

Address by
Hubert H. Humphrey
at 1969 Annual
League Convention,
St. Paul, Minn.

Introduction by
Mayor Ed Henry

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Distinguished guests appear at the head table. Delegates to the 55th Convention of the League we welcome you. In the name of the League I congratulate Art and Allan on getting this distinguished award. I have the great pleasure to introduce to you this evening one of the major speakers at this convention. I must confess to you in all candor that the League staff goofed on this one. They failed to supply me with biographical material. We all know, of course, the important things like being mayor of St. Paul. It's the details that sometimes slip by that you want to hear about. However, I have pieced together a few facts on his life ^{& find them} quite impressive. If there are any inaccuracies in my introduction they are solely attributable to me and not to the half dozen or so people who tried to help me pull together what they could recollect about our speaker. I know you are all flattered and proud that we have an ex-mayor and a former member of this association as our speaker this evening. He began, as some of us know, his career right here in Minnesota as a teacher in a local college. Some, you know have made disparaging remarks about teachers. Some of you may

have heard that libelous old cliché that "He who can does, and he who can't teaches." Now personally I don't place much stock in that. But our speaker, with his characteristic creativity, turned that cliché inside out. He left the campus; some say one step ahead of the student body. I don't know how to interpret that one. I'm just saying what I was told. So he then decided to cash in on that graduate degree in political science by doing rather than teaching. Displaying rare foresight, far ahead of his time, he ran on a law and order plank and was elected Mayor of Minneapolis. Now, some of his partisan supporters said at that time that few men in Minnesota history had reached that peak so early in life. Twenty-five years later, partisan people on the other side of the fence agreed he had indeed reached his peak early in life. Fame as a mayor, however, rested uneasily on his shoulders as two states, even at that early stage in his career began warring over claims as to his birthplace. South Dakota claimed he was born in Minnesota and Minnesota that he was born in South Dakota. Well, somewhat later he took a job in Washington selling Minnesota products. Now just why he left his well-paid job in City Hall isn't entirely clear. One source relates that a complaining constituent finally broke his back. It seems that this taxpayer gave the mayor the business

for about half an hour on city affairs. He wanted Minneapolis to be number two in quality of life among other things. Some say he was a young attorney - Harold somebody or other. At any rate the mayor finally convinced him that it was the council's fault. The constituent continued persistent. He squared up to the mayor and asked him point blank, "Mayor, did you go to high school?"

The reply was, "Yes."

"How about college?"

The mayor straightened up in his chair and ^{brightened} ~~bridled~~, "I not only went to college," he said, trying to appear as modest as he could, "but I also took a graduate degree in political science and taught college."

There was a pause, then, "Mayor, tell me with all that education how did you ever get this far?"

Well, after some time in Washington, he landed another job as Assistant Sales Manager and he was given a much larger sales territory. When the Sales Manager retired he applied for his job. But he was turned down by the Board of Directors in favor of a smart young Attorney who had developed some superior selling techniques of his own. Our speaker then decided to get a fresh start. He persuaded his old

college to give him a part-time teaching job. So 25 years after his original try at teaching he put the harness back on and started earning his living once again. Now, I understand that the old cliché "He who does does, and he who can't teaches" that cliché occasionally crosses his mind. But he shrugs it off as an oversimplification and even as a Republican invention. Well, we must admit that this man has an ~~impressive~~ ^{impressive} ~~incredible~~ list of jobs behind him. I showed them to my wife a moment ago and she said, "Poor guy, he's really had trouble holding down a job for very long." I can personally testify, however, maturity has improved his teaching skills. I happen to have a daughter at the college where he holds forth. She tells me he seems to know his stuff, except he is still a little bit bookish. She tells me that perhaps a sabbatical as an intern in the new Minneapolis administration would give him the necessary practical experience and make a top notch prof out of him. I have a hunch, however, that he might harbor some resentment toward the new mayor for stealing his 1946 platform. Well, ladies and gentlemen, that just about exhausts his long list of accomplishments. There is probably one or another thing I may have forgotten about him, but they are not important I'm sure. If you have any questions about his background, I suggest he'd be happy to tell you about it after the

meeting. Ladies and gentlemen, it's a distinct pleasure I give to you this evening an ex-mayor, a retreaded teacher, and a former associate in the League of Municipalities, Professor Hubert H. Humphrey.

Mr. Humphrey

Well, thank you very much, Mr. President. I've been saying that a long time. Might I add, I've said it with tongue-in-cheek before and I'm doing it tonight. I always have said that there was only one office that was designed by the mind of man and placed in constitutional law that gave you enforced humility and that was being Vice President. May I say after that introduction all I can say is thank God for the Constitution.

Then I recall there is an old cliché that "a little power is a dangerous thing." I see tonight, also, another one. This is a teacher and a mayor that just introduced me. Let me tell you I see tonight and hear tonight the full exemplification of the arrogance of power - the way this man has introduced me. Mayor Naftalin and Mayor Burn and members of the League, Mr. Black and all of the distinguished guests who are here tonight, I must say that it's bad

enough to lose a presidential election, but it's tough to come home and be introduced just like I've been. And then to top it all off, to have Ray Black and Joe Summers get up here and brag on Art Naftalin. And say that his accomplishments exceed all of his predecessors. Do you realize what this can do to my personality? This can really change a man you know? For four years I was Vice President which is the only office that has no authority and plenty of responsibility. I came into that office after having been sixteen years a Senator where you have no responsibility and all kinds of authority. And then the last act of my Vice Presidency, after having lost an election for the office of President, was to sign a bill that increased the salary of the President of the United States, from \$100,000 to \$200,000. And a bill that increased the salary of the Vice President from \$42,000 to \$65,000 and now I have to take this.

Something else has happened here that bothered me tonight. Oh a lot of things have bothered me tonight. I listened here to all of the introduction of all of these past presidents by Orville Peterson, all the past presidents of the League. I kept listening and listening and I thought maybe somebody would get up and introduce a past vice

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president. But no. Who cares? No one. Well, I'm glad to introduce myself, so we keep this record balanced.

Well, it's a delight to be here and, Mayor-Elect Stendvig, my platform was a good one and I'm glad you ran on it. It worked, didn't it? I want you to know ^{Art} ~~Bob~~ Naftalin helped draw it up. I want you to know something else. That speech I made for 10 minutes was the one that I wrote. Those long ones are the ones that Mayor Naftalin used to write. Had anybody known this before he would never have received the CC. Ludwig Award. But I do want to compliment Mayor Naftalin and Allan Cords on this great award that they have just received. By the way, Mr. Cords, I called your home this afternoon. We've been trying to communicate back and forth and I'm sorry I can't make that meeting on June 29, but give me a raincheck, will you Allan? It's the only way you can really do these things free. I lose my franking privileges July 1.

There have been some comments made tonight made about my professorship. Saying that "he who can does, he who can't teaches." I guess I've proved that. It isn't an old cliché; it's true. This professorship reminds me of something that actually happened when I

was being considered for a teaching position at the University. It is reported to me that someone over there on the political science faculty said, "Well, I don't know about Humphrey teaching government. He's been away from our work, you know, for over 20 years." I hope it was a joke, but I have a feeling somebody really said it.

My association with this organization is one of the most pleasant experiences of my life and I want the council members to know and council women, (Tom Burn introduced a number of people and he forgot to introduce council women), but I want you to know that I'm not about ready to spend any time insulting ^{members of} the city council. I can always tell those fellows that never, ever again run for office. They spend a lot of time insulting people that they have been hoping they could do so publicly for a considerable period of time. I don't want anybody to read anything into my remarks, but I'm not going to insult a living mortal in the place tonight.

I was just in St. Paul the other day. Muriel and I were here for a reception and a luncheon that was given to us by the City Council, the Mayor - Mayor Tom Burn, the Chamber of Commerce, Trades and Labor Assembly and we had a wonderful time. Mayor Burn sort of told me what

the rules were about St. Paul, since we now are residing over on Summit Avenue. He said that the only way that - he was a little worried, he said, when I came in because he knew that I was unemployed at the time when I first came here and that I had some feeling that I had ^{some} ~~plenty~~ of experience in the mayor's office and he had had ^{plenty} ~~some~~ trouble as it was without having an interloper. And then he said he remembered that in order to be Mayor of St. Paul you had to be Irish. And I said yes George ^{Wavolous} ~~Wavalous~~ was a fine Irishman if I ever met one. No doubt about that. But I didn't get around to telling you this the other day, Tom, but I've really made the circuit. Very few people have done as much. Former resident of the city of Minneapolis, former mayor of the city of Minneapolis, of course obviously that has been down-played here a great deal this evening. I now reside in St. Paul, having the privilege of teaching at a wonderful college, Macalaster College, and over at our great University. My voting residence is in Marysville Township. That's the only reason I got to speak here tonight. There's no threat for Marysville Town ship and Wright County. The mayor of my community which is right next to Marysville Township is Mrs. Smith, the mayor of Waverely, Minnesota. So they said this fellow is safe. We can have Humphrey here. From

township government to the city of St. Paul, to the League of Minnesota Municipalities no threat to Naftalin, Stendvig, Burn or anybody else. Just a happy evening for all of us. So just sit back and relax.

I'd like to qualify myself for tonight. It's been a long time since I talked with many of you or worked with many of you. Some of you I saw not long ago at the ^{National} League of Cities meeting. Some of you I've been with at the U.S. Conference of Mayors, some of you I've seen at the City Managers Meeting and I wouldn't be a bit surprized but what a county official or two has been able to get in here and some of you I may have seen at the National Association of County Officials. For four years it was my privilege to work with the local government officials of this country - from one end of this great nation to the other. I can't think of a more rewarding experience than that. It was the happiest experience and the most challenging experience I had as the Vice President. I learned a great deal from the local people. I learned a great deal about what's going on in our great cities and in our smaller communities. I also had the privilege as a senator of being one of the authors of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and served on it for a period of time. I held the first hearings as a matter of fact and helped author the

bill for the establishment of Housing and Urban Development Department of government in the Federal Cabinet. So my interest in local government is not merely speechifying or theoretical. It is because I happen to believe that the government that touches the lives of the people and more of the people than other governments is the government that is represented in this room tonight. People in the villages and towns and cities, and I might add those in the counties, all across this great country of ours. Really you are going to help determine in a very large measure the quality of life in this country. It's a tough job that's yours. I said to a friend today that the most fun I ever had in public life was when I was mayor of Minneapolis. Of course I had Art Naftalin there as my assistant and I had the fun and he did the work. I trained this fellow. I insist on taking credit for it. Particularly since he is such a success. Really I can say very candidly it was the most exciting and the most rewarding experience. We were very close to the people, had a chance to see problems as they really are - not as somebody writes about them. We had an opportunity to see changes and help make some changes. We had some disappointments. ^{old} Same disappointments, Ray, on charter reform. We led fights for it

then. Just as Mayor Naftalin has led them in his four terms as mayor of Minneapolis. But it was a rich and enlightening experience. An equipping one, I think, for public service more than few other jobs ever could. A mayor, a city council man, an assessor, anyone of the local officials. A fire chief, police chief, people who are in local government are very close to the people. They have to make decisions that affect immediately the lives of people. When you are in Congress your decisions are longer range. They affect the life of the nation and the people but they are somewhat removed. A mayor, a governor, a president - these are the executive offices. These are the offices that have both authority and responsibility. And I mean it in just those words. Authority and responsibility which calls for great self discipline. And above all a sense of selflessness and service to a community. It's just the difference of size of a community. Tonight I am going to talk very seriously to you because this is my home state - even if South Dakota wouldn't claim me. The way they voted last election I hope they don't. I want to talk to you very seriously and it's about our nation's development. Now some of you may say as I go along my remarks well now this doesn't apply in my town because much of what I have to say applies to what we call metropolitan and

urban areas. But let me make it clear right off in the beginning. This nation of ours is changing so rapidly and people are in such movement that what happens anyplace affects the rest of us. The problems of New York City are your problems. You are taxpayers and New York will require great help and does get it right now from the Federal Treasury. What is more, what happens in that great city politically, economically, socially, culturally affects your life. The violence that takes place there affects the national attitude. And likewise what happens here affects San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. There is no way to seal ourselves off any longer. When we speak, therefore, of a city we speak of an America. When we speak of a town or a village we speak of a nation. You can't tell where your son or daughter is going to live. This is why I have always said when I served in the Congress that it isn't good enough just to be a Senator from the State of Minnesota. You have to be a United States Senator. Because your vote affects the lives of people everywhere. And what is more a person that may live in Duluth, Minnesota, this year may very well find himself and his family living in South Carolina or New Mexico or New York or Illinois in a year from now. We have millions of people who are moving every day.

In the last election there were over 15 million people that could not vote because of change of residence within the year. 15 million people of voting age; that is over 14% of the total electorate that could not vote because they had changed their residence within that year and could not qualify under state registration laws. So I want to speak to you now not just as Minnesotans, not as the mayor of a small community, or a city councilman or city councilwoman of a large city or a small community, but I want to talk to you tonight about your country, my country, our country and what's been happening in it.

First of all, let me say that I'm not as pessimistic as some. I think we live in a very exciting time. The only question about the time in which we live is what we are going to do with the time we have. It's a tremendous period of concentrated, intensive change and ferment which is not unusual for a nation that has a continuing revolution and we have. It's a period of violence which is not particularly unusual in this country; there has been violence before. The question before the house is can the institutions of government and social structure be sufficiently adaptable and flexible to accommodate themselves to the needs of the people. The only purpose of government is to serve. Not itself, ^{to serve} but the people. This is what we mean by

government with the consent of the people and representative government.

This is the social contact between people and their government.

Today we are part of a massive, concentrated society. People in this room can remember Minnesota when you really spoke of it as a rural, predominantly rural, state. That's no longer the case. We are proud of our rural areas; proud of our agriculture. I'm very proud of some of the wonderful communities I've seen. I shall not forget my visit recently to Cloquet, Minnesota. It's a wonderful community with a fine new high school. That splendid city. Its new hospital. Its community college. It's symbolic, it's typical of many of our communities across this state. But Minnesota today has become an urban state. And ladies and gentlemen, in the coming decade - in the coming 25 years, it will be more and more urbanized. Little towns that we now think of as being small will be larger and large cities will be much larger. And there isn't any way that you are going to stop it. What you are going to have to do is to learn to work with it and live with it and make our cities, our village and our towns livable. Seventy percent of the U. S. population today lives in metropolitan areas. By the end of this century over 85% of the entire population of this country will live in cities. One out of every five today live

in cities of a million or more. By the end of this century between two and three out of every 5 will live in cities of a million or more. That's the demographic projection and it seems that we generally underestimate what happens. Now, we hope to land a man on the moon within a month. We are deciphering the innermost secrets of the human cell. We have created enormous energy from the minute nuclear reactors. The science of communication -- telephone, radio and television, the radar and computer -- has made commonplace occurrences which my father -- or your father -- would have regarded literally as supernatural.

We have an industrial economy that^{is} beyond the wildest dreams of people of a generation back. We have an industrial economy which this year will record a gross national product of almost one trillion dollars. Only eight years ago -- only eight years ago -- we somehow existed with a GNP of only 500 billion dollars. Half. Our GNP rose more every year than the total combined income of Germany or all of South America. Our growth rate is that much. That means you're living in a dynamic society. But with all of this are incredible difficulties. You can't go through this kind of change; if it is nothing more or less than just the population growth it would be more than a nation could almost take.

So we have to ask ourselves some questions. Can we keep pace with these changes? And that means can we, because we're involved here. This isn't going to be done by some miracle man. There's no magic formula. Can we preserve what we call individual identity in this bigness? And this is part of the revolt that is going on today on campuses, cities and everywhere else. People feel lost. Things have gotten so big that quality of humanity has gone out of it. The humaneness.

Can our educational institutions transmit an ever-increasing body of knowledge? I spoke on this subject somewhat last night at Macalaster. The flood of information, ladies and gentlemen, it's inundating people today. I worked with a company called Encyclopedia Britannica. I was visiting Oxford and Cambridge in Great Britain in the first week of May, working with some of our editors. And one of the editors told me that just the reports in bio-medicine of one month -- the publications for one month -- that if you were trying to read those publications and you read 24 hours a day, 365 days a year for 500 years you could not read through the publications of one little area of medicine in one month. Is it any wonder, therefore, that we have today underway fantastic programs of what we call information

retrieval; trying to sort out that which duplicates; trying to make use of that which we have.

We have to ask our selves can our religious institutions become a force for justice in a changed world which complicates spiritual and moral concepts?

Can our labor and business institutions change so that management techniques and technology are the benevolent servants of man, rather than the malevolent masters? And this is a serious question.

Can our financial institutions find new ways of allocating credit other than by increasing interest rates. This is a practical problem, and we haven't done much about it.

Can our law enforcement institutions, now costly, slow-moving, change so that swift justice is available for all?

Now these are the questions of common concern on an ever-broadening cross-section of the American people -- doesn't make any difference where you live. And these are questions which concern persons -- like yourselves -- who are charged with making our municipalities true communities of people living rewarding and satisfying lives. My fellow Minnesotans, the slums are not always in the big cities as was said from this platform tonight. Some of the worst living conditions

in America are to be found in rural America. There are more poor people in rural America than urban America. There are more poor whites than there are blacks. There are more illiterate whites than there are blacks. Some of the worst conditions of living are to be found in places we try to romanticize as if somehow or another it was a beautiful place to live where there is no modern facility that is worthy of what we call modern living. So we're involved.

Today I want to propose three specific programs, or suggestions, which I believe could provide a much needed flexibility and adaptability to our basic economic, political, and social institutions -- those established structures which in large measure must decide the kind of local communities we are able to build in the final third of the 20th century. I want to remind you tonight, ladies and gentlemen, there is a real battle going on in this country between those who would destroy us and those who would try to make these institutions responsive to human need. We had better keep it in mind. It does little or no good for us to stand up here and say that we are going to beat down the rebels, revolutionaries and the destroyers unless we are prepared, may I say more importantly, to make the changes which are required for modern living, and for a growing nation, and for a

population and a changed people. We have to come to grips with it. And it doesn't just affect Minneapolis and St. Paul. Or Duluth or Rochester or Bloomington or Richfield or any of these other communities in the area.

Now my first proposal is one that goes right to the heart of problems here at home. My first proposal is for each state government to immediately create and establish a new department or office for Community Development or Urban Development. Call it what you will. Only a few states in the nation have it. Now when are we going to wake up. The 50 states of this republic, most of them today are being urbanized beyond any dream that anyone ever had or any theoretical calculation. And yet there are less than a dozen states today that have departments of Urban Development. We are dealing with it as if we were back 25 or 50 years ago. Now this new department should be the equivalent at the state level, to the Department of Housing and Urban Development at the Federal level. The Department of Community Development -- and I prefer to call it Community Development -- because it doesn't just relate to big cities, it relates to communities -- should be authorize to coordinate and activate all housing and urban

require state participation. However, those programs which have been designed to go directly to municipalities should be maintained and not short circuited. In other words, block or categorical grants from federal to local government that have worked, that get on target, that produce results should be maintained and not confused with another layer of governmental structure. Now this new department should have its own Community Development program and budget designed to assist and stimulate local activity. Ladies and gentlemen, state governments have got to take their responsibility for urban life -- otherwise this federal system is going to break down. It will become nothing but a note in a history book. A federal system requires participation by federal, state and local government. It must engage in broad research pertaining to urban needs such as community planning, economic development, the proper use of land -- which by the way with all of our land we have done very little toward proper use -- zoning, building codes and social services. Urban research should not be the special prerogative of the federal government alone. We desperately need the input -- the ideas, the long-range and short-range proposals of local and state government people and private people. This new department should be strengthened by the creation of a broadly representative

advisory committee on urban and community development. And this committee should be fully representative of the community -- local government, business and labor, the academic community, social services, financial institutions and other community leaders. Active participation by state government in urban development is essential if there is to be any hope for our big cities and any hope of proper development of our smaller communities. I am proud to say that in Minnesota we have such a thing as the Experimental City underway in which the legislature has shown interest. The Metro Council which is an innovation in our state that has attracted a good deal of attention and which the state government has shown considerable interest in. But it is my view, ladies and gentlemen, that while these are vital and important developments they are no substitute for a systematic, long-term approach to community development which requires the active organization of state government. An emphasis upon development of urban America and new cities does not mean less attention to rural America. It means, above all, making rural America a more inviting place to live. Making rural America modern, forward-looking and attractive to its children. You're not going to get people to stay in rural America by reminding them that the cows graze in the pastures or that the air is merely clean.

You are going to have to find people, you are going to get people to go to rural America, to come to smaller communities when they know that there they have doctors and schools and hospitals and business and job opportunities and good salaries and they have what they can get in a bigger community. And they can get that plus room to move, room to live, clean air, clean water. Might I say that these are becoming precious commodities. So when we talk of cities what we are really talking about is people because that's what cities are for.

Now a second proposal -- this maybe will go to the heart of some of your problems -- I would like to outline a new approach to amassing the credit, the money, that cities need to supply basic community facilities for the coming years. I can say quite candidly here that I spent at least 1/3 of my time as senator working with local government officials trying to help them with community facilities. Many of you in this room have been there to see me. As Vice President I spent at least 1/3 of my time on that. Water and sewer, streets, open spaces, money for economic development for a city or a community. And why? Because of the desperate shortage of resources -- financial resources for urban America.

Now if our population remains stable -- that is if no increase -- and it certainly will not -- the amount of capital needed to clean our air and water, to build schools and hospitals, to improve law enforcement and justice is truly staggering. I hesitated to even bring this figure to your attention because I know somebody is going to say, well there he goes again. But let me tell you as a professor tonight -- not as a candidate or a politician or as an office holder, because I'm not -- let me just give you what are the conservative estimates of the best talent in this nation. This country is not standing still. We will have to provide for an additional 27 million people in the next 6 years at a minimum. Many of them are going to live in Minnesota. 27 million. That's half the population of France. We are going to have to provide for that many more in the next 6 years.

A conservative estimate of the cost of replacing obsolete facilities, reducing backlogs, and meeting immediate needs of an expanding population by 1975 -- ladies and gentlemen, that's 6 years from now -- is \$625 Billions of dollars. Now that isn't any New Deal figure; that's a conservative figure. When you face up to that you have to do some real thinking.

Between now and the turn of the century, the Institute of Public Administration, which many of you in this audience know is a highly respected professional institute, estimates that \$6 trillion will have to be raised just for housing and community facilities. Now this of course means both public and private. We have to think big. And may I say that if we don't, our troubles have only started. We simply have to face up to it. But these figures are relative when you have a \$trillion dollar economy and it is projected that this economy can grow at the rate of 50-75 to 100 billion dollars a year. These figures are not out of line.

In the past you know that current tax revenues supplied about 1/2 the cost of your community facilities. And you borrowed the other half on bond issues. It's a well established method of obtaining method of obtaining credit and one which should be preserved.

But I think we have to realize that the magnitude of borrowing will force up interest rates beyond the point which many municipalities can pay. In fact, municipal bonds are going begging right now in many places.

Many municipalities will find it difficult -- if not impossible -- to raise the needed money. Moreover, a bond resolution creates rigid

patterns of obligations which can be changed only at a very great cost to the community.

Now in order to lessen these burdens - because there's no way out except to do something about it -- I have proposed that the U.S. Congress establish a National Metropolitan Development Bank, and I have been developing this legislation which I am going to present to members of our delegation and I am hopeful that Senator Mondale, who is a member of Banking and Currency Committee, will introduce this legislation. It's not my brainchild alone. It has had the input of what I consider the best in this country in terms of municipal financing. Now is it a wild-eyed idea? Well, my friends, we have a world bank to help other people all over the world, we have an inter-American Development Bank for Latin America, we have an Asian Development Bank for Asia, we have a Central American Development Bank for Central America, we have an African Development Bank for Africa, we have a Farm-Land Bank for agriculture, a Bank of Cooperatives for the coops, and yet the city people, the urban areas of America, have gone along waiting for Congress to pass an appropriation. Frequently the wait is a long one and the appropriation is inadequate. Or waiting for you

to get a bond issue with the interest rates sky-rocketing and with obligations upon you that are frequently more than a community can take.

I call this the Metro Bank. It would provide a source of low interest credit for communities. I know right away somebody is going to say, well, there you go. Well, how do you think you got REA, ladies and gentlemen? You didn't get REA out of ordinary commercial credit for the Rural Electrics of this America. You got it because your government established a bank, a fund, called the Rural Electric Administration in which billions of dollars ^{have} ~~had~~ been deposited at 2% money even today to build Rural Electric Cooperatives. Today farms are electrified. In 1950, less than 50% of the American farms had electricity. In 1940 less than 25% had electricity. In 1960 90% had electricity; in 1967 98% had electricity. The REA's are ahead in their payments and the REA is not losing money. The World Bank makes money, the Inter-American Development Bank makes money. It invests. Now my proposal would provide for a low interest credit program. It would raise money on investment markets throughout the nation from all groups of investors. Of greater significance to local governments it will relieve the pressure on the bond markets so that

communities could pay less for money when they borrow from the Metro Bank or whether they issue municipal bonds.

The Metro Bank would sell federally guaranteed bonds and debentures in the national investment market, and then it will lend to the local governments at rates of interest 30-50% below the rates of the federally guaranteed bonds. Ladies and gentlemen, this is what has been used in the Federal Land Bank, the REA, the Bank for Cooperatives, the World Bank and every other banking institution that I have talked to you about. I submit it works. The range of interest rates insures them that local governments would not have to pay more to borrow from the Bank than they would to issue tax exempt bonds.

The Federal government would not be out because it would make up the difference of its costs by being able to tax the Federal Bonds that are sold. The immediate differential would be made up out of an annual appropriation.

Now the Bank would be authorized to make long term -- 40 to 60 years -- low interest loans ~~for public~~ for building basic community facilities. It would also be able to make "soft" loans for up to 20 years to promote economic development. We could have such as the Council of Economic Advisors, with the advice of counsel of the various Federal departments

with responsibilities for urban and economic developments as consultants to the Bank.

This Metro Bank would be chartered by your Congress just exactly as is the World Bank. It would not be a Federal agency just exactly as is not the Inter-American Development Bank. It would work closely with the Federal government and appropriate Federal agencies and it could have such representation on its Board.

I propose that this Bank have the minimum capital structure of \$6 billion -- 1/2 to be borrowed from the U.S. Treasury over a 10 year period, and the other \$3 billion by the sale of commercial stock. Ladies and gentlemen, you put more money into the World Bank than that. Now don't misunderstand me. I believe in helping other people. And the World Bank has been a paying proposition. But I submit to this audience if your Congress and your government can put \$4 billion of capital into the World Bank why can't we put \$3 billion of capital into a Metro Bank to save our communities and to save our cities. I think the credit risk of the American people is a whole lot better than the credit risk of Afghanistan. I think the credit risk of a Metro Bank in Minnesota in any community is a whole lot better than a credit risk in India or Pakistan or in Brazil or the Argentine.

I submit that if your representatives in Congress are willing to charter banks for the whole world, we ought to be willing to charter one for ourselves. We have learned that it works and can you think of anybody who needs more help right now than people who are struggling with the needs of our communities, our villages, our cities, our towns, our counties? I believe it can work.

My third proposal involves a broader view of the future of our communities -- how and where will people live, work, learn, and play 30 years from today. Ladies and gentlemen, we have got to look ahead. The failure to do things in the 50's has produced problems for us in the 60's that are tearing this country apart. If we fail to do what we ought to do in the 60's I hate to think what will happen to us in the 70's. It aggravates; it's like disease itself -- like the plague it spreads. Or like compound interest, it accumulates.

I believe we must find new ways to build brand new cities instead of just patching up old ones. Whether they are located on the fringe of today's suburbs, on the sites of existing small towns, or on the wide open spaces, we need no less than 100 new cities flourishing by

the year 2000 and that's not far away. Population increases alone

^{will}
could make necessary 20 new cities of one million population each in the next

~~In the next 25 years~~ New cities provide an alternative to both excessive concentrations -- the excessive concentration of population in a slum and the excessive sparceness found in the areas of suburban and rural sprawl. Let me give you a little figure that you may want to remember. When you read, and hear, and see about our cities. ^The population density of Harlem, New York is 140,000 persons per square mile. Ladies and gentlemen, if the other 4 burroughs in New York City had the same density of population as Harlem all 200 million Americans could be in New York. I'm here to say that if it was populated by angels, disciples, and apostles that kind of population density would make it an impossible area in which to live. So we have got to do something, *about it.*

In new cities we have the opportunity to avoid ~~the~~ mistakes of unplanned cities -- to eliminate parking on the streets. I was at Massachusetts Institute of Technology here a month ago. They are building a parking lot in that campus. It costs \$5,000 per parking space. A student coming to school to park his car costs the community \$5,000 per parking space. Have you ever, figured out what it costs for parking on your streets in the cities, and towns, and villages?

And it's only beginning. Has anybody ever asked the automobile industry how many new cars they plan on producing the next 10 years? They know, you know. Where are you going to put them? The automobile industry projects ¹⁵~~50~~ million cars a year and a growing population. 12 million one year, 15 million the next, 17 million the next, 20 million the next. Has anybody ever stopped to figure out where we are going to park them or how you are going to drive them into the city? I happen to think that we need to look ahead to cities where we eliminate parking on the street, on-street loading and highway clutter. How? We can begin with new communications, using tunnel economics - in other words all loading and unloading done underground. It's being done in new cities in Europe today. Right outside of London I visited a new community. All the loading and unloading is done underground, ^{none}~~not~~ above ground. No trucks. Communications have been used. Modern cities for the delivery of essential services. We can plan open spaces and pedestrian pathways. You cannot put as many people in the city as we have in our great cities today without more open spaces. People cannot live that way, ladies and gentlemen, without trouble.

What I'm trying to say to you this evening is what we lack is

a public policy -- a framework in which our knowledge can be put to use. Any nation that can put a man on the moon ought to be able to find a way to pick up the garbage. Really. We ought to be able, if you please, to find a way to have clean air. I'll tell you something. I was Chairman of the Space Program for four years. Don't you worry about those astronauts; their water is purer than any that you drink. And what's more, the air they breathe is cleaner than any that you have ever breathed. Even in nice Minnesota. The food that they eat has a better balanced nutrition value than anything that you've had. Their sanitation facilities are better than what you have. They do it all for one Apollo space capsule. We are going to put a man on the moon where we don't know very much about it and he's going to be there and he's going to walk on that surface. A few months later we are going to build an installation on the moon to observe the new neighborhood called the solar system. Because we are now beginning to find out that our neighborhood is not our county, our state, our nation, even our world. It's the solar system and we have to know more about it. Any country that has the resources to do that, and by the way we were willing to spend \$30 billion to do that, ought to be able to help put a man on his feet here on earth as we've said many

times. We ought to be able to do something about air pollution and water pollution, traffic congestion. We know how. There isn't any doubt about that. The only question is will we? I read an article in the paper tonight about the fast trains that they have in Japan. We have one train in the United States that comes half way near the kind of transportation that Japan has in between its cities. One - they have 68 round trips a day between Tokyo and one of the other great industrial cities on trains that travel a 150 miles an hour on roadbed that is that is as smooth as the floor under your chair. They know how to do it; so do we. We just haven't made up our minds.

We need to arrive at a national consensus. I want to propose, therefore, a joint committee. We need to start these things. It would be created in the United States Congress, charged with the responsibility of immediately

-- defining the fundamental social, economic, demographic objectives to help guide the growth of our cities;

-- deciding how many new cities we need and where they might be located;

--designing the public development corporations that would be necessary to establish and manage the new cities until local governments are elected.

The issue is not whether the Federal government should try to influence local development; the issue is whether the influence which the Federal government already exercises will be haphazard or directed by fundamental national goals for urban development.

How long do you think we can go on without some kind of planning? Are we just going to rely on accident? No business does this. No responsible corporation. Now I speak of government policies. The government is a major buyer. The government makes all other buyers look like they are workers in a poor house. Its defense procurement practices have literally created Los Angeles. Its research program created what we call the "Great Corridor" up around Boston on Highway 1 with the great laboratories for electronics. Its space program created Huntsville, Alabama. Twenty-five years ago Huntsville, Alabama, was a sleepy little southern Alabama town of under 20,000 people. Today it is a city of over 200,000 with a 175 Ph.D's, with leading industries, with a branch of the University of Alabama, with its own opera, its own

symphony orchestra. A modern American city; a miracle city. Why?

Because the government of the United States, in cooperation with the state and the municipality, decided to make something out of it.

I think the Congress must define national goals of development for our communities and then it must assure that the practices of the Federal government contribute to ^{these} ~~those~~ goals.

Let me give you an example. The placement of government facilities has a profound effect on local community life. Why do you think the University of California became a big university. 60% of its entire budget was from the Federal government. It first got a Nobel prize winner and then the Federal Research Grant went. And when they got another Federal Research Grant another Nobel prize winner came. The rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The big get bigger and little get littler. The Federal government contributed to this.

The location. The government is a major employer. I am sure that Tom Burn would not like to have government installations leave St. Paul. I can even remember the ~~in~~ argument we had as to whether or not there ought to be the FBI in St. Paul or Minneapolis so you have them both places. Mayors will fight for a government installation. The University of Minnesota dedicated a space center here the other day. The Bureau of

Mines Laboratory is down here on the river front. All of these things contribute to a great city. A new Federal office building out here at Fort Snelling provides the residence for thousands of workers, millions of dollars in payroll. So the ^{location} ~~installation~~ of a defense installation, a space laboratory, a research lab, a government office complex can mean new economic life for a community.

But we have no Federal policy. It's grab as grab can; and catch as catch can. Federal ^{and financial initiative} ~~finance initiative~~ such as tax initiatives, loans, placement of Federal procurement contracts and direct payment arrangements can foster the growth of cities.

Federal policies can also contribute to resettlement allowances, on-the-job training, job placement thereby to neutralize the factors producing excessive population concentration.

Ladies and gentlemen, in order to do the things which I have been talking about, we're going to need a willing electorate and a central political issue in America for the next 25 years is going to be about urban America. How are people going to live in a society which has become technically advanced, highly industrialized and urbanized? How are we going to be able to live as a free people

with the meaning of freedom, not just life. But by the way, life itself is not safe in some cities. What a tragedy it is in America that you cannot walk in many of the city parks at night without danger. Ladies and gentlemen, I was in London, England, and you can walk in the great parks of London, England, up to the time that they close the gates at 11:00 or midnight depending on which park and there is no violence. ^{PEOPLE} ~~They~~ have been taught respect for law and what is more they have open spaces far beyond in London what we have in our great cities. They have designed it that way. They have made it that way. We ought not to let the English be able to outdo us when it comes to the quality of living. Are we going to be known as the richest man in the graveyard? Is America going to be known only for its purse and its sword? Or are we going to be known as a people that care for life. A people of culture. A people that believe in the quality of excellence.

This decision is not in the hands of any one man. It's in the decision of a willing electorate. A clear political decision for the American people to get the job done. We will need the creative and decisive leadership from mayors -- and we are getting it by the way.

Mayors are speaking up because they are fighting for their lives,
~~and~~ ^{and} for your lives. We are going to need it from governors who
understand, if you please, that cities are here to stay. We are
going to need it from legislators and congressmen who clearly under-
stand that when we are talking about cities we are talking about now
75% of all Americans. In a few years it will be 85%. We are going
to need it from the President of the United States who is the only
man who can speak for all the people. It must come quickly. More
vital than anything that I can think of is how are we going to
save ourselves, not from Soviet Red missiles. We have the power to
do that; we have a very powerful force that will save us from Soviet
missiles. The missiles that you have got to save yourselves from
are the missiles of hate, bitterness, alienation, slums, filth,
degradation, economic obsolescence and deprivation and these are
domestic missiles. There are more of them being mounted every day.

When I hear the argument about the anti-ballistic missile system,
important as that is, and I have my views about it but I shall not
burden you with them here tonight, let me tell you that the missiles
that are affecting Minnesota and the United States for the foreseeable

future are missiles that are directed at the hearts of our people.

Violence on our campuses, riots in our cities which are only symptomatic of many of these forces at work ~~on~~ⁱⁿ the population of this country.

A population today that is trying to find a better way to live in a very changed America and changed world.

Thank you very much for listening to me tonight. I do not have the answers to all of these problems by a longshot. But I do know this -- we had better start thinking together and talking out loud. And remember one thing above all -- that there is no place to hide. I care not whether you live in a town of a hundred or in a city of 500,000 or a million. You are still a citizen of the United States.



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