our participation.

This is however a new endeavor and I believe at best, it can be described as a catalyst, as a burr under the saddle, so to speak designed to encourage comprehensive not isolated, but comprehensive mobilization ... and that's the word, mobilization of resources; human resources, material resources; To produce comprehensive not isolated results. And what's the key word? Partnership. The day of the Federal Government doing these things as Mr. Vaughn said, is all over --- if it ever was a fact. There's isn't a single problem that you have today in Rochester that can be managed alone by any one group. Your transportation problems are too big for any one. Your air pollution problems are too big for any jur --- single jurisdiction. Your problems of job training and skill training are too big for any one. We need each other. And isn't this wonderful? This is the best thing about it; to know that we need each other. Then everybody becomes important; the Federal Government, the State Government, the Local Government, the Private Sector --- I don't like that phrase, but it's the best one we've been able to figure up. We need somemore poets and musicians in government so we can get away from some of these political science phrases ---

I'll talk to you political scientists in a minute here ---But this concept of partnership, where we each share the burden and each in a sense, participate in the realization of a dream: Government and Business and Labor and Church and Private groups and Ethnic groups, all pitching in together. Now, that's what Model Cities is about, plus a long term committment for long term problems. A committment at the government level and a committment at the private level. And unless we're willing to make that long term committment, it'll be a failure. Unless we're willing to accept the responsibilities of partnership, it cannot succeed.

Now, the comprehensive input that I speak of consists of all the existing programs, local, federal and private and the unused resources which can be brought to bear on any aspect of urban decay or poverty. Take an inventory of what you have in Rochester ... Any other City. Take an inventory of what you need and then take a look at what you missed both in resources and in problems. I've learned out of shere necessity that most people can do much more than they ever dreamed that they could do when they had to do it. And if you're going to wait around for somebody else 12

to come in and give you the answer, you're going to have a long wait. What you need to be are the people that provide answers not only for yourself, but for others. The comprehensive output must not be just jobs, important as they are; not only houses; not merely transport; not just schools, but the comprehensive output of the Model City concept must be a whole new urban society. A society that has full opportunity and a society full of humanity; a full dose of humanity for all.

Now, this is a pretty big order. I suppose one might say that it's more than we can fulfill. But again I say that what seems to be impossible is what needs to be done. Anybody can do what's possible. You don't need to have any meetings for that. Stay home and have lunch with your family. Ask yourself if this trip was really necessary. The only time you ever ought to meet is to discuss what's impossible and then get busy and do it. The fact of the matter is the greatness of this Country or the greatness of any organization is on its capacity to dream the impossible and then to do it. We can do it. If you don't believe we can do it then we've already failed.

Now, we expect a lot from this coordinated and con-

centrated use of government and private iniative ... This partnership for progress in urban America. Let me tell you what we ought to expect: We ought to expect to develop neighborhoods where all employable residents will be offered the opportunity for training and work at a living wage and with prospects for advancement. We ought to expect a developed neighborhood where every family can earn a decent living by its own effort. We ought to expect to see health services brought up to National Standards, schools that provide training and education commenced with the ability and potential of the youngsters in them. We ought to expect recreation, transportation, public services, fully comparable with those in the best neighborhoods. As a matter of fact, Ladies and Gentlemen, in many ways our society is upsidedown. The people who have the most in private resources generally live in the communities that have the most in public resources and in a society like ours, which says that it believes in democratic ideals, it's those who have the least privately that ought to be the beneficiaries of the most that the total community can offer.

How well I remember when I was Mayor of my City and go around, I'd find the worst schools in the neighborhoods that had the poorest children and the best schools in the neighborhoods where most of the parents could afford to send their children to private schools --- Upsidedown. Now, I'm not asking that we do less for those who have much. I'm simply asking that we do more for those that have too little so they can have enough. That's what we're talking about ... not just through the public but through private action. We expect to see out of this Model Cities program, a substantial increase in the supply of decent low cost housing and by the way ... Open housing. It's inevitable. It's essential. We expect full participation and may I say to the local officials, we not only expect full participation, but it is absolutely essential that the program is to be a success to have full participation by inner city leaders and residents themselves. The Model Cities program must be Community action, not just City Hall. All the way through the entire community.

Now, I know that this program is off to a modest start considering the size of the task before us. I'm reminded of these things all the time. But I want to tell you one other thing ... I want to remind you of: We got a program at least. I've been in Government quite a while and I've

had the good fortune of most of my life not having too many worldly goods; starting out with very little. Therefore whatever advance I see I'm grateful for it. I know we're not doing as much as many people would think we should do or as much as I want to do, but we're doing more than we did last year and we're doing much more than we did five years ago. So, we build on what we're doing. For a while it was doubtful that the Congress would pass any program at all, as the Congressman told you. Then the Presidents request for appropriations was cut in half and while I know that most people have been concerned about other matters, let me tell you it took a lot of doing to even get what we have. Am I entitled to be just a little bit persona;? Sometimes I become somewhat unhappy with some of my friends who wonder what we're doing. Well, if they worked eighteen hours a day alongside of us, they'd find out, instead of spending sixteen hours wondering what we are doing. We've been working and it wasn't easy to get what we have. But I do think that by mobilizing existing resources and consolidating programs that are already under way, the Model Cities can mean solid progress. The one reason I'm here above all is to help mobilize public opinion for this program. I want you to show progress. If you succeed here in Rochester, it'll be the best public relations this program can have. Success begets success. If you fail here, you can kiss the program good-bye because the American public is not going to buy something that doesn't work. I think it very appropriate therefore that this week's tour of Model Cities should begin here in the State of New York and the City of Rochester. Now I know that last night From what I heard at least --- the rumor around, that Secretary Wood indicated that the reason that you had the first Model Cities Program initiated here in Rochester is not because of the Mayor, even though Mr. Mayor I'll stand alongside of you --- not because of Doctor Scher; not because of Mr. Pine; not because of the Community Organizations; not because of all the fine people here ... but because both Secretary Wood and Doctor Scher are political scientists ... They belong to that union of political science professors. Well, I'll let you in on a secret ... So am I and that's why you got it.

But in all seriousness, New York State has had a wonderful record of experimentation and inovation in meeting human needs and urban needs. One of my political heroes was the beloved Governor of this State, Al Smith and I remember in my study as a young man that he led the way in this nation in the field of social welfare and that looking at the problem of our cities. New York was first with low rent and low cost public housing. First with labor union sponsored housing projects. First with tenement housing laws which are the beginnings of todays housing codes. So, I guess this is a good place to start with another new program. Rochester's successful Model Cities applications or application reveals however both the needs and the opportunities that exist in urban America today and you have the typical urban ills right here. But, so are the critical positive ingredients. You've got a good City Administration. Responsible in active leadership in the inner city communities --- Industries: Some of them represented today like Kodak, Xerox and Graflex ... Rochester Telephone Company and a host of others. Your labor movements' represented here. My friend Abe over here ... Glad to see Mr. Chatman again ... and many others which are ready and willing to cooperate in job training and in employment efforts. Might I also add that we need the help of your University. I'm sure you have it. I am a

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refugee from a classroom. I always mention this in light of uncertainties of public life. I like to renew my application whereever I go. But I don't think a University any longer has the right to be an island of meditation ... or some sort of a resevior of intellectual retreat. I think it needs to be in the front lines of action and our great colleges and universities are required today by public necessity as well as public duty, to help our Cities and help the leaders of our cities. I'm delighted to see the new awareness on the part of the business community; of their responsibilities for social action and civic leadership. It's one of the really heartening developments in America and I'm so pleased with what happened in what we call the urban coalition. Over a thousand of our leaders in private life gathering in Washington here some months ago. Every community needs an urban coalition. It'll not only back up the efforts of government, it'll buck up the efforts of Government. It'll give courage to the timid and give encouragement to the courageous ... and believe me, a little of both is needed. Right here in Rochester we see private groups already active in the assault on slum housing. You know what they are and who they are.

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Many of these names such as the Rochester Neighbors, Incorporated and Better Rochester Living and Metropolitan Rochester Foundation, Rochester United Settlement House Corporation, Rochester Area Council of Churches Development, Community Interests --- Many of these names were unheard of five years ago. Today they spell public concern and private committment to the public problems and the mobilization for urban progress. I was pleased to hear Mr. Vaughn speak of the necessity of business enterprise in the inner city. Indeed, If private enterprise is good for you, it's good for somebody else. Community Development Corporation ... you're talking about. May I assure you that your Government is interested in this. The small Business Administration; the Department of Commerce ... And I am happy to see that this type of activity is being worked out not just by the business leaders, but worked out in coordination and cooperation with effective, hard working, vital and sometimes tough community organizations. Can I be quite frank with you? If some of these organizations weren't a little bit firm, we may not be quite as active. And so, you need what we have here and I'm pleased to see that there's this record of public and private

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cooperation. Right now we are at the Midtown Plaza ... I was told at least and this is the result of a partnership between business and government. So is the Genesee Crossroads Urban Renewal Project, not very far from here. So what I'm saying is that Rochester has what it takes to do the job/ That's why you are the first in Model Cities. You're a leader, but you are not unique. The Model Cities applications received this year all have reported similiar efforts underway and all the applications reflected the beginnings of a constructive dialogue between City Hall and the residents of the depressed neighborhoods. Now, to those of you that think that that dialogue isn't loud enough, may I say this is the beginning. This isn't the ending. It's the beginning and we'll learn again as we do ... And all of these applications reflect soul searching and a new awareness that, now is the time to act and all have reflected a determination to seek solutions and not just to recite the problems. We have more problem reciters in this Country than any nation I think on earth. But what we need are some alternatives and some solutions. Solutions that mean real opportunity to those who have been excluded from the main stream of American life. The key

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word for the last third of the Twentieth Century is opportunity and freedom. Not welfare; not handouts, but opportunity. And opportunity requires the desire on the part of all members of a community to make it possible.

Now, I'm going to summarize this little gathering or meeting with you to show you what I think of the four phases of our Model Cities Program ...

Rochester and sixty-two other cities are now entering a third and critical phase in the development of the Model Cities attack on slumism ... Phase One: was mobilizing public support in passing the legislation and it wasn't easy, but it was done ... Phase Two: was the intensive preparation both at the local and the federal levels that went into the first Model Cities proposals ... Proposals which I believe have been in the main imaginative and well conceived ... In Phase Three where we are now, our task will be to find the resources which we all believe are there and then to mobilize the energies that we presume to exist and embark on programs which will provide physical evidence of progress. That's why I said you need an urban coalition in every city. Permanent results is what we want .. a prospering peaceful urban America ... That will be Phase

Four and it will not come overnight. But that does not mean that we should not work for it. It can be achieved. Every American from every inner city --- Inner city leader, every slum resident must recognize that the neglect of a hundred years cannot be overcome in a year and might I say that it's time to recognize that we move from protest to progress. Everything in season. The nation has been shaken ... The consciousness of the American People has been aroused and now from protest we move to progress with everybody who has a sincere conviction, giving of his best to accomplish what you know needs to be done. It will take time to be sure, but the time it takes must be laced with progress and thereby inspire hope. Remember time is neutral doesn't belong to anyone. But time put to work is positive. It's your time then. Are we moving ... is the question; not are we finished. It will never be finished in your life time. Nothing worthwhile will be. The work of democracy is the unfinished business of humanity. What's important are the beginnings and if I ever lose faith at all, it's when I find people who are willing to talk, talk, talk ---Dissent, discuss and debate, but never start. And what you need is a decision to move and we have the beginnings

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now. Permanent results may come slowly and I think it will come rather slowly because the despair in some neighborhoods is so deep ... the legacy of depravation is so thick. so heavy, even though the people involved are a small minority of Americans. Permanent results may come slowly because rebuilding will be costly even for a country that is as rich as ours and growing richer. Permanent results may come slowly because too many Americans still tolerate prejudice in their housing codes, in their employment and promotion practices; in their hearts ... even though this nation professes to be the land of the free. Now, I do not counsel only patience. I'm a rather impatient man myself although we will need patience. Patience has far too long served as some excuse for inaction. What I counsel is dilligence, courage, responsibility and undieing faith that we can do the job, perservance and determination ... And I must say that my feelings were beautifully summarized by a poet of the depression. I quote him all the time because what he said tells what I believe and the only reason I'm in public life, is Thomas Wolfe. He told us what America was all about. He said, to every man his chance; to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining

golden opportunity; to every man the right to live and to work, to be himself and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America. You see what I mean by a poet? He tells us what's in our hearts. He recites for us our faith and I think that working together, my fellow Americans, right here in Rochester because we build a better America in our Town, in our County, in our State ... right here where we live; that in working together, we can fill and fulfill that promise of, every man his chance in becoming

whatever his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America.

Good luck and thank you for letting me join you today.

(End)

CITY OF ROCHESTER COUNTY OF MONROE SS STATE OF NEW YORK

I, Louis V. Civiletti, Official Court Reporter for The City Court of Rochester, Criminal Branch located in the Public Safety Building, do hereby certify that I reported in stenographic shorthand, the remarks of the Vice-President of the United State of America, Hubert H. Humphrey, commencing at approximately 1:35 p.m. on the 4th day of December, 1967, and do further certify that the foregoing*transcript is a true and accurate copy of my stenographic notes taken on said day.

Louis V. Civiletti Official Court Reporter [Rochealer, M.Y.]

Dated:

*--Twenty-five pages.

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY MODEL CITIES TOUR LUNCHEON ROCHESTER, NEW YORK

December 4, 1967

I want to talk to you today about your city and our country and what we as citizens can do to make this a better country.

The simplest way of putting it is to say that you make a better country by making yourself a little better, by having a sense of pride, a sense of belonging and a willingness to accept your share of the burdens as well as to claim your share of the rights. Rights and responsibilities go hand in hand.

Americans are a concerned people, and we ought to be. We live in a troubled world. We live in a troubled nation. We live in a troubled period of time, and we are going through fantastic changes.

All of us who are users of modern air transportation know that whenever you pass out of one weather system into another, you go through a period of turbulence. You bounce around, you are buffeted from one direction to another, and you hope and pray that the pilot is competent and that the machine is strong. Well, my fellow Americans, that's what we are doing right now. We are going out of a social system in which there has been segregation, bigotry and intolerance into a system in which people will be recognized for their individual worth -- a system in which there will be clear skies and clear thoughts.

No Easy Answers

We don't see any easy answers to our difficult problems. We are concerned about war, and I hope we always will be. We are concerned about the prospects for peace, and I pray that we always will be. We are deeply concerned about the realization of human dignity and self-respect, and I trust that this will always be our mission.

And, today we are concerned about our cities -- and we ought to be, because most of our people live there. Seventy per cent of our people live on one per cent of our land in the cities, and a hundred million more Americans yet to be born will be asking for a place to live between now and the year two thousand.

Where are we going to put them? What kind of places will these cities be? What kind of an environment will this generation yet unborn come into?

Everyone of us has a responsibility to look to that future.

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Maybe we've learned a little bit from the troubles and the violence and the riots of last summer. They're now off the front pages, but the poverty, overcrowding, poor housing, poor schools, unemployment -- the frustration and the agitation -- are still there.

A Sense of Urgency

There must be a sense of urgency about these conditions because time is running out. People are impatient -- and rightly so. But if they have hope, if they have reason to believe that things are changing for the better, then I believe we will weather the storm and come through, into the clear skies of a better day.

There is a new publication that I want to call to your attention that should be required reading for all of us who are interested in these matters. It is a publication by the Civil Rights Commission entitled, "A Time to Listen . . . A Time to Act." Get it, and read it. I suggest that anyone who wants to know the dimensions of the task ahead in urban America understand the message of that publication.

I know people get a little weary of being studied. I think we have some slow learners. But now is the time to act on what we have learned from the studies we have made.

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This is the time to act because America's cities ought to be the best of our culture -- the flowering of our intellect, of our spirit and of our material goods. Cities ought to have everything with which to liberate man's capacities and permit him to make the most of his life.

The Model Cities program that we are talking about here today is the beginning of concerted action against urban blight in America.

"Slumism"

Our cities are not all bad. They are the manifestation of both the best that mankind can achieve and the worst. But they are infected with what I have called, for lack of a better word, "slumism."

This slumism is more than broken-down buildings. That's the easiest thing to repair, and if our problem were only broken-down physical structures it would be manageable right now. But we're talking about what to do about broken-down people -- people who feel hopeless, desperate, helpless, unneeded, unwanted, shoved aside.

When you deal with the human spirit, you run into the most difficult problems. So let us not underestimate our task.

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But I believe we are starting on a program -- Model Cities -- that can remake our cities and, even more important, rescue people who lack the income to do more than struggle for survival.

People deserve more than simply to survive. The Declaration of Independence didn't talk about life, liberty and survival. It talked about life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Some ideologies say survival is enough. For us it is not.

We seek genuine happiness for people who now live in housing that is unfit for human use, people who are deprived of health and educational opportunities that a decent and productive life requires.

Isolated Victories

For years the federal government has, through a whole range of grant-in-aid programs, attacked single problems with single weapons. But we have found that this is not enough. These programs, to be sure, have produced some significant results. But the results have been limited, isolated, and fragmented victories. The war against slumism, poverty and blight has at best been a stalemate, and on many fronts, the battle is being lost.

So we simply had to face up to the facts. We have had to revise our strategy, change our tactics and apply new methods.

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Model Cities is an interesting phrase. I don't know if we really understand just what it means. I think the full understanding will come as we learn from doing.

It is a new endeavor, and I believe at the most it can be described as a catalyst -- as a burr under the saddle, so to speak -- designed to encourage comprehensive, not isolated, mobilization of human and material resources to produce comprehensive, not isolated, results.

The key word in all of this is partnership. The day of the federal government doing these things by itself is over -- if it ever was a fact. There isn't a single problem that you have today in Rochester that can be managed alone by any one group.

Partnership

We need each other. And this is the best thing about it. Then everybody becomes important -- the federal government, the state government, the local government, the private sector.

This concept of partnership is what Model Cities is all about, plus a long-term commitment to meet long-term problems -a commitment at the government level and at the private level.

The comprehensive input for Model Cities consists of all the existing programs -- local, federal and private -- and the unused resources which can be brought to bear on any aspect of urban decay or poverty.

The comprehensive output must be not just jobs, important as they are, not just houses, not just transport, not just schools, but a whole new urban society -- a society of full opportunity and a full dose of humanity for all.

Now, this is a pretty big order. I suppose some might say that it's more than we can fulfill. But I say that what seems to be impossible is what needs to be done. The greatness of this country -- the greatness of any organization -- rests on its capacity to dream the impossible and then to do it.

Results Expected

We expect a lot from this coordinated and concentrated use of government and private initiative -- this partnership for progress in urban America:

We ought to expect to develop neighborhoods where every family can earn a decent living by its own efforts.

We ought to expect to see health services brought up to national standards, schools that provide training and education commensurate with the ability and potential of the youngsters in them, recreation, transportation, public services fully comparable with those in the best neighborhoods. As a matter of fact, in many ways our present society is upsidedown. The people who have the most in private resources generally live in the communities that have the most in public resources, but in a society like ours, which says that it believes in democratic ideals, those who have the least privately ought to be the beneficiaries of the most that the total community can offer.

I'm not asking that we do less for those who have much. I'm simply asking that we do more for those who have too little.

Open Housing

We also expect to see from this Model Cities program a substantial increase in the supply of decent low cost housing -open housing.

We expect full participation by inner city leaders and residents themselves. The Model Cities program must be community action, not just city hall.

I know that this program is off to a modest start considering the size of the task before us. But at least we got a program.

I know we're not doing as much as many people think we should do -- or as I want to do -- but we're doing more than we did last year and we're doing much more than we did five years ago. For a while it was doubtful that Congress would pass any programs

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at all. Then the President's request for appropriations was cut in half. But let me tell you, it took a lot of doing to get what we have.

I think that by mobilizing existing resources and consolidating programs that are already under way, the Model Cities program can mean solid progress.

Rochester

In you succeed here in Rochester, it will be the best public relations this program can have. I think it very appropriate, therefore, that this week's tour of Model Cities areas should begin here.

New York State has a wonderful record of experimentation and innovation in meeting human needs and urban needs.

New York was first with low-rent and low-cost public housing, first with labor-union-sponsored housing projects, first with tenement housing laws which were the beginnings of today's housing codes.

Rochester's successful Model Cities application reveals both the needs and the opportunities that exist in urban America today. You have the typical urban ills right here.

But so are the critical positive ingredients -- a good city administration, responsible and active leadership in the inner-city communities, industries like Kodak, Xerox, Graflex, Rochester Telephone Company and a host of others which are ready and willing to cooperate in job training and employment efforts.

I'm delighted to see the new awareness on the part of the business community of their responsibilities for social action and civic leadership. It's one of the really heartening developments in America, and I'm especially pleased with what is happening in what we call the Urban Coalition.

Private Groups

Here in Rochester we see private groups already active in the assault on slum housing. Many of their names -- such as Rochester Neighbors Incorporated, Better Rochester Living, Metropolitan Rochester Foundation, Rochester United Settlement House Corporation, Rochester Area Council of Churches Development, Community Interests -- were unheard of five years ago. Today they spell public concern and private commitment to public problems and mobilization for urban progress.

I am pleased to see that there is a record of public and private cooperation.

The Midtown Plaza, where we are having lunch today, is the result of a partnership between business and government. So is the Genesee Crossroads Urban Renewal Project, not far from here. Rochester has what it takes to do the job. That's why you are the first in Model Cities. You are a leader, but you are not unique. The Model Cities applications received this year all have reported similar efforts underway, and all the applications reflected the beginnings of a constructive dialogue between City Hall and the residents of depressed neighborhoods.

To those of you who think that dialogue isn't loud enough, may I say this is only the beginning.

Time to Act

All of these applications also reflect soul-searching and a new awareness that now is the time to act, and all have reflected a determination to seek solutions and not just to recite the problems -solutions that mean real opportunity to those who have been excluded from the mainstream of American life. The key word for the last third of the Twentieth Century is opportunity. Not welfare, not handouts, but opportunity.

Rochester and the sixty-two other cities which received Model Cities planning grants are now entering a third and critical phase in the development of the Model Cities attack on slumism.

Phase One was mobilizing public support and passing the legislation. It wasn't easy, but it was done.

Phase Two was the intensive preparation -- both at the local and the federal levels -- that went into the first Model Cities proposals, which I believe have been in the main imaginative and well conceived.

In Phase Three, our task will be to find the resources which we all believe are there, to mobilize the energies that we presume to exist, and to embark on programs which will provide visible evidence of progress.

Permanent results -- a prospering, peaceful urban America -- will be Phase Four, and it will not come overnight. But that does not mean that we should not work for it. It can be achieved.

Every American, every inner-city leader, every slum resident, must recognize that the neglect of a hundred years cannot be overcome in a year.

Protest to Progress

The nation has been shaken. The consciousness of the American people has been aroused. Now from protest we move to progress.

"Are we moving?" is the question, not "Are we finished?" The task will not be finished in your life time. What is important are the beginnings

Permanent results may come slowly because the despair in some neighborhoods is so deep, the legacy of deprivation is so heavy, even though the people involved are a small minority of Americans.

Permanent results may come slowly because rebuilding will be costly, even for a country that is as rich as ours and growing richer.

Permanent results may come slowly because too many Americans still tolerate prejudice in their housing codes, in their employment and promotion practices, in their hearts -- even though this nation professes to be the land of the free.

I do not counsel only patience -- although we will need patiente. "Patience" has for too long served as an excuse for inaction.

What I counsel is diligence, courage, responsibility and faith that we can do the job.

My feelings were beautifully summarized by a poet of the Depression, Thomas Wolfe. He said:

> "To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things

his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Working together, we can fulfill that promise.

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