

## T. V. INTERVIEW WGR-TV

Buffalo, New York

September 17, 1968

Mr. Redpath. Good evening. This is a TV-2 Special News Broadcast in conjunction with Vice President Hubert Humphrey's visit to Buffalo.

During this program, you'll hear the Vice President field questions concerning the problems of our cities.

To question the Vice President we have a very distinguished panel: The Honorable Mayor of Buffalo, Frank A. Sedita; Dr. James Moss, Chairman of the Select Committee for Equal Opportunity at the University of Buffalo, also Dean of International Studies and a noted sociologist; William Haddad, former aid to Senator Robert Kennedy, and former Deputy Director of the Peace Corps and Poverty Program-- and recently appointed to the New York City Board of Education. He is also a member of the executive board of the New York Urban Coalition.

To begin the questions, here is Mayor Sedita.

Mayor Sedita. Mr. Vice President, is it possible to change the philosophy of federal aid to cities so that instead of making grants which are totally tied to federal guidelines, the cities can get block grants with broad discretion to spend these monies where the community decides they should be spent? For example, federal money is now available through state government in connection with law enforcement, but this money is limited to financing community relations and training activities. But the crying need of the cities today is for additional resources to recruit and retain police officers. If the federal money could be spent by the cities along this line, I think it would be more meaningful.

What do you think?

Vice President Humphrey. Mr. Mayor, as you know, there is always quite a struggle in Congress as to how the federal funds should be used. There is, first of all, the struggle between the federal government and the state government, that you channel federal funds through state government and hopefully, that state government will have some kind of matching and then down to the local government.

As a mayor, you, I think, understand the difficulty of

1 that. As a former mayor, I, too, have understood that mayors  
2 of municipalities like to be able to deal rather directly with  
3 the federal government. If we can get our state administra-  
4 tions thoroughly modernized -- many of them, by the way, still  
5 have the hangover from inadequate or, I should say, dispro-  
6 portionate representation of rural areas. Now with the one man,  
7 one vote, you are beginning to get a more realistic state  
8 government. If we can get that, then we can channel funds pro-  
9 perly through the state into the localities.

6 You are asking the question about the nature of the  
7 grants. There are two types of remedies that I see. One is  
8 actually tax sharing. That is without any categories or pur-  
9 poses being attached to it; actually, a tax sharing out of  
10 the federal revenues. Dr. Walter Heller, the former director  
11 or the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, has  
12 proposed such a method. He is my chief economic adviser in  
13 this campaign and has been a long-time personal friend of mine.

11 I believe that we are going to come very shortly to  
12 a time when we can have some degree of tax sharing, particu-  
13 larly when the war in Vietnam is over and as we accrue greater  
14 federal revenues, by the progress in the development of our  
15 economy. I support a degree of tax sharing, federal to state  
16 and local governments, without specific tie-ins -- some guide-  
17 lines, may I say, as to a formula as to how that tax sharing  
18 would work. Do you have a state income tax, for example;  
19 what is your property tax base; do you really tax yourself  
20 enough -- but not limitations on how it is to be used.

16 Secondly, in the present administration, under President  
17 Johnson, we have had a study made by the Bureau of the Budget  
18 as to how we can collect together a number of these grant-in-  
19 aid programs and make them into block grants rather than cate-  
20 gorical grants. Now, block grants, again, means that you  
21 as Mayor can use it as you see fit rather than to have it, say,  
22 said that you have to use it for tuberculosis control or it  
23 has to be used for public health services or has to be used  
24 for a particular kind of library service. You would get some  
25 discretion. You would receive a sum of money which would be  
the sum total of, let's say, a dozen programs. You would be,  
again, able to utilize that money as you saw fit within a range  
of programs, not having it specifically tied to a particular  
item.

24 I believe we can be very helpful here. Now, on law  
25 enforcement, yesterday, I outlined a program of federal aid  
to localities, municipalities, on law enforcement. And crime  
control -- 84 specific recommendations. That is a lot of them.



1 this panel was headed by Dr. James Wilson of Harvard Univer-  
2 sity of -- School of Government. Some of the top people in the  
3 field of criminology and law, some of our best law professors  
4 that we have, helped me design this program. What it really  
5 boils down to is to help the cities get the money, we in  
6 the federal government put the money to the city for training,  
7 for police institutes, for salary supplementation, for your  
8 police officers, for recruitment, for the specialized type  
9 of equipment that you need.

10 The simple fact is that most municipalities today do  
11 not have the money that is required for an effective crime  
12 control program.

13 Most of us people seeking office talk about law and order,  
14 Mr. Mayor, and it has become a sort of rallying cry. But I  
15 believe that I am the first one to outline what it is going to  
16 cost and how you are going to apply it, because just to say  
17 that you are going to enforce the law when you have too few  
18 police, inadequately trained, not sufficiently professionalized,  
19 without adequate equipment -- you are just talking. You are  
20 not going to be able to do it.

21 Mayor Sedita. Thank you.

22 Dr. Moss. Mr. Vice President, as we look at problems  
23 of the inner city, we are constantly reminded that at the core  
24 of the inner city is a troubled and disturbed black community.  
25 It came very gravely to my mind as I read a book, recently  
published called "Black Rage," by two psychiatrists on the  
West Coast. I know that previous administrations have each  
proposed programs for meeting the growing militants in the  
black community in the area of civil rights.

Faced with what I have just referred to as the continued  
rage and anger among blacks in this country, what specific  
programs would you propose -- would you propose -- to ease  
our country's present racial tensions?

Vice President Humphrey. Dr. Moss, this is the great  
challenge today. This is at the very center of our problem  
in America. This is what I have been trying to direct my  
attention to, I am afraid sometimes inadequately, by trying  
sincerely, when I have said that we cannot have a society  
that is divided or, as the Kerner Report put it, two societies,  
separate and unequal. We simply must, we must do much more  
than we have done to try to bring some degree of balanced  
opportunity in the American society to all of our people. Now,  
it is a fact but it is a sad fact that the core of the city,  
the inner city, so to speak -- they call it the ghetto.

1 That is a dirty, ugly word. I have never liked it, so I some-  
2 times do not want to use it. The ghetto has become sort of  
3 the province of the black man.

4 Now, what are we going to do about it? Well, first of  
5 all, we must design our federal programs for an open society,  
6 Dr. Moss. That means that programs of urban renewal and  
7 development, programs of housing or transportation, of educa-  
8 tion, everything must be designed for the American citizen --  
9 not for a particular race, but for the citizen. We must  
10 have a federal policy that encourages that openness so there  
11 is mobility.

12 People generally move to the basis of economics and  
13 they generally move to the basis of their own cultural pattern.  
14 We know that. But there ought to be that freedom of choice.

15 Now, getting back to the immediate problem of the ghetto,  
16 the Model Cities Program has the beginning of some answer.  
17 I am not at all sure yet that we have really put our finger  
18 on the answer, but it provides for a coordination of physical  
19 rehabilitation as well as human rehabilitation. Also, if it is  
20 really going to be effective, it must have the local people  
21 that are involved in the area called the so-called Model  
22 Cities area to some of the planning, be involved in the planning.  
23 You can't have these programs handed from on top down. They  
24 have got to come from the bottom up.

25 When I say that, I think we had better recognize that  
we are going to make some mistakes and I have just got to  
forewarn people, because when you have deprived a people for  
generations from being in on the decision-making, when they  
do come in, they are going to make some mistakes in the begin-  
ning. It is pretty much like a young person coming into a  
business or anything else; he is going to make some mistakes  
when he has not had that experience. But the mistakes will  
be much less than the failure to do anything about it.

I would think we would also have to encourage black  
entrepreneurship. You have to give people in that area that  
kind of dignity that comes from self respect, that comes from  
ownership, that comes from managing their own things, the  
black man having his own bank, his own department store,  
managing his own hospital. Then in due time, indeed, it will  
become bi-racial, multi-racial. But he must begin to feel  
that sense of pride that comes with management, with direction,  
with decision-making, with ownership, with doing things himself.

That is going to be risky. I repeat that again. The



1 taxpayer that helps on that is going to say, well, look,  
2 they mis-managed. The point is that is much more risky than  
leaving it as it is.

3 Then we have to do something about opening up these  
4 areas with green spaces, with open spaces. I said to people  
5 in my little town in Minnesota -- I don't think people thought  
6 it was a very appropriate message, but I wanted them to know  
7 what they were up against. This is a little town of rural  
people. To them the word "Harlem" is the same as if you said TANNA  
Teheran or Cairo or Paris or Budapest. They have heard about  
it, but they don't know about it.

8 I said, look here, if the rest of New York had a popula-  
9 tion as dense, as intense and dense as in Harlem, you could  
put all 200 million Americans in three of the five boroughs.

10 Now, any man that starts to sense the meaning of that  
11 statement knows what the problem is then in the ghetto in  
12 Harlem -- over-population, inadequate land space, inadequate  
13 public facilities, totally inadequate private facilities, in-  
adequate playgrounds, inadequate social services. It is just  
about impossible to deal with it until you start to break it  
up, so to speak, and give people a chance to, as we say, have  
breathing room; you know, to move.

14 This is why I have made some proposals like, for example,  
15 the National Homestead Urban Act, where you would provide  
16 subsidies for private development on high cost land so that  
17 you can get land and you can build homes and build facilities  
at a reasonable price. Because land costs in these areas are  
fantastic. My Marshall plan for the cities, which is built on the  
18 Model Cities -- it provides a much longer extension of planning  
19 than the Model Cities, a larger commitment of revenues and  
funds and it includes a national urban development bank so you  
do not have to go to Congress every year and beg and scrape  
20 around, hoping you are going to get an appropriation. You  
have a fund of private stocks that are sold by the bank and  
21 guaranteed by the government, plus a public deposit in that  
bank. I think we can do something, but I would be less than  
honest if I told you it is going to be at all easy and quick.

22 But what the people really need is hope. If they think  
23 we mean we are doing it, they will stick with it and there  
will be less conflict. But if they think we are playing games,  
24 as you know, Doctor, people are going to get out of control.

25 Mr. Haddad. Mr. Vice President, I wish I were as opti-  
mistic as you are about urban problems. I think the difficulties

1 are going to go upward despite the kinds of plans. I think  
2 the plans of orderly process are not going to stop the con-  
3 frontations. I want to talk to you about one of those  
4 problems. That is the war on poverty.

5 It would seem from some of the criticism generated by  
6 the community action agencies, the political processes of get-  
7 ting people in the cities involved in decision making, has  
8 stirred up a storm throughout the country, in fact, when I was  
9 in the poverty program, I kept cutting off the money of the  
10 mayors and they kept running to the White House to try to  
11 get it turned on again. But as a result of that, it would seem  
12 there has been a major effort to dismember the poverty program,  
13 to take an arm here or a leg there and distribute it throughout  
14 the government. My question is in the two parts -- is that  
15 happening by Congress or by the Administration and will that  
16 happen in the future? Are we going to keep the war on poverty  
17 together as a controversial provocateur of the future, or are we  
18 going to stick it into status agencies?

19 Vice President Humphrey. You are asking me what I pro-  
20 pose?

21 Mr. Haddad. Yes.

22 Vice President Humphrey. I would propose that we keep the  
23 Office of Economic Opportunity as a going agency. It is both  
24 a general staff agency in terms of giving direction to these  
25 programs in the many areas of need and deprivation; it is also  
26 an action agency. It should have both, both the planning,  
27 the general coordination, and the action part.

28 You will recall, we had under the Office of Economic  
29 Opportunity Act what we call the Economic Opportunity Council.  
30 The Director of the OEO was the chairman of that Council.

31 Actually, the Vice President should be the chairman of  
32 that Council. He is an elected official and I want to make  
33 it clear what I intend to do if elected President of the  
34 United States. I intend to have my Vice President be the  
35 coordinator of domestic programs. He is a super cabinet  
36 officer.

37 Mr. Haddad. The line coordinator?

38 Vice President Humphrey. He will be the general coordi-  
39 nator of all the departments of government that have something  
40 to do with urban and domestic affairs. He will then also be  
41 the chairman of the Economic Opportunity Council. I will



1 recommend that to the Congress. I think we can get that through.

2 Now, that gives him, he has more status, particularly  
3 if he is backed up by the President, and he can start to pull  
4 these agencies together so that they work together a little  
5 better, and also prevent what I call the proliferation of pro-  
6 grams back into line agencies where they are no longer under  
7 the general guidelines and general direction of OEO.

8 I am not at all opposed to having the Office of Educa-  
9 tion carry out the education programs, provided that they are  
10 carrying through on an action program, a plan of action in a  
11 community that has been worked out at the community level through  
12 the Office of Economic Opportunity. I think that your public  
13 health services, your education services, your manpower training  
14 services can be left as they are in the departments. But they  
15 must understand that they are related; they are but segments.  
16 Since we talk about a war on poverty, they are regiments,  
17 companies, battalions in the overall structure and they have  
18 to be under the command of a central commander. There has  
19 to be someone who coordinates it.

20 Mr. Haddad. How do you enforce that, Mr. Vice President?

21 Mr. Vice President. By the President backing up the  
22 man he appoints and seeing to it that it happens. I saw, for  
23 example, when the President backed me up on the Youth Oppor-  
24 tunity Council what could happen. I went to the departments  
25 of government and I said, look, we have no budget for the youth  
opportunity program and we are going to have to get money from  
each of your departments. Each Cabinet Officer told me there was  
not any money. He said, I am sorry, Mr. Vice President, you  
have a fine program, it looks good, but we have such limited  
budgets for our departments, there is no money for you.

26 I went back to the President and I said, Mr. President,  
27 you gave me a responsibility, you told me to go to the Cabinet  
28 departments and officers and get some money. You ~~xxxxxx~~ told  
29 me there was money designated for these objectives. They told  
30 me there was none.

31 We had a Cabinet meeting about a week later and the  
32 President told the Cabinet, I have instructed the Vice President  
33 as chairman of the Youth Opportunity Council to bring out of the  
34 departments \$600 million and I expect you to get it and I  
35 expect you to cooperate.

36 You know what? I got it. It is an amazing thing what  
37 happens when he speaks like that to the Department heads.  
38 But it is back-up, it is support.

1 To summarize, OEO must be kept as an action agency, a  
2 community action agency, and it must be kept as a planning and  
3 staff agency so that the general direction of the war on poverty,  
4 so that the direction of the war on poverty has some cohesion  
5 to it.

6 I will do that. I don't want it dismantled. I think if  
7 you put it all back in the old line agency, it will soon get  
8 back where it does not touch the people that need to be helped.

9 If these old line agencies had been doing it, Bill, we  
10 would not have needed OEO.

11 Mr. Haddad. Unfortunately, some of us have been trying  
12 to keep it out of the old line agency and feel some of the  
13 states have more influence on the old line agencies than they  
14 do on the new agencies. I think the line of responsibility,  
15 the question is how you enforce it.

16 Vice President Humphrey. Let me make my position clear  
17 on OEO. It has made some mistakes. Community action programs  
18 obviously lend themselves to some difficulties. But we are  
19 dealing with the toughest problem that mankind has ever known.  
20 The fact is that the voluntary agencies and the established  
21 agencies of government simply were not getting their services  
22 down to the people we are talking about. They were getting down  
23 to about -- well, they hit about four-fifths of the people,  
24 but that other fifth, they never hit, they never got to. What  
25 OEO is trying to do in the war on poverty is to get at the  
people who have been left out, bypassed, and in a very real  
sense, ignored for generations. When you are dealing with  
that kind of a situation, you are bound to be having some  
difficulty.

So every program I am on like this, I forewarn the people,  
now, you have a choice to make: Do you want to just leave  
people ~~WALKING~~ wallowing in this filth and degradation and  
ultimately in trouble and lawlessness and violence, or do you  
want to do something about it? If you are going to do some-  
thing about it, it is going to cost you and you are going to  
have some difficulties. But if you don't do something about  
it, it is going to cost something and you are going to have  
more difficulties.

I happen to think the community action groups, the  
community action committees have represented some of the finest  
development in our democracy. Oh, I know you can always find  
one that has loused it up and that there is always one where  
somebody stole the money. They found that, somebody stole  
the money out of the church the other day. Somebody stole



1 the money out of one of the largest banks, where the nicest  
2 people were. Stealing money is not necessarily the unique  
3 qualification or happening of a community action agency. And  
4 there is always somebody who is misusing the money. Well, I  
5 have seen that in some old line agencies. And I have seen it  
6 in some private enterprise.

7 We are going to have to take that chance. We are going  
8 to have to also develop the leadership. And we are developing  
9 the leadership, I can name across this country literally  
10 hundreds of men and women who never get anything for themselves,  
11 who never had a chance to say anything about their town, never  
12 had a chance to say anything about their neighborhood, their  
13 school, anything else. Today they had their chance and they  
14 are doing a better job and the community is better.

15 When I get to be President, Bill, I am going to back  
16 that kind of program. It is not a matter of fighting city  
17 hall. City hall joins. When we get that clear, we pull  
18 together.

19 Mr. Haddad. I was smiling because the people trained by  
20 the poverty program are giving us a lot of trouble on the board  
21 of education in New York City. They have learned how to  
22 protest and they are directing their protest at us.

23 Vice President Humphrey. And at me. I must say some of  
24 the people who protest the loudest against me are people who  
25 got their first taste of responsibility and their first taste  
26 of power under what we call community action programs. But  
27 the more responsibility they get, Bill, most of them, the  
28 more they settle into do the job. Some of them not. There are  
29 always some bad apples in every barrel. But you don't ~~XXXX~~  
30 chop down the orchard, you know.

31 Dr. Moss. One of the most satisfying professional ex-  
32 periences I have had, Mr. Vice President, this summer was in  
33 Washington, D. C. with the Neighborhood Youth Development  
34 program. Young people between the ages of 18 and 22 who have  
35 separated themselves from the adult operation with a budget  
36 of something like \$1,800,000 have set up their office, their  
37 program, which I was invited to simply serve as the expert on  
38 tap. I have never been more convinced than I am today of the  
39 ability of young people who know their community well to set  
40 the kinds of priorities for their community, as they see it,  
41 and also to develop the skills and the capacity to deal  
42 creatively and imaginatively with them. I welcome the comments  
43 you have made about keeping OEO in this kind of flexible  
44 organizational arrangement.

1 Vice President Humphrey. I'm very familiar with this  
2 program. I have spent four years as the chairman of the  
3 President's Youth Opportunity Council trying to promote the  
4 sort of things you are talking about. I worked very closely  
5 with Mr. Shriver, as Mr. Haddad knows. We had a few arguments  
6 now and then, but by and large, we had, I think, a good working  
7 relationship. I felt that the innovative, creative ideas that  
8 came out of that war on poverty have been some of the best  
9 experimentation in pilot programs they have had.

10 One of the problems about the war on poverty is that it is  
11 under-financed -- an under-financed war. If we do a little  
12 more with it -- you know, I am a pharmacist originally. I want  
13 to tell you that it does not do you very much good to take 25,000  
14 units of penicillin if you need a million. You could just as  
15 well eat peppermint lifesavers.

16 What we have really done in some instances is we have  
17 had so little to do with it, in light of the magnitude of the  
18 task that we have not been able to apply the resources that  
19 are needed.

20 In some instances, we have applied resources on a pilot  
21 basis. What I have tried to say and I would like to live in  
22 your thought is that much of what we have done in these past  
23 four years has been on a pilot basis. Much of it has worked.  
24 On that, we ought to build.

25 For example, neighborhood health centers. A tremendous  
program. We ought to have them all over this country. I have  
seen it work. I was out to dedicate the one in Denver, for  
example. That center serves thousands of people in that com-  
munity. You have the cooperation of the American Medical  
Association, the American Dental Association, the city  
Public Health Office. You have an OEO-financed. We have a  
lot of neighborhood youth ~~saxophonists~~ corps boys and girls  
working, learning how to be technicians. And you can treat  
thousands of people. They are healthier, they are better.

Well, it is just a good program and we are going to do  
more of it.

Mayor Sedita. Mr. Vice President, along the lines of the  
Office of Economic Opportunity, the war on poverty, I am sure  
that the mayors of all large cities are as frustrated as I am  
at times when we hear some grandiose plans announced out of  
Washington to have a certain program and then we raise the  
hopes of the people, we get out there and make some speeches



1 and promise things and then the rug is pulled out from under  
2 us because Washington announced these plans before the programs  
3 were even funded.

4 You talk about naming your new Vice President as the  
5 coordinator. What can be done about keeping the jubilation  
6 of some of these people in line so that they don't leave us  
7 holding the bags as mayors and explaining why the plan now  
8 can't go.

9 Vice President Humphrey. When you have people in charge  
10 of programs, they are naturally dedicated to it -- we hope  
11 they are, at least of -- at least you have to have a degree  
12 of optimism and exuberance to work in this field. If you  
13 don't, you will just despair and give up, because the diffi-  
14 culties are immense. So occasionally, there are those that  
15 offer greater hope and promise than reality. I guess occa-  
16 sionally, I have been guilty of that, myself. But what happens  
17 is you get a budget presented to the Congress. In that budget,  
18 you outline this program that we in the Executive Branch  
19 contemplate is going to be effectuated. Now, in order to get  
20 support for that budget, Mr. Mayor, we have to come to you  
21 and others and say, now, look, you have to come down and testi-  
22 fy, because we know you want it. I know, for example, that  
23 the neighborhood Youth Corps means a lot to these communities.

24 So we put a sum of money, recommend a budget to these  
25 communities. Then what happens? If we tell you you have to  
come down and really testify, you are going to have so many  
NYC Youth Corps openings. You say there are going to be so  
many jobs and you come down and testify and Congress cuts the  
funds, then you come home and you haven't the jobs.

18 This is part of the process of the jobs. It is not  
19 what I would like, but it is better than no jobs.

20 Now, one other thing. I have a man, Mr. Muskie, who  
21 has been a member of the International Governmental Relations  
22 Commission, is the author of the Model Cities program, is the  
23 expert in grant-in-aid programs, has ~~has~~ done more to  
24 modernize the grant-in-aid programs than anybody else in the  
25 Congress of the United States. I think he is uniquely equipped  
to help what I am talking about. One of the reasons I selected  
him is I have seen how he has worked in the government. I  
think I can give the next Vice President more authority,  
greater delegation of responsibility to do a better job.

Mr. Redpath. Gentlemen, our time is up. On behalf of our  
distinguished panel, the City of Buffalo and WGR Television, I  
would like to thank Vice President Humphrey for taking the

1 trouble to come and discuss these problems with us.

2 Our panel this evening included The Honorable Mayor  
3 of Buffalo, Frank A. Sedita; Dr. James Moss, Chairman of the  
4 Select Committee for Equal Opportunity at the University of  
5 Buffalo, also Dean of International Studies and a noted  
6 sociologist; and Mr. William Haddad, former aid to Senator  
7 Robert Kennedy and former Deputy Director of the Peace Corps  
8 and Poverty Program and recently appointed to the New York City  
9 Board of Education. He is also a member of the executive  
10 board of the New York Urban Coalition.

11 This has been a special events news broadcast of WGR-TV.





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