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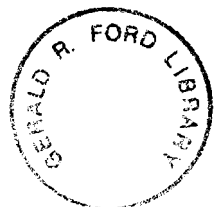
NEW YORK WOMEN'S BAR ASSOCIATION

JUNE 2, 1975

I'M SO VERY GRATEFUL TO BE HERE TO RECEIVE THIS AWARD, BUT IN HONESTY MY CONSCIENCE IS BOTHERED. MR. JUSTICE CLARK HAS BEEN THIS NATION'S LAWYER OF THE YEAR IN SO MANY WAYS, FOR SO MANY YEARS, THAT IT IS SOMEWHAT UNFAIR THAT HE SHOULD BE DISQUALIFIED FROM RECEIVING THE OUTSTANDING WOMEN LAWYERS AWARD SIMPLY BECAUSE HE CANNOT SATISFY ONE OF THE LESS SIGNIFICANT PRE-REQUISITES.

I DO THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT HONOR THAT YOU PAY ME, AND I PARTICULARLY THANK YOU, MR. JUSTICE, FOR YOUR UNCHARACTERISTIC AND UNLAWYER-LIKE WILLINGNESS TO SO GREATLY OVERSTATE YOUR CASE IN YOUR WARM WORDS OF INTRODUCTION.

TONIGHT, WITH YOUR PERMISSION, I WOULD LIKE TO FOCUS ON MY DUAL ROLE AS A HUD OFFICIAL AND AS A WOMAN LAWYER TO DISCUSS WITH YOU THE FACT THAT AS A NATION WE HAVE BEEN FORCED TO THE REALIZATION THAT WE ARE A WASTEFUL PEOPLE.



IT TOOK THE MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES AND THEIR OIL BOYCOTT TO CONVINCING US THAT WE HAVE SHAMEFULLY WASTED ENERGY.

IT TOOK THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS TO TEACH US THAT WE ARE WASTING THE AIR AND WATER RESOURCES UPON WHICH WE DEPEND FOR SURVIVAL.

IT TOOK THE URBAN RIOTS OF 1968 TO TEACH US THAT WE WASTE HUMAN BEINGS BY CONSIGNING TOO MANY OF THEM TO A CYCLE OF POVERTY FROM WHICH TOO FEW BREAK FREE.

AND, IT HAS TAKEN THE GREAT EFFORTS OF ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS YOUR OWN TO CONVINCING LEADERS IN BOTH THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE SECTORS THAT WOMEN CAN AND SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO OUR SOCIETY, JUST AS MEN.

BUT OUR COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE REMAINS ONE OF INORDINATE WASTE. AS A COUNTRY WE HAVE BEEN LIKE A SPOILED CHILD USED TO UNENDING ABUNDANCE.



WE CAN BE PLEASED THAT TODAY'S WOMEN SERVE AS BANK PRESIDENTS, NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS, ADMIRALS, GENERALS, FBI AGENTS, CORPORATE EXECUTIVES, AGENCY HEADS, UNITED STATES MARSHALS, AND WE COULD GO ON.

AND, IT IS TRUE THAT WOMEN IN GENERAL ARE ACCEPTED AT HIGHER LEVELS OF RESPONSIBILITIES, AND WOMEN LAWYERS IN PARTICULAR HAVE FAR GREATER EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES TODAY THAN A SHORT DECADE AGO.

BUT, WHO AMONG US DOES NOT ALSO KNOW THAT IN SOME AREAS WOMEN STILL ARE NOT PAID AS MUCH AS MEN FOR THE SAME WORK; THAT WOMEN WITH 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION STILL ON THE AVERAGE EARN LESS THAN MEN WITH NO COLLEGE TRAINING AT ALL?

AND, WHO AMONG US IS NOT CONCERNED THAT OF THE 435 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONLY 19 ARE WOMEN AND THAT THERE IS NOT ONE WOMAN IN OUR 100 MEMBER SENATE?



WOMEN DO ENJOY THE PROTECTION OF NEW LEGISLATION, THE 1974 HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT, SIGNED BY PRESIDENT FORD, PROHIBITS DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF SEX IN THE GRANTING OF FEDERALLY-RELATED MORTGAGE LOANS, OR IN THE SALE, RENTAL OR FINANCING OF HOUSING,

AND, THE EQUAL CREDIT OPPORTUNITY ACT WHICH BECOMES EFFECTIVE IN OCTOBER, 1975 WILL DIRECTLY AND PROFOUNDLY AFFECT WOMEN. THAT ACT OUTLAWES DISCRIMINATION BASED ON SEX OR MARITAL STATUS IN CREDIT LENDING.

BUT, SUCH LEGISLATION EMPHASIZES THE FACT THAT EVEN TODAY IN 1975, SINGLE, WIDOWED OR DIVORCED WOMEN HAVE FAR MORE TROUBLE SECURING CREDIT THAN DO MEN WITH THE SAME MARITAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS.

WE HAVE PROVED THAT DECADES OF STRENUOUS EFFORT WILL WEAR AWAY RESISTENCE TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN. BUT, CAN WE AS A NATION AFFORD ANY LONGER TO FIGHT ALL OF THESE BATTLES ONE BY ONE?



HAS NOT THE TIME ARRIVED WHEN THIS COUNTRY MUST SAY WITH ALL OF THE MAJESTY OF A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THAT WOMEN WANT THE SAME RIGHTS AND WILL ACCEPT THE SAME RESPONSIBILITIES AS MEN?

CAN WE BE CERTAIN THAT WOMEN IN INCREASING NUMBERS WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE GREATER OPPORTUNITY IT AFFORDS UNLESS THAT CONSTITUTIONAL ASSURANCE IS PROVIDED?

I BELIEVE WITH YOU, AND WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS. FORD, THAT RATIFICATION OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT IS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY --- NOT TO FORCE UNWILLING WOMEN INTO CAREERS BUT TO ASSURE THE NATION THAT ALL WOMEN SO INCLINED MAY COMPETE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING.

WE CANNOT AFFORD ANY LONGER TO WASTE THE AVAILABLE RESOURCE OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO DO MORE.



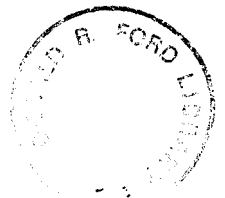
THE WASTE OF OUR CITIES IS NO LESS TRAGIC. BLOCK AFTER BLOCK OF ABANDONED BUILDINGS STAND AS MONUMENTS TO UNWISE PLANNING IN MOST OF OUR GREAT CITIES. THEY NEIGHBOR DECLINING AREAS THAT CRY OUT FOR HELP.

OUR INATTENTION, OR OFTEN OUR MISGUIDED EFFORTS, HAVE TRAPPED LEGIONS OF AN IMPOVERISHED "UNDER CLASS" IN AN ENVIRONMENT THAT OFFERS LITTLE INCENTIVE OR OPPORTUNITY FOR A BETTER LIFE.

LIKE A SPREADING INFECTION, A MARGINAL NEIGHBORHOOD FINDS LENDING POLICIES MORE STRINGENT AS LENDING INSTITUTIONS BECOME MORE NERVOUS AS THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD BECOMES LESS STABLE. AND THE CIRCLE WIDENS.

OFTEN SUCH PROPERTIES BECOME VIABLE ONLY AS RENTAL UNITS, MAINTENANCE DECLINES FURTHER, CRIME INCREASES, AND FURTHER DETERIORATION AND ABANDONMENT BECOME INEVITABLE.

IN NEW YORK CITY ALONE 25,000 UNITS ARE ABANDONED EACH YEAR.



FOR TOO MANY YEARS GOVERNMENT POLICY HAS BEEN COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED SUBURBAN SPRAWL AND CONCENTRATED OUR LOWER-INCOME FAMILIES IN NEW PROJECTS, WHICH TOO OFTEN BECAME TOMORROW'S SLUMS.

INSTEAD OF PRESERVING EXISTING HOUSING STOCK, WE EMPHASIZED CLEARANCE AND NEW CONSTRUCTION. INSTEAD OF INCREASING SHELTER OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MIDDLE-INCOME FAMILIES IN THE CITY, WE LURED THEM TO THE SUBURBS.

INSTEAD OF TREATING CAUSES, WE TREATED SYMPTOMS.

THE 1974 HOUSING ACT CONSTITUTES A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN NATIONAL POLICY. FEDERAL FUNDS NOW SEEK TO HALT THE DECLINE OF NEIGHBORHOODS RATHER THAN TO PAY FOR THEIR CLEARANCE. BY GIVING CONSIDERABLE DISCRETION TO LOCAL PLANNING, MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH IS NOW BEING SPENT FOR REHABILITATION LOANS THAN IN THE YEAR PRIOR TO THE ACT.



BY PERMITTING LOCAL COMMUNITIES TO USE EXISTING AND REHABILITATED HOUSING STOCK AS WELL AS NEW CONSTRUCTION IN CONNECTION WITH FEDERAL RENTAL SUBSIDY FUNDS FOR LOWER-INCOME FAMILIES, NEIGHBORHOOD PRESERVATION IS ENCOURAGED.

LAST WEEK HUD ANNOUNCED A NEW DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM FOR URBAN HOMESTEADING WHICH WILL MAKE FEDERALLY-OWNED HOUSES AVAILABLE AT LITTLE OR NO COSTS TO CITIES, WHICH WILL DESIGN AND ADMINISTER LOCAL URBAN HOMESTEADING PROGRAMS. THESE HOUSES WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO PERSONS WHO HAVE THE DESIRE AND CAPACITY TO IMPROVE THEM, AND WITH THEM, THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD.

IF SUCCESSFUL, THIS DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM WILL MEET THE OBJECTION RAISED LAST WEEK IN THE NEW YORK TIMES TO OUR PREVIOUS EFFORTS AT HOMESTEADING.

FAIR-MINDED PEOPLE CAN LOOK AT THE AGONY OF OUR CITIES OVER HOUSING, JOBS, SCHOOLS, AND BUSSING, AND AGREE THAT THE BLAME DOES NOT TOTALLY LIE WITH RACISTS OR WITH INEFFECTIVE OFFICIALS. RATHER, IT IS APPARENT THAT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS HAVE GROWN FAR FASTER THAN OUR CAPACITY TO FORGE NEW SOLUTIONS.



WHETHER WE SPEAK OF WASTED OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN OR FOR OUR CITIES, WE CAN SPEAK OF DESPERATE PROBLEMS OR GREAT CHALLENGES.

AS ONE WHO WAS INVITED TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BY ELLIOT RICHARDSON, WHO LEFT BEFORE I ARRIVED, AND AS ONE WHO WAS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE NOMINATION OF ED LEVI, WHO CAME AS I WAS LEAVING, I HAVE SOME SENSE OF THE FUTILITY OF COUNTING TOO HEAVILY ON FUTURE EXPECTATIONS.

NONETHELESS, I AM OPTIMISTIC THAT OUR PROFESSION CAN AND WILL LEAD IN EFFORTS TO FORGE SOLUTIONS FOR THE TOUGH ISSUES THAT CONFRONT US. AS A LAWYER, I WILLINGLY ACCEPT CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER'S DEFINITION OF OUR PROFESSION AS:

"SOCIETY'S PEACEMAKERS, PROBLEM SOLVERS, AND STABLIZERS."

OBVIOUSLY, CONFLICTS AMONG OUR PERCEPTIONS AS WELL AS OUR OBJECTIVES REMAIN.



PRESERVATION OF OUR CITIES AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR
WOMEN ARE ONLY TWO OF THE VAST NUMBER OF PROBLEMS THAT
CONFRONT US.

WE PROPERLY DEBATE AND SEARCH FOR THE PROPER BALANCE
BETWEEN:

THE PRESSING NEEDS FOR ENERGY GROWTH

AND

THE INSISTENT DEMAND FOR A BETTER
ENVIRONMENT.

THE PRESSURE ON GOVERNMENT TO GUARANTY
NEW JOBS, HOMES AND SECURITY

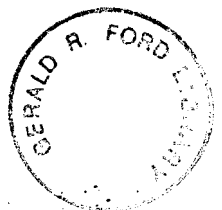
AND

OUR FAITH IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

THE CRITICAL NEEDS FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE
SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

AND

OUR DEDICATION TO FAIR TRIALS AND OUR
COMPASSION FOR THE UNDERPRIVILEGED.



THE SHARP DEMAND OF CONSUMERS FOR FAIRER
TREATMENT

AND

THE EQUALLY SHARP CALL FOR LESS GOVERNMENT
REGULATION.

THE DESPERATE CRY OF THE UNEMPLOYED

AND

THE UNIVERSAL DESIRE TO AVOID ANOTHER
CRIPPLING INFLATIONARY SPIRAL.

WE ALSO FACE THE HANDICAP OF A BATTERED ECONOMY.
ONE MAY WELL ASK WHAT GOOD IS A NEW APPROACH TO COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT TO PEOPLE WHO HAVE NO JOBS?

SIMILARLY, EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN IS A
HOLLOW VICTORY WHEN THERE ARE FEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR EITHER
MEN OR WOMEN.

BUT OURS IS STILL A CREATIVE SOCIETY. AND, WE RETAIN
MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION THE CAPACITY FOR INNOVATIVE
THOUGHT THAT CAN LEAD THE WORLD OUT OF ITS ECONOMIC AND
MORAL RECESSION.



TODAY AS WE APPROACH THE CELEBRATION OF OUR 200TH BIRTHDAY, OUR MOTHER COUNTRY ENGLAND IS CONTEMPLATING A STUDY OF ITS LAWS FOR THE PURPOSE OF INSTALLING THOSE BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS OF OUR BILL OF RIGHTS WHICH HAVE PROTECTED US SINCE OUR INFANCY FROM THE FOLLY OF MEN.

WHEN WE SPEAK OF OUR LEGAL SYSTEM WHICH GIVES US THIS STRENGTH, I THINK OF THE STATEMENT BY MR. JUSTICE HOLMES, WHO SAID:

"THE LAW, WHEREIN, AS IN A MAGIC MIRROR, WE SEE REFLECTED NOT ONLY OUR OWN LIVES, BUT THE LIVES OF ALL MEN THAT HAVE BEEN. WHEN I THINK OF THIS MAJESTIC THEME MY EYES DAZZLE."

IT IS INDEED A DAZZLING THEME. AND, I AM BOTH HONORED AND HUMBLED BY YOUR AWARD TO ME AS A LAWYER THIS EVENING.



IT IS ALWAYS AN HONOR TO BE COMMENDED, AND MORE PARTICULARLY SO WHEN IT COMES FROM A GROUP THAT YOU RESPECT AND ADMIRE AS I DO YOURS.

BUT, IT IS A HUMBLING EXPERIENCE TO BE COMMENDED BY A GROUP OF YOUR PEERS, WHO HAVE LABORED SO TO SPEAK IN THE SAME VINEYARDS, AND WHO ARE EACH IN THEIR OWN RIGHT OUTSTANDING WOMEN LAWYERS OF 1975.

THANK YOU.

