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Recycling
1969-70

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

APRIL 26, 1973

U.S. Threat
now

C

Crisis - ~~Food~~
- ~~Energy~~
- ~~Transportation~~

L I WANT TO TALK TO YOU TODAY ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S

URBAN POLICY -- OR RATHER HIS LACK OF ONE -- WHICH STEMS

FROM HIS FEELING THAT ⁿ THE URBAN CRISIS IS OVER.

Orsing L YOU HAD BETTER BELIEVE THAT THE URBAN CRISIS IS NOT
over OVER IN MY BOOK. TO BE SURE, THE WORD "CRISIS" DOES TEND

TO BE OVER-USED, BUT I FIND NO REASON TO STOP USING IT

TO DESCRIBE THE STATE OF OUR LARGE CITIES.

NOW WHEN I TALK ABOUT A CRISIS, I DO NOT MEAN THAT A
CATASTROPHE IS ABOUT TO OCCUR. I MEAN THAT A CROSS-ROADS
HAS BEEN REACHED.

L WHEN YOU ARE AT THE CROSSROADS, THE SLIGHTEST MOTION ONE
WAY OR THE OTHER PROPELS YOU IN ^{that} ONE DIRECTION -- RATHER THAN

THE OTHER. AND THAT'S THE PATH YOU FOLLOW.

I BELIEVE WE WILL BE TOO LATE IN DEALING WITH OUR
CRITICAL URBAN PROBLEMS IF WE GO DOWN THE PRESIDENT'S PATH.

✓ AFTER WASTING A LOT OF TIME AND RESOURCES REORGANIZING AND
DISMANTLING AND DECENTRALIZING, WE WILL WIND UP WITH TOO

LITTLE, TOO LATE, TO DEAL WITH WHAT IS THE CONTINUING URBAN

now let's examine
CRISIS. WHAT ARE THE PRESIDENT'S REASONS FOR SAYING THE
URBAN CRISIS IS OVER.

✓ FIRST, THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISERS SEEMED TO FEEL THAT
CITIES AND STATES WERE ACTUALLY ACCUMULATING SURPLUS REVENUES.

SOMEHOW THEY DEVELOPED THE NOTION THAT STATE AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS ARE DOING VERY WELL FISCALLY.

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THIS CONCLUSION IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE ISOLATION AND
DISTANCE OF SO MANY ACCOUNTANTS IN THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT
AND BUDGET FROM THE REALITY OF ^{urban} ~~CITY~~ LIFE. WHAT THEY DID WAS
TAKE DATA WHICH LUMPS CITY REVENUES TOGETHER WITH STATE
REVENUES. AND THEY TOOK DATA WHICH LUMPS SOCIAL INSURANCE
FUNDS WITH OPERATING FUNDS.

AND FROM THIS THEY CONCLUDED THE CITIES ARE IN REALLY
GOOD FINANCIAL SHAPE IN THE COMING YEAR, -- ABLE TO CARE
FOR THEMSELVES.

BUT STATE SURPLUSES WON'T PICK UP CITY GARBAGE, AND
RETIREMENT FUNDS FOR CITY EMPLOYEES CAN'T BE USED TO CURB
CRIME IN THE STREETS.

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I'M SURE COLUMBUS HAD SIMILAR CALCULATIONS GIVEN TO HIM
BY QUEEN ISABELLA'S OFFICE OF GEOPHYSICAL RESEARCH,
PROVING BEYOND A DOUBT THAT THE WORLD WAS FLAT AS A PANCAKE.
COLUMBUS DECIDED TO GO OUT AND SEE FOR HIMSELF, AND THAT'S
WHAT I'D ADVISE SOME OF THOSE PEOPLE AT OMB AND THE WHITE
HOUSE TO DO.

L WHAT THEY WOULD FIND, IF THEY SPENT SOME TIME IN NORTHEAST
WASHINGTON AND OTHER CENTRAL-CITY AREAS ACROSS THIS NATION, IS
A LACK OF MONEY TO DEAL WITH INCREASINGLY SEVERE CITY PROBLEMS:

L THEY WOULD FIND:

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-- AN INCREASE IN SERIOUS CRIME OF 30 PERCENT IN THE LAST
FOUR YEARS

-- FORTY PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE AFRAID TO GO OUT AT NIGHT

-- SCHOOLS ON THE VERGE OF BANKRUPTCY AND COLLAPSE, IN
SUCH CITIES AS CHICAGO, DETROIT, AND PHILADELPHIA

-- ALMOST 5 MILLION HOMES THAT FAIL TO MEET MINIMUM
STANDARDS OF SAFETY AND SANITATION

-- HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF GHETTO RESIDENTS UNEMPLOYED
AND ON WELFARE

-- BUSINESS AREAS WITH PLYWOOD OVER THE DOORS AND
WINDOWS

-- TRAFFIC CONGESTION

-- TOTALLY INADEQUATE MASS TRANSIT

-- GENERAL LACK OF ADEQUATE WATER AND SEWER FACILITIES

-- STREETS IN ^{Poor} ~~the~~ REPAIR

-- TOO FEW PARKS THAT CITY PEOPLE CAN USE

-- LACK OF HEALTH CLINICS FOR THE AVERAGE PERSON.

L YOU CAN FINISH THE LIST AS WELL AS I CAN.

L I'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT TWO DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF
THE STATE OF OUR CITIES: THE PRESIDENT'S PERCEPTION AND THE
PERCEPTION OF SOME OF THE REST OF US.

L THOSE DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS ARE CRITICAL, BECAUSE WHAT
FLOWS FROM THEM ARE TWO ^{very} ~~radically~~ DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW
ABOUT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO.

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THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW IS THAT THE CRISIS IS OVER. WHAT HE PERCEIVES IS THAT WHEN PEOPLE ARE NOT RIOTING, DESTROYING AND BURNING -- THEN THE REST OF THE PROBLEMS ARE RELATIVELY MINOR -- SOME KIDS AREN'T DOING WELL IN SCHOOL -- SOME PEOPLE ARE CHEATING ON WELFARE -- SOME PEOPLE LIVE IN POOR HOUSING -- AND SO ON. AND HE SEES THESE PROBLEMS VARYING FROM PLACE TO PLACE. ONE CITY HAS A WELFARE PROBLEM. ANOTHER CITY HAS AN EDUCATION PROBLEM.

HE SEES A SERIES OF LOCAL PROBLEMS, DIFFERING FROM ONE CITY TO THE NEXT, AND THEREFORE BEST SOLVED AT THE LOCAL LEVEL -- AND INCREASINGLY BY LOCAL FUNDS.

LET ME QUOTE YOU FROM HIS MESSAGE ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

"AMERICA'S COMMUNITIES ARE AS DIVERSE AS OUR

PEOPLE THEMSELVES . . . WHAT IS GOOD FOR NEW YORK CITY

IS NOT NECESSARILY GOOD FOR CHICAGO, OR SAN FRANCISCO. . ."

L ~~Now, No~~ ONE WOULD DISAGREE THAT ~~OUR CITIES' STRENGTHS LIE~~ *the strength of our cities*

is found IN THEIR DIVERSITY. BUT THEIR PROBLEMS ARE ALARMINGLY SIMILAR

-- SINCE THEY ARE CAUSED BY COMMON NATIONAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC

FORCES:

THESE NATIONAL FORCES INCLUDE:

-- AUTOMATION OF OUR FARMS, WHICH HAS RESULTED IN A MASS

OUT-MIGRATION OF 30 MILLION PEOPLE FROM AMERICA'S RURAL AREAS

TO ITS URBAN CENTERS.

THEY INCLUDE:

-- DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND NEW HOUSING, WHICH

IS PULLING MUCH OF OUR BEST RESOURCES OUT OF THE CITY;

↳ THESE NATIONAL ECONOMIC FORCES ARE LEADING TO:

-- AN INCREASING GAP BETWEEN THE MAJORITY OF THE LABOR

FORCE WITH GOOD WAGES AND BENEFITS, AND A MINORITY WITH

LOW-WAGE JOBS, NO BENEFITS, AND LITTLE SECURITY.

↳ THESE FORCES ARE MANIFESTED IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT WAYS
IN DIFFERENT CITIES, BUT THEY ARE NATIONAL FORCES, NOT LOCAL
ONES.

↳ THE PRESIDENT'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ADMIT THIS 2 21 HAS LED HIM

TO PROPOSE A POLICY OF NATIONAL-GOVERNMENT DISENGAGEMENT.

THE PRESIDENT'S 1974 BUDGET IS THEREFORE PREDICATED ON
LETTING LOCALITIES DEAL WITH "LOCAL PROBLEMS" -- WHETHER IT'S
HEALTH, EDUCATION, OR WHATEVER THIS IS WHY HE IS USING THE
MEAT-AXE ON FEDERAL PROGRAMS THE NUMBER OF PROGRAMS BEING CUT
BACK OR TERMINATED IS SO LARGE THAT IT WOULD TAKE ME ALL DAY
TO DESCRIBE ALL 108 OF THEM. LET'S REVIEW A FEW.

-- THE PRESIDENT WOULD TERMINATE THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW HEALTH
FACILITIES UNDER THE HILL-BURTON ACT, DESPITE REAL NEEDS

FOR MORE HOSPITALS IN MANY AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. and modernization

-- HE WOULD CUT BACK VENEREAL DISEASE PROGRAMS -- AND PHASE OUT

RAT CONTROL AND LEAD POISONING PROGRAMS - yet these

problem of V.D. rates, & lead poisoning
are growing - not receding

-- HE WOULD TERMINATE THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT AND THE
NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS -- THUS CUTTING BY 53 PERCENT THE
NATION'S JOB CREATION AND TRAINING EFFORT

-- HE WOULD GIVE CITIES A HOBSON'S CHOICE -- USE THE MONEY TO
PAY FOR AN UNEMPLOYED FATHER ^{the} OR ~~THE~~ UNEMPLOYED SON

✓ -- HE WOULD DISMANTLE OEO AND PAY GSA \$33 MILLION JUST TO CLOSE
IT DOWN AND PAY EVERYONE OFF.

-- HE WOULD REDUCE MINORITY ENTERPRISE FUNDING BY \$30 MILLION

-- HE WOULD HAVE A MORATORIUM ON ALL NEW LOW-INCOME HOUSING
STARTS

-- HE WOULD SPEND \$655 MILLION LESS THAN IN 1973 ON SOCIAL

SERVICES. THESE ARE PEOPLE PROGRAMS THAT ARE DESPERATELY NEEDED

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-- CHILD CARE

-- CONSUMER EDUCATION

-- JOB COUNSELING

NOW, THE PRESIDENT GIVES VARYING REASONS FOR THESE
CUTBACKS.

← HOUSING, HE SAYS, IS A FAILURE, BUT IT ISN'T THE
HOUSING POLICY -- IT'S THE MANAGEMENT THAT'S THE FAILURE.

← OEO, HE SAYS, IS A FAILURE -- YET HE IGNORES AN
IN-DEPTH EVALUATION WHICH SAYS OTHERWISE.

IF THERE'S THE SLIGHTEST DIFFICULTY WITH A PROGRAM --
OUT IT GOES.

(Pentagon)

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✓ BUT IF A PROGRAM IS A GLARING SUCCESS, LIKE MENTAL
HEALTH CENTERS, THE PRESIDENT TAKES A DIFFERENT LINE:

"THE PROGRAM WAS REALLY JUST A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT -- NOW
IT'S TIME TO TURN IT OVER TO THE STATES AND CITIES."

But ✓ THE PRESIDENT SAYS HIS BUDGET WILL ACTUALLY RESULT IN

\$1 BILLION IN NEW MONEY FOR THE CITIES, SINCE HIS GENERAL

AND SPECIAL REVENUE-SHARING FUNDS WILL MAKE UP FOR THE

CATEGORICAL CUTS HE HAS PROPOSED.

✓ BUT THE MAYORS COME UP WITH A DIFFERENT FIGURE -- \$4.1
BILLION LESS ~~APPROPRIATED~~ FOR THE CITIES IN FISCAL YEAR 1974.

✓ MAYOR GIBBS OF DETROIT, MICHIGAN, SAYS: "THESE CUTS
WILL GIVE IMPETUS TO A NEW CYCLE OF DECAY IN AMERICAN CITIES."

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L' I HAVE DWELT ON WHAT I THINK IS WRONG WITH
THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET CUTBACKS.

L BUT HOW WOULD I DEAL WITH THE FISCAL SQUEEZE WE ARE IN,
WHICH THE PRESIDENT USES AS A RATIONALE FOR THOSE CUTS?

L WELL, THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS IS TO ENACT TAX REFORM
LEGISLATION AND ELIMINATE WASTE IN DEFENSE SPENDING, TO RELEASE
NEW MONEY RESOURCES.

L EQUALLY IMPORTANT FOR THE LONG-TERM, HOWEVER, IS TO THINK
ABOUT ENTIRELY NEW FINANCING MECHANISMS FOR OUR CITIES.

L I AM TALKING ABOUT CREATING A NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT
BANK.

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L WE ARE THE LEADING PARTNER IN AN INSTITUTION THAT HAS HAD
SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT ABROAD -- THE WORLD BANK.

I PROPOSE THAT WE NOW APPLY THIS APPROACH TO OUR PRESSING
DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AT HOME.

L I BELIEVE THAT A NATION THAT CAN ASSIST DEVELOPMENT IN
AFRICA, ASIA, EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA MUST BE ABLE TO PROVIDE
FINANCING FOR DEVELOPMENT OF OUR OWN CITIES AND TOWNS.

L IF WE CAN BUILD A BETTER RIO DE JANEIRO, WHY CAN'T WE
Baltimore?
HELP BUILD A BETTER ~~DETROIT, MICHIGAN~~? IF WE CAN ASSIST A

PROVINCE IN PERU, WHY CAN'T WE HELP WRIGHT COUNTY, MINNESOTA?

or allegheny county Maryland.

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L A DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK WOULD PROVIDE AN ORDERLY,
CONTINUING SOURCE OF CAPITAL FUNDS / IT IS DESIGNED TO END
THE "STOP-START" HISTORY OF PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION IN OUR COUNTRY.
AND IT IS DESIGNED TO HELP COMMUNITIES PLAN FOR SOUND,
COORDINATED, COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT THAT TRULY SERVES ITS
CITIZENS.

L I'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT FINANCING OUR CITIES.
BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS -- WHAT DO WE SPEND THE MONEY
ON? WHAT, IN OTHER WORDS, SHOULD BE THE SHAPE OF OUR NATIONAL
URBAN POLICY?

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THE POLICY ALTERNATIVES ARE FAIRLY CLEAR.

WE CAN DO NOTHING -- ALLOW "NATURE TO TAKE ITS COURSE," --

AND WITNESS THE CONTINUED MOVEMENT OF THE PHYSICAL AND

HUMAN RESOURCES, OUT OF THE CITY, INTO THE SUBURBS. THIS,

BASICALLY, IS THE NIXON POLICY.

OR WE CAN TRY TO SAVE THE CENTER-CITY. -- *for the entire*

metropolitan area.

TO DO THIS, WE MUST DEAL WITH THE HUMAN PROBLEMS OF

THE CENTER CITY. IF WE BRING UP CHILDREN WITH GOOD DIET

AND EDUCATION, AND THEIR PARENTS HAVE DECENT JOBS, THEN

PUBLIC HOUSING, WHETHER IT'S RENTAL OR PRIVATELY-OWNED, WILL

BE "KEPT UP."

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L THEN NEIGHBORHOODS WILL BE ^{safer} ~~SAFE~~ AND ~~CLEAN~~ ^{er}

THEN INDUSTRY WILL BE ATTRACTED BACK INTO THE CITY

BY A VITAL LABOR FORCE.

L A NATIONAL POLICY OF DEVELOPING A HEALTHY AND HOPEFUL
PEOPLE IS ESSENTIAL TO SAVING OUR CITIES.

BUT WE MUST LOOK OUTWARD FROM THE CENTER CITY, AS
WELL AS INWARD TO IT.

L THE FORCES FOR DECENTRALIZATION IN THIS NATION ARE
POWERFUL ONES. THOUGH SUBURBIA IS OFTEN CRITICIZED, SUBURBIA'S
FORCES OF GROWTH ARE HEALTHY ONES AND WE SHOULD USE THEM TO
HELP THOSE PEOPLE WHO NEED HELP.

WE MUST THEREFORE, ALSO GO "WITH THE ECONOMIC GRAIN"
OF DECENTRALIZATION IN DEALING WITH OUR URBAN PROBLEMS.

low income
L THIS MAY MEAN HELPING ~~CITY~~ RESIDENTS "MOVE OUT" FOR
ONLY EIGHT HOURS A DAY, VIA MASS TRANSIT TO A JOB IN THE
SUBURBS. OR IT MAY MEAN HELPING THEM MOVE OUT PERMANENTLY,
TO NEARBY SUBURBS OR NEW TOWNS.

L MOVING JOBS AND RESOURCES TO THE CENTER CITY -- AS
OPPOSED TO MOVING PEOPLE OUT OF THE CENTER CITY -- ARE
SOMETIMES CAST AS MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE POLICIES.

L WE NEED BOTH.


L WE MUST PUT OUR RESOURCES AND OUR PROBLEMS CLOSER
TOGETHER WHATEVER WAYS WE CAN.

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THIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD PULL THEM FARTHER APART.

IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT -- NO MATTER WHAT RHETORIC MR.

PRESIDENT USES.

And ~~finally~~, The time has come
 #####
 to recognize the need of
 an urban-Rural Balance
Rural Development 

But ~~the~~ ^{effective} Government requires
 Trust & faith to give confidence
 But Budget or a legislative program is
 but a tool to be used for a greater
 purpose - to ~~ensure~~ ^{establish} justice, to ensure
 domestic tranquility, to provide
 for the common defense & and the general ^{promote}
 and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves & posterity. Wellfare.



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