

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

22nd NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Minneapolis, Minnesota

June 15, 1975

It is my pleasure to welcome you to Minnesota. I want to commend you for selecting this as the site for your 22nd National Institute on Crime and Delinquency. I hope you will take advantage of this opportunity to do some sightseeing -- to enjoy our beautiful lakes and to get to know our people.

I was gratified by the invitation to provide the keynote remarks for your conference and to share some of my perceptions about public safety and criminal justice.

My remarks will not be technical. I leave the sophisticated criminal justice discussions to you -- and believe me, we in the Congress w'll be anxiously awaiting your proposals. As a public official, I have a responsibility to share your struggle.

There are no easy solutions. There is no magic formula that will eradicate crime and delinquency. And no single segment of our society can cure this disease alone. It will take all of us -- working together, trying out different approaches -- to make progress.

As Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress, a great deal of my time is devoted to economic policy. I am involved in constant study of economic indicators -- and I have been struck by one unmistakable conclusion: Increases in crime are a direct result of growing joblessness.

Our prison populations are rising, and I believe this is directly related to the sharp economic downturn which came into full swing last fall.

No less an authority than the Attorney General of the United States, Edward Levi, has espoused this view.

The state of Michigan was the first to record increases in prison population. It is no coincidence that this also was the first state to be hardest hit by drastic unemployment. It was reported that crime in Detroit was up 27.3 percent in January over a year ago.

The same has been shown in a number of major population centers around the country.

Prison population is rising not because of improved law enforcement procedures. There has been no significant increase in the rate at which reported crimes are being cleared.

Prison population is rising, not because we have improved our court systems or eliminated the backlog of cases.

And it's not the result of more effective rehabilitation or extended prison sentences.

Prison population is rising because unemployment is rising.

Just last week, the Labor Department announced that the unemployment rate has grown to 9.2 percent. This is a shocking figure, but even this doesn't account for all the real unemployment in this country. The accurate figure actually is closer to 12 percent.

Among minority Americans, it's 14.7 percent; among teenagers, it is almost 22 percent; and among minority teenagers, it is a staggering 39.9 percent. In some urban areas, the rate in this group is reported to be as high as 50 percent.

In the last six months, three independent studies have carefully documented the relationship between unemployment and imprisonment. They have produced disturbing proof of this phenomenon.

We need only understand the lives of poor people to learn the cause and effect relationship between the criminal system and unemployment.

Unemployment means more than a loss of income -- it means a loss of self-esteem, of self-worth.

Unemployment and poverty are the tears of desperation in a young father's eyes when he cannot, no matter how hard he tries, provide enough food for his family or lunch money for the kids in school.

Unemployment means there is no health insurance -- no decent health care.

It means there's no recreation, no cultural activity, no hope of becoming a productive, happy member of the community, because the community is a club for insiders, and the poor are on the outside.

Yes, unemployment is much more than a loss of income. It means that society says, in effect: "We don't want you. We don't need you. There is no place for you."

When the poor come into the criminal justice system, they are lost even before they begin.

When poor people are arrested, they are not as likely to have money for bail or to hire an attorney, or to have the stable family background necessary to qualify for release on recognizance.

The indigent has a right to appointed counsel, but in some areas this is an empty right.

And these same people fail when placed on probation because they are not a part of a family -- they do not have the income and psychological support necessary to sustain themselves.

The story is even sadder when they are released from prison.

We give an inmate \$50 or \$100 and a suit of clothes at the prison gate as he leaves.

I ask you -- how many hours could your household survive on \$50 for rent, utilities, food and clothes? I can tell you it would not be long.

Why should we expect \$50 to last an ex-convict any longer?

Why should we expect it to last him the four weeks it takes the typical ex-convict to find a job?

The truth is that the criminals from whom we have the most to fear are not even a part of that statistical pool of 9.2 percent unemployment.

They are the ones who have dropped off the bottom end. They have given up on the employment office. The unemployment rate is only a measure of the frustration they face in getting their lives together to be a constructive part of society.

Getting it together means getting together the money to keep a family unit living together as well as getting together the self-esteem that is the product of useful work.

The employment programs which we have created for offenders usually are only a band-aid at a time when surgery is needed.

Many of the programs raise expectations that cannot be fulfilled.

First, we often train people for jobs that do not exist, or for jobs that they are prevented from filling, or for jobs that simply do not pay what it costs a person to live.

We raise expectations that cannot be fulfilled when we find an ex-offender a job at \$2.50 an hour when we know it costs nearly twice that much to provide the barest essentials of food, shelter and health care for a family of four in our cities.

There has been a growing awareness that our efforts at rehabilitation are not as successful as they could be.

But what additional steps could we take?

One important way is to look toward removing the criminal stigma for some crimes, and some offenders who do not have a criminal background.

So often it is our tendency to label. But we pay a heavy price for mislabeling.

The criminal label on a young man or woman can foreclose opportunities for education and employment. And criminal labels in many cases foreclose opportunities for a non-criminal life.

It would make so much more sense to work with first offenders than to shove them aside. And it is an investment we cannot afford to pass up. About half of the first offenders from our cities become crime repeaters. Think of the money and the pain we could save with workable, effective programs.

We need to try pre-trial diversion to turn these people away from the conventional criminal process. We need to turn them to the family, health and employment services that have proven effective against crime.

We need to make such conventional criminal justice services as probation and half-way houses a real alternative to imprisonment for these offenders.

I do not seek to lure you into believing that these are panaceas for all crime. They are not. Violent and dangerous offenders must be separated from society.

But for many there are better ways -- and they can be effective in steering the first offender away from learning the ways of crime and violence we all fear.

The larger answer, however, lies in full employment.

Now, I do not propose that we make every bank robber a bank teller -- or every car thief a parking lot attendant. We can't take jobs away from law-abiding citizens.

But we can -- and we must -- assure every American of the right to earn his or her own way with useful and satisfying work.

I am convinced that it can reduce crime -- and at a price we can afford to pay.

We cannot abandon our efforts to improve the effectiveness of our police -- nor can we fail to provide the courts the means to administer justice promptly and fairly.

We must insist that more resources be directed to an efficient system of justice.

We cannot speak realistically about prison reform unless we are willing to make a serious investment in the improvement of our correctional rehabilitation facilities, and in the training and income of personnel at all levels who administer our correctional systems.

We cannot speak realistically about quickly apprehending criminals, solving crimes, and guaranteeing the right to a speedy and fair trial in the face of severely-limited resources in our police departments, our public attorneys' offices, and our courts.

When less than one-third of crimes against property are solved by the arrest of a suspect; when, in New York City two years ago, the prosecutors had to deal with nearly 31,000 felony arrests, or 249 cases for each prosecutor -- then it becomes sharply clear that our system of criminal justice is in urgent need of assistance just to cope with the demands placed upon it, much less undertake long-overdue improvements and reforms.

The heart of our victory over crime will come from a determination to strike at the cause.

We must attack unemployment and poverty -- and we must overcome that poverty of spirit which destroys hope and breeds crime.

That famous philosopher, John Stuart Mill, understood this challenge when he said, "Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will have no love for it."

A person without a job does not feel a part of our society. And how can he love a society that has shut him out? Only when we guarantee that every American has an opportunity to contribute can we be certain that he will abide by the social contract that binds us as a nation.

I am committed to see that we meet this challenge. We ignore it at our peril.



- Ken Cohen
- Maya Cohen
- Father Cappucci (Cah-Puchee)

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Bernie Troy

22ND NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Barbara O'Brien

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

JUNE 15, 1975

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU TO MINNESOTA. I WANT TO  
COMMEND YOU FOR SELECTING THIS AS THE SITE FOR YOUR 22ND  
NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY. I HOPE YOU WILL  
TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DO SOME SIGHTSEEING  
-- TO ENJOY OUR BEAUTIFUL LAKES AND TO GET TO KNOW OUR PEOPLE.

I WAS GRATIFIED BY THE INVITATION TO PROVIDE THE KEYNOTE  
REMARKS FOR YOUR CONFERENCE AND TO SHARE SOME OF MY PERCEPTIONS  
ABOUT PUBLIC SAFETY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE ~~and~~

*I am no expert.*

L MY REMARKS WILL NOT BE TECHNICAL, I LEAVE THE SOPHISTICATED  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE DISCUSSIONS TO YOU -- AND BELIEVE ME, WE IN  
THE CONGRESS WILL BE ANXIOUSLY AWAITING YOUR PROPOSALS. AS A  
PUBLIC OFFICIAL, I HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO SHARE YOUR STRUGGLE.

(3)

x The Crime problem here is not limited to Street Crime -  
Whitel collar crime, organized crime,  
+ Government Corruption are  
serious problems that must  
be addressed by any comprehensive  
crime control program.

A concentration of crime control  
on Street crime while  
ignoring whitel collar crime  
+ Govt Corruption would  
rightly be seen by poor +  
racial minorities as discriminatory  
Against them.

Obviously Present system not  
working - Street crime criminal  
knows odds for getting away with  
act of crime on his side -  
one in 9 reported crimes eventually  
lead to conviction - inadequate police,  
Delay in courts - ad hoc

Present law enforcement system often fails to do justice. Sentences for same crime often vary radically. Correction system fails to rehabilitate. at each step of crime control process, detection, apprehension, trial - correction our system found wanting.

THERE ARE NO EASY SOLUTIONS. THERE IS NO MAGIC FORMULA

THAT WILL ERADICATE CRIME AND DELINQUENCY, AND NO SINGLE

SEGMENT OF OUR SOCIETY CAN CURE THIS DISEASE ALONE. IT WILL

TAKE ALL OF US - WORKING TOGETHER, TRYING OUT DIFFERENT

← APPROACHES - TO MAKE PROGRESS. But,

As CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS,

A GREAT DEAL OF MY TIME IS DEVOTED TO ECONOMIC POLICY. I AM

INVOLVED IN CONSTANT STUDY OF ECONOMIC INDICATORS -- AND I HAVE

BEEN STRUCK BY ONE UNMISTAKABLE CONCLUSION: INCREASES IN CRIME

ARE A DIRECT RESULT OF GROWING JOBLESSNESS.

Our PRISON POPULATIONS ARE RISING, AND I BELIEVE THIS

IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE SHARP ECONOMIC DOWNTURN WHICH CAME

INTO FULL SWING LAST FALL.



NO LESS AN AUTHORITY THAN THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, EDWARD LEVI, HAS ESPOUSED THIS VIEW.

THE STATE OF MICHIGAN WAS THE FIRST TO RECORD INCREASES IN PRISON POPULATION. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT THIS ALSO WAS THE FIRST STATE TO BE HARDEST HIT BY DRASTIC UNEMPLOYMENT. IT WAS REPORTED THAT CRIME IN DETROIT WAS UP 27.3 PERCENT IN JANUARY OVER A YEAR AGO.

THE SAME HAS BEEN SHOWN IN A NUMBER OF MAJOR POPULATION CENTERS AROUND THE COUNTRY.

PRISON POPULATION IS RISING NOT BECAUSE OF IMPROVED LAW ENFORCEMENT PROCEDURES. THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN THE RATE AT WHICH REPORTED CRIMES ARE BEING CLEARED.

L PRISON POPULATION IS RISING, NOT BECAUSE WE HAVE IMPROVED  
OUR COURT SYSTEMS OR ELIMINATED THE BACKLOG OF CASES.

L AND IT'S NOT THE RESULT OF MORE EFFECTIVE REHABILITATION OR  
EXTENDED PRISON SENTENCES.

L PRISON POPULATION IS RISING BECAUSE UNEMPLOYMENT IS RISING.

L ~~JUST LAST WEEK~~ <sup>2 weeks ago</sup>, THE LABOR DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCED THAT THE  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE HAS GROWN TO 9.2 PERCENT THIS IS A SHOCKING  
FIGURE, BUT EVEN THIS DOESN'T ACCOUNT FOR ALL THE REAL  
UNEMPLOYMENT IN THIS COUNTRY. THE ACCURATE FIGURE ACTUALLY  
IS CLOSER TO 12 PERCENT.

② The Victims of Assaultive Violence are likely to have the same characteristics as the Perpetrators -

AMONG MINORITY AMERICANS, IT'S 14.7 PERCENT; AMONG  
TEENAGERS, IT IS ALMOST 22 PERCENT; AND AMONG MINORITY TEENAGERS,  
IT IS A STAGGERING 39.9 PERCENT. IN SOME URBAN AREAS, THE RATE  
IN THIS GROUP IS REPORTED TO BE AS HIGH AS 50 PERCENT.

L IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, THREE INDEPENDENT STUDIES HAVE  
CAREFULLY DOCUMENTED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNEMPLOYMENT  
AND IMPRISONMENT. THEY HAVE PRODUCED DISTURBING PROOF OF THIS  
PHENOMENON.

L WE NEED ONLY UNDERSTAND THE LIVES OF POOR PEOPLE, TO LEARN  
THE CAUSE AND EFFECT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CRIMINAL SYSTEM

AND UNEMPLOYMENT. *Research reveals - Crimes of Violence  
majority are perpetrated by males  
between ages 15 + 24 often unemployed or at the  
lower end of the Occupational Educational Scale*  
UNEMPLOYMENT MEANS MORE THAN A LOSS OF INCOME -- IT MEANS

A LOSS OF SELF-ESTEEM, OF SELF-WORTH.



h UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY ARE THE TEARS OF DESPERATION IN  
A YOUNG FATHER'S EYES WHEN HE CANNOT, NO MATTER HOW HARD HE  
TRIES, PROVIDE ENOUGH FOOD FOR HIS FAMILY OR LUNCH MONEY FOR  
THE KIDS IN SCHOOL.

L UNEMPLOYMENT MEANS THERE IS NO HEALTH INSURANCE -- NO  
DECENT HEALTH CARE.

L IT MEANS THERE'S NO RECREATION, NO CULTURAL ACTIVITY, NO  
HOPE OF BECOMING A PRODUCTIVE, HAPPY MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY,  
BECAUSE THE COMMUNITY IS A CLUB FOR INSIDERS, AND THE POOR ARE  
ON THE OUTSIDE.

h YES, UNEMPLOYMENT IS MUCH MORE THAN A LOSS OF INCOME. IT  
MEANS THAT SOCIETY SAYS, IN EFFECT: "WE DON'T WANT YOU. WE DON'T  
NEED YOU. THERE IS NO PLACE FOR YOU."

L WHEN THE POOR COME INTO THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, THEY  
ARE LOST EVEN BEFORE THEY BEGIN.

L WHEN POOR PEOPLE ARE ARRESTED, THEY ARE NOT AS LIKELY TO  
HAVE MONEY FOR BAIL OR TO HIRE a good, competent ATTORNEY, OR TO HAVE THE  
STABLE FAMILY BACKGROUND NECESSARY TO QUALIFY FOR RELEASE ON  
RECOGNIZANCE.

L THE INDIGENT HAS A RIGHT TO APPOINTED COUNSEL, BUT IN  
SOME AREAS THIS IS AN EMPTY RIGHT.

L AND THESE SAME PEOPLE FAIL WHEN PLACED ON PROBATION  
BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT A PART OF A FAMILY -- THEY DO NOT HAVE  
THE INCOME AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT NECESSARY TO SUSTAIN  
THEMSELVES.

L THE STORY IS EVEN SADDER WHEN THEY ARE RELEASED FROM PRISON.

L WE GIVE AN INMATE \$50 OR \$100 AND A SUIT OF CLOTHES AT THE PRISON GATE AS HE LEAVES.

L I ASK YOU -- HOW MANY HOURS COULD YOUR HOUSEHOLD SURVIVE ON \$50 FOR RENT, UTILITIES, FOOD AND CLOTHES? I CAN TELL YOU IT WOULD NOT BE LONG.

L WHY SHOULD WE EXPECT \$50 TO LAST AN EX-CONVICT ANY LONGER?

L WHY SHOULD WE EXPECT IT TO LAST HIM THE FOUR WEEKS IT TAKES THE TYPICAL EX-CONVICT TO FIND A JOB?

L THE TRUTH IS THAT THE CRIMINALS FROM WHOM WE HAVE THE MOST TO FEAR ARE NOT EVEN A PART OF THAT STATISTICAL POOL OF 9.2 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT.

L THEY ARE THE ONES WHO HAVE DROPPED OFF THE BOTTOM END.

L THEY HAVE GIVEN UP ON THE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE. L THE UNEMPLOYMENT

RATE IS ONLY A MEASURE OF THE FRUSTRATION THEY FACE IN GETTING  
THEIR LIVES TOGETHER TO BE A CONSTRUCTIVE PART OF SOCIETY.

L GETTING IT TOGETHER MEANS GETTING TOGETHER THE MONEY TO  
KEEP A FAMILY UNIT LIVING TOGETHER AS WELL AS GETTING TOGETHER  
THE SELF-ESTEEM THAT IS THE PRODUCT OF USEFUL WORK.

L THE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS WHICH WE HAVE CREATED FOR OFFENDERS  
USUALLY ARE ONLY A BAND-AID AT A TIME WHEN SURGERY IS NEEDED.

*and* L MANY OF THE PROGRAMS RAISE EXPECTATIONS THAT CANNOT BE  
FULFILLED.



# Better Planning - Construction

- (1) Each State should undertake multiagency criminal justice Planning - there should be Criminal Justice Coordinating Committees for all law enforcement agencies
- (2) There should be <sup>Better information</sup> centralized Criminal Justice information systems -
- (3) Victimless crimes should be decriminalized - Drunkenness, minor traffic offences, should be dealt with by health & welfare agencies or administrative agencies, rather than by criminal justice system
- (4) Juvenile court jurisdiction should be confined to acts that would be criminal if committed by adults - Defendants should have all procedural and substantive rights provided for adults - non-criminal matters for Social Services Agencies - Youth Services - Community based corrections Programs - Drug abuse

FIRST, WE OFTEN TRAIN PEOPLE FOR JOBS THAT DO NOT EXIST,  
OR FOR JOBS THAT THEY ARE PREVENTED FROM FILLING, OR FOR JOBS  
THAT SIMPLY DO NOT PAY WHAT IT COSTS A PERSON TO LIVE.

WE RAISE EXPECTATIONS THAT CANNOT BE FULFILLED WHEN WE FIND  
AN EX-OFFENDER A JOB AT \$2.50 AN HOUR WHEN WE KNOW IT COSTS  
NEARLY TWICE THAT MUCH TO PROVIDE THE BAREST ESSENTIALS OF  
FOOD, SHELTER AND HEALTH CARE FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR IN OUR CITIES.

THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING AWARENESS THAT OUR EFFORTS AT  
REHABILITATION ARE NOT AS SUCCESSFUL AS THEY COULD BE.

BUT WHAT ADDITIONAL STEPS COULD WE TAKE?

*(X) more Police, better Equip, more judges - yes but much more*

*yes* ONE IMPORTANT WAY IS TO LOOK TOWARD REMOVING THE CRIMINAL

STIGMA FOR SOME CRIMES, AND SOME OFFENDERS WHO DO NOT HAVE A

CRIMINAL BACKGROUND.

*(see other page)*

SO OFTEN IT IS OUR TENDENCY TO LABEL. BUT WE PAY A HEAVY PRICE FOR MISLABELING.

THE CRIMINAL LABEL ON A YOUNG MAN OR WOMAN CAN FORECLOSE OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT, AND CRIMINAL LABELS IN MANY CASES FORECLOSE OPPORTUNITIES FOR A NON-CRIMINAL LIFE.

IT WOULD MAKE SO MUCH MORE SENSE TO WORK WITH FIRST OFFENDERS THAN TO SHOVE THEM ASIDE, AND IT IS AN INVESTMENT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO PASS UP. ABOUT HALF OF THE FIRST OFFENDERS FROM OUR CITIES BECOME CRIME REPEATERS. THINK OF THE MONEY AND THE PAIN WE COULD SAVE WITH WORKABLE, EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS.

WE NEED TO TRY PRE-TRIAL DIVERSION TO TURN THESE PEOPLE  
AWAY FROM THE CONVENTIONAL CRIMINAL PROCESS. WE NEED TO TURN  
THEM TO THE FAMILY, HEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT SERVICES THAT HAVE  
PROVEN EFFECTIVE AGAINST CRIME.

WE NEED TO MAKE SUCH CONVENTIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE SERVICES  
AS PROBATION AND HALF-WAY HOUSES A REAL ALTERNATIVE TO  
IMPRISONMENT FOR THESE OFFENDERS.

I DO NOT SEEK TO LURE YOU INTO BELIEVING THAT THESE ARE  
PANACEAS FOR ALL CRIME. THEY ARE NOT. VIOLENT AND DANGEROUS  
OFFENDERS MUST BE SEPARATED FROM SOCIETY.



L BUT FOR MANY THERE ARE BETTER WAYS -- AND THEY CAN BE  
EFFECTIVE IN STEERING THE FIRST OFFENDER AWAY FROM LEARNING THE  
WAYS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE WE ALL FEAR.

L THE LARGER ANSWER, HOWEVER, LIES IN FULL EMPLOYMENT.  
*work - jobs - construction*  
*activity - particularly on the young*  
Now, I DO NOT PROPOSE THAT WE MAKE EVERY BANK ROBBER A  
BANK TELLER -- OR EVERY CAR THIEF A PARKING LOT ATTENDANT.

~~WE CAN'T TAKE JOBS AWAY FROM LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS.~~

L BUT WE CAN -- AND WE MUST -- ASSURE EVERY AMERICAN OF  
THE RIGHT TO EARN HIS OR HER OWN WAY WITH USEFUL AND SATISFYING  
WORK.  
*(Teenage unemployment - & Teenage crime rates)*

I AM CONVINCED THAT IT CAN REDUCE CRIME -- AND AT A PRICE

WE CAN AFFORD TO PAY.

*In the last analysis - ours will not be a lawless  
society until all citizens believe it is a just  
society and its laws worthy of obedience*

L WE CANNOT ABANDON OUR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS  
OF OUR POLICE -- NOR CAN WE FAIL TO PROVIDE THE COURTS THE MEANS  
TO ADMINISTER JUSTICE PROMPTLY AND FAIRLY.

L WE MUST INSIST THAT MORE RESOURCES BE DIRECTED TO AN  
EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF JUSTICE.

L WE CANNOT SPEAK REALISTICALLY ABOUT PRISON REFORM UNLESS  
WE ARE WILLING TO MAKE A SERIOUS INVESTMENT IN THE IMPROVEMENT  
OF OUR CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION FACILITIES, AND IN THE TRAINING  
AND INCOME OF PERSONNEL AT ALL LEVELS WHO ADMINISTER OUR  
CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS.

L WE CANNOT SPEAK REALISTICALLY ABOUT QUICKLY APPREHENDING  
CRIMINALS, SOLVING CRIMES, AND GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO A  
SPEEDY AND FAIR TRIAL IN THE FACE OF SEVERELY-LIMITED RESOURCES

IN OUR POLICE DEPARTMENTS, OUR PUBLIC ATTORNEYS' OFFICES, AND  
OUR COURTS.

↳ WHEN LESS THAN ONE-THIRD OF CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY ARE  
SOLVED BY THE ARREST OF A SUSPECT; WHEN, IN NEW YORK CITY TWO

YEARS AGO, THE PROSECUTORS HAD TO DEAL WITH NEARLY 31,000

FELONY ARRESTS, OR 249 CASES FOR EACH PROSECUTOR -- THEN IT

BECOMES SHARPLY CLEAR THAT OUR SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IS IN

URGENT NEED OF ASSISTANCE JUST TO COPE WITH THE DEMANDS PLACED

UPON IT, MUCH LESS UNDERTAKE LONG-OVERDUE IMPROVEMENTS AND

REFORMS.

↳ THE HEART OF OUR VICTORY OVER CRIME WILL COME FROM A

DETERMINATION TO STRIKE AT THE CAUSE.

and surely the facts indicate that  
poverty, poor education, discrimination,  
lack of skills - ugliness of slums, lead themselves  
to crime  
SO WE MUST ATTACK UNEMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY -- AND WE MUST

OVERCOME THAT POVERTY OF SPIRIT WHICH DESTROYS HOPE AND BREEDS

CRIME.

THAT FAMOUS PHILOSOPHER, JOHN STUART MILL, UNDERSTOOD THIS  
CHALLENGE WHEN HE SAID, "LET A PERSON HAVE NOTHING TO DO FOR  
HIS COUNTRY, AND HE WILL HAVE NO LOVE FOR IT."

↳ A PERSON WITHOUT A JOB DOES NOT FEEL A PART OF OUR SOCIETY.

~~AND~~ HOW CAN HE LOVE A SOCIETY THAT HAS SHUT HIM OUT? ONLY

WHEN WE GUARANTEE THAT EVERY AMERICAN HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO

CONTRIBUTE CAN WE BE CERTAIN THAT HE WILL ABIDE BY THE SOCIAL

CONTRACT THAT BINDS US AS A NATION. In the last analysis,

ours will ~~be~~ not be a lawful society  
until all citizens believe it is a just  
society and its laws worthy of  
obedience.

I AM COMMITTED TO SEE THAT WE MEET THIS CHALLENGE. WE  
IGNORE IT AT OUR PERIL.

"Father Cappucci"

Love is Stronger than Hatred  
Hope more Powerful than Despair

# United States Senate

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## MEMORANDUM

Betty:

I thought you should have this original, unedited transcript for your files.

Keynote address  
National Institute on Crime and  
Delinquency  
Minneapolis, Minnesota  
June 15, 1975

Lou

Edited version went into Record.

*Pat - Return to  
file with copy  
of edited version  
from Record -*

9 ;

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My special thanks to Ken Shoen for his generous introduction and to my associate in public service, Mayor Cohen. I want to compliment the Mayor on his initiatives in the capital city of St. Paul, and to express our thanks to the Reverend father for the spiritual uplifting that he has given to us to which I intend to refer tonight; to Bernie Kroche and Barbara O'Brien. *Delete* Barbara, we welcome you to these environs. Now let me quickly say to the Mayor of St. Paul that I haven't given up my proprietary rights as the former Mayor of Minneapolis. I realize that Mayor Hofstead is not here tonight but I always carry with me a sort of non-dues paying union card in the Association of Mayors, and I'm going to protect the rights of Minneapolis if only just for a moment. When Mayor Cohen talked about annexing these open spaces, that was going just a little too far. But I'll tell ya, when he's over here you have to watch him, and I'm very glad that he's at this conference where we can keep an eye on him tonight.

~~Dear friends~~ I come to you tonight as a fellow citizen. I'm very gratified by the invitation to <sup>give</sup> ~~be given the~~ ~~opportunity of~~ the keynote remarks for the opening of your conference, but I do not claim to be any expert. As a matter of fact, my remarks will most likely be somewhat disappointing to you if you're looking for the specifics of immediate remedy. Because I have none. Were I to have them, I'm sure that I wouldn't have time to be here this evening. But I do know that it is important that we talk it out and that we exercise all of our rights and to debate and discussion and dialogue and then to remember that also

people in a free society have to make decisions because that's  
 the other part of our Democratic inheritance. My remarks, there-  
 fore, will not be of a technical nature. I'll leave the sophisti-  
 cated criminal justice discussions up to you, and believe me, ~~that~~  
 we in the Congress ~~and myself in particular~~ will welcome any  
 constructive or positive suggestions that you can come forth with--  
 suggestions which may already have been made but which have been  
 lost, which is quite characteristic in government, and the sugges-  
 tions which have not been made, and which ~~you~~ <sup>we</sup> ought to have the  
 willingness to try. [We need some spirit of adventure, innovation,  
 because as I shall reveal to you in my remarks tonight, I feel that  
 our system of justice ~~has much to be--well has much more to be im-~~  
<sup>leaves much to be desired.</sup>  
 proved. It's found wanting in many ways, it has failed and  
 therefore your deliberations are going to be exceedingly helpful.  
 [Now in the last decade, the fear of crime, particularly violent  
 crime, has appeared at the forefront of every public opinion  
 survey of the American people's social concerns. We cannot ignore  
 that. ~~Those of us that are in public life as elected officials~~  
~~or those of you that are in public office as civil servants, pro-~~  
~~fessionals or those of you who work in private agencies--~~ <sup>see</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>Only</sup>  
 double-digit inflation, compounded by rising recession and unemploy-  
 ment, ~~has~~ <sup>been</sup> even been a close serious competitor to the people's con-  
 cern over ~~what they call~~ crime. [In early 1973 a Gallup poll showed  
 that one out of every five Americans had <sup>been</sup> victimized by some type  
 of crime between December of 1971 and December of 1972 and that  
 in the center cities, the figure was one in three persons. A//  
 respondents to the survey listed crime as the worst problem in



their community and 51% ~~said~~ there was more crime in their community than there had been a year earlier ~~and~~ Only 10% thought that crime had lessened. ~~[~~Now, don't misunderstand me--this is but a public opinion survey. I'm not at all sure that the facts support all of the attitudes, but in public life what is true is sometimes not quite as important as what people think is true, because it's the attitude of people, ~~the opinion of people~~ that ultimately makes public policy. ~~[~~The fear of crime ~~it~~ corrodes trust in government, ~~and~~ it destroys the tolerance that we have for each other. ~~And~~ It breaks down respect for law, ~~and~~ all of which are vital to a healthy democracy. So no matter how you look at it, the crime problem is a national concern, ~~and in some areas of America, an unbelievable concern.~~ ~~[~~But it's not limited to what most people think of as crime--street crime. ~~It's~~ also white collar crime. ~~It's~~ organized crime and it's government corruption. ~~And~~ all of these are serious problems that must be addressed by any comprehensive conference such as this, or any comprehensive crime control program. ~~Here indeed~~ ~~[~~a concentration of the resources for crime control upon just street crime is often looked upon by some people--minorities, the poor--as a ~~sort of a~~ discrimination against them, particularly when they see all too little effort made ~~on flight~~ <sup>to combat</sup> white-collar crime, organized crime and government crime.

~~[~~ Obviously, then, the best that I can say to sort of kick off this message is that the present system ~~(whatever it may be)~~ ~~and it's very complex and it has many variations--the present system~~ just isn't working too well. ~~Street wise,~~ <sup>who</sup> The street-saavy criminal or the person ~~that~~ indulges in street crime know that the odds are

on his side to get away with it. Only one in 9 of reported crimes eventually lead, to conviction, and we know of the inadequacy <sup>to numbers</sup> of police ~~in numbers~~ in many places; we know of the inadequacy of the police training, not only in ~~crime~~ apprehension, but also ~~just~~ in human behavior. We know of the overloaded courts; we know of the incredible delays in the court system. We know of so many things and we do so little about it. [The present law enforcement system ~~(then as I would put it)~~ often fails to give justice or to do justice. Sentences for the same crime vary radically and not only in one particular community like the Twin Cities here or in the State of Minnesota, but <sup>among</sup> ~~between~~ states. [We also know that the correction, system has failed miserably. ~~We~~ <sup>Maybe</sup> don't know why, but we know ~~that~~ that's a fact, and we also know that at each stage of the crime control process, whether its <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ deterrence level, ~~or~~ <sup>it</sup> detection or apprehension, or at the trial, or in the rehabilitation and correction system--our criminal justice system has either failed <sup>been</sup> ~~or~~ found wanting. [Now I've got to summarize it by saying there are no easy solutions, and anybody who comes here and tells you so would be deceiving first himself and ~~then~~ would be attempting to deceive you, which I don't think is possible. There's no magic formula that will eradicate crime and delinquency. There's no single segment of our society that can cure this disease alone. It's going to take all of us; it's going to take a massive effort. [I wish that some way or another ~~that~~ we could become as concerned about the control and correction of crime as we are about tabulating its costs. It's going to require working together, trying out new approaches. <sup>We must</sup> be willing to dare and to pioneer in a, ~~hopeful~~ effort

in the hope of making some progress. <sup>77</sup> Now those are just for  
 openers because I know that these are the things that you're going  
 to be talking about. I looked your program over. Quite frankly,  
 it staggered me. It's an incredible program. I'll have to be a  
 generalist. I have dedicated an airport today. I have presented  
 bicentennial flags. I have witnessed an airshow, I've attended  
 a baseball game, I went to a little community for a large family  
 reunion to be a guest. <sup>went up to dedicate</sup> I was up and dedicated the interpretive  
 center for Sinclair Lewis, and I guess I did a couple of other things  
 along the way. And I'm supposed to be here tonight to give you a  
 thoughtful, provocative, informative speech on the whole system of  
 criminal justice! Now you know you're not going to get it. But I'm  
 going to talk to you about some things I do <sup>know</sup> ~~no~~ of. I'll never  
 forget what my old professor of English at the University of Minn. <sup>2020</sup>  
 told me once, bless his memory--Dr. Briggs. When I came down here  
 as a freshman, I was all filled up with the zeal of saving ~~the~~  
 world <sup>at</sup> least in one year. I had been writing editorials for the  
 high school newspaper, and I had covered almost every subject up  
 to that time--up to 1929. There was none that was left untouched,  
 and I proceeded to show this professor of English literature that  
 I had genius and wisdom <sup>and</sup> knowledge, and I started writing about the  
 World Court and back in those days <sup>2</sup> that was before we had the St.  
 Lawrence Seaway--I wrote about that. I had never seen a river bigger  
 than the James River here in S. <sup>South</sup> Dakota until I came to Minneapolis.  
 But I <sup>(thought I)</sup> knew all about it, and I wasn't doing very well. And it kinda <sup>of</sup>  
 disappointed me because I had been sort of a smash hit back in my  
 home town of 600. It's great to be in a small town if you have just

<sup>But</sup>  
 ordinary ability. He called me in one time and we had a little  
 talk and he said, "I've read what you're writing, <sup>and</sup> your papers. I'm  
 interested, but I'm not impressed." Why don't you write about  
 something that you know about, <sup>and</sup> <sup>it had</sup> ~~it~~ never dawned on me that that's  
 what one should do. So I'm going to remember what Dr. Briggs told  
 me, ~~and~~ <sup>He'd</sup> be happy to know that I was remembering him tonight. I'm  
 going to talk to you about something that I know about. Maybe not  
 enough, but I know something about it. ~~I served as Chairman of~~  
<sup>not responsible</sup>  
 the JEC of the Congress of the US, and I have devoted a great deal  
 of my time to economic and social policy. That's been my life.  
 Everything that I've tried to do has been in that area. Federal  
 aid to education programs, war on poverty, Vista, ~~Headstart~~, these  
 are my programs. National Defense Education Act, senior citizen  
 housing--these are programs to which I put my name and my effort.  
 The Peace Corps, the Arms Control Agency, housing programs, HUD,  
 that's it. I have never established a court of law, nor have I  
 really claimed any knowledge in the field of criminal justice, but  
 I'm interested in justice, and I think that's the test of govern-  
 ment. That's the real test--that's what the Constitution talks  
 about. [The Constitution doesn't talk about criminal justice, <sup>it</sup>  
 talks about justice, <sup>about</sup> <sup>we</sup> the people <sup>it says,</sup> in order to form a more  
<sup>union</sup>  
 perfect, to establish justice, to assure domestic tranquility, I guess  
~~that covers the subject matter here. To provide for the common~~  
~~defense--that's in this subject matter, it's in the realm of your~~  
~~conference.~~ To promote the general welfare and to secure the  
 blessings of liberty ~~and~~ for ourselves and our posterity, do hereby

ordain and establish this Constitution. Now it's interesting to note that there's not a negative thought there. It's a positive affirmation of faith and policy. ~~and I've often said to my students when I've been teaching and you know that I come in and out of college according to the will of the voters, get a little of what we call on the job training. But as I told my students that if they remember what's in the preamble of the Constitution and really understand it, they have learned all they need to know about American government, because it's a very important paragraph. "We the People." The emphasis is upon people, government by the consent of the governed, individual sovereignty, rights, you couple that with those great promises and hope and ideals of the Declaration of Independence, that we'll celebrate in our Bicentennial, life the natural godgiven rights of life and of liberty and of the pursuit of happiness and again we talk about positive ideals for America and I (si) my judgment that the positive ideals will do a great deal to help us in our battle against crime, because crime is the end product of a system or a set of circumstances that lead to a distorted and disorganized life. Now I said I'd like to talk to you about the things I'm acquainted with. I'm involved in a constant study of the Economic and social indicators, and by the way we are still very far behind in our governmental statistical information and I have been struck by the unmistakable conclusion that the increases in crime that we are suffering today are a direct result of growing joblessness. Our prison populations are rising, and I believe this is directly related to the sharp economic downturn which came into full swing last fall. Don't~~

misunderstand me; it's not the only reason, but if I'm forced to pick <sup>one factor</sup> ~~a reason~~ out of the many, I give proper emphasis to this one. No less an authority than the distinguished new <sup>United States</sup> Attorney General of the US has espoused this view. [The State of Michigan interestingly enough was the first to report increases in prison population this past year. It is no coincidence that this also was the first state to be the hardest hit by drastic unemployment. It was reported that crime in Detroit was up 20.3% in January of this year over last year, and I'm here to remind you that the rate of unemployment in Detroit itself, exclusive of its suburbs, is over 20%. The same has been shown in a number of major population centers around the country. [Prison population which represents only those who have been apprehended, tried and ~~who have been~~ convicted, and that's a small percentage of the reported serious offenders and crimes, <sup>very small</sup> ~~percentage~~. ~~Prison population~~ is rising, <sup>this is because</sup> not just because of improved law enforcement procedures, <sup>cuz</sup> I don't think that's the case in many cities. City Mayors are being forced to lay off police because of budgetary problems. ~~The very kind of crime,~~ street crime, property crime is higher than ever. There has been no significant increase in the rate at which <sup>reported</sup> crimes are being cleared-- to the contrary. [Prison population is rising not because we have improved our court system or eliminated <sup>the</sup> a backlog of cases; You know better than I ~~xxx~~ that that backlog is still there, ~~and~~ <sup>It's</sup> not the result of more effective rehabilitation or extended prison sentences. [Prison population is rising in a very large measure because prolonged unemployment is rising, ~~and because~~ Teenage ~~your~~ unemployment is a national catastrophe. Two weeks



ago the Labor Department announced that the unemployment rate had grown to 9.2%. Now the real truth is that it's closer to 12% when you <sup>include</sup> ~~put in~~ those persons that are working part time that want full time <sup>work</sup> and the number of people that left the job market <sup>and are</sup> no longer reporting to the employment offices looking for work because they <sup>have</sup> become totally disillusioned and disenchanted and disgusted, ~~but among the minority Americans--because~~ The 9.2% gives you averages; doesn't tell you much. Among ~~st~~ minority Americans, its 14.7% <sup>percent</sup> Among teenagers--black, <sup>white,</sup> brown, red, its ~~xxxx~~ almost 22% and among ~~st~~ minority teenagers it is a staggering 39.9%, and that's when I ~~xxxx~~ wrote these things. ~~Its xxx 42.2%~~ now. 42.2% of the black, ~~Mexican-American, Puerto Rican,~~ <sup>Indian</sup> teenagers in America, ~~Indian teenagers~~ are without jobs and ~~have been~~ without jobs for months, ~~and some of them for years.~~ [ I'm here to tell this audience if I tell you nothing else that there is no remedy to crime as long as those conditions prevail. I don't care how many policemen you ~~have to~~ hire, how many courts you establish, how many social workers you put on the job. ~~But~~ When people are idle and when young people are idle, when there's nothing for them to do, when they are not wanted, when they are shunted aside, they'll get into trouble as surely as you've gathered in this room tonight. You don't have to go to college to learn that. All you need to do is be a parent, or all you need to do is remember you <sup>once too</sup> were young. [ And when I think of the incredible changes that have taken place its no mystery to me why we have high crime rates. The unbel-  
ievable instability of our society, the rapid technological and scientific changes--future shock if you please--the unbelievable

migration of people from one end of America to another, the breakup of the home in many areas--all of this lends itself to crime. The fact that both mother and father are called upon to work to provide enough for ~~a wife and~~ the necessities of life, the fact that we have inadequate child care centers for little children, and frankly, the inadequacy, ~~of~~ for what reason I don't know, ~~but I know that it is inadequate~~ of our educational system to meet some of the demands ~~of~~ and the needs of our young people. [In the last six months, three independent studies have carefully documented the relationship between joblessness and imprisonment and they have produced disturbing proof of this current phenomenon. [We need only understand the lives of <sup>poor</sup> people, to learn the cause and effect relationship of the criminal system and unemployment. Research reveals unmistakably <sup>that the majority of</sup> crimes of violence, ~~the majority are~~ <sup>perpetrated</sup> ~~perpetrated~~ by males between the ages of 15 and 24 who are often unemployed or at the lowest end of the occupational and educational scale. You see, <sup>street crime, violent</sup> crime is essentially a problem of young and poor. ~~What we call street crime--crimes of violence and~~ [Maybe that's why we haven't dealt with it, because I have a feeling that problems that relate to the young and the poor are generally shunted aside. And you know it and I know it and were going to talk about it here tonight, and I'm going to get you roused up a little bit, if I do nothing else, to call on your Congressman and Senator and write your President and write your Governor and write your legislator and get this country moving again instead of sitting around here accepting something we know leads to a colossal disaster.

[ Now what is <sup>this</sup> business called unemployment--just



a loss of income. <sup>?</sup> No, that's not the whole thing--that's only a small part of it. Unemployment is the loss of pride. Unemployment <sup>is</sup> being told you're not needed. Unemployment's being told there's no place for you. It's the loss of self-worth. ~~Unemployment and poverty~~ <sup>poverty</sup> ~~and poverty~~, if you combine them together, and they're not always together because some people are unemployed for a long period of time, <sup>but with</sup> ~~unemployment compensation they get by; they get some food stamps.~~ and I happen to think that just because they get by we don't do anything about the basic problem. We may have bought ourselves out of coming to grips with the real fundamental structural defect in our economy. Because this is an old American habit. When you're in trouble, write out a check. Don't talk about it. Don't get at the real roots of ~~the~~ problem. Just give somebody some money. This is what people have done with their children. When they ask for something, hand it to them. Don't give them love and understanding and time, give them money. And when we've run out of money, we've forgotten how to give them love and understanding and time. And therefore, as much as I have worked all my life for unemployment compensation benefits as one of these liberal hopefuls in politics, and as much as I worked for (and I was the original author of) the Food Stamp plan back in the 1950's, <sup>I know these things don't</sup> ~~all~~ these things are necessary. I'm a pharmacist, and I know that aspirins are necessary, I know that pain relievers are necessary. ~~I'll even give~~ <sup>I know these things don't</sup> ~~a commercial for Excedrin if you want it.~~ But I know that it doesn't cure what's wrong with you. And I know that if you continue to have the pain, you'll have to take a heavier dose of pain relievers or sooner or later, you'll be an addict and you'll never get at the

problem, and I know that we are taking a big dose of pain reliever in this country, rather than ~~xxxxxx~~ looking at the problems, because as long as the problem isn't ours--we've all got jobs in this room, <sup>as</sup> as long as it isn't ours, as long as it's still an academic subject, then it isn't quite so difficult, quite so personal. [ You know, I used to talk about all kinds of problems, like handicaps. Well, <sup>we have</sup> ~~one day we got~~ a mentally retarded granddaughter, and I'm here to tell you I don't <sup>just</sup> talk about it anymore. I ~~fight~~ about it, because sometimes you have to have pain to bring understanding, and I am of the opinion that far too many people talking about the problems of poverty and unemployment have never experienced either and therefore are incapable of the sensitivity that is necessary for its understanding. [ The only time you will <sup>really</sup> know sorrow is <sup>when</sup> you've grieved. You can write about it, you can be an author, a poet, but until you have grieved over the loss of a loved one, you'll never know sorrow. And until you've been hurt you will never know pain. And I happen to believe that many of the problems that we deal with in government ~~today~~ **today are problems** that to those who are dealing with them ~~they~~ **are essentially** academic, and statistical. ~~Rather than feeling the emotion and feeling the pain that comes with it.~~ [ Maybe I get worried about this and excited because I am a child of the Depression. I saw the Depression take ten years off the life of my father and mother. I haven't forgiven the system for doing that. And I don't want ~~you~~ you to forgive it either when you see other people that ~~are~~ are denied their chance for life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Because that's what we're supposed to be

celebrating. And not ~~just~~ <sup>just</sup> for you ~~and for~~ <sup>for</sup> me but for all of us.

[You see, unemployment and poverty ~~as I have said~~ <sup>Years</sup> are the ~~poors~~ of desperation in the young father's eyes when he cannot, no matter how hard he tries, provide enough ~~food~~ food for the kids or some ~~X~~ of the little pleasures for the family. [Unemployment may very well mean there is ~~no longer~~ <sup>no longer</sup> anymore health insurance, no decent health care. Fortunately we are going to take care of that in the Congress of the United States. It means there's no, or at least less, recreation. ~~No~~ cultural activity, ~~no~~ hope of becoming ~~productive~~ <sup>productive</sup> or a productive, happy member of our community. Because the community has become a ~~club~~ club of insiders. And the poor and the unemployed are the outsiders. [Yes, unemployment means much more than <sup>the</sup> the loss of income. It means that society says, in effect: ~~We~~ <sup>we</sup> don't want you; we don't need you; and there is no place for you.

Now, dear friends, that's not an economic fact. That's a social ~~XXXXX~~ condition. [When the poor come into the criminal justice system they often feel lost even before they begin.]

When poor people are arrested they are not as likely to have money for bail, or to hire a good competent attorney, or to have a stable family background necessary to qualify for release on some form of probation. [The indigent <sup>have</sup> ~~has~~ a right, of course, to appointed counsel. And thank God, there are a number of young lawyers these days with great social consciousness. That are willing to give of their time.

But do you realize what a battle we had in Congress for what we <sup>call</sup> legal services for the poor? Legal services for the poor. The

same government that has attorneys running out of its ears, to protect the government. ~~to~~ protect every agency of government. That same government did not want to have for a long period of time -- we had a knock down, drag out battle with the President, and with other members of the Congress to have some kind of legal services for the poor. Because they said it wasn't good enough. Well, I want to tell you it was better than we had. And, I've learned a long time ago that that is important.

[Even with] Sure I know the indigent has the right to counsel provided for by law ~~under the Constitution~~, But in some areas this *has* turned out to be an empty right. And these same people fail when they are placed on probation because they are not part of a family. Frequently there is no family. They do not have the income and the psychological support <sup>necessary</sup> to sustain themselves.

[Now] Now all of this you know, but, you know I am a teacher and I learned a long time ago that most of us are slow learners and not only that but there is a lot of competition for our attention.

And that's why that old story of the fellow with the mule, you know -- he hit him between the eyes with a two-by-four, and his neighbor said, "Why in the world did you do that?" He says, "Well before he will listen I have got to get his attention."

Sometimes we almost must get hit between the ~~xxx~~ eyes with a social two-by-four before we will listen. But all of this fades into insignificance when you realize what happens *what happens when an offender is released from prison?* Now I don't know *enough about* what

goes on in the prisons, <sup>just</sup> Except what I've read. And what I've read is terrifying. I know this is one of the great problems that our ~~correction officers face.~~ And ~~that the whole legal system faces, today,~~ The prison system. I ~~know that Federal~~ <sup>professional</sup> systems, ~~generally,~~ are better in terms of organization and staffing. I said generally than state and county prisons.

[ But just think what happens when a <sup>prisoner</sup> person is released. We give an ~~XXXXX~~ inmate \$50 or \$100 and a suit of clothes at the prison gate as he leaves. I ask you, how many hours could your household survive for \$50 for rent and utilities, food and clothes? I think it's a self-answering question. And why should we expect \$50 or \$100 or \$150 or \$200 to last an ex-convict any longer? Why should we expect it to last him the four weeks it takes the typical ex-convict to even come close to finding a job? [ The truth is, the criminals from whom we have the most to fear are not even a part of that statistical pool of 9.2% unemployed. They're the ones who have dropped off the bottom end. They have given up with the ~~unemployment~~ office. The unemployment ~~XXXXX~~ rate is only a measure of the frustration they face in getting their lives together <sup>to become</sup> ~~into~~ a constructive part of society. And getting it together means getting together the money to keep a family unit living together as well as getting together the self-esteem, The rebirth of pride and confidence that is the product of useful work. [ I gather some of you may come to the conclusion that I believe in work. I do. I think it is constructive. It has all therapeutic value second to none. It beats the holding of hands

consolation  
and the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ that you can give ~~them~~ <sup>anything</sup> for a hundred years.

[ Gave people something to do. And not just ~~something~~, but something they can do. The employment programs which we have created for offenders usually are only a Band-Aid at a time when surgery is needed. And many of the programs raise expectations that cannot be fulfilled.

[ Well, first ~~we~~ we often train people for jobs that do not even exist, ~~Particularly~~, in prisons. I wonder how many people have examined the prison rehabilitation training programs as <sup>they</sup> it relates to the outside community where that ex-convict is going to go. ~~for~~ <sup>Sometimes we train them</sup> ~~for~~ ~~XXXXX~~ jobs that they are prevented from filling, or for jobs that simply do not pay what it costs a person to live.

[ We raise expectations that cannot be fulfilled when we find an ex-offender a job at \$2.50 an hour. When he knows that it costs nearly ~~XXXXXX~~ <sup>to provide</sup> twice ~~as~~ that much the barest essentials of food, shelter, and health care <sup>for a family of 4</sup> ~~in our cities, and even for himself.~~ <sup>or</sup> Forget the family. He can't live off of that. There has ~~been~~ been a growing awareness that our efforts at rehabilitation have been anything but successful. But then, what additional steps should we take besides a general review, and may I say, re-development of our correctional system.

[ Well, I am going to give you a few <sup>points</sup> quickies that I picked <sup>make</sup> off somewhere along the line, and this will be the only attempt ~~I'll~~ ~~at any kind of expertise.~~ Obviously, at each state level there are <sup>many</sup> ~~literally hundreds of~~ agencies that are in what we would ~~call are in~~ the criminal justice sytem. If not hundreds, many. All too often there is very little coordination. Very little ~~coordination~~ between those who apprehend, those who prosecute,



<sup>who</sup> those ~~that~~ stand in justice, and those <sup>who</sup> ~~that~~ stand ~~XXXX~~ and work in <sup>the</sup> correctional or rehabilitation system. Each one has sort of a separate compartment. ~~Oh yes, I know~~ <sup>From</sup> time-~~XXM~~ to-time there's talk, and from time-to-time there's an exchange of document~~ation~~, but the kind of professional planning, the kind of methodical planning on a multi-year and multi-agency basis, I think is very much lacking. And it has to be done. And this is the job of governors, of mayors, of Presidents; this is the job of the people heading up the correction systems. This requires top leadership. This requires bringing in Federal, state and local instrumentalities, <sup>every jurisdiction</sup> ~~and forgetting their jurisdiction for a while and think about the individual.~~ ( You know I serve in

Congress and I am constantly hearing people talk about the Federal dollars. There are no Federal dollars. There are people's dollars. Or I hear some department head talk about labor's dollars, or agriculture's dollars. They protect their budgets like they were a sovereign <sup>member</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ of the United Nations. And may I say, that I have found this to be true in local

governments. Trying to pull people together. Why we have had the <sup>having radio</sup> ~~having~~ the different bands ~~XXXX~~ problem even in the technical aspect of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the communities right here ~~XXXX~~ of broadcast so that ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ in this metropolitan area - we're on ~~XXXX~~ different radios so that they cnd' talk to each other. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXX~~

If you got across one street from another you were just almost safe because the boys couldn't tune in. Of course, now that's changed. Fortunately, but for a long time in <sup>many of</sup> the metropolitan areas we found that the sheriff's system was different from the

*delete*

police system. And that the state system was different from the federal system. It was as if, you should have had one of those short wave radios that could tune in Moscow and Peking and Bucharest and Berlin and London and Paris. With as many wave lengths or wave bands, radio bands. But now maybe we are a little better. There should be better coordination ~~XX~~ and centralization of criminal justice information. And also, then how do you protect its privacy. Because that is also important at a time ~~when~~ particularly when someone has been ~~XXXX~~ released and showing all the signs of good citizenship. And you and I know that there ought to be ~~XXXX~~ what we call victimless crimes that ought to be de~~criminalized~~. We ought not to be ~~having our courts be spending their time on traffic. On~~ *Our courts ought not to be* traffic tickets or drunkenness, or ~~somebody that's a vagrant, or~~ *on vagrancy.* somebody as we say that is just around the streets.

*kind of*

~~Criminal justice system has more important things to do. These problems should be handled by That's province for health and education and welfare offices and social agencies, and administrative structures. And obviously our juvenile court jurisdiction needs to be ~~XXX~~ very carefully analyzed, divided from those that are juvenile court cases that would be criminal ~~if they were an adult and that kind of that~~ *committed by* person should have the same procedural and substantive rights as any other. And those non-criminal in ~~XX~~ nature should be ~~XX~~ treated as I said before by the agencies, the social agencies, and administrative offices.~~

*delete*

*It is important to*

[ And I ~~am~~ am a strong believer in community-based corrections programs. ~~Particularly for the juvenile, keeping them close to the~~ *juvenile offenders* community. *and* Hopefully, close to the family, if there is a family.



*I believe*  
 And involving that correctional system ~~X with work.~~ *showed trouble* *Let me* May I ~~XXX~~ just  
 give you one ~~little~~ example of what I am talking about. ~~That~~ *this* just  
 happened out in my neighborhood. And I don't know how this is  
 going to sound but I figure a fella just as well tell you what  
~~he thinks.~~ We had three juveniles that had been apprehended out  
 in Waverly, Minnesota, where I live. *It is* A little small community  
 of a few hundred people. They went through a cemetery ~~XX~~ and  
 overturned about 130 or 140 gravestones and desecrated the  
 graves. For what reason, I wouldn't understand. One or ~~two~~  
 you might say they had a little too much beer. Or prank. Or just  
 being plain mean and that happens too. ~~XX~~ *they went* But for three to go  
 through an entire cemetery ~~XXX~~ with a chain and a car ~~and go~~ *front one*  
~~XXX~~ from corner of it to another and turn over every tombstone  
~~break up and~~ and/destroy vaults and graves, is beyond me. Now I don't know  
 how you punish or how you correct such a situation but I'll tell  
 you one thing ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ that I do know what I would do if I had  
 my way ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ about it. I'd get the three and I'd say,  
 "Alright, Buddy, you were expert in turning them over. How ~~X~~  
 would you like ~~/to learn to set~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ them up straight?" I'd take them right  
 on out there.

Now if they need psychiatric treatment they'll get that too.  
 That'll come along with it. Apparently there was little or no  
 evidence that they had had psychiatric problems. They had some  
 typical problems that a lot of young people have of plain being  
 mean. And that's not unusual. That's happened to a lot of  
 people according to my mother and my father. who brought up  
 four. And it's happened in my own family and Mrs. Humphrye  
 says it happens with me. And she's right. Don't tell her I said

so but she is occassionally. But my dear friends, I am interested in what is going to happen to those three young men. I'll betcha that what they will do ~~is~~ is give them a sentence and they'll put them at some kind of a little correctional institution which maybe won't help them a bit. What they need to have is a mother or father who has lost a son that was buried in that cemetary to stand right there and point at that young man and say, "Now you put that tombstome up there fro my son, Fred." And you clean up that grove. And go over there for this boy we lost, seven of them in the war in Vietnam from that little village, You go set up that tombstone. YOU put it back just like it was. If you were big enough and strong enough to push it over you are big enough and strong enough to set it ~~up~~ up. And I want to watch you."

As that father that stands there WWII veteran or Korean veteran that has lost his son looks right down at these young men, and they weren't that young. I think that ~~that~~ might have a little example. That's a whoe lot better than putting them in some correctional institution where it's most likely won't do him any good in the first place.

Just in case you're interested, I'll recommend this. to the proper authorities. This is unique withme. Its's just plain country wisdom. I picked up for some other folks.

Well, now friends we have to train our <sup>corrections</sup> people, as I have said, but as I have pointed out to you we have other things that we must do. <sup>We need</sup> More police, to be sure, I was ~~is~~ very proud of the fact that when I was mayor of this city ~~that~~ we re-organized our police department. We gave our police department

training in human relations, too. ~~Because there was an awful lot of bigotry and prejudice amongst police officers. We don't like to have people call other people names even when they have a badge on.~~ I have often said that a good law enforcement officer is one who doesn't need to use a club, or the gun, <sup>but</sup> <sup>not</sup> ~~or one that~~ breeds ~~re~~ respect for law. [ We had community councils back in those early days. Before any ~~any~~ police officer could be assigned to any precinct station he had to get the approval, not of the mayor alone, or of the Civil Service Commission, but of the Community Council, the parish priest, the community social worker, ~~the club,~~ We had a regular ~~XXXXXX XXXXXXX~~ council selected over and beyond the City Council. ~~We tried to do a better job and that's what it's all about.~~

*delet* Someone asked me the other day, "What do you want to do with your life, Humphrey?" I said, "Do Better."

I know I can't (od) it perfectly. And I am actually too Old to believe that I have all the answers. I once had it better. I knew them then.

*Today* [ We need better equipment and we need more judges. Yes, we ~~need~~ need all of that. But we also need to move toward removing the criminal stigma for some crimes, and for some offenders who do not have a criminal background. So often it is a tendency to just put on a label. But we pay a heavy price for mislabeling.

[ A criminal label on a young man or woman can foreclose <sup>opportunities</sup> for <sup>rather</sup> education and employment. I'd a whole lot/have them doing something constructive than calling them a criminal. And criminal labels in many cases foreclose ~~for~~ a non-criminal life. It would ~~make~~ make much more sense to work with first offenders than shove them

aside. <sup>it would make</sup> And much more sense to put them to work, <sup>ok,</sup> than ~~shove them~~  
~~aside.~~ I want to emphasize that America is making little or  
 room  
 no ~~XXXXXX~~ for teen-agers except for fun. Fun and games and  
 trouble. May <sup>be</sup> your life is different. But when I was a lad  
 I could work along <sup>side</sup> my father at the drugstore. I was an  
 apprentice pharmacist ~~X~~ by the age of 18. I learned it from  
 my father. ~~You think a young boy could go out here to Ford~~  
~~Motor Co. and work along side of his father to learn how to be~~  
~~a mechanic. No room. In the inn or the plant. You think you~~  
~~can take your son over to the XXXXXXXX super-market and say~~  
~~"Well, son, I'm going to serve up the groceries now today and~~  
~~I'm going to show you how to do it."~~

No room. You think you can take him down to Walgreen's  
 Drugstore on the corner of 9th and Nicollet. It isn't that they are  
 bad people at all, it's just that there is no room for kids.

You think you can take them over to American Hoist and  
 Derrick or Honeywell's or one of these big plants. They're  
 all marvelous, and have marvelous programs. They have good  
 labor contracts. They have everything for the worker. Nothing  
 for his kids.

May <sup>be</sup> one of the reasons the Japanese have done better  
 about this than we have is that they make room for families  
 even in their employment programs.  
 May be we <sup>ought to</sup> ~~should~~ see what ~~XX~~ happens. I shall never forget  
 the time I was visiting a large Japanese department store that  
 was totally organized by the so-called retail clerks union  
 of Japan. And there on the roof of that big building was a  
 playground. There was a child care center. Then when the  
 mothers were given time off ~~XX~~ to see their children the

the top of being and work beside their  
 parents. It would give them a  
 wonderful opportunity to learn of  
 the constructive lessons of  
 life.

delete

Key

*also*  
 fathers were given time off, to see ~~thier~~ children. There is  
 a training program ~~in that business~~ right there in that store,  
 for  
 Because they accept the responsibility ~~XX~~ the employment.  
 And that's why Japanese unemployment is so much lower than  
 ours, even in times of recession. Because plants and factories  
 accept reponsibility for a family. Now it has its drawbacks.  
 People call it paternalism. Call it ~~XXX~~ what you will. *But it produces*  
 less crime, much less delinquency, much less unemployment,  
 Despite their tremendous population, despite their crowded  
 conditions, despite their unbelievable high rate of inflation.  
 It puts some emphasis on the child. We say we love children.  
 But how many people celebrate Children's Day in America? It's  
 a national <sup>holiday</sup> ~~XXXXXX~~ in Japan. And it's made a real point of  
 reference for all of their ~~life~~. *lives.*

So, I ~~XXX~~ say we have ~~X~~ got to work with ~~these first~~  
~~offenders~~. It is an investment that we cannot afford to  
 pass up. About half of the first offenders from our cities  
 become ~~prime~~ repeaters. Think of the money and the pain we  
 could save with workable, effective work programs. *children -- and we have*  
*to work with off first offenders.*  
 [We ~~maybe~~ *also*  
 need to try pre-trial diversion to turn these people away  
 from the <sup>conventional</sup> criminal process. We need to turn them to the family,  
 health, and employment services that have proved effective  
 against crime. ~~I speak now of those first offenders.~~ We  
 need to make <sup>such</sup> ~~such~~ conventional criminal justice services as  
 probation and half-way houses real alternatives to imprisonment  
 for <sup>first</sup> ~~these~~ offenders.  
*Some of*

Now I don't seek to lure you into believing that these are

panaceas ~~at all~~ for all crimes. They are not <sup>and</sup> and you know it and I know it. Violent and dangerous offenders must be separated from our society. But for many there are better ways.

~~For many others there are better ways.~~ And they can be effective in steering the first offender away from learning ways of the ~~crimes~~ ~~and~~ and violence that we all ~~xxx~~ fear. <sup>[Do we really believe that a prison is a higher institution of learning for crimes as some people ~~x~~ have said?</sup> The evidence is there. <sup>The ~~xxxxxx~~ repeats.</sup> The repeated offender is too much to ignore. <sup>[The larger answer, however, lies as I have said to you again and again in work, in jobs that are constructive, And, particularly, for the young.</sup>

I remember in the days of the depression we had the Civilian Conservation Corps. Kids got in trouble then, too, you know.

But they went to ~~xxxx~~ work. They did great things. I know that a government that wants to ~~can~~ can do these things. I do not propose that we make <sup>every</sup> a bank robber a bank teller. Or that we make every car thief a parking lot attendant.

~~That's not what I ~~xxx~~ am talking about.~~

<sup>[</sup> But we can, and I say we must, assure every American that is willing to work, wants to work, has the ability to ~~xxxx~~ work, the right to earn his or her own way. <sup>With useful and constructive and satisfying employment work.</sup> Now that's the answer to a lot of our problems. And we get something out of it besides. <sup>[</sup> There's a whole nation to be re-built. We ~~xx~~ sit around here <sup>we</sup> professional social workers, we sit around and wring our hands about the filth of the cities, The slums, the poor housing. <sup>ok</sup> We know <sup>its</sup> that's there, we've recited it until we're blue in the face. Listen in Washington, D.C., there is 14th street, <sup>which was devastated as a</sup> ~~The~~ result of the riots after the death



of Dr. Martin Luther King in April of 1968. That <sup>was</sup> ~~the~~ the trigger.

Three ~~presidents~~ <sup>section of town</sup> have promised to clean up that ~~street~~. ~~Not~~

that street, that section. We've re-built half the world in the

meantime. <sup>But</sup> ~~And~~ whole areas in Northwest and Northeast Washington

were burned out. <sup>and are not yet cleaned up.</sup> They stand there as a living & testimonial

to our indifference. I guarantee that if that had happened

in Chevy Chase, where I used to live, if it had happened where

middle-income people lived, if you don't mind me, if it had

happened where whites were living they would have had it cleaned

up. And you know it and I know it.

[ Let me <sup>lay</sup> ~~xxx~~ it on the line. The new racism is the neglect of the

cities. Because it's there, ~~if you please~~, where the old, the sick,

~~and the handicapped, and the minorities now live, more than any~~

~~other place.~~ And that's why I intend to do everything within

my power to arouse this nation to a social consciousness as to

what needs to be done. Not only to save our cities, that's not

<sup>only point</sup> the point, but to save our people. And the test of a good govern-

ment is not <sup>only</sup> what it does for the majority but whether or ~~xxxxxx~~

not it <sup>meets</sup> ~~meets~~ out justice to the minority. (The real moral test of

government is what it does for those <sup>who are</sup> in the dawn of life, ~~The~~

children. <sup>For</sup> Those who are in the shadows of life, ~~The~~ sick, the weak,

the handicapped, <sup>and</sup> the needy. & And those who are in the twilight

of life, ~~The~~ elderly. Most everybody else can make it on

their own. Those are the three areas where you test the moral

stature, or the moral fibre of a country and a government.

[ Yes, I am convinced that we can reduce crime. And I am

convinced that we can reduce it at a price we can afford. But

no amount of <sup>crime</sup> ~~xxxx~~ control <sup>can</sup> ~~and~~ control crime in a major depression

or recession, or in housing that is filthy and rotten, and in neighborhoods that are disintegrating and communities that are falling apart. You can't do it that way. You've got to get at ~~XXXX~~ the root ~~bottom~~ cause. It doesn't solve all of the crime. *There are of course* There's a lot left over. ~~Those who are,~~ *they are* people who are murderers, people that are rapists. People who are almost congenital burglars. That's ~~almost~~ another breed. But an awful lot of crime ~~of~~ *is committed by the* our young, and that's where most of the crime is, you know, that's where most of the crime is, *and so much of that is* I repeat, that's the result of neglect.

~~Social neglect.~~ I wish the environmentalists who are so worried about the air and the water - and I am worried about it too, don't misunderstand me - but an awful lot of them could afford to be worried about it. *few people should be* ~~I want them to become~~ *worried about* the social environment in which we live, ~~The~~ bigotry, the segregation, the discrimination, the intolerance, the ugliness, and the filth of the urban ghetto. ~~When we get rid of X some of that we will even get better care.~~ *air* And cleaner water. What's the use of cleaner air and better water, if your soul is ~~soul is~~ *we cannot* polluted and your mind is bigotted. ~~If you~~ close your eyes to the terrible tragedy of human suffering and human neglect.

No, we cannot abandon our efforts, ~~XXX~~ ~~I know~~ to improve our police. I've worked a good deal of my life for that. Nor can we fail to provide the courts ~~XX~~ the means to administer justice promptly and fairly. We need that. We must insist that more resources be directed towards ~~XXXXXX~~ an efficient system of justice. We cannot speak realistically about prison reform unless we are willing to make a strong and major investment, *In the improvement*



of our correctional facilities and in the training and the income of personnel at all levels who administer these correctional systems. [We cannot speak honestly and realistically about quickly apprehending criminals, solving crimes, or guaranteeing the right to a speedy and fair trial. In the face of severely limited resources in our police departments, the public attorneys' offices and in our courts. When less than one-third of the crimes against property are solved by an arrest of a suspect, when in New York City two years ago the prosecutors had to <sup>deal</sup> ~~yield~~ with nearly 31,000 felony arrests, or 249 cases for each prosecutor each year. Then it becomes sharply clear that our system of criminal justice is in urgent need of assistance just to cope with demands placed upon it, much less <sup>under</sup> take long overdue improvements and reforms. <sup>But</sup> The heart of our victory will come from the determination to strike at <sup>the</sup> ~~its~~ roots <sup>of crime</sup> ~~XXXXXXXX~~ as well as its symptoms. And surely the facts indicate that poverty, poor education, discrimination, lack of skills, <sup>and the</sup> ugliness of slums <sup>contribute to</sup> ~~lend themselves to~~ a criminal behavior. [Therefore, we must launch an attack upon these sources of ~~that~~ criminal behavior. And we must overcome that poverty of spirit, which destroys hope and breeds crime. The famous philosopher John Stuart Mill understood this challenge when he said, "Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will have no love for it."

I submit that in this Bicentennial period when we will be literally reeking with patriotism that we might very well think about what John Stuart Mill said. ~~And~~ I am an old-fashioned patriot. ~~That goes around desecrating the flag.~~

*the flag,*

I believe in ~~it~~ and I'm an emotional man. But I want to tell you something. The patriotism that counts is being a part of the life of a country. And not being shut out from it. 'Let a person have nothing to do for this country, and he will have no love for it.' And American needs love. A person without a job does not feel a part, does not <sup>feel</sup> he belongs to our society. How can he love a society that has shut him out?

~~And, therefore, Only when we can assure him an opportunity~~  
~~we don't have to make it easy, but just assure him or her an~~  
*assure every person the*  
 opportunity to contribute can we be certain that that person will abide by the social contract that binds us as a nation.

[In the last analysis, our nation will not be a lawful society until all citizens believe that it is a just society, <sup>that</sup> And its laws are worthy of obedience. I am committed to see that we meet this challenge and I am <sup>here</sup> ~~hear~~ to tell you that we ignore it at our peril. And, as <sup>we heard earlier</sup> ~~the Reverend Father said~~ tonight, "Love is stronger than hatred, and hope is more powerful than despair."

[But love is more than a word. It is action, along with sentiment and soul. And I call for the actions of love, ~~for~~ <sup>of</sup> concern, of rehabilitation, of attention, of a chance, and <sup>H</sup> hope is more than just a word. <sup>It's a</sup> Feeling that things will be better, That you have a chance. ~~That every man will have his chance.~~

[Let every person <sup>in America</sup> have their chance. ~~XXXX~~ That's the meaning of America. Thank you very much.



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