



FOR RELEASE

TUESDAY PM'S
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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

COMMUNITIES OF TOMORROW CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECEMBER 12, 1967

Americans have built a great nation because they have been willing and able to look outward to broad horizons and beyond . . . beyond the oceans, beyond the Appalachian chain, beyond the plains.

Our philosophical and spiritual horizons have been just as vast -- freedom to worship, to write, to teach, to think as we choose.

Thoreau put it somewhat modestly -- "Our horizon is never quite at our elbows."

Many of us, it is true, have been prevented from reaching those horizons; but at least they have been there, a stimulus to action and a source of hope for the future.

Today, however, many Americans find their horizons constricted.

Many who live in the inner cities are hemmed in by dirty tenement walls. Their spiritual horizons are crushed by broken homes, restricted by grossly inadequate education.

Their ability to look to the future is curtailed by the necessity of subsisting for today. Their plains are littered alleys . . . their oceans polluted water . . . their space the noxious product of industrial smokestacks.

Many who live in the suburbs, while they have more creature comforts, have at their backs the blighted city they have just left, and before them a vast expanse of split-level, synthetic sameness. The educational and economic horizons are open to them as never before, but one has the feeling that the long ride home in rush-hour traffic takes the edge off.

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Many who live in the small towns and rural areas cannot enjoy their extensive physical horizons.

The report of the President's advisory Commission on Rural Poverty which was released over the weekend notes that one rural American in four lives in poverty.

The commission estimates that one out of five rural Americans is unemployed.

The average rural youngster gets about two years of education than his city cousin.

One-third of all rural homes need either major repairs or replacement.

Rural America has half the doctors and less than a third of the dentists that minimum standards would require.

The result is that over half-a-million rural residents are drawn or forced into urban areas each year -- most not because they choose to go . . .not because they are pursuing horizons of hope . . .but because they are forced to go.

In that context I was not surprised to see a poll in a Minnesota paper a few weeks ago showing that a great many urban residents would far prefer to live in a small town or on the farm.

True, grinding poverty of the purse is on its way out in America. Seven years ago 21 per cent of American families lived in poverty. Now the figure is down to 15 per cent. The number of non-white families earning over 7 thousand dollars has doubled in that period.

More Americans are going to college than ever before. More are eating better, dressing better, driving cars, using telephones, owning homes than ever before.

All of that has meant unprecedented comfort, but it has not meant broader horizons.

A few years ago a Pulitzer Prize-winning poet wrote of his fellow Americans: "We cannot bear the stars anymore, those infinite spaces . . .The open road goes to the used-car lot."

Perhaps things are not yet as bad as that for the vast majority of us. But what about tomorrow. What about the Communities of Tomorrow?

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Will our horizons still be -- or once again be --
"beyond our elbows?"

Thomas Huxley, who visited this country a century ago, wrote: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue . . . is what are you going to do with all these things?"

How can we use the unparalleled material wealth we now possess to expand the horizons of every American?

That is the problem before this great conference.

Let me offer you a brief check-list of things I think this nation will have to achieve if its Communities of Tomorrow are going to provide horizons that are truly up to our traditional American standard.

First -- a truly open society with equal opportunity for all, regardless of race or creed, in every community.

An open society is going to have to mean open housing. Only about 50 American cities have open housing laws today.

We are going to have to overcome the vestiges of discrimination in employment and promotion policies in industry and organized labor.

Let me emphasize that ending discrimination where it exists is a practical necessity if many of our communities of today are going to develop into the kind of thriving communities we would like them to be tomorrow.

When an entrepreneur looks for a town in which to establish a new factory, he is unlikely to choose one where local government and the courts tolerate injustice, where discriminatory labor practices may prevent him from winning federal contracts, where his Negro executives will not find adequate housing or decent schools for their children.

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Second, we must guarantee a quality education for every American child.

I doubt if there is a single inner city neighborhood in America today where the schools provide their pupils with a full opportunity to throw off the crippling burden of a deprived background.

Today our best schools are in the communities where other advantages are also the greatest -- highest incomes, best housing, finest recreational opportunities.

In the Communities of Tomorrow the best educational opportunities are going to have to be where they are needed most.

America has pioneered in public education; and public schools, more than ever before, must be brought to the highest standards.

But I think most of us, in view of the nearly disastrous shortage of educational facilities in some neighborhoods, have recently recognized the necessity of using the existing private and parochial schools to the full. The revolutionary Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed in 1965 authorized the federal government to use funds to assist disadvantaged children in non-public schools. States and local communities must now follow that lead.

A variety of educational opportunities, competition among various kinds of schools for excellence rather than competition for inadequate funds -- that will broaden horizons.

Third, we need a far-reaching national policy on urbanization and the machinery to implement it.

We anticipate today that our population will grow by 100 million before the year 2000, and that all of our additional population will live in urban areas. With that prospect in view, the haphazard urbanization that is still going on in this country is no longer acceptable.

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I know you will be discussing the megalopolis and how to improve it, now that it is inescapable. And I believe that it is within our power to make our existing cities and their heavily developed suburbs safe, clean, rewarding places to live.

Metropolitan planning is now going on in many of these areas. The federal government insists that its grants be used only in the context of such planning.

But I urge this conference to look beyond the megalopolis to the possibility of establishing wholly new centers of urban growth capable of accommodating a large part of our anticipated population increase.

The location of most of our present cities was dictated largely by industry's need for water or rail transport, and for natural resources.

But this is the age of the short-hop jet, rapid truck transport, and electric power that can be delivered efficiently over hundreds of miles, or generated easily at the most remote site. Moreover, ours is an increasingly service-oriented economy. Today 40 million of our workers hold service jobs, and only 17.5 million are in manufacturing. Much of that manufacturing consists of modern, light industry which can thrive almost anywhere, rather than the traditional heavy industry which is tied to natural resources and low cost transportation.

Today, therefore, it should be possible to provide the economic base for new communities almost anywhere we choose.

There is undoubtedly a minimum size for a viable city -- one that can sustain a variety of service and manufacturing industries, efficient public services, and first rate cultural institutions.

Where should these new urban centers be built?

Many could undoubtedly be built on the sites of existing towns, and indeed that is happening today where local governments have taken the initiative in attracting new industry.

I was interested, in this connection, to see that eight of the 63 Model Cities grants announced recently went to cities and towns with fewer than 50 thousand people. Those Model Cities and others like them can provide an important part of America's answer to the megalopolis.

New towns -- towns built from scratch according to a master plan -- offer another possible source of Communities of Tomorrow. With 70 per cent of the American people living on one per cent of the land, it is fair to assume that there are a great many places in this country where land is cheap, recreational resources plentiful, and horizons uncluttered.

I would like to hear this conference consider the possibility of a federal New Cities Act designed to do for America what the Homestead Act of the 19th century did -- move people out to the rich areas of this nation that are still waiting to be developed.

Some of those new towns might be built as satellite cities just beyond the raveled urban fringe of our present megalopolises. They would act as counter-magnets, giving dissatisfied suburbanites practical access to the benefits of a real city.

By providing services, jobs, and economies of scale they would break off the existing outer suburbs of some of our largest cities and give them shape and character.

Fourth, we must preserve and enhance the rural alternative in this age of rapid urbanization.

As I suggested earlier, many of our city-dwellers today would much prefer to live on a farm or in a small town -- if they could do it without sacrificing opportunity, income, quality in education, and the conveniences that go with a modern American standard of living.

A thriving city usually means more prosperity for the adjacent rural areas. That has been the case in most of the Northeast, in the Piedmont of the Carolinas and elsewhere.

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It means that the farmer gets more credit, a growing market for his agricultural products, and new opportunities for supplementary employment. The value of his land rises.

But trickle-down prosperity is not enough if we are to achieve a meaningful balance of rural and urban growth . . . and a meaningful choice between city and country living.

Rural America must become economically viable in its own right.

That means farm incomes must reach a par with city incomes. Today the average American farmer receives a smaller return on his labor and his capital investment than the average urban entrepreneur. All over America, young people are leaving the farms, not because they want to, but because farming simply doesn't pay as much as a good factory job.

Farming is the backbone of the rural economy in most parts of this country, and when it lags behind, so does rural commerce in general.

In addition to better farm incomes, rural America needs new industry to provide a variety of job opportunities and new income if it is to achieve economic viability.

At a time when rural land prices are a ninth or less of urban prices . . . when modern industry has unprecedented flexibility in its choice of location . . . manufacturing should be able to thrive in rural America.

Rural America's pressing need for health, educational and social services, which is clearly spelled out in the report on Rural Poverty, requires a concerted attack by government at every level. But permanent solutions -- thriving Communities of Tomorrow -- will depend upon a healthy and growing rural economy.

You who are going to convert the communities of today into Communities of Tomorrow -- or build new ones -- will have to talk about much more than civil rights, education, dispersed urbanization, and rural-urban balance. You will have to consider health facilities, better utilization of land for development and recreation. Zoning . . . transportation . . . preservation of open spaces where the physical horizon may still be viewed.

And you will have to figure out what combination of federal, state, local and private cooperation can achieve the kind of comprehensive national effort that will save us from the human and economic cost of haphazard urbanization.

The federal government has radically increased its contribution to the struggle against urban blight during the last few years. In 1960 federal aid to cities and to the urban poor came to 9.9 billion dollars. This year -- fiscal 1968 -- it will be 25.6 billion.

In 1960 we as a nation spent only 6.6 billion dollars for health, training and education -- the largest portion of which went to the cities. Now the figure is 22 billion.

Today, in fact, there are at least 450 federal programs designed to assist local governments in meeting a vast array of local problems. On top of these separate programs, we now have the Model Cities program which is designed to draw all available resources, public and private, together for a comprehensive attack on the whole spectrum of ills that constitute urban blight.

Existing federal programs are designed, however, chiefly to revitalize our existing communities -- not to build completely or largely new ones.

What additional federal effort will we as a nation require to build Communities of Tomorrow?

I have mentioned the possibility of a New Towns Act.

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What about a federal bank to help finance development corporations at the state and local level?

What about a swift, computerized nation-wide employment service designed to inform workers all over the country of employment opportunities in newly-developed urban areas?

Although the federal government will be an important instrument for coordination and for financing, the real work of development is going to be up to the state and local governments and to the people themselves.

It is in the local communities that the detailed planning will have to be done. They will have to take the initiative to attract new industry, build new schools, assure their citizens an active role in determining the future of their communities.

And it is going to be the people themselves -- like the pioneers of the 19th century -- who do the actual home-building, enterprise building and town-building.

I know that this great nation is rich enough -- and I believe it is creative enough -- to build communities where the horizon is broader than it has ever been for any people before.

A century ago, one great American, Walt Whitman, wrote:

" . . . I take to the open road

Healthy, free, the world before me,

The long brown path before me leading wherever I choose."

I believe the breadth of spirit reflected in those lines can belong to every American before the twentieth century is out.

I wish you good luck with this conference.

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Symposium

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Many of us, it is true, have been prevented from reaching those horizons; but at least they have been there, a

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Their ability to look to the future is curtailed by the necessity of subsisting for today. Their plains are littered alleys . . . their oceans polluted water . . . their space the noxious product of industrial smokestacks.

Many who live in the suburbs, while they have more creature comforts, have at their backs the blighted city they have just left, and before them a vast expanse of split-level, synthetic sameness. The educational and economic horizons are open to them as never before, but one has the feeling that the long ride home in rush-hour traffic takes the edge off.

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The report of the President's advisory Commission on Rural Poverty which was released over the weekend notes that one rural American in four lives in poverty.

The commission estimates that one out of five rural Americans is unemployed.

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∟ The result is that over half-a-million rural residents are drawn or forced into urban areas each year -- most not because they choose to go... not because they are pursuing horizons

of hope...but because they are forced to go.

In that context I was not surprised to see a poll in a Minnesota paper a few weeks ago showing that a great many urban residents would far prefer to live in a small town or on the farm.

True, grinding poverty of the purse is on its way out in America. Seven years ago 21 per cent of American families lived in poverty. Now the figure is down to 15 per cent. The number of non-white families earning over 7 thousand dollars has doubled in that period.

More Americans are going to college than ever before. More are eating better, dressing better, driving cars, using telephones, owning homes than ever before.

All of that has meant unprecedented comfort, but it has not necessarily meant broader horizons.

A few years ago a Pulitzer Prize-winning poet wrote of his fellow Americans: "We cannot bear the stars anymore, those infinite spaces The open road goes to the used-car lot."

Perhaps things are not yet as bad as that for the vast majority of us. But what about tomorrow. What about the Communities of Tomorrow?

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"beyond our elbows?"

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How can we use the unparalleled material wealth we now possess to expand the horizons of every American?

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An open society is going to have to mean open housing. Only about 50 American cities have open housing laws today.

We are going to have to overcome the vestiges of discrimination in employment and promotion policies in industry and organized labor.

Let me emphasize that ending discrimination is a practical necessity if many of our communities of today are going to develop into the kind of thriving communities we would like them to be tomorrow.

When today's entrepreneur looks for a town in which to establish a new factory, he is unlikely to choose one where local government and the courts tolerate injustice, where discriminatory labor practices may prevent him from winning federal contracts, where his Negro executives will not find adequate housing or decent schools for their children.

#2 / Second, we must guarantee quality education for every American child.

I doubt if there are many inner city neighborhoods in America today where the schools provide their pupils with a full opportunity to throw off the crippling burden of a deprived background.

Today our best schools are in the communities where other advantages are also the greatest -- highest incomes, best housing, finest recreational opportunities.

In the Communities of Tomorrow the best educational opportunities are going to have to be where they are needed most.

America has pioneered in public education, and public schools, more than ever before, must be brought to the highest standards.

But I think most of us, in view of the nearly disastrous shortage of educational facilities in some neighborhoods, have recently recognized the necessity of using the existing private

and parochial schools to the full. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed in 1965 authorizes the federal government to use funds to assist disadvantaged children in non-public schools. States and local communities must now follow that lead.

∟ A variety of educational opportunities, competition among various kinds of schools for excellence rather than competition for inadequate funds -- that will broaden horizons. !

(3) ∟ Third, we need a far-reaching national policy on urbanization and the machinery to implement it.

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∠ I know you will be discussing the megalopolis and how to improve it, now that it is inescapable. ∠ And I believe that it is within our power to make our existing cities and their heavily developed suburbs safe, clean, rewarding places to live.

∠ Metropolitan planning is now going on in many of these areas. The federal government insists that its grants be used only in the context of such planning.

But I urge this conference to look beyond the megalopolis to the possibility of establishing wholly new centers of urban growth capable of accommodating a large part of our anticipated population increase.

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*Reston
Colombia
City*

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By providing services, jobs, and economies of scale, they would break off the existing outer suburbs of some of our largest cities and give them shape and character.

Fourth, we must preserve and enhance the rural alternative in this age of rapid urbanization.

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A thriving city usually means more prosperity for the adjacent rural areas. That has been the case in most of the Northeast, in the Piedmont of the Carolinas and elsewhere.

↳ It means that the farmer gets more credit, a growing market for his agricultural products, and new opportunities for supplementary employment. ^{and} The value of his land rises.

↳ But trickle-down prosperity is not enough if we are to achieve a meaningful balance of rural and urban growth . . . and a meaningful choice between city and country living.

↳ Rural America must become economically viable in its own right.

↳ That means farm incomes must reach a par with city incomes. ↳ Today the ~~average~~ American farmer receives a smaller return on his labor and his capital investment than the ~~average~~ urban entrepreneur. ↳ All over America, young people are leaving the farms, not because they want to, but because farming simply doesn't pay as much as a good factory job.

↳ Farming is the backbone of the rural economy in most parts of this country, and when it lags behind, so does rural commerce in general.

The capital needed for farming

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• **But** ↳ Rural America's pressing need for health, educational and social services, which is clearly spelled out in the report on Rural Poverty, requires a concerted attack by government at every level. ↳ But permanent solutions -- thriving Communities of Tomorrow in rural America -- will depend upon a healthy and growing rural economy.

You who are going to convert the communities to today
into Communities of Tomorrow -- or build new ones -- will have
to talk about much more than civil rights, education,
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contribution to the struggle against urban blight during the
last few years. ∟ In 1960, federal aid to cities and to the urban
poor came to 9.9 billion dollars. This year -- fiscal 1968 --
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∟ In 1960 we as a nation spent only 6.6 billion dollars
for health, training and education -- the largest portion of
which went to the cities. Now the figure is 22 billion.

∟ Today, in fact, there are at least 450 federal programs
designed to assist local governments -- large and small, urban

and rural -- in meeting a vast array of local problems. On top of these separate programs, we now have the Model Cities program which is designed to draw all available resources, public and private, together for a comprehensive attack on the whole spectrum of ills that constitute urban blight.

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Extravagance of Objectives - Art Fleming

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wrote:

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I wish you good luck with this conference.

T R A N S C R I P T

COMMUNITIES OF TOMORROW

December 12, 1967

1 It is my distinct privilege this morning to present
2 someone to you who doesn't need really any introduction. I
3 can not resist, however, recalling that I think one of the
4 speakers yesterday said that Lincoln Steffens said that a
5 mayor, after he was elected, should not run for re-election --
6 and incidentally after a mayor had been re-elected four times --
7 but he should, after his first election, run for and be elected
8 to the Senate.

9 It happens our speaker this morning was at one time
10 a professor of political science and I am sure encountered that
11 advice because he didn't follow it exactly, but almost. He ran
12 successfully twice, was elected Mayor of Minneapolis, and then
13 he was elected to the Senate. And since that time, we have
14 all known him to be one of the most knowledgeable men in many
15 areas in this country, and certainly probably the most articulate
16 public figure in this country.

17 The Vice President of the United States.

18 (Standing ovation.)

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Secretary
20 Weaver.

21 I think I should let the audience know what I said
22 to our distinguished Secretary. I said his introductions are
23 getting better all the time. I only hope I can appear on
24 several more programs with you, Bob, particularly at this early
25 hour, which is not exactly my brightest part of the day. You

1 make me feel better.

2 There are two kinds of people, day people and night
3 people. You are talking to a night man.

4 (Laughter.)

5 But I realize that in order to give some balance to
6 this entire conference, to give some emphasis to the rural
7 part, you had to start early. You should have called on me
8 about one o'clock this morning and I would have been in much
9 better fettle.

10 I have looked over the program of the Symposium and
11 must say that it sort of overwhelms one, particularly when you
12 realize the competence and the professional quality of those
13 who have already addressed you and will be speaking to you.
14 It was with deep regret that I found myself unable to attend
15 yesterday's sessions, because I know that I would have had a
16 rich and rewarding experience in learning. One of the real
17 problems of government today is we are so busy getting our-
18 selves ready to tell you what we already know that we don't
19 have time to find out what you know so we can tell somebody else
20 what you already know. And this is getting to be a more com-
21 plicated problem and one in greater depth every year.

22 I doubt that I have a single thing new to tell you
23 this morning, but being a refugee from the classroom and having
24 observed through those few short years of teaching that most
25 people learn through osmosis, that education is in substance a

1 great deal of repetition, and possibly there are some -- I
2 know nobody in this room -- who are slow learners and need to
3 be reminded again and again, I will go over material which has
4 been worked and reworked in hopes that someone may not have
5 been listening too well during the earlier sessions and will
6 go away saying "Wasn't that interesting." If you can do that,
7 I will feel that the morning was reasonably well spent.

8 This subject of the communities of tomorrow is no
9 longer an academic subject. The real fact is that tomorrow
10 was yesterday. We are already losing ground. The communities
11 of tomorrow should have been planned a long, long time ago,
12 and because they were not, we find ourselves today literally
13 being run over by an urban crisis, and we find in the last
14 few days, from the report of the Commission on Rural Poverty,
15 that we are literally being plowed under in some areas of
16 America with the staggering problems of economic and social
17 nature in rural America.

18 For some reason or another, when it comes to our
19 social problems and our economic problems, we have an extra
20 large dose of what we call the cultural lag. We just don't get
21 at it soon enough. And what we are here to do in a very real
22 sense is to take some knowledge action. The reflections and the
23 observations of the people in this audience are desperately
24 needed. I do not say that there is a sterility of thought or
25 of creativity necessary on matters of urban and rural life; I

1 will only say this, that the concrete and the brick of the city,
2 intensified in its ugliness at times by the slum, have far out-
3 stripped our capacity to find decent living space and whole-
4 some conditions for the people who are to inhabit those cities.
5 And our nostalgic memories of beautiful rural America, with
6 the clear sky, with the morning dew, and the evening sunset,
7 are really just memories of the past when it comes to taking a
8 look at the economic and social conditions of today.

9 So with that sort of less-than-joyful picture, may I
10 just venture a few thoughts this morning. I want you to know
11 that essentially I am an optimist about our country, and I
12 have a right to be, because this great nation of ours has sur-
13 vived many a crisis, and it has been capable in the past of
14 doing what people have termed the impossible. I really believe
15 that this generation and the ones yet to come are going to be
16 tested as no others, because we are really getting down now to
17 the point where we can not run away from our problems, where
18 the vast expanse of America, even though much of it is still
19 unoccupied, is nevertheless under constant observation because
20 of the media and the science and technology of our time. There
21 is very little or no place to hide. You can't hide the mis-
22 takes any longer, nor can you hide your neglect. They have
23 caught up with us. So maybe we had better start to do some-
24 thing about it.

25 Now, Americans have built a great nation because

1 they have been willing to look outward, look outward to broad
2 horizons and beyond -- beyond the oceans and beyond the Appa-
3 lachian, beyond the Plains.

4 We have really carried our heads high. We are a
5 people of the horizon, so to speak, always reaching out. Our
6 philosophical and spiritual horizons have been just as vast as
7 the land that we speak of -- the horizons of freedom to worship
8 and to write, and to speak, to teach, and to think as we choose.
9 And these spiritual and physical horizons have been able to
10 produce, I think, a new kind of man so to speak, one that had
11 unbounded faith in his capacity to overcome any obstacle, and
12 also one that was open, open in thought and conscience, and
13 open in spirit.

14 I think this is really the reason for the greatness
15 of the nation that is ours and of the people that inhabit it.

16 Thoreau put it somewhat modestly when we think of it
17 in today's terms. He said, "Our horizon is never quite at our
18 elbows."

19 He wanted some wriggle room, so to speak, for minds
20 and body and spirit.

21 Many of us, it is true, have been prevented from
22 reaching those vast horizons, but at least they have been there
23 and we knew it -- a stimulus to, and a source of hope for the
24 future.

25 Today, however, many Americans find their horizons

1 constricted. The elbow room seems gone. Far too many of our
2 fellow Americans feel that they are, in a sense, encased. They
3 are restricted within their very narrow limits of their immed-
4 iate physical environment as well as their social and economic
5 opportunities. They feel in a prison -- sometimes the prison
6 of poverty, sometimes the prison of discrimination, often-
7 times the prison of neglect.

8 Many who live in the inner cities are hemmed in by
9 the dirty tenement walls. Their spiritual horizons are
10 crushed by broken homes, and all too often for a nation as
11 rich as this, restricted by grossly inadequate education -- not
12 just quantity of education, but quality. Every time I mention
13 the word "education" I think of what we need to do with it. I
14 am not sure of all we need to do with it, but something is
15 wrong. Education ought to be the music of a man's life. It
16 ought to be the art of his soul -- and it isn't in too many
17 places in this great land of ours. It has been routinized,
18 mass produced, stamped out in a single model. And as one who
19 has given a great deal of time as your Vice President to the
20 problems of our young people, as the Chairman of the President's
21 Council on Youth Opportunity, I can not help but reflect on
22 what we call the school drop-out problem. And I have said,
23 without trying to be cute, that sometimes it is not drop-out
24 at all, it is push-out, left-out, just plain out -- education
25 with little or no relevancy to the needs of the body, mind, or

1 soul. And if that is the case -- and it is in far too many
2 instances -- then we need to bestir ourselves. We need to
3 have as much experimentation in education as we are having
4 today in fields of medicine and science and technology and
5 elsewhere, and the willingness to pay the price.

6 Well, the ability of many Americans to look to the
7 future, as we know, is often curtailed by the necessity of sub-
8 sisting for today. Their plains are littered alleys, their
9 oceans polluted water, their space the noxious product of
10 industrial smokestacks.

11 I would remind this audience that the creed that has
12 inspired this nation since its independence was not life,
13 security, and survival. It was life, liberty, and the pursuit
14 of happiness. There is a great deal of difference between
15 security and liberty. They are not necessarily in competition,
16 but security to be meaningful must be in freedom, and survival
17 is not enough for God's finest creation, man. Survival may be
18 all right for a plant or an animal, but not for human kind.

19 It is the pursuit of happiness -- and I have often
20 thought of how perceptive our founding fathers were in the
21 writing of that Preamble of the Declaration of Independence,
22 the meaning of those precious words of life, and life that
23 took on some meaning because it had liberty, and life and
24 liberty that added up to the pursuit of happiness -- not life,
25 security, and survival, which is what some people seem to be

1 willing to settle for.

2 It is not enough just to have minimum standards, a
3 minimum education, minimum housing, minimum transportation,
4 minimum health. This is a country that ought to have as its
5 guideline and standard maximum. We don't have a minimum em-
6 ployment act. We have a full employment act -- maximum employ-
7 ment. And we ought to be thinking in terms of the maximum good
8 things of life. At least that ought to be our horizon, our
9 standard. People who start with their standard as minimum, all
10 too often have their eyes glued to the ground rather than to
11 the heavens.

12 Now, when I describe some of the problems of our
13 cities, I do not want to ignore the fact of the greatness of
14 our cities or of our country -- the magnificent libraries and
15 cultural institutions and universities, the fine hospitals and
16 the beautiful trade centers. There is so much that is beauti-
17 ful and good. All the more reason that that which is ugly is
18 so bad.

19 I often feel that one of the real problems of today
20 about the slum is that for the first time the slum dweller can
21 see how the rest of humanity lives. He feels set apart, set
22 upon. The most powerful instrument of change, and possibly of
23 revolution and violence, is the television. Nobody any longer
24 can be hidden away. The good and the bad is there, the real
25 story of life -- not Hollywood in its make-believe movies, but

1 the highlands of Vietnam and its real war -- not Hollywood with
2 its badmen on the screen in the movie, but the violence of a
3 riot in your home. It is changed. You see it really happen.

4 And I believe that not only are we today the victims
5 of rising expectations, which is a phenomenon which is not
6 related only to Asia and Africa and Latin America, but to our
7 own people, but we also are the victims of contrast, living,
8 vivid contrast. And when the few amongst us can see how well
9 the many live, and see what is available, is it any wonder that
10 people reach out and sometimes reach out in the most socially
11 undesirable manner?

12 None of this is to be interpreted as to condone vio-
13 lence or crime, but it is a relevant factor that this audience
14 and men and women of equal competence ought to consider.

15 That doesn't mean you do away with the television or
16 the camera. It means that you change the scenery, that you re-
17 build the cities and rescue the human beings -- not that you put
18 a cap on the lens, but rather that you wish the dirty face of
19 our social countenance. And if we do that, then we will, I
20 think, inspire people to do better.

21 It is very difficult to inspire mankind by negative
22 thought, by ugliness, by all that which, in a sense, causes you
23 to reject what is there.

24 Most people are inspired by the dream of a better day,
25 and inspired, too, by the noble action of a better man or a

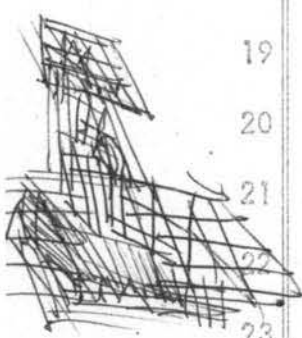
1 better woman.

2 Well, those are just some of my fleeting thoughts
3 this morning. I often say that when I get ready for a con-
4 ference like this, I am generally so busy I don't get enough
5 time to think about it because I have the phones ringing and
6 the letters to answer, and people to see, and staff to argue
7 with, trying to maintain at least some feeling that I am still
8 in charge of what little I have to be in charge of, fighting a
9 rear-guard, most of the time, and it is so good to be here to
10 be released so I can think out loud with you.

11 Some people say this results in rather long speeches,
12 and they are right -- (laughter) -- but it is a good way to
13 think and to study. If you don't have time to read the book,
14 sometimes you ought to meet the author. And if you do not have
15 time to refine your dissertation you should give it to somebody
16 in its rough form and let them work you over after you have
17 left, and refine the remarks. And I am going to run out of the
18 room shortly so there will be no pain to me.

19 Well, let's talk more about our people.

20 Many who live in the suburbs, while they have more of
21 what they think are creature comforts, find those suburbs be-
22 coming obsolescent, too. They have at their backs the blighted
23 city they have just left, and before them a vast expanse of
24 split-level, all too often synthetic sameness. If you want to
25 do one little thing here, why don't you tell builders to stop



1 chopping down every tree they see? That would be a very con-
2 structive resolution out of a conference of this kind.

3 The bulldozer has a place in modern society but it
4 doesn't need to take over the whole landscape. When I have
5 seen what they did out here in Montgomery County when I first
6 came to Washington -- beautiful trees. And somebody got hold
7 of a bulldozer. I am sure it was a fellow who had never had
8 that much power in his hands before -- (laughter) -- and they
9 just took out every tree and leveled off the ground and put up
10 the brick and the concrete and said, "It is housing."

11 It wasn't housing; it was shelter. The best housing
12 is under God's mantle of trees and brush and flowers, and there
13 isn't any reason that man shouldn't be able to mix his own tech-
14 nology with that which nature has given and make it a decent
15 place to live.

16 The educational and economic horizons in our suburb
17 areas are open to them as never before, but one has the feeling --
18 at least I did when I lived in the suburbs -- that the long ride
19 home in the rush-hour traffic takes the edge off. I am a
20 pharmacist originally. I think one of the best ways to reduce
21 the consumption of tranquilizers is to reduce the long ride to
22 and from work -- and that isn't just trying to be clever. You
23 can be a man filled with compassion, love and affection for
24 one's brother and nation -- love thy neighbor -- but by the
25 time you get home you will be lucky if you even like your

1 family.

2 (Laughter.)

3 And surely anybody that plans to get to the moon and
4 back safely ought to be able to get from downtown Washington
5 out to Rockville, or over to Fairfax.

6 It is really amazing that we can fly from Washington,
7 D.C. to Philadelphia, which I will do this morning in just a
8 very few minutes -- it will take me about 35 minutes at the
9 most -- and it took me 40 minutes to come in from Chevy Chase
10 and breathing, breathing, breathing -- if you call it that -- I
11 think you will soon be able to swim through it.

12 (Laughter.)

13 These are real serious problems of comfort, health,
14 beauty, and I think temperament. I am convinced that part of
15 the violence in American life which is all too much a charac-
16 teristic of our life -- and it is -- we are quite a violent
17 people -- is in this day and age somewhat related to the tre-
18 mendous tensions under which we live -- not so much under
19 which we work. Once you get to work it is rather pleasant.

20 (Laughter.)

21 It is the getting there that knocks you off and the
22 going home that is sure to get you.

23 Now, many who live in the small towns in the rural
24 areas find that they can not even enjoy their extensive physi-
25 cal horizons because the beauty of the countryside isn't what

1 it was cracked up to be.

2 Most of the poets that wrote of the countryside wrote
3 in another century. Some of the poets that are writing today -
4 I can't understand quite what they are writing about, or maybe
5 I do and I just don't want to believe it.

6 The reports of the President's Advisory Committee on
7 Rural Poverty -- I just lost the poets' votes there a moment
8 ago -- the report of the President's Advisory Committee on
9 Rural Poverty which was released over the weekend, notes that
10 one rural American in four lives in poverty.

11 That report was a document of "must" reading for the
12 American people. But you know I must tell you in all candor
13 that I find most of the reports and the polls are just about
14 what we knew before we got them. I don't need to read a public
15 opinion poll to know when we are in trouble politically. I
16 used to find out by going home and talking to my mother. She
17 was Madam Public. I could tell just about how well we were
18 doing. And you don't have to be a Mr. Gallup or a Dr. Harris
19 to find out. If you really want to find out how you are doing,
20 go out and see my neighbors at Waverly. They will tell you in
21 a way that doesn't fool you at all. They come right to the
22 point.

23 I have lived in rural America. I have seen the
24 shabby buildings. I have had the privilege of being the son of
25 a rural American businessman. You don't need to tell me about

1 when farm prices are down. I don't have to read Orville Free-
2 man's documents. As much as I do and as much as I admire our
3 Secretary, I can tell by the cash register. It is just that
4 simple. The old measurements still tell you the truth.

5 As a matter of fact, I am beginning to think that
6 the old Indian knew more about the weather than the meteorolo-
7 gist. The difference is that the meteorologist now gives it
8 on a percentage basis. He is never quite wrong. He says it
9 is 10 per cent possible, 70 per cent possible that it will
10 rain. Wouldn't it have been wonderful when I was in the Senate
11 if I could have voted on a bill and said "I will give you a
12 70 per cent vote on that bill" or "a 10 per cent vote on that
13 article."

14 (Laughter.)

15 I would have been the most popular Senator. Trouble
16 was, they only gave me two options, aye or maybe, and they
17 wanted maybe.

18 The Commission estimates that one out of five rural
19 Americans is unemployed. The average rural youngster gets
20 about two years less of education than his city cousin -- and
21 there is the question of its quality. One-third of all rural
22 homes need either major repairs or replacement.

23 Generally when we are talking about housing, we are
24 talking about cities. One of the problems of this nation's
25 capital is that it is totally urban oriented, the Eastern

1 Seaboard. I don't know why. So many of us are country boys,
2 but when we think of housing in America we are not really
3 thinking of housing out in the countryside. If you are reading
4 the papers that come here, you are thinking of housing in New
5 York City, or occasionally you may even venture as far west as
6 Cleveland.

7 I met a person the other day who said he had traveled
8 a great deal to the west. I said "Where were you?" He replied,
9 "Buffalo." It is a fact that with all the communication we
10 have it takes a cataclysmic catastrophe on the West Coast to
11 make a small headline on the East Coast.

12 You know this is a fact, the problem of communication.
13 And when we speak of poverty, until this rural poverty report
14 came out, we were talking about the poverty in the ghetto.
15 When we speak of health needs, we were talking about the health
16 needs of the people in the tenement areas. When we spoke of
17 inadequacies of education it was generally the inadequacy of
18 the urban society.

19 Well, my fellow Americans, it started out with the
20 embattled farmers of Lexington and Concord, not the heart-
21 broken brokers of Wall Street. This nation started out with
22 farmers. And I think we need some perspective. And the Com-
23 mission on Rural Poverty has given us the shock treatment which
24 may offer us some perspective. They have told us that there is
25 something else going on except in the cities. This shouldn't

1 in any way put the cities in second place. To the contrary;
2 there isn't any conflict of interest here. What there is here
3 is competition of trouble. And we ought to remember that the
4 trouble is generally rather widespread.

5 Rural America has half the doctors and less than a
6 third of the dentists that minimum standards would require.

7 Now, we know these facts and the question is: What
8 do we do about it?

9 The result is that over half a million rural resi-
10 dents are drawn or forced into urban areas each year -- most
11 not because they choose to go, not because they are pursuing
12 horizons of hope, but because they are forced to go.

13 I believe that every American ought to have freedom
14 of choice -- real choice. That is the essence of democracy.
15 And that doesn't mean a choice that comes by compulsion or a
16 choice that is forced upon him by sheer survival necessity.

17 And in that context I was not surprised to see re-
18 cently -- maybe my good friend, Mayor Naftalin, has told you
19 about this -- a poll that appeared in the Minneapolis Tribune
20 a few weeks ago showing that a great many of the urban resi-
21 dents in our state would far prefer to live in a small town or
22 on the farm. They would prefer to be away from the traffic
23 congestion, but that preference is not made real because there
24 is not the same opportunity.

25 True, grinding poverty of the purse is on its way

1 out in America, at least to a degree or it is being reduced.

2 But the poverty that afflicts this country is not
3 just the poverty of the purse, my fellow Americans. If that
4 were the case we are rich enough to overcome it next year.
5 There are many ways to overcome the poverty of the purse. I
6 noticed where the President of the Ford Motor Company recom-
7 mended²_A negative income tax last week. I noted the president
8 of the Ford Motor Company, not a social worker, not a radical -
9 he recommended it. I don't know whether it is the right way
10 or not but he recommended it. And it is a modern American way
11 write a check. We have overcome many problems, we think, with
12 that; we have taken care of the problems of our children --
13 which we really haven't -- by just giving them money. When you
14 don't have time to be a good parent, just write them a check.
15 When you don't have time to take care of the difficulties and
16 complications of international relations, write a check --
17 check-book living. Poverty of the purse -- the checkbook can
18 overcome it.

19 But what about the poverty of the spirit? What about
20 the poverty literally of the mind, the intellect, the poverty
21 that comes with despair and hopelessness and fear and frus-
22 tration? That is the real poverty, and that is the one that
23 has to be conquered.

24 So this poverty of the purse we seem to be getting
25 somewhat under control. At least we feel that we have the

1 beginnings.

2 Seven years ago, 21 per cent of the American famil-
3 ies lived in poverty. Statistically we now know that this is
4 down to about 15 per cent. The number of non-white families
5 earning over \$7,000 has doubled in that period. And the number
6 of white families, of course, has gone up in even larger pro-
7 portion.

8 More Americans are going to college than ever before.
9 More are eating better, dressing better, driving cars, using
10 telephones, owning homes than ever before -- and I like it.
11 Those are good signs.

12 All of these have meant unprecedented and undreamed-
13 of comfort for men but it has not necessarily meant broader
14 horizons or greater happiness.

15 A few years ago a Pulitzer Prize-winning poet wrote
16 of his fellow Americans: "We cannot bear the stars anymore,
17 those infinite spaces. The open road goes to the used car lot."

18 Well, sometimes people are rather cynical. I doubt
19 it is that bad. Perhaps things are not yet as bad as that for
20 the vast majority of us. But what about tomorrow? What about
21 the communities of tomorrow? Will our horizons still be or
22 once again be beyond our elbows, as Thoreau put it?

23 Thomas Huxley, who visited this country a year ago --
24 and this is one of my favorite little bits of secular scrip-
25 ture -- wrote: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree

1 impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such.
2 Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation.
3 The great issue is what are you going to do with all these
4 things?"

5 He put it right in the nutshell, right there. What
6 are we going to do with all these things? What are we going
7 to do with this economy of \$800 billion GNP?

8 Somebody told me the other day that since 1961 we
9 had added almost \$300 million to our gross national product in
10 real prices, in real income. And yet people go around saying,
11 "We can't afford this and we can't afford that." You know what
12 I have found out? We can generally afford what we want to.

13 I have been in the government long enough to find out
14 that when people want more country clubs, they get them. When
15 they want more taverns, they get them -- more race tracks, they
16 get them. The question is: Do they really want better housing
17 for somebody else? Do they want better schools?

18 I think we are beginning to show that we do. It is
19 the matter of will and determination, not resources. We have
20 the resources. It is a matter of priorities and decisions. We
21 have the technology. And how can we use this unparalleled
22 material wealth we now possess to expand the horizons of every
23 American?

24 That is the problem you are wrestling with. We need
25 your help. This is not just a talk session. This is a session

1 for guidance and counsel.

2 Let me offer what I consider a brief checklist of
3 things I think this nation will have to achieve if its commun-
4 ities of tomorrow are going to provide horizons that are truly
5 up to our traditional American standard, and should I say our
6 traditional American ideals.

7 First -- the very first thing we have to provide --
8 a truly open society with equal opportunity for all, regardless
9 of race or creed, in every community.

10 Now, you have to start with that or you are running
11 up-hill all the way and falling into ditches.

12 An open society in which there can be mobility and
13 freedom of choice is going to have to mean open housing. Only
14 about 50 American cities have very open housing laws today, and
15 it is my considered judgment that until we have open housing,
16 most of the social problems we are wrestling with today in our
17 great urban areas will be unsolved. There has to be freedom of
18 movement.

19 We are going to have to overcome the vestiges of dis-
20 crimination in employment and promotion policies in industry
21 and organized labor.

22 And I might add that as the tragic struggle is being
23 fought in Southeast Asia, we need to ask ourselves some very
24 basic questions. Our men in command of regiments and brigades
25 and companies with ranks of lieutenant and captain and major

1 and colonel -- are they to come home and because of race be
2 relegated to second-class positions in life or be accepted on
3 merit? Are we going to admit that the only part of American
4 society which is democratic is the military? This is democracy
5 upside down.

6 I think that we had better be thinking about this. I
7 hear some of my friends talk about the military industrial com-
8 plex. Well, the military is doing a pretty good job of pro-
9 viding equal opportunity. The military has done more to bring
10 about open housing than all the civilians put together. The
11 military is doing something about promotion on the basis of
12 merit.

13 I sometimes shake my head and wonder where I am.
14 Here we are in what we call the greatest democracy on the face
15 of the earth and the one institution in this democracy that
16 practices democracy is the military -- at least when it comes
17 to merit.

18 I don't have all the answers but I sure know the
19 problems. And I do know that will has something to do with it.
20 And I also know that it proves that law has something to do
21 about it, because the military gets a lot of this done because
22 it has authority. So when I hear people say that you don't
23 need law, I say "You may not need it, but it helps."

24 So let me emphasize that the ending of discrimination
25 is a practical necessity if many of our communities of today

1 are going to develop into the kind of thriving communities we
2 would like them to be for tomorrow.

3 This isn't anything, now, just for intellectual gym-
4 nastics or just a Sunday afternoon discussion with the local
5 minister. We are talking about the practicalities now of
6 economic and social life. When today's manager or entrepre-
7 neur or corporation, looks for a town in which to establish a
8 new factory, he is unlikely to choose one where local govern-
9 ment and the courts tolerate injustice, where discriminatory
10 labor practices and housing practices may prevent him from
11 winning federal contracts -- federal contracts are a big share
12 of the business in this country today -- and where his Negro
13 executives will not find adequate housing or decent schools for
14 their children.

15 So if you really want your communities now to blossom
16 get rid of the weeds that you thought were your flowers and
17 start to open up that garden for the growth of that which is
18 good and beautiful -- people who are blossoming with their own
19 ability and capacity.

20 Second, we must guarantee a quality education for
21 every American child.

22 Now, I know this term "quality" has many meanings but
23 we need to take a good look at it. We have been fighting an up-
24 hill battle to get quantity education for sometime. And I am
25 not critical of the educators and those in school boards and

1 P-TA's who have put on the hard fight just to get the facili-
2 ties and the teachers. But we have to have a dual approach --
3 not only facilities and teachers but the proper kind of
4 facilities and the right kind of teachers, and the interest of
5 the community behind them. Because education is not the
6 business of the teacher. The teacher is but the front-line
7 agent. Education is the requirement of the community and of
8 the family.

9 I doubt if there are many inner-city neighborhoods in
10 America today where the schools provide their pupils with the
11 full opportunity to throw off the crippling burden of a de-
12 prived background.

13 And yet the school system in the inner city ought to
14 be the compensatory mechanism. We have compensatory payments
15 today. We have at times compensatory wages and salaries. If
16 we put a man in a far-away place in the foreign service, we
17 give him a little more pay because it is more difficult there.

18 These are what we call -- I don't know the exact term --
19 but the areas of danger, the areas that are critical.

20 What do we do about our schools? I will take my own
21 community's experience. I hope it has changed and I imagine
22 it has because they have a better mayor now out home.

23 When I was there the poorer schools were in the
24 poorest neighborhoods. The overcrowding of the schools was in
25 the poorer neighborhoods. And I will venture to tell you this,

1 my dear friends, if you leave this city and go any place in
2 America, go into the city where the poor people live, the gar-
3 bage is the last to be collected, the streets are the last to
4 be plowed out when the snow is there.

5 It is true. We need to shift it around a little bit.

6 Today our best schools are in the communities where
7 other advantages are also the greatest -- the highest incomes,
8 the best housing, the best recreational opportunities. The
9 best schools are in the neighborhoods where the people can
10 afford to send their children to private schools. In the com-
11 munities of tomorrow the best educational opportunities are
12 going to have to be where they are needed the most, where the
13 public contribution to the life of that individual is the
14 greatest single gift that the community can give -- namely, the
15 gift of a good education.

16 America has pioneered in public education. This is
17 one of our great achievements. And public schools, more than
18 ever before, must be brought to the highest standards.

19 You know that my wife and I are keenly interested in
20 the subject of the handicapped, the mentally retarded, the
21 physically handicapped. Let me just lay it on the line. Most
22 of the handicapped are with the poor. Most of the retardation
23 is with the poor. Some of it is congenital. Some of it is
24 environmental. But the simple fact is that the degree and the
25 rate of retardation amongst the poor in the lower-income

1 families is higher than amongst the high-income families.

2 And my fellow Americans, how many of your public
3 schools, the tenement schools in the inner cities, have train-
4 ing for the retarded? How many of them have training for the
5 physically handicapped? And what makes you think they are not
6 God's children? What makes you think that a child that is born
7 crippled isn't entitled to the same or more care than one that
8 is born physically sound? What makes you think that all re-
9 tardated are not educable? Many of them are and can be brought
10 to be productive citizens.

11 And yet, my fellow Americans, most of the schools that
12 have mental retardation types of training for the mentally re-
13 tardated, I should say the most competent -- you find those
14 schools in the suburbs. You find those in the areas of the new
15 homes. You find them in the upper middle-income groups and the
16 high-income areas. It is wrong.

17 Many people today are worried about morality. Well,
18 that is real immorality and that is immorality that you can do
19 something about.

20 The least of these -- the least of these -- the poet,
21 the prophet, says -- are entitled to the most. But they don't
22 get it. And until they do, there is something wrong.

23 But I think that most of us, in view of the nearly
24 disastrous shortage of educational facilities in some neighbor-
25 hoods, realize that public schools alone are not enough, and we

1 have recognized the necessity of using the existing private and
2 parochial schools to the full. And I often think what would
3 happen to our education if it were not for the parochial and
4 private schools.

5 The Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed in
6 1965 authorizes the federal government to use funds to assist
7 disadvantaged children in non-public schools. There were those
8 that would have destroyed that. But fortunately, the Congress
9 in its wisdom protected that standard.

10 Now, states and local communities must follow that
11 lead. The important thing about education isn't where the
12 child goes to school. It is what kind of education the child
13 gets. The important thing about education is the person.

14 A variety of educational opportunities, competition
15 among various kinds of schools for excellence rather than compe-
16 tition for inadequate funds -- that is what will broaden the
17 educational horizons.

18 Third, we need a far-reaching national policy on
19 urbanization and the machinery to implement it.

20 I said first you need an open society -- open
21 community. Second, we must guarantee quality of education for
22 every child, right down the line -- and every child -- every
23 child, well or sick, sound or crippled, brilliant or retarded,
24 white or black, or whatever other color, race or creed.

25 And, third, we need a far-reaching national policy

1 on urbanization and the machinery to implement it.

2 We anticipate today that our population -- you know
3 the figure -- will grow by one hundred million or more before
4 the year 2000 and we know that at least one hundred million of
5 our fellow Americans will be moving into our cities within the
6 next few years. I hope they don't all have three cars unless
7 we can do something about the transportation. With that pros-
8 pect in view the haphazard urbanization that is still going on
9 in this country is no longer acceptable.

10 I know that Lady Jackson, Barbara Ward, spoke to you
11 about planning that needs to go into our communities. Again I
12 claim no expertise in this area. I am one of the general
13 practitioners. Experts are on tap; they shouldn't be on top --
14 (laughter) -- and we just keep them working with us.

15 I know you will be discussing and have been discussing
16 the megalopolis and how to improve it. I think one of the prob-
17 lems we have is that that word sort of transforms us. It sort
18 of gets us, as we say, the word megalopolis. When you can pro-
19 nounce it you have really come quite a way. But just remember
20 all that word means is there are too many people living on too
21 little land. It means that people are crowded in. What it
22 really means is that it is an accumulation of buildings and
23 people and facilities that has not been planned. What megalop-
24 olis means is a big, big problem that you have to unravel and
25 make it into a livable society.

1 Well, I believe that it is within our power to make
2 our existing cities and their heavily developed suburbs safe,
3 clean, and rewarding places to live.

4 I do not want to see us run away from that which we
5 have -- and there is a tendency, when we talk about these prob-
6 lems of urban life, to say "Let's forget it. Let's get out;
7 let's run away." And that is what has been happening. When
8 you didn't have open communities, the white people left. The
9 Negro people -- many -- came in. They ran away from the prob-
10 lems, ran away from the challenge. And many of our cities
11 today are without an economic base, and many of the people that
12 come downtown to do business in the city never pay a dime's
13 taxes to it, have really no interest in it except to get on a
14 street that will get them to their office.

15 I want to see us come up with answers for what we
16 have. We have a tremendous investment in our cities. And
17 these cities essentially have all of the ingredients to make
18 for a magnificent society, the city beautiful -- not like St.
19 Augustine, the City of God, but the City of Man. It can be a
20 beautiful city. We don't need to take the bulldozer and run
21 over it. We don't need to run away from it like the farmer
22 of the early 1800's ran away from the land that had been bled
23 white and eroded.

24 It is there. I am not advocating, therefore, that we
25 retreat to the rural plains and mountains. I am advocating that

1 we develop our cities as they are, redevelop them, and that we
2 find new places to live so there is real freedom of choice --
3 and what is more, that we take care of new customers, the
4 children yet unborn, the families yet to be.

5 Metropolitan planning is now going on in many of these
6 areas of the megalopolis and the federal government insists
7 that its grants be used only in the context of such planning.
8 And I'll get down to cases. Was it Paul Ylvisaker who said
9 something to you yesterday about state charters and laws? I
10 think so. Let me tell you one of the greatest needs in this
11 country is to re-examine every state constitution, every city
12 charter, and instead of going around trying to find some
13 answers for your local government problems in Washington, start
14 to find them back at home in your city, in your state, in your
15 local jurisdictions. Much of government today was never de-
16 signed even for the period of the automobile, much less the
17 space age. And it is more difficult, I may say, to amend a
18 city charter than it is to travel to the moon -- and much
19 safer.

20 Constitutional reform -- state constitutional re-
21 form -- is vital. And I say with all candor that it is liter-
22 ally impossible to come to grips with the problems of our
23 urbanized society until there is basic constitutional and local
24 government reform, until we equip these governmental sub-
25 divisions and the powers of the state with the authority and

1 with the flexibility, with the modern public administration
2 techniques that are required for modern living and for the age
3 of the future, the communities of tomorrow.

4 You cannot build communities of tomorrow with state
5 constitutions of the 19th century and the 18th century. It
6 isn't in the book. If you do, it will be illegal.

7 So I hope that you will have a conference or two on
8 that while you are here. There must be many political scien-
9 tists around here. But whenever we really come hard on the
10 problem at home, we say "It is down in Washington that the
11 problem is." Many people complain about the interference of
12 the federal government with local and state governments. It is
13 not interference. When you find a blood clot in your vein the
14 system finds a way of going around it. And there is a govern-
15 mental clot at local and state levels for some of the human
16 needs of the American people, and those people find a way to
17 get around it, and they come charging down to Washington. And
18 you have a whole galaxie, a whole big roomful of federal aid
19 programs that are frequently in conflict, all too often -- if
20 not in conflict with each other, unrelated to a total pattern.

21 I have been at this business of intergovernmental
22 relations a long time. I am the co-author of the Commission on
23 Intergovernmental Relations, served on the Kestenbaum Commis-
24 sion, it is part of my life. And we have everybody who likes
25 to write articles and editorials about the bureaucracy of the

1 federal government and the necessity for reorganization of the
2 federal government. Listen, the federal government is being
3 reorganized every year, on the year, in some way. But I am
4 telling you when you get an amendment to your city charter,
5 write and tell me, will you? It will be some of the great
6 news of all time.

7 I urge this conference to take a look at this prob-
8 lem, to look beyond the megalopolis to the possibility of
9 establishing new bodies of law, new constitutions that meet
10 modern-day needs in the future, and establish wholly new
11 urban centers of urban growth capable of accommodating a
12 large part of our anticipated population increase.

13 Study the concept of councils of government, how you
14 preserve the independence and autonomy of an established com-
15 munity and an established governmental jurisdiction and at the
16 same time promote coordination. It is a new pattern. It has
17 great merit.

18 The location of most of our present cities, as you
19 well know, was dictated largely by geography, by industry's
20 need for water or rail transport and for natural resources.
21 That is why we have so many of our great cities on the banks
22 of the rivers.

23 But this is the age of the short-hop jet -- the short-
24 hop jet -- rapid truck transport, electric power that can be
25 delivered efficiently over hundreds of miles and generated

1 easily at the most remote site. Moreover, ours is an ever-
2 increasingly service-oriented economy. Today 40 million of our
3 workers hold service jobs, and only 17.5 million are in manu-
4 facturing. Much of that manufacturing consists of modern,
5 light industry which can thrive almost anywhere, rather than
6 the traditional heavy industry which is tied to natural re-
7 sources and low-cost transportation.

8 Today, therefore, it should be possible to provide
9 the economic base for new communities almost anywhere that we
10 choose.

11 I know these communities need to be viable; I know
12 there has to be a sort of optimum or minimum size for a viable
13 community. What it is, I am not sure. When I started to write
14 this, I had the figure of 50 thousand. I said "That is not
15 true. I have seen many cities of much less that are totally
16 viable communities." But that is something we can experiment
17 with.

18 But where should these new urban centers be built?
19 Many could undoubtedly be built on the sites of existing towns.
20 And indeed that is happening today where local governments have
21 taken the initiative in revising their law and in attracting
22 new industry -- and I put "revising their law" -- because you
23 get right down there to taxing policy, zoning policy -- all of
24 it is there. I was interested to see that 8 of the 63 Model
25 Cities grants recently announced by our distinguished Secretary,

1 Mr. Weaver, went to cities and towns of fewer than 50 thousand
2 people. Those model cities and others like them can provide
3 an important part of America's answer to the megalopolis. New
4 towns, like Reston and Columbia City, towns built from scratch,
5 according to a master plan, offer another possible source of
6 Communities of Tomorrow. But the old towns, rebuilt, also
7 offer the chance. With 70 per cent of the American people
8 living on that 1 per cent of the land, there are a great many
9 places in this country where land is cheap between the Alle-
10 gheny Mountains and the West Coast. Come with me and travel
11 across this country. I travel across it about as much as any
12 man in the government. And there is one thing that impresses
13 me -- its emptiness -- vast, vacant areas -- beautiful, beauti-
14 ful areas. And it doesn't require that you have to have a major
15 river running right through in order to be able to put a town
16 there, or a coal mine. We have gotten beyond that. There are
17 a great many places where the land is cheap, recreational re-
18 source is plentiful, and horizons uncluttered.

19 I might add that the policy of the federal government
20 can do a lot here. If the federal government makes up its
21 mind to use some of its resources, new towns come into being.
22 I have often mentioned Huntsville, Alabama. It isn't necessar-
23 ily typical but it shows what can be done -- or Oak Ridge,
24 Tennessee, just to mention a couple. But Huntsville, Alabama,
25 just 20 years ago, was a sleepy little southern community, on

1 the fringes of the TVA. Today it is a fine, magnificent city,
2 and one of the best.

3 Two or three things happened: The Tennessee Valley
4 Authority with all it offered, power, recreation and flood con-
5 trol; and then federal grants and federal contracts, the space
6 program. I heard when I was there this spring that there are
7 about 175 Ph.D's. alone in that city. There are tremendous
8 facilities of education, fine medical establishments, doctors.
9 It happens to be that federal government policy can have some-
10 thing to do with what happens to a community, where the con-
11 tracts are placed, where the new installations are to be
12 located. And they don't all have to be located on the fringes
13 of Washington. It is possible to run part of this country even
14 as far away as Denver.

15 (Laughter.)

16 And I would think that as long as we are saying that
17 we are a Pacific power and have a great deal of our resources
18 committed to the Pacific and Asian areas, we might want to even
19 disperse or get out as far as the West Coast. Of course we do.
20 And government policy means a great deal. I have so many
21 Cabinet officers here, I thought I would mention that.

22 I would like this conference to consider the pos-
23 sibility of a federal New Cities Act -- I can see where I can
24 get in trouble because Vice Presidents aren't supposed to be
25 doing this -- designed to do for America what the Homestead

All ready the Federal Government
has financed 2 Study
at the University of Minnesota
on the subject

Thru a number of work shops, 2nd
and ~~Faculty~~ ^{National experts} Seminars
~~the considerations~~ by faculty & Student
the considerations necessary for
Commence planning of a truly
new & independent ~~city~~ rural
or completely non urban area
will be set forth in a report
which is due late this Spring.

This project known as
the Minnesota Experimental
City Project is an example
~~new~~ ~~needed~~ pts & between the ^{necessary}
Private & Pub Sector. ~~A~~ So we
the basic problems facing our Nation
then $\frac{1}{4}$ the cost of this, which
was financed by the Private
Sector & $\frac{1}{4}$ each by HUD, HEW
and Commerce. This report
could be ~~case~~ Not only the
1st Step toward a ~~truly~~ new 2nd
~~independence~~ which will serve
as a laboratory for other contemporary
areas - our vast Rural areas, but could be the basis

1 Act of the 19th century did -- move people out to the rich areas
 2 of this nation that are still waiting to be developed. And I
 3 am not going to write out the articles and sections and sub-
 4 sections of that Act, but it can be done. We know how to get
 5 incentives working in this country. That is part of our life.

6 Some of those new towns might be built as satellite
 7 cities just beyond the raveled urban fringe of our present
 8 megalopolises. They would act as counter-magnets, giving dis-
 9 satisfied suburbanites practical access to the benefits of a
 10 real city. *All ready the Federal Govt has financed a study at the university of Minnesota on the conditions there a number of people shops and university seminar all of the considerations will be set forth in a report*
 11 By providing services, jobs, and economies of scale,
 12 they would break off the existing outer suburbs of some of our
 13 largest cities and give them shape and character.

14 And then, *Fourth*, we must preserve and enhance the
 15 rural alternative in this age of rapid urbanization.

16 As I suggested earlier, many of our city dwellers *now*
 17 today would much prefer to live on a farm or in a small town or
 18 small city if they could do it without sacrificing opportunity,
 19 income, quality in education, and the conveniences that go with
 20 a modern American standard of living.

21 A thriving city usually means more prosperity for *the new step between private and public*
 22 the adjacent rural areas. That has been the case in most of *financed by the*
 23 the Northeast, in the Piedmont of the Carolinas, and elsewhere. *for a while*
 24 It means that the farmer can get more credit -- and he needs *the balance can*
 25 today. It takes a lot of capital to start a farm today. *from the*

This study report could become not only the 1st step
4 - 10

as a laboratory
for further such ~~work~~
contemporary cities but
could be the bases
for a national approach
toward solving the
urban rural migration
problems

1 the Mid-west it takes a minimum of a hundred thousand dollars
2 for a really sound capitalized, productive farm. It means a
3 growing market for his agricultural products and new opportuni-
4 ties for supplementary off-the-farm employment.

5 And above all, when you have a thriving urban commun-
6 ity next to a rural community, the value of the farmer's land
7 rises.

8 But ladies and gentlemen, this is trickle-down
9 prosperity, and that is not enough if we are to achieve a mean-
10 ingful balance of rural and urban growth, and a meaningful
11 choice between city and country living.

12 Rural America must become economically viable in its
13 own right. That means farm incomes must reach a par with city
14 incomes, in terms of meaningful prices and meaningful income.
15 And, my fellow Americans, that means that farmers must be paid
16 for their product.

17 I was out with a farm group the other day and when you
18 go and buy a car they charge you so much for a car. When you
19 go and get medical service, the doctor charges you so much.
20 When you go into the drug store, they charge you so much. But
21 the farmer gets so much -- what you are willing to give him.
22 He can't charge.

23 The worker, in his union, bargains and he charges so
24 much for his labor. The farmer gets so much for his milk or
25 whatever it is. The language of the commerce tells what is

1 wrong with agriculture. He is at the mercy of the other fellow.
2 And you know what? I think he is beginning to understand it and
3 I wouldn't be a bit surprised that farmers are going to do what
4 other people do, get really organized, and then you'll see
5 what you'll pay. We have been getting a free ride off the
6 farmer in this country for a long, long time -- and Secretary
7 Freeman has been telling people in the cities about it. He
8 is the one fellow that hasn't had his wages increases. He is
9 the one fellow that sells his product for less now than he did
10 in 1947 -- all too often.

11 And if it were not for his government programs, he
12 would be bankrupt in many, many instances.

13 I think I heard Secretary Freeman say not long ago
14 that if these farm programs were abolished farm incomes would
15 be reduced by at least a third.

16 So you can't have the farmer being just the victim of
17 trickle-down prosperity, that if everybody else in town gets
18 rich you will have enough to eat. He has to have a viable
19 base of his own. Today that American farmer receives a
20 smaller return on his labor and capital than the urban entre-
21 preneur by far. That dairy farmer out in the Mid-west is
22 lucky if he makes 75 cents an hour on his labor and capital.

23 All over America young people, therefore, are leav-
24 ing the farms, not because they want to but because farming
25 simply doesn't pay as much as a good factory job or working at

1 a filling station.

2 Farming is the backbone of the rural economy in many
3 parts of this country, and when it lags behind, so does rural
4 commerce in general and so does the neighboring community.

5 In addition to better farm incomes, therefore, rural
6 America needs new industry to provide a variety of job oppor-
7 tunities and new income to supplement and to maintain its
8 economic power and viability. At a time when rural land prices
9 are a ninth or less of urban land prices, when modern industry
10 has unprecedented flexibility in its choice of location, manu-
11 facturing should be able to thrive in rural America.

12 But rural America's pressing need for health, educa-
13 tional and social services, clearly spelled out now in the
14 report on Rural Poverty, requires a concerted attack by govern-
15 ment and private industry at every level. But permanent
16 solutions -- thriving Communities of Tomorrow -- will depend
17 on a healthy and growing rural economy, not on government hand-
18 outs, government policies alone, or the trickle-down economics
19 of a rich urban society.

20 And you who are going to convert the communities of
21 today to the communities of tomorrow, or build new ones, will
22 have to talk about much more than civil rights or even educa-
23 tion or dispersed urbanization or rural-urban balance. You
24 will have to consider health facilities, better utilization of
25 land for development and recreation, zoning, transportation,

1 preservation of open spaces where the physical horizon may
2 still be viewed.

3 And you will have to figure out what combination of
4 federal, state, local, and private cooperation can achieve the
5 kind of comprehensive national effort that will save us from
6 the human and economic cost of haphazard urbanization.

7 You know about the many programs that we have -- 450
8 federal programs designed to assist local governments, large
9 and small, urban and rural, in meeting the vast array of local
10 problems. On top of these separate programs we now have a new
11 one, the Model Cities program, which I believe offers great
12 promise if properly implemented at every level, designed to draw
13 all available resources, public and private together, to a
14 comprehensive attack on the whole spectrum of ills that consti-
15 tute urban blight.

16 What additional federal effort will be needed to
17 build the communities of tomorrow?

18 I have mentioned the possibility of a New Towns Act.
19 What about a federal bank to help finance development corpora-
20 tions at the state and local level?

21 What about a swift, computerized, nation-wide
22 employment service designed to inform workers all over the
23 country of employment opportunities in newly-developed urban
24 areas?

25 There is a mobility today. Why not take advantage of

1 it? Although the federal government will be an important in-
2 strument for your coordination and for financing, the real work
3 of development is going to be left up to the state and local
4 governments and to the people themselves.

5 It is in the local communities that the detailed
6 planning will have to be done. That is why I think this Model
7 Cities Act provides such a great concept for the communities of
8 tomorrow. It, in a sense, compels the local people, private
9 and public, every segment of the community, rich and poor, to
10 work together to design programs for the betterment of their
11 community life.

12 These local communities will have to take the initia-
13 tive to attract new industry, build new schools, and assure
14 their citizens of an active role in determining the future of
15 their communities.

16 And may I say, I mean all the citizens. There is a
17 natural desire or inclination on our part to sit in a beautiful
18 room like this, those of us with a college education that have
19 made it pretty well, and to plan what we are going to do for
20 the others. May I suggest that it is about time that we
21 brought into this same room the others.

22 (~~Applause.~~)

23 Let's hear from them. They may have some good ideas.
24 What is more, if they feel that they are a part of the design,
25 that they have helped create it, then it is theirs. They

1 fight for it. They work for it. They believe in it.

2 And it is going to be to the people themselves, like
3 the pioneers of the 19th century -- it will be these people
4 who will do the actual home building, enterprise building,
5 and town building.

6 Well, a century ago one great American, Walt Whitman,
7 wrote these words -- you see, I do like poets -- "I take to
8 the open road, Healthy, free, the world before me, The long
9 brown path before me leading wherever I choose."

10 That is what we are talking about, the healthy road,
11 the long brown path before me leading wherever I choose -- not
12 where you compel me to go, not where the distorted economic or
13 social structure compels me to go, but where I want to go --
14 freedom of choice, an open society, an open mind, an open heart.

15 I believe the breadth of spirit reflected in the lines
16 of Walt Whitman can and should belong to every American before
17 the 20th century is out. I believe that is what we mean by the
18 "Communities of Tomorrow." And I wish you good luck in this
19 conference in planning it and designing it that way.

20 Thank you very much.

21 (~~Standing ovation.~~)

22 SECRETARY WIRTZ: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice Presi-
23 dent. It is with full compliment to all of the other speakers
24 of the program that I think we are entitled to take note of the
25 fact that we have had this meeting graced by two people whom I

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Already the Federal Government has financed a study at the University of Minnesota on this subject. Through a number of work shops of national experts and seminars by faculty and students the consideration necessary to commence planning a truly new and independent city in a rural or completely non-urban area will be set forth in a report which is due late this spring. This project known as a Minnesota Experimental City Project is an example of the new partnership between the private and public sector which is necessary to solve the basic problems facing our nation. Here one-fourth of the cost of this study was financed by the private sector and one-fourth each by HUD, HEW, and Commerce. This report could become not only the first step toward a new and independent city to serve as a laboratory for other contemporary cities for our rural areas, but could form the basis for a new approach to solving the problem of rural urban migration.



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