

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

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This Convention is a traditional forum for the discussion of the major issues facing America, and I am grateful for the opportunity to share my ideas with you.

Unfortunately, it is apparently not a good year for debating issues. I am sure you all saw the Associated Press story which came over the wire last Thursday. It reported the results of a poll which found that over half of the American people have no idea where their favorite candidates stand on issues.

In this climate of vague issues and cloudy voter perception, your job can only become much harder. And the problem is particularly acute because there are so few issues this year which address themselves exclusively to the black community. Yet at the same time every major issue affects especially the black community.

As Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary told the Caucus of Black Democrats, the black community is "the problem within the problem." He summed it up this way: "Nearly everything that is a problem for Americans generally is a much worse problem for us."

That is why I want to propose to you today an agenda for practical action in this critical year. It is an agenda addressed to the urgent problems of all our people -- but it recognizes that these urgent problems have crisis proportions for black people.

At the very top of this agenda must be a mandate that a total effort be launched to achieve conditions of full employment in America.

Unemployment drains billions of dollars out of our economy in lost production and revenues, and bleeds away millions more in welfare, unemployment compensation and other transfers.

But it costs more than that.

It adds up to a terrible price in broken families, in the attitudes of our children, in the rising crime rate, in skills forgotten and work habits never formed, in permanent alienation from society and -- perhaps worst of all -- in loss of self-respect.

Of course, there are those who are telling us that we will simply have to pay that price and more -- because there just isn't any room for the unemployed in the system.

But let me tell you something. If the greatest free nation in the history of mankind has to get down on its knees in fear of something as abstract and as arbitrary as these so-called "free market forces," well, then we're through. We might just as well haul down the flag, lock up the Capitol, go home and admit that we don't have the courage or the imagination to govern ourselves.

But I don't think the American people are going to stand for that. They know that market forces aren't written up on any stone tablets somewhere. They know that they're not supernatural powers which we have to worship. The figure of 7.3 percent unemployment isn't written into the Constitution or stamped on the Liberty Bell.

But, a lot of people have been telling us that the maximum of three percent adult unemployment is unrealistic, that it is idealistic, that it can't be reached without intolerable levels of inflation. Well, I don't believe that -- and I believe the figures bear me out.

But let me tell you something that the critics don't mention.

When someone comes along and says that five percent unemployment is the best we can do, you and I know what that means -- it means ten percent or more unemployment for blacks and other minorities.

But the critical problem is that the critics just seem to be fiddling with their slide rules and calculators and saying more jobs cannot be found -- it can't be done.

I'm here to tell you that it can be done. With the right kind of incentives for private-sector hiring, with carefully coordinated monetary and fiscal policies, with targeted anti-recession assistance programs, and with productive public service jobs when and where we need them, we can assure every American the opportunity for a piece of the action, without fueling the fires of inflation.

And we can't stop there, either -- because, as you know, our young people have special employment problems. And it will take special policies to meet them. But if we don't get that job done -- and done soon -- we stand to lose an entire generation to the streets.

Now, there are those who have called this plan "alarming." Well, I wish they would take a walk with me through some of our cities. I'd show them something really alarming.

Like the fact that the richest nation on this planet is willing to sacrifice the suffering of millions of Americans to some notion of "price stability" for the wealthy.

Like the fact that black family income has sunk to a mere 58 percent -- little more than half -- that of the average white family.

Like the fact that in this country of two-car garages and matching sets of lawn furniture, there are children crying from hunger and families broken by poverty.

Like the fact that in this land of hot-lather shaving machines and electric can openers, there are millions of Americans who have never seen the inside of a decent school or a doctor's office.

My friends, if you want to see something truly alarming, you don't have to look very far.

So full employment is the broad base on which to build our progress. But there is much more to be done.

Our cities simply can't wait any longer. I have said before that neglect of the cities works a terrible discrimination against the millions of people who live there. Worse yet, it is a form of national blindness -- because the city is America's tomorrow.

Make no mistake about it: by the end of this century -- which is not far off -- this nation will have over 250 million inhabitants. And 85 percent of them will be living in cities with populations of 50,000 or more.

So when we talk about our cities, we're not talking about some kind of foreign country. We are talking about nothing less significant than the future of more than four out of five American citizens.

We are talking about the future of almost all our children and grandchildren -- black and white alike.

And yet there are people who want to retreat from our cities, who want a federal policy which says, in effect, "You're on your own."

But let me remind those people that one of this nation's proudest accomplishments was the Marshall Plan. In that program, we put our strength and our resources on the line, and we rebuilt the cities of Germany, of Italy and of England, to the wonder and admiration of the world.

Now, do you mean to tell me that we can't make the same effort to rebuild our own cities, right here in the United States of America?

Of course we can. And I'm not talking about going out and putting a bird-bath in a park somewhere, taking a picture of it, and saying, "Well, Hallelujah, we've rebuilt the city." Because we've seen that kind of policy in the past, and we know that it won't work.

I'm talking about a major, three-part initiative to restore the economies, the buildings and the governments of our cities.

A full employment program will go a long way toward rebuilding urban economies. But it must be joined by a vigorous effort to see that investment and employment programs are aimed at areas where the problem is worst. We can develop incentives which encourage businesses to locate new activities in depressed center cities. And we can establish a Domestic Development Bank to help state and local government create that investment climate.

To back up that effort, the Federal government can use its considerable procurement and employment expenditures to point the way to the truly needy regions of our nation.

And to ease the burden on our exhausted city treasuries, the Federal government must assume primary responsibility -- once and for all -- for financing welfare and health programs for the disadvantaged. In addition, it must make sure that its taxation and regulatory policies actively promote -- and not retard -- the development of our cities.

But restoring the economies of our cities is not enough to make them desirable places to live and work. That task requires a roster of creative and exciting possibilities. For one thing, we can use the resources of the Domestic Development Bank to restore our public buildings, day-care centers and school facilities -- and in doing so, restore our civic pride.

But our most vital priority must be the improvement of our cities' housing stock. This need not mean building new. The bulldozer has somehow become the symbol of progress in our cities. And we have too often confused building cheap for building well.

Instead, we are going to have to conserve what is best in our neighborhoods. We must repair where possible and rebuild where necessary. And that means changing our thinking from the old, "throw-away" concept of the neighborhood which characterized so much of our so-called "urban renewal."

We should encourage a good mix of low-income housing in new and restored areas. And in doing so, we are going to have to realize that low-income housing must not be low-quality housing. As we expand our public housing programs, we will have to acknowledge that low-income housing is sometimes more expensive than middle-income buildings, and plan accordingly.

And in the private housing sector, we must take strong measures to put home ownership back within the reach of more American families.

Whether public or private, however, it is not enough that we build well and restore carefully. We must see to it that our cities are once again a suitable living environment for human beings.

That means surrounding our buildings with a healthy neighborhood -- with good schools, clean streets, reasonable public safety and -- yes -- some greenery. If we can plant the American flag on the moon, we can certainly figure out how to plant trees in our cities -- providing playgrounds for our children and places for relaxation and enrichment for their parents.

Now, obviously, an effort of this magnitude is going to take money. And there is no point in trying to conceal the fact that it is going to take a considerable amount of money.

First, we need a steady and expansive monetary policy so that our entire economy -- urban and rural -- will be in the position to make significant advances.

Once we have secured that, we will need low- and moderate-income programs that really work. Our previous efforts simply have not gotten the job done. But to admit that is not to say that they were wrong in conception. They did not fail. But neither did they succeed -- primarily because this Administration has failed to get the programs off the ground.

To promote more widespread home ownership by our families, we will have to find a way to reduce mortgage interest rates. And if a more expansive monetary policy won't do the job, then we will simply have to do it more directly. As one step in that direction, the Federal government should establish a Federal Housing Bank to buy mortgages and assure a steady supply of mortgage money at a fair rate of interest -- in the neighborhood of six or seven percent.

And while we are developing new machinery for urban development, we can put more muscle behind existing programs. For openers, we can finally put an end to the insidious practice of "red-lining" -- which is a virtual kick in the face to communities which are trying to pull themselves up.

These plans will not succeed, however, without a system to coordinate federal, state and local policies. At present, we have absolutely no way to accomplish that long-awaited goal.

In recent weeks I have proposed a number of innovations that will move our governmental processes toward a new responsiveness -- a new partnership among the three levels of government to bring about coordination and efficiency in getting this nation moving again.

First, Governors should be drawn into closer coordination with one another and with the Federal government through the establishment of regional Executive Councils.

These Regional Councils would be responsible for planning and administering Federal programs in their area, on the basis of plans prepared by the Governors of each region, working cooperatively with regional representatives of the Federal departments.

Second, we must always remember that the Federal system is not just the government in Washington. It is a national government.

The modern presidency, therefore, should include the establishment of a Federal Council, consisting of the 50 Governors and the President. The council should meet regularly so that the President can outline to the Governors his proposals and initiatives, and receive from the Governors his proposals and counsel in the preparation of the Federal budget, the administration of the departments, and the implementation of Federal laws.

Finally, State and local governments should become an integral part of the federal budget process, with full consultation on matters affecting them -- before the budget is finally decided.

The agenda which I have outlined to you here is a plan for bold action.

It is a plan which envisions nothing less than a transformation of some of the major institutions of our society -- institutions which have long been in need of repair.

And, admittedly, it is a plan which commits the Federal government to a principal role in that transformation. It will not be pleasing to those who make a career out of condemning what they call "Big Government." Well, let them fire away.

Because you and I know that nothing great has ever been accomplished in this society without a bold vision and courageous leadership to get the job done.

You and I aren't taken in by empty slogans about big government. We know there are problems. And we know that they are on their way to creative solutions in Congress now and under a Democratic Administration beginning next year.

But more important, we know what to say when someone tells us that the federal government is unwieldy, useless and outmoded.

We say this: Is the government you want to do away with the same one which passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964? And the Voting Rights Act of 1965? And then had the guts and the determination to enforce those laws with the whole strength of our system of justice?

Is this government which you think is a waste of our time the same one which fought to end discrimination in our schools and give every black child in this country a chance? Is it the same government which stood up and said that a black man or woman has a constitutional right to live in the home of their choice?

Is this government which you say is useless the same one which stood up to the whole awesome machinery of American industry and said, "You shall not deprive any man or woman of work because of race?" And then backed up that commitment with the force of law?

Is this government which you say is outmoded the same one which is admired around the world as the strongest single protector of human rights and human dignity?

Because if it is, then we know where your priorities are, and we know what your policies would be.

But the people have not lost their faith in government. Rather, they have lost the sense of where we are going. They have seen what passes for leadership in our government and they are disillusioned.

They want leaders who can point the way, who can show us how to make the most of our heritage of freedom and our enormous talents -- who can tell us that the great days of America have just begun.

But what do they see? They see an incumbent President whose imagination, whose courage and whose vision of America in this Bicentennial year extend no farther than finding ways to keep black children out of some of our schools, and halt 22 years of progress.

They see candidates who, on the one hand, tell them about the greatness of America and its promise for the future -- and, on the other hand, tell them that we must cut back the very commitments that made that greatness possible.

Is it any wonder that they are confused?

But, my friends, I know that that confusion will pass. I know that the American people are not ashamed of what we have become, and do not want to retreat on our progress.

This will require imagination and perseverance. But, above all, it will require the leadership of a President who believes that government can again be a vital force for justice and opportunity in America -- a true steward and guardian of the public interest.

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In Hooklet
Howard
Woods

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Field Duke

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Cecil Newman
JUNE 10, 1976

-
- ✓ Economy - Jobs -
 - ✓ Cities -

Hamphrey
Hawkins
 - ✓ Youth. Plant flag on moon
Plant trees.

L THIS CONVENTION IS A TRADITIONAL FORUM FOR THE DISCUSSION
OF THE MAJOR ISSUES FACING AMERICA, AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE
OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE MY IDEAS WITH YOU.

L UNFORTUNATELY, IT IS APPARENTLY NOT A GOOD YEAR FOR DEBATING
ISSUES, I AM SURE YOU ALL SAW THE ASSOCIATED PRESS STORY WHICH
CAME OVER THE WIRE LAST THURSDAY. IT REPORTED THE RESULTS OF
A POLL WHICH FOUND THAT OVER HALF OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NO
IDEA WHERE THEIR FAVORITE CANDIDATES STAND ON ISSUES.

L IN THIS CLIMATE OF VAGUE ISSUES AND CLOUDY VOTER PERCEPTION,
YOUR JOB CAN ONLY BECOME ~~MUCH HARDER~~ *more difficult* AND THE PROBLEM IS
PARTICULARLY ACUTE BECAUSE THERE ARE SO FEW ISSUES THIS YEAR
WHICH ADDRESS THEMSELVES EXCLUSIVELY TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

L YET AT THE SAME TIME EVERY MAJOR ISSUE AFFECTS ESPECIALLY THE
BLACK COMMUNITY.

AS MAYOR RICHARD HATCHER OF GARY TOLD THE CAUCUS OF BLACK
DEMOCRATS, THE BLACK COMMUNITY IS "THE PROBLEM WITHIN THE
PROBLEM." HE SUMMED IT UP THIS WAY: "NEARLY EVERYTHING THAT
IS A PROBLEM FOR AMERICANS GENERALLY IS A MUCH WORSE PROBLEM
FOR US."

 THAT IS WHY I WANT TO PROPOSE TO YOU TODAY AN AGENDA FOR
 ~~PRAGMATICAL~~ ACTION IN THIS CRITICAL YEAR. IT IS AN AGENDA
ADDRESSED TO THE URGENT PROBLEMS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE -- BUT IT
RECOGNIZES THAT THESE URGENT PROBLEMS HAVE CRISIS PROPORTIONS
FOR BLACK PEOPLE.

 AT THE VERY TOP OF THIS AGENDA MUST BE A MANDATE THAT A
TOTAL EFFORT BE LAUNCHED TO ACHIEVE CONDITIONS OF FULL
EMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA.

UNEMPLOYMENT DRAINS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS OUT OF OUR ECONOMY

IN LOST PRODUCTION AND REVENUES, AND BLEEDS AWAY MILLIONS MORE

IN WELFARE, UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AND OTHER TRANSFERS.

L BUT IT COSTS MORE THAN THAT.

L IT ADDS UP TO A TERRIBLE PRICE IN BROKEN FAMILIES, IN

THE ATTITUDES OF OUR CHILDREN, IN THE RISING CRIME RATE,

IN SKILLS FORGOTTEN AND WORK HABITS NEVER FORMED, IN

PERMANENT ALIENATION FROM SOCIETY AND -- PERHAPS WORST OF

ALL -- IN LOSS OF SELF-RESPECT.

L OF COURSE, THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARE TELLING US THAT WE WILL

SIMPLY HAVE TO PAY THAT PRICE AND MORE -- BECAUSE THERE JUST

ISN'T ANY ROOM FOR THE UNEMPLOYED IN ^{economy} THE SYSTEM.

L BUT LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING. } IF THE GREATEST FREE NATION
IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND HAS TO GET DOWN ON ITS KNEES IN FEAR
OF SOMETHING AS ABSTRACT AND AS ARBITRARY AS THESE SO-CALLED
"FREE MARKET FORCES," WELL, THEN WE'RE THROUGH. } WE MIGHT
JUST AS WELL HAUL DOWN THE FLAG, LOCK UP THE CAPITOL, GO HOME
AND ADMIT THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE COURAGE OR THE IMAGINATION TO
GOVERN OURSELVES.

L BUT I DON'T THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE GOING TO STAND FOR
THAT. } THEY KNOW THAT MARKET FORCES AREN'T WRITTEN UP ON ANY Holy
STONE TABLETS SOMEWHERE. } THEY KNOW THAT THEY'RE NOT SUPERNATURAL
POWERS WHICH WE HAVE TO WORSHIP. } THE FIGURE OF 7.3 PERCENT
UNEMPLOYMENT ISN'T WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION OR STAMPED ON
THE LIBERTY BELL.

L BUT, A LOT OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TELLING US THAT THE MAXIMUM
OF THREE PERCENT ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT IS UNREALISTIC, THAT IT IS
IDEALISTIC, THAT IT CAN'T BE REACHED WITHOUT INTOLERABLE LEVELS
OF INFLATION. L WELL, I DON'T BELIEVE THAT -- AND I BELIEVE THE
FIGURES BEAR ME OUT.

L BUT LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING THAT THE CRITICS DON'T MENTION.

L WHEN SOMEONE COMES ALONG AND SAYS THAT FIVE PERCENT
UNEMPLOYMENT IS THE BEST WE CAN DO, YOU AND I KNOW WHAT THAT
MEANS -- IT MEANS TEN PERCENT OR MORE UNEMPLOYMENT FOR BLACKS
AND OTHER MINORITIES.

L BUT THE CRITICAL PROBLEM IS THAT THE CRITICS JUST SEEM
TO BE FIDDLING WITH THEIR SLIDE RULES AND CALCULATORS AND SAYING
MORE JOBS CANNOT BE FOUND -- IT CAN'T BE DONE.

L I'M HERE TO TELL YOU THAT IT CAN BE DONE. L WITH THE RIGHT

KIND OF INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE-SECTOR HIRING, WITH CAREFULLY

COORDINATED MONETARY AND FISCAL POLICIES, WITH TARGETED

ANTI-RECESSION ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, AND WITH PRODUCTIVE PUBLIC *works*

Public SERVICE JOBS WHEN AND WHERE WE NEED THEM, WE CAN ASSURE EVERY

AMERICAN THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A PIECE OF THE ACTION, WITHOUT

FUELING THE FIRES OF INFLATION.

L AND WE CAN'T STOP THERE, EITHER -- BECAUSE, AS YOU KNOW,

OUR YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE SPECIAL EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS. L AND IT WILL

TAKE SPECIAL POLICIES TO MEET THEM. L BUT IF WE DON'T GET THAT

JOB DONE -- AND DONE SOON -- WE STAND TO LOSE AN ENTIRE GENERATION

TO THE STREETS.

L NOW, THERE ARE THOSE WHO HAVE CALLED THIS PLAN "ALARMING."

WELL, I WISH THEY WOULD TAKE A WALK WITH ME THROUGH SOME OF OUR
CITIES. I'D SHOW THEM SOMETHING REALLY ALARMING.

L LIKE THE FACT THAT THE RICHEST NATION ON THIS PLANET IS
WILLING TO SACRIFICE THE SUFFERING OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS TO
SOME NOTION OF "PRICE STABILITY" FOR THE WEALTHY.

L LIKE THE FACT THAT BLACK FAMILY INCOME HAS SUNK TO A MERE 58
PERCENT -- LITTLE MORE THAN HALF -- THAT OF THE AVERAGE WHITE FAMILY.

L LIKE THE FACT THAT IN THIS COUNTRY OF TWO-CAR GARAGES AND
MATCHING SETS OF LAWN FURNITURE, THERE ARE CHILDREN CRYING FROM
HUNGER AND FAMILIES BROKEN BY POVERTY.

L LIKE THE FACT THAT IN THIS LAND OF HOT-LATHER SHAVING MACHINES
AND ELECTRIC CAN OPENERS, THERE ARE MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE
NEVER SEEN THE INSIDE OF A DECENT ^{Home} ~~place~~ OR A DOCTOR'S OFFICE.

L MY FRIENDS, IF YOU WANT TO SEE SOMETHING TRULY ALARMING, YOU
DON'T HAVE TO LOOK VERY FAR. It's here - in every city
+ much of Rural America.

L FULL EMPLOYMENT IS THE BROAD BASE ON WHICH TO BUILD OUR
PROGRESS. BUT THERE IS MUCH MORE TO BE DONE.

L OUR CITIES SIMPLY CAN'T WAIT ANY LONGER. I HAVE SAID BEFORE
THAT NEGLECT OF THE CITIES WORKS A TERRIBLE DISCRIMINATION
AGAINST THE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE. WORSE YET, IT
IS A FORM OF NATIONAL BLINDNESS -- BECAUSE THE CITY IS AMERICA'S
TOMORROW.

L MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT: BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY --
WHICH IS NOT FAR OFF -- THIS NATION WILL HAVE OVER 250 MILLION
INHABITANTS AND 85 PERCENT OF THEM WILL BE LIVING IN CITIES
WITH POPULATIONS OF 50,000 OR MORE.

SO WHEN WE TALK ABOUT OUR CITIES, WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT
SOME KIND OF FOREIGN COUNTRY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT NOTHING LESS
SIGNIFICANT THAN THE FUTURE OF MORE THAN FOUR OUT OF FIVE
AMERICAN CITIZENS.

WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF ALMOST ALL OUR CHILDREN
AND GRANDCHILDREN -- BLACK AND WHITE ALIKE.

AND YET THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO WANT TO RETREAT FROM OUR CITIES,
WHO WANT A FEDERAL POLICY WHICH SAYS, IN EFFECT, "YOU'RE ON YOUR OWN."

BUT LET ME REMIND THOSE PEOPLE THAT ONE OF THIS NATION'S
after world war II
PROUDEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS, WAS THE MARSHALL PLAN. IN THAT PROGRAM,

WE PUT OUR STRENGTH AND OUR RESOURCES ON THE LINE, AND WE REBUILT

THE CITIES OF GERMANY, OF ITALY AND OF ENGLAND, TO THE WONDER

AND ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD.

*So, you see, we do know
how to rebuild cities - if we have the will,
+ the leadership.*

~~NOW, DO YOU MEAN TO TELL ME THAT WE CAN'T MAKE THE SAME
EFFORT TO REBUILD OUR OWN CITIES, RIGHT HERE IN THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA?~~

L OF COURSE WE CAN. L AND I'M NOT TALKING ABOUT GOING OUT AND
PUTTING A BIRD-BATH IN A PARK SOMEWHERE, TAKING A PICTURE OF IT,
AND SAYING, "WELL, HALLELUJAH, WE'VE REBUILT THE CITY." BECAUSE
WE'VE SEEN THAT KIND OF POLICY IN THE PAST, AND WE KNOW THAT IT
WON'T WORK.

L I'M TALKING ABOUT A MAJOR, THREE-PART INITIATIVE TO RESTORE
THE ECONOMIES, THE BUILDINGS AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF OUR CITIES.

L A FULL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD REBUILDING
URBAN ECONOMIES. L BUT IT MUST BE JOINED BY A VIGOROUS EFFORT TO SEE
THAT INVESTMENT AND EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS ARE AIMED AT AREAS WHERE
THE PROBLEM IS WORST.

WE CAN DEVELOP INCENTIVES WHICH ENCOURAGE BUSINESSES TO LOCATE
NEW ACTIVITIES IN DEPRESSED CENTER CITIES. AND WE CAN ESTABLISH
A DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK TO HELP STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
CREATE THAT INVESTMENT CLIMATE.

~~TO BACK UP THAT EFFORT, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN USE ITS
CONSIDERABLE PROCUREMENT AND EMPLOYMENT EXPENDITURES TO POINT
THE WAY TO THE TRULY NEEDY REGIONS OF OUR NATION.~~

AND TO EASE THE BURDEN ON OUR EXHAUSTED CITY TREASURIES,

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST ASSUME PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY -- ONCE

AND FOR ALL -- FOR FINANCING WELFARE AND HEALTH PROGRAMS FOR THE

DISADVANTAGED. IN ADDITION, IT MUST MAKE SURE THAT ITS TAXATION
AND REGULATORY POLICIES ACTIVELY PROMOTE -- AND NOT RETARD -- THE
DEVELOPMENT OF OUR CITIES.

BUT RESTORING THE ECONOMIES OF OUR CITIES IS NOT ENOUGH TO
MAKE THEM DESIRABLE PLACES TO LIVE AND WORK. ~~THAT TASK REQUIRES~~
~~A ROSTER OF CREATIVE AND EXCITING POSSIBILITIES. FOR ONE THING,~~
~~WE CAN USE THE RESOURCES OF THE DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK TO~~
~~RESTORE OUR PUBLIC BUILDINGS, DAY-CARE CENTERS AND SCHOOL~~
~~FACILITIES -- AND IN DOING SO, RESTORE OUR CIVIC PRIDE.~~

~~OUR~~ OUR MOST VITAL PRIORITY MUST BE THE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR
CITIES' HOUSING, ~~SOME~~ THIS NEED NOT MEAN BUILDING NEW. ~~THE~~
~~BULLDOZER HAS SOMEHOW BECOME THE SYMBOL OF PROGRESS IN OUR CITIES.~~
~~AND WE HAVE TOO OFTEN CONSIDERED BUILDING CHEAP FOR BUILDING WELL.~~

INSTEAD, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO CONSERVE WHAT IS BEST IN OUR
NEIGHBORHOODS. WE MUST REPAIR WHERE POSSIBLE AND REBUILD WHERE
NECESSARY.

~~AND THAT MEANS CHANGING OUR THINKING FROM THE OLD, "THROW-AWAY"
CONCEPT OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD WHICH CHARACTERIZED SO MUCH OF OUR
SO-CALLED "URBAN RENEWAL."~~

WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE A GOOD MIX OF LOW-INCOME HOUSING IN NEW
AND RESTORED AREAS. AND IN DOING SO, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO
REALIZE THAT LOW-INCOME HOUSING MUST NOT BE LOW-QUALITY HOUSING.

AS WE EXPAND OUR PUBLIC HOUSING PROGRAMS, WE WILL HAVE TO
ACKNOWLEDGE THAT LOW-INCOME HOUSING IS SOMETIMES MORE EXPENSIVE
THAN MIDDLE-INCOME BUILDINGS, AND PLAN ACCORDINGLY.

AND IN THE PRIVATE HOUSING SECTOR, WE MUST TAKE STRONG
MEASURES TO PUT HOME OWNERSHIP BACK WITHIN THE REACH OF MORE
AMERICAN FAMILIES.

WHETHER PUBLIC OR PRIVATE, ~~however~~, IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT
WE BUILD WELL AND RESTORE CAREFULLY. WE MUST SEE TO IT THAT
OUR CITIES ARE ONCE AGAIN A SUITABLE LIVING ENVIRONMENT FOR
HUMAN BEINGS. THAT MEANS SURROUNDING OUR BUILDINGS WITH A
HEALTHY NEIGHBORHOOD -- WITH GOOD SCHOOLS, CLEAN STREETS,
REASONABLE PUBLIC SAFETY AND -- YES -- SOME GREENERY. IF WE
CAN PLANT THE AMERICAN FLAG ON THE MOON, WE CAN CERTAINLY FIGURE
OUT HOW TO PLANT TREES IN OUR CITIES -- PROVIDING PLAYGROUNDS
FOR OUR CHILDREN AND PLACES FOR RELAXATION AND ENRICHMENT FOR
THEIR PARENTS.

NOW, OBVIOUSLY, AN EFFORT OF THIS MAGNITUDE IS GOING TO
TAKE MONEY. AND THERE IS NO POINT IN TRYING TO CONCEAL THE
FACT THAT IT IS GOING TO TAKE A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF MONEY.

FIRST, WE NEED A STEADY AND EXPANSIVE MONETARY POLICY SO
THAT OUR ENTIRE ECONOMY -- URBAN AND RURAL -- WILL BE IN THE
POSITION TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT ADVANCES.

ONCE WE HAVE SECURED THAT, WE WILL NEED LOW- AND MODERATE-
INCOME PROGRAMS THAT REALLY WORK. OUR PREVIOUS EFFORTS SIMPLY
HAVE NOT GOTTEN THE JOB DONE. BUT TO ADMIT THAT IS NOT TO SAY
THAT THEY WERE WRONG IN CONCEPTION. THEY DID NOT FAIL. BUT
NEITHER DID THEY SUCCEED -- PRIMARILY BECAUSE THIS ADMINISTRATION
HAS FAILED TO GET THE PROGRAMS OFF THE GROUND.

TO PROMOTE MORE WIDESPREAD HOME OWNERSHIP for our families,

WE WILL HAVE TO FIND A WAY TO REDUCE MORTGAGE INTEREST RATES.

~~AND IF A MORE EXPANSIVE MONETARY POLICY WON'T DO THE JOB, THEN~~
~~WE WILL SIMPLY HAVE TO DO IT MORE DIRECTLY.~~

AS ONE STEP IN THAT DIRECTION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD

ESTABLISH A FEDERAL HOUSING BANK TO BUY MORTGAGES AND ASSURE

A STEADY SUPPLY OF MORTGAGE MONEY AT A FAIR RATE OF INTEREST -6 1/2 %

~~IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF SIX OR SEVEN PERCENT,~~

L AND WHILE WE ARE DEVELOPING NEW MACHINERY FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT,

WE CAN PUT MORE MUSCLE BEHIND EXISTING PROGRAMS. L FOR OPENERS, WE

CAN FINALLY PUT AN END TO THE INSIDIOUS PRACTICE OF "RED-LINING" --

WHICH IS A VIRTUAL KICK IN THE FACE TO COMMUNITIES WHICH ARE

TRYING TO PULL THEMSELVES UP.

L THESE PLANS WILL NOT SUCCEED, HOWEVER, WITHOUT A SYSTEM
TO COORDINATE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL POLICIES. AT PRESENT,

WE HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THAT LONG-AWAITED

GOAL.

IN RECENT WEEKS I HAVE PROPOSED A NUMBER OF INNOVATIONS THAT WILL MOVE OUR GOVERNMENTAL PROCESSES TOWARD A NEW RESPONSIVENESS -- A NEW PARTNERSHIP AMONG THE THREE LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT TO BRING ABOUT COORDINATION AND EFFICIENCY IN GETTING THIS NATION MOVING AGAIN.

FIRST, GOVERNORS SHOULD BE DRAWN INTO CLOSER COORDINATION WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

THESE REGIONAL COUNCILS WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANNING AND ADMINISTERING FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN THEIR AREA, ON THE BASIS OF PLANS PREPARED BY THE GOVERNORS OF EACH REGION, WORKING COOPERATIVELY WITH REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FEDERAL DEPARTMENTS.

SECOND, WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT THE FEDERAL SYSTEM IS NOT JUST THE GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON. IT IS A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE MODERN PRESIDENCY, THEREFORE, SHOULD INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FEDERAL COUNCIL, CONSISTING OF THE 50 GOVERNORS AND THE PRESIDENT. THE COUNCIL SHOULD MEET REGULARLY SO THAT THE PRESIDENT CAN OUTLINE TO THE GOVERNORS HIS PROPOSALS AND INITIATIVES, AND RECEIVE FROM THE GOVERNORS HIS PROPOSALS AND COUNSEL IN THE PREPARATION OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET, THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS, AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDERAL LAWS.

FINALLY, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET PROCESS, WITH FULL CONSULTATION ON MATTERS AFFECTING THEM -- BEFORE THE BUDGET IS FINALLY DECIDED.

THE AGENDA WHICH I HAVE OUTLINED TO YOU HERE IS A PLAN FOR
BOLD ACTION.

IT IS A PLAN WHICH ENVISIONS NOTHING LESS THAN A TRANSFORMATION
OF SOME OF THE MAJOR INSTITUTIONS OF OUR SOCIETY -- INSTITUTIONS
WHICH HAVE LONG BEEN IN NEED OF REPAIR.

L AND, ADMITTEDLY, IT IS A PLAN WHICH COMMITS THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT TO A PRINCIPAL ROLE IN THAT TRANSFORMATION. L IT WILL
NOT BE PLEASING TO THOSE WHO MAKE A CAREER OUT OF CONDEMNING WHAT
THEY CALL "BIG GOVERNMENT." L WELL, LET THEM FIRE AWAY.

~~BECAUSE~~ L YOU AND I KNOW THAT NOTHING GREAT HAS EVER BEEN
ACCOMPLISHED IN THIS SOCIETY WITHOUT A BOLD VISION AND COURAGEOUS
LEADERSHIP TO GET THE JOB DONE.

YOU AND I AREN'T TAKEN IN BY EMPTY SLOGANS ABOUT BIG GOVERNMENT.

WE KNOW THERE ARE PROBLEMS. AND WE KNOW THAT THEY ARE ON THEIR WAY
TO CREATIVE SOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS NOW AND UNDER A DEMOCRATIC
ADMINISTRATION BEGINNING NEXT YEAR.

BUT MORE IMPORTANT, WE KNOW WHAT TO SAY WHEN SOMEONE TELLS US
THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS UNWIELDY, USELESS AND OUTMODED.

WE SAY THIS: IS THE GOVERNMENT YOU WANT TO DO AWAY WITH THE
SAME ONE WHICH PASSED THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964? AND THE VOTING
RIGHTS ACT OF 1965? AND THEN HAD THE GUTS AND THE DETERMINATION
TO ENFORCE THOSE LAWS WITH THE WHOLE STRENGTH OF OUR SYSTEM OF
JUSTICE?

IS THIS GOVERNMENT WHICH YOU THINK IS A WASTE OF OUR TIME
THE SAME ONE WHICH FOUGHT TO END DISCRIMINATION IN OUR SCHOOLS
AND GIVE EVERY BLACK CHILD IN THIS COUNTRY A CHANCE?

IS IT THE SAME GOVERNMENT WHICH STOOD UP AND SAID THAT A BLACK MAN OR WOMAN HAS A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO LIVE IN THE HOME OF THEIR CHOICE?

IS THIS GOVERNMENT WHICH YOU SAY IS USELESS THE SAME ONE WHICH STOOD UP TO THE WHOLE AWESOME MACHINERY OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND SAID, "YOU SHALL NOT DEPRIVE ANY MAN OR WOMAN OF WORK BECAUSE OF RACE?" AND THEN BACKED UP THAT COMMITMENT WITH THE FORCE OF LAW?

IS THIS GOVERNMENT WHICH YOU SAY IS OUTMODDED THE SAME ONE WHICH IS ADMIRERD AROUND THE WORLD AS THE STRONGEST SINGLE PROTECTOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY?

BECAUSE IF IT IS, THEN WE KNOW WHERE YOUR PRIORITIES ARE, AND WE KNOW WHAT YOUR POLICIES WOULD BE.

BUT THE PEOPLE HAVE NOT LOST THEIR FAITH IN GOVERNMENT.

RATHER, THEY HAVE LOST THE SENSE OF WHERE WE ARE GOING. THEY
HAVE SEEN WHAT PASSES FOR LEADERSHIP IN OUR GOVERNMENT AND
THEY ARE DISILLUSIONED.

THEY WANT LEADERS WHO CAN POINT THE WAY, WHO CAN SHOW US HOW
TO MAKE THE MOST OF OUR HERITAGE OF FREEDOM AND OUR ENORMOUS
TALENTS -- WHO CAN TELL US THAT THE GREAT DAYS OF AMERICA HAVE
JUST BEGUN.

BUT WHAT DO THEY SEE? THEY SEE AN INCUMBENT PRESIDENT
WHOSE IMAGINATION, WHOSE COURAGE AND WHOSE VISION OF AMERICA
IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR EXTEND NO FARTHER THAN FINDING
WAYS TO KEEP BLACK CHILDREN OUT OF SOME OF OUR SCHOOLS, AND
HALT 22 YEARS OF PROGRESS.

L THEY SEE CANDIDATES WHO, ON THE ONE HAND, TELL THEM ABOUT
THE GREATNESS OF AMERICA AND ITS PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE -- AND,
ON THE OTHER HAND, TELL THEM THAT WE MUST CUT BACK THE VERY
COMMITMENTS THAT MADE THAT GREATNESS POSSIBLE.

L IS IT ANY WONDER THAT THEY ARE CONFUSED?

BUT, MY FRIENDS, I KNOW THAT THAT CONFUSION WILL PASS. I
KNOW THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF WHAT WE HAVE
BECOME, AND DO NOT WANT TO RETREAT ON OUR PROGRESS.

THIS WILL REQUIRE IMAGINATION AND PERSEVERANCE. BUT, ABOVE
ALL, IT WILL REQUIRE THE LEADERSHIP OF A PRESIDENT WHO BELIEVES
THAT GOVERNMENT CAN AGAIN BE A VITAL FORCE FOR JUSTICE AND
OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA -- A TRUE STEWARD AND GUARDIAN OF THE
PUBLIC INTEREST.



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