

taxes, pilferage, lazy and inept workers. Pat Moynihan, viewing our cities, fixes his gaze on the instability of negro families, shirking of paternal responsibility, and a high rate of illegitimacy. White racists find the root of the problem in the influx of blacks, and black racists blame the white man for all the trouble. Some think of the urban crisis in terms of crime, some in terms of mass disorder and mob violence, and some lump the two together, recognizing no difference between them.

These analyses, though most have some validity, are faulty because they fasten on only part of the problem. They focus on symptoms rather than causes. Simplistic analyses such as these lead to ineffective treatment — to attempted cures that sometimes compound the disease.

One of the members of your association, James Q. Wilson of Harvard, has made this point. He writes, "Speaking of urban problems has real dangers, for it leads to the substitution of effect for cause and thus the misdirection of remedial action." Wilson goes on, "... slums and bums and cars are not the cause of the problems, they are the symptoms, and if we tear them down or clear them out or ban them from one place, they will inevitably reappear somewhere else. . . ."

One example of misdirected remedial action is the George Wallace prescription, that unfortunately seems to have wide appeal. Governor Wallace promises, if elected, to station soldiers along the city streets five yards apart. Now, it may even be true that if enough troops cracked enough skulls, peace of a kind — a peace of sullen acquiescence to clubs and bayonets — could be brought to our cities — but at what cost! What a waste of manpower! But more important, what a loss of freedom!

Certainly we must have domestic tranquillity if we are ever to solve our problems. But peace and order only create conditions in which the host problems become soluble. They do not of themselves solve the problems.

In addition to the Wallace illusion, there is the Humphrey illusion about urban problems. The Vice President offers "a Marshall Plan for the cities" — a plan which he tells us involves only more Federal spending on present urban programs. The Marshall Plan is a misnomer for the proposal, reflecting failure to recognize the vast differences between the present conditions of American cities and the conditions of war-devastated Western Europe two decades ago. But — more important — Vice President Humphrey wants to pursue policies