

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
1971 CONFERENCE OF MAYORS  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA  
JUNE 14, 1971

The accepted principles of oratorical practice call for the keynoter to set the tone and style of the convention. His speech is supposed to provide the focus for discussion and inspire other speakers to rise to even greater rhetorical glories.

I am not certain that my speech will accomplish that or whether I want it to.

But I am certain that I want to have a hand in setting the tone of this conference.

And, I can think of no better way to do it than to state here and now, flatly and unequivocally, I am one Democrat who favours Federal Revenue Sharing.

The cities need the money.

The country needs revenue sharing.

And I will fight for it.

I am not going to speak to you about the city of yesterday.

I want to talk about today -- today's government, today's cities and today's people and problems -- and what kind of cities we can have tomorrow, if we begin now.

Unless we do something to solve the problems of today, there will be no cities tomorrow. They will instead be islands of despair and conflict.

For those of us who love cities, who believe that cities are more than mortar and bricks and concrete and steel, the urban condition is frustrating and disillusioning.

The city is a paradox.

We know that many parts of the city are beautiful.

We have green parks, tree-lined roads, expansive lawns, well-kept homes, great libraries, recreation areas, theatres, and cultural centers. At its best the city gives us a sense of excitement and a "sense of the possible."

We also know that there is another part of urban America. It is neither pleasant nor pretty.

This is the city of crime, of blight, of slums, and of people with crushed spirits.

And nothing we do seems to help.

We have tried many tactics, many programs.

Yet, ghettos and barrios swell with the crying pain of too many people, not enough space, and a style of life that robs man of dignity, hope and opportunity.

-- Businesses and white residents move out of the city, while the poor, the unskilled and the welfare clients move in.

-- The tax base is reduced.

-- Schools are poorest where they should be the best.

Our programs have not matched our expectations because we have not succeeded in identifying the needs of the poor with the needs of the non-poor.

We have not yet convinced the middle-income taxpayer that when some of the people are denied good health care and education and jobs, it affects all of the people.

What we need are good schools -- not only for the poor but for everyone.

What we need are good hospitals -- for everyone.

What we need is good housing, not only for the poor, not only for the affluent, but for everyone.

We are not going to get them until we recognize that the problems of urbanization will yield only to national policy decisions that reallocate our resources and define a clear National Urban Strategy for our Cities.

What do I mean by National Urban Strategy?

I mean a policy that marks the values and choices we as a Nation must embrace if we are to meet the needs of the people.

It is a plan of action backed by money, leadership, and political commitment.

It is for our cities what the Marshall Plan was for Europe.

And it is much more:

It is the willingness to preserve -- to stop studying what is to be done and start doing what needs doing.

I believe there are five essentials of a National Urban Strategy: Fiscal Vitality, Social Progress, Environmental Quality, Urban Peace, and Balanced Growth.

I have talked with you in previous years about urban peace and about my proposals for Councils of Civil Peace. I hope to talk to you another day about Environmental Quality and balanced growth.

Today, I want to talk about today's priorities: Fiscal Vitality and Social Progress.

First, Fiscal Vitality

I understand that the Mayors had a meeting on city finances with Vice President Agnew.

At the end of the conference, the Vice President reportedly turned to an associate and said: "If you've heard one mayor, you've heard them all."

Well, hardly -- but when it comes to the matter of city finances -- he may be right. How's that for being bipartisan.

We all agree we will never be able to provide the housing, the education, the basic services to people unless we solve the dollar shortage first.

Your cities need hard cash, and they need it now.

And they will need more in the future.

Listen to these projections:

-- State and local governments will need \$150 billion in fiscal year 1975 for all their programs.

-- Education by 1975 will require \$55 billion.

-- \$17 billion will be needed for highways.

-- Police and fire protection will cost another \$10 billion.

Where are we going to get this money? How are we going to meet this demand?

I propose an eight point fiscal program for the cities.

Number one: the economy

We need a healthy, booming economy.

This nation's economy is floundering badly, and all of us know it.

It does not produce the revenues we need -- it produces unemployment.

It does not produce adequate growth -- it produces inflation.

By the end of the year, this recession will cost state and local governments \$6 billion in lost revenues. It will cost the federal government over \$30 billion. It will cost the economy over \$150 billion.

Here is a startling fact that has received too little notice: From 1961 to 1969, the number of people classified as being in poverty decreased 5 per cent per year.

In 1969-70, the number of people in poverty increased 5 per cent.

We must reject the economic "nonpolicy" that has created these statistics. The people must be the beneficiaries of a healthy economy, rather than the victims of an economy of recession.

Number two: Revenue sharing

We can and we must enact revenue sharing now.

I recognize that it is not a panacea. I recognize, too, that to be effective, the amount of fiscal relief must be greater than the \$5 billion proposed by the Administration.

But I urge both the Congress and the Administration to put aside partisanship and individual pride of authorship to pass an acceptable revenue sharing bill at this session.

I believe that an equitable revenue sharing bill should have a pass-through formula that guarantees cities their fair share. It should be based on need as well as size.

The bill should also contain a plan for the modernization of local and state governments. And, it should provide incentives for governments to adopt a progressive, rather than regressive tax system. That is what I intend to work for.

Still, revenue sharing is only part of the required package.

It ought not be oversold as a cure-all.

It is at best an economic blood transfusion for local governments that are suffering from severe economic anemia.

But we need that transfusion now. . .

Number three: National Domestic Development Bank

We can and must enact the National Domestic Development Bank -- legislation I recently introduced to help cities, states, and towns finance vitally needed public projects.

This legislation is based on accepted principles of international finance. I propose that we now apply them at home by providing long-term loans at low interest rates, and that we couple the financial help with technical assistance.

My plan will allow cities, counties, towns, school districts and other government jurisdictions to move ahead on a wide range of urgently needed public construction.

It will provide an alternative and supplemental source of funds for new schools . . . for medical and hospital centers . . . for police and fire training facilities . . . for day care centers . . . parks . . . waste disposal centers . . . museums and cultural centers . . . parks and playgrounds . . . mass transit systems . . . adult education facilities . . . and much more.

It can help end the stop-start history of public construction in this country by providing for an orderly and continuing new financing mechanism.

The National Domestic Development Bank is a program for all the communities of America.

It can facilitate economic development in depressed areas.

It can provide jobs.

It can stimulate the economy.

It can help promote better balanced rural-urban growth.

And, it can remove the reliance of local governments on the ever-increasing property tax.

We have become a Nation that is privately wealthy but publicly poor. I believe this legislation can help redress that imbalance.

We have used this approach successfully overseas through such institutions as the World Bank.

I say that if we can help build a better Rio de Janiero, we can help build a better Philadelphia, or Detroit, or Chicago, or New York, or Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Number four: Categorical grants

We should fully fund the categorical grant-in-aid programs. And we should unfreeze the billions of dollars of program money, which the Congress has appropriated, but which the Administration has insisted on tying up.

We should demand that the President release these impounded funds now.

Number five: Block grants

We should pass a series of block grants to be used for specific purposes but with a significant percentage of the total money available for local discretionary use.

We can maintain a Federal presence and still allow you as mayors the flexibility to spend this money consistent with your local needs -- and you know those needs better than anyone.

Number six: Welfare

We can and must federalize the cost of welfare. And, we can make a major effort this year.

We can and must encourage states which save money from reduced public assistance expenses to return a portion of that savings to the cities.

Welfare is a national problem; it demands national answers and national financing.

Number seven: Highways

We should open up the highway trust fund to the cities -- to pave city streets and to build new streets, to create parking areas, and to help finance maintenance.

We must end the fiction that the streets of a city are separate and apart from highways. They are an integral part of our transportation circulatory system, and it is time that we recognized that fact.

Number eight: Tax reform

We can and must reform the tax system.

We should de-emphasize the regressive sales and property tax and emphasize more equitable local and state income tax.

This reform will not be easy. Methods of financing change slowly, and people do not eagerly embrace income taxes.

But, look what happens if we do not change our local tax structures:

-- Sales taxes in fiscal 1975 will yield some \$28 billion.

-- Property taxes will account for some \$39 billion.

-- Income taxes, on the other hand, will bring in only \$10 billion.

-- And, corporate taxes will produce only \$3.7 billion.

In other words, those least able to pay will be asked to shoulder most of the tax load.

We must have a more equitable tax structure and one that will enable the states to share with the cities.

The second essential of a National Urban Strategy is social progress.

Money is crucial. But we also need a strategy of allocating that money to improve the quality of life for all our people.

Among other things, social progress means suitable employment and the opportunity to advance in one's work.

It means we must strive to provide a national floor of basic services for every citizen in the United States.

We are a highly mobile society. Almost 20 per cent of our population is on the move every year.

We must guarantee all Americans, no matter where they live, basic services and basic standards. Clean and well-lit streets, garbage collection, adequate public safety, and other basic services are matters of right for for every American.

The cities have the manpower to make good on this guarantee. The Federal government must help supply the resources.

Social progress also means an adequate welfare system for those who need assistance.

Social progress means schools -- good schools. It means quality education. And, it means a substantial increase in federal funds for education.

It means advancing on all these fronts, not retreat.

Social progress means a nation-wide system of health and dental care.

It means more hospitals, neighborhood health centers close to the people, and more medical manpower.

And it means much more emphasis on preventive care.

Social progress means day care facilities for the children of working mothers.

Social progress means racial peace. It means respect for our individual differences. And, it means a continuing effort in both public and private life to erase injustice and discrimination and inequality of opportunity.

Social progress means a concerted attack, led by the Federal government against drug abuse and drug addiction.

Drugs cost the cities untold billions of dollars in crime. And the human cost cannot be calculated.

In Washington alone, drug related crime totals \$450 million.

In New York City, the cost is about \$2 billion.

Even more frightening is this fact. In the last eight years, drug abuse killed more people in New York City than the entire state of New York lost in the Vietnam War.

Yet the Federal government spends a pittance on drug control.

I believe we must consolidate and strengthen our activities relating to the control of drugs and the rehabilitation of drug users and addicts. I intend to introduce legislation to create a Drug Cure and Control Authority that would do just that.

I recommend an emergency appropriation to deal with the drug problem faced by Vietnam veterans.

And I call on the President to convene an immediate White House Conference on Drug Control.

Many agencies must join in the fight against the growing drug epidemic.

If the CIA can find a saboteur, then it can find a drug smuggler. If the FBI can ferret out subversives, it can find the drug pushers.

The Food and Drug Administration, the Bureau of Narcotics, the Customs Bureau -- all resources of the Federal government should join now in a major offensive against the menace of drug abuse and addiction.

We should obtain international agreements that will stop the flow of heroin into this country from abroad.

And if we cannot negotiate agreements, then we must apply strong sanctions to dry up the illegal entry of drugs -- sanctions that would include the withdrawal of all U. S. assistance.

No nation can be a true friend and ally if it contributes to the poisoning of our people.

Drug traffic is murder on the installment plan. It must be stopped.

Finally, social progress means civil peace.

No one can be secure where there is violence, crime, and disorder.

The first responsibility of government is to preserve and protect life. And, we must do so within the constitutional guarantees of due process.

Every citizen must be able to live in peace, think in peace, do business in peace, and feel secure in his residence.

The program I have outlined will require planning and determined political leadership. It will also require money.

But it will cost more not to do it than to do it.

I am convinced that we have the tools to do the job. We have the know-how. We have the manpower. And we have the resources and the wealth, if we will use them well.

We can start by closing tax loopholes and finding more equitable ways to raise money.

And we can start by challenging our fiscal priorities: Do we need \$80 billion dollars for the Pentagon?

I say no.

National security is not merely a matter of troops and weapons. Security ultimately lies in our people. It lies in the political and economic health of the Nation and in cities that are alive and growing, not sick and dying.

The people and their well-being is the solid base of the real security we must build.

\* \* \*

Four years ago, a Presidential commission concluded that "this Nation is moving towards two societies -- one black and one white -- separate and unequal."

Since then, we have come to realize that not all of our urban problems are racial.

We know now that there are problems of political organization, of social institutions, of community services, and financial resources.

We know now that urban problems are as intricate as they are disturbing. And, as diverse as they are agonizing.

We know now that we must have a National Urban Strategy if we are to build the kind of cities that we must have -- cities that are rich and rewarding places in which to live and work and raise children.

If we do not act now, we can forget such lofty concepts as "national greatness," "New American Revolutions," "brotherhood" and "driving dreams," for the dreams will turn into nightmares.

Can we as a Nation build great cities?

Can we make it?

I am an optimist. I believe we can.

I believe we can reach what Cotton Mather called the "Heavenly City" -- a city to be inhabited by an innumerable Company of Angels and by the Spirits of Just Men."

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East Room

Philadelphia  
Court  
"Promote kind  
welfare"

Gov Schapp  
Mayor Tate

---

my favorite  
Audience

---

Our Federal System - in Trouble.

Requires not only the delineation of

THE ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF ORATORICAL PRACTICE

Power - but a Working Partnership.

CALL FOR THE KEYNOTER TO SET THE TONE AND STYLE OF THE

Govt today - Big, Muscle bound, CONVENTION. HIS SPEECH IS SUPPOSED TO PROVIDE THE FOCUS

unresponsive -

FOR DISCUSSION AND INSPIRE OTHER SPEAKERS TO RISE TO EVEN

Govt today has failed to since the GREATER RHETORICAL GLORIES.

impact of urbanization

I AM NOT CERTAIN THAT MY SPEECH WILL ACCOMPLISH

Govt today - lack of Planning - THAT OR WHETHER I WANT IT TO.

Lack of Goals - what of the tomorrow

BUT I AM CERTAIN THAT I WANT TO HAVE A HAND IN

with more people

First and the way

SETTING THE TONE OF THIS CONFERENCE - Second, restore the

credibility & confidence of our people -

AND I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER WAY TO DO IT THAN TO

STATE HERE AND NOW, FLATLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY, I AM ONE

DEMOCRAT WHO FAVORS FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING. favored

Support wholeheartedly it early

now - and until some sort of

generous sharing of Revenue is

a reality.

~~THE CITIES NEED THE MONEY - and now~~  
~~the cities need help - and now?~~  
~~THE COUNTRY NEEDS REVENUE SHARING.~~  
~~and the federal government needs~~  
~~and I will fight for it.~~  
~~mayors & city officials who have the~~  
~~funds to do what needs doing.~~

AM NOT GOING TO SPEAK TO YOU ABOUT THE CITY OF  
 (X) I want to talk to you about our  
 YESTERDAY. Government - ~~at~~ the Vanguard -  
 The front line is our local Govt - the City.  
 I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TODAY - TODAY'S GOVERNMENT,

I want to share with you my thoughts about  
 TODAY'S CITIES AND TODAY'S PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS -- AND

WHAT KIND OF CITIES WE CAN HAVE TOMORROW, IF WE BEGIN NOW.

Rebirth of our cities

UNLESS WE DO SOMETHING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF  
 TODAY, THERE WILL BE NO CITIES TOMORROW. THEY WILL  
 INSTEAD BE ISLANDS OF DESPAIR AND CONFLICT.  
 FOR THOSE OF US WHO LOVE CITIES, WHO BELIEVE THAT  
 CITIES ARE MORE THAN MORTAR AND BRICKS AND CONCRETE AND  
 STEEL, THE URBAN CONDITION IS FRUSTRATING AND DISILLUSIONING.

L THE CITY IS A PARADOX

*Beautiful*

L WE KNOW THAT MANY PARTS OF THE CITY ARE BEAUTIFUL.

L WE HAVE GREEN PARKS, TREE-LINED ROADS, EXPANSIVE

LAWNS, WELL-KEPT HOMES, GREAT LIBRARIES, RECREATION AREAS,

THEATRES, AND CULTURAL CENTERS. AT ITS BEST, THE CITY

GIVES US A SENSE OF EXCITEMENT AND A "SENSE OF THE

POSSIBLE." *But,*

L WE ALSO KNOW THAT THERE IS ANOTHER PART OF URBAN

AMERICA. IT IS NEITHER PLEASANT NOR PRETTY.

L THIS IS THE CITY OF CRIME, OF BLIGHT, OF SLUMS, AND

OF PEOPLE WITH CRUSHED SPIRITS.

~~AND NOTHING MORE.~~

L WE HAVE TRIED MANY TACTICS, MANY PROGRAMS.

- 4 -  
*slims*

LET GHETTOS AND ~~GHETTOS~~ SWELL WITH THE CRYING PAIN  
OF TOO MANY PEOPLE, NOT ENOUGH SPACE, AND A STYLE OF LIFE  
THAT ROBS MAN OF DIGNITY, HOPE AND OPPORTUNITY.

-- BUSINESSES AND WHITE RESIDENTS MOVE OUT OF THE  
CITY, WHILE THE POOR, THE UNSKILLED AND THE WELFARE  
*the blacks - the other minorities*  
CLIENTS MOVE IN.

-- THE TAX BASE IS REDUCED.

-- SCHOOLS ARE POOREST WHERE THEY SHOULD BE THE  
~~Best~~  
BEST.

*and* OUR PROGRAMS HAVE NOT MATCHED OUR EXPECTATIONS!  
BECAUSE WE HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN IDENTIFYING THE NEEDS OF  
THE POOR WITH THE NEEDS OF THE NON-POOR

L WE HAVE NOT YET CONVINCED THE MIDDLE-INCOME TAXPAYER  
THAT WHEN SOME OF THE PEOPLE ARE DENIED GOOD HEALTH CARE  
AND EDUCATION AND JOBS, IT AFFECTS ALL OF THE PEOPLE.

L WHAT WE NEED ARE GOOD SCHOOLS -- NOT ONLY FOR THE  
POOR BUT FOR EVERYONE.

L WHAT WE NEED ARE GOOD HOSPITALS -- FOR EVERYONE.

L WHAT WE NEED IS GOOD HOUSING, NOT ONLY FOR THE POOR,

NOT ONLY FOR THE AFFLUENT, BUT FOR EVERYONE,

*and not only  
in the inner city, but suburbs as well,*  
but WE ARE NOT GOING TO GET THEM UNTIL WE RECOGNIZE THAT

THE PROBLEMS OF URBANIZATION WILL YIELD ONLY TO NATIONAL

POLICY DECISIONS THAT REALLOCATE OUR RESOURCES AND DEFINE

A CLEAR NATIONAL <sup>urban</sup> STRATEGY ~~FOR OUR CITIES.~~

L WHAT DO I MEAN BY NATIONAL URBAN STRATEGY?

I MEAN A POLICY THAT MARKS THE VALUES AND CHOICES WE  
AS A NATION MUST EMBRACE IF WE ARE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF  
THE PEOPLE

IT IS A PLAN OF ACTION BACKED BY MONEY, LEADERSHIP,  
AND POLITICAL COMMITMENT.

*A Marshall Plan  
for our cities*

IT IS FOR OUR CITIES WHAT THE MARSHALL PLAN WAS  
FOR EUROPE

AND IT IS MUCH MORE:

Action

IT IS THE WILLINGNESS TO ~~PROCEED~~ -- TO STOP STUDYING  
WHAT IS TO BE DONE AND START DOING WHAT NEEDS DOING.

I BELIEVE THERE ARE FIVE ESSENTIALS OF A NATIONAL

URBAN STRATEGY: FISCAL VITALITY, SOCIAL PROGRESS,

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, URBAN PEACE, AND BALANCED GROWTH.

I HAVE TALKED WITH YOU IN PREVIOUS YEARS ABOUT  
URBAN PEACE AND ABOUT MY PROPOSALS FOR COUNCILS OF CIVIL  
PEACE. I HOPE TO TALK TO YOU ANOTHER DAY ABOUT  
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY AND BALANCED GROWTH.

TODAY, I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TODAY'S PRIORITIES:  
FISCAL VITALITY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

FIRST, FISCAL VITALITY

~~I UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAYORS HAD A MEETING ON CITY  
FINANCES WITH VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW.~~

~~AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE, THE VICE PRESIDENT  
REPORTEDLY TURNED TO AN ASSOCIATE AND SAID: "IF YOU'VE  
HEARD ONE MAYOR, YOU'VE HEARD THEM ALL."~~

WELL, HARDLY -- BUT WHEN IT COMES TO THE MATTER OF  
CITY FINANCES -- HE MAY BE RIGHT! HOW'S THAT FOR BEING  
BIPARTISAN!

~~WE ALL AGREE WE WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO PROVIDE THE  
HOUSING, THE EDUCATION, THE BASIC SERVICES TO PEOPLE  
UNLESS WE SOLVE THE DOLLAR SHORTAGE FIRST!~~

YOUR CITIES NEED HARD CASH, AND THEY NEED IT NOW.

AND THEY WILL NEED MORE IN THE FUTURE

future

3 needs

LISTEN TO THESE PROJECTIONS:

-- STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WILL NEED \$150 BILLION  
IN FISCAL YEAR 1975 FOR ALL THEIR PROGRAMS.

-- EDUCATION BY 1975 WILL REQUIRE \$55 BILLION.

-- \$17 BILLION WILL BE NEEDED FOR HIGHWAYS.

-- POLICE AND FIRE PROTECTION WILL COST ANOTHER  
\$10 BILLION.

WHERE ARE WE GOING TO GET THIS MONEY? HOW ARE WE  
GOING TO MEET THIS DEMAND?

∟ I PROPOSE AN EIGHT POINT FISCAL PROGRAM FOR THE

CITIES.

NUMBER ONE: THE ECONOMY

∟ WE NEED A HEALTHY, BOOMING ECONOMY.

THIS NATION'S ECONOMY IS FLOUNDERING BADLY, AND ALL  
OF US KNOW IT.

∟ IT DOES NOT PRODUCE THE REVENUES WE NEED -- IT PRODUCES  
UNEMPLOYMENT.

∟ IT DOES NOT PRODUCE ADEQUATE GROWTH -- IT PRODUCES  
INFLATION.

BY THE END OF THE YEAR, THIS RECESSION WILL COST STATE  
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS \$6 BILLION IN LOST REVENUES. IT  
WILL COST THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OVER \$30 BILLION.

IT WILL COST THE ECONOMY OVER \$150 BILLION.

*and,* HERE IS A STARTLING FACT THAT HAS RECEIVED TOO LITTLE  
NOTICE: FROM 1961 TO 1969, THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE CLASSIFIED  
AS BEING IN POVERTY DECREASED 5 PER CENT PER YEAR.

IN 1969-70, THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN POVERTY  
INCREASED 5 PER CENT.

WE MUST REJECT THE ECONOMIC *philosophy* THAT HAS  
CREATED THESE STATISTICS. THE PEOPLE MUST BE THE  
BENEFICIARIES OF A HEALTHY ECONOMY, RATHER THAN THE  
VICTIMS OF AN ECONOMY OF RECESSION. !

*#12* NUMBER TWO: REVENUE SHARING

WE CAN AND WE MUST ENACT REVENUE SHARING NOW —

↳ I RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS NOT A PANACEA, ↳ I RECOGNIZE,  
TOO, THAT TO BE EFFECTIVE, THE AMOUNT OF FISCAL RELIEF  
MUST BE GREATER THAN THE \$5 BILLION PROPOSED BY THE  
ADMINISTRATION. 0

↳ BUT I URGE BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION  
TO PUT ASIDE PARTISANSHIP AND INDIVIDUAL PRIDE OF  
AUTHORSHIP TO PASS AN ACCEPTABLE REVENUE SHARING BILL

AT THIS SESSION at least ~~some~~ <sup>Emergency</sup> revenue assistance to our local governments.

I BELIEVE THAT AN EQUITABLE REVENUE SHARING BILL  
SHOULD HAVE A PASS-THROUGH FORMULA THAT GUARANTEES CITIES  
THEIR FAIR SHARE. / IT SHOULD BE BASED ON NEED AS WELL  
AS SIZE.

↳ THE BILL SHOULD ALSO CONTAIN A PLAN FOR THE  
MODERNIZATION OF LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS. AND, IT  
SHOULD PROVIDE INCENTIVES FOR GOVERNMENTS TO ADOPT A  
PROGRESSIVE, RATHER THAN REGRESSIVE TAX SYSTEM THAT IS  
WHAT I INTEND TO WORK FOR. (~~\_\_\_\_\_~~)

↳ STILL, REVENUE SHARING IS ONLY PART OF THE REQUIRED  
PACKAGE.

↳ IT OUGHT NOT BE OVERSOLD AS A CURE-ALL.  
IT IS AT BEST AN ECONOMIC BLOOD TRANSFUSION FOR  
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THAT ARE SUFFERING FROM SEVERE ECONOMIC  
ANEMIA.

↳ BUT WE NEED THAT TRANSFUSION NOW.

NUMBER THREE: NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK

WE CAN AND MUST ENACT THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK -- LEGISLATION I RECENTLY INTRODUCED TO HELP CITIES, STATES, AND TOWNS FINANCE VITALLY NEEDED PUBLIC PROJECTS.

~~THIS LEGISLATION IS BASED ON ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES~~

~~OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE.~~ I PROPOSE THAT WE NOW ~~APPLY THE~~

*do here at home, what we have been doing in foreign countries*  
~~THESE PRINCIPLES~~ PROVIDING LONG-TERM LOANS AT LOW INTEREST

RATES, AND THAT WE COUPLE THE FINANCIAL HELP WITH

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

MY PLAN WILL ALLOW CITIES, COUNTIES, TOWNS, SCHOOL

DISTRICTS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT JURISDICTIONS TO MOVE

AHEAD ON A WIDE RANGE OF URGENTLY NEEDED PUBLIC

CONSTRUCTION.

IT WILL PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE AND SUPPLEMENTAL  
SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR NEW SCHOOLS , , , FOR MEDICAL AND  
HOSPITAL CENTERS , , , FOR POLICE AND FIRE TRAINING  
FACILITIES , , , FOR DAY CARE CENTERS , , , PARKS , , ,  
WASTE DISPOSAL CENTERS , , , MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL CENTERS , , ,  
PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS , , , MASS TRANSIT SYSTEMS , , ,  
ADULT EDUCATION FACILITIES , , , AND MUCH MORE.

↳ IT CAN HELP END THE STOP-START HISTORY OF PUBLIC  
CONSTRUCTION ~~BY PROVIDING FOR AN ORDERLY~~  
AND CONTINUING NEW FINANCING MECHANISM

↳ THE NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK IS A PROGRAM  
FOR ALL THE COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA.

↳ IT CAN FACILITATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN DEPRESSED  
AREAS.

L IT CAN PROVIDE JOBS,

L IT CAN STIMULATE THE ECONOMY,

L IT CAN HELP PROMOTE BETTER BALANCED RURAL-URBAN

GROWTH,

AND, IT CAN REMOVE THE RELIANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

ON THE EVER-INCREASING PROPERTY TAX,

~~WE HAVE BECOME A NATION THAT IS PRIVATELY WEALTHY  
BUT PUBLICLY POOR. I BELIEVE THIS LEGISLATION CAN HELP  
REDRESS THAT IMBALANCE.~~

L WE HAVE USED THIS APPROACH SUCCESSFULLY OVERSEAS  
THROUGH SUCH INSTITUTIONS AS THE WORLD BANK.

*Asian Bank  
Inter-American*

L I SAY THAT IF WE CAN HELP BUILD A BETTER RIO DE  
JANIERO, WE CAN HELP BUILD A BETTER PHILADELPHIA, OR  
DETROIT, OR CHICAGO, OR NEW YORK, OR CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE.

NUMBER FOUR: CATEGORICAL GRANTS

WE SHOULD FULLY FUND THE CATEGORICAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS. AND WE SHOULD UNFREEZE THE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS

OF PROGRAM MONEY, WHICH THE CONGRESS HAS APPROPRIATED, BUT WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS INSISTED ON TIEING UP

*complements to major aliats*

WE SHOULD DEMAND THAT THE PRESIDENT RELEASE THESE IMPOUNDED FUNDS NOW.

NUMBER FIVE: BLOCK GRANTS

WE SHOULD PASS A SERIES OF BLOCK GRANTS TO BE USED FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES BUT WITH A SIGNIFICANT PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL MONEY AVAILABLE FOR LOCAL DISCRETIONARY USE.

WE CAN MAINTAIN A FEDERAL PRESENCE AND STILL ALLOW  
YOU AS MAYORS THE FLEXIBILITY TO SPEND THIS MONEY  
CONSISTENT WITH YOUR LOCAL NEEDS -- AND YOU KNOW THOSE  
NEEDS BETTER THAN ANYONE.

NUMBER SIX: WELFARE

WE CAN AND MUST FEDERALIZE THE COST OF WELFARE. AND,  
WE CAN MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT THIS YEAR.

WE CAN AND MUST ENCOURAGE STATES WHICH SAVE MONEY  
FROM REDUCED PUBLIC ASSISTANCE <sup>welfare</sup> EXPENSES TO RETURN A  
PORTION OF THAT SAVINGS TO THE CITIES.

WELFARE IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM; IT DEMANDS NATIONAL  
ANSWERS AND NATIONAL FINANCING.

NUMBER SEVEN: HIGHWAYS

WE SHOULD OPEN UP THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND TO THE  
CITIES -- TO PAVE CITY STREETS AND TO BUILD NEW STREETS,  
TO CREATE PARKING AREAS, AND TO HELP FINANCE MAINTENANCE

WE MUST END THE FICTION THAT THE STREETS OF A CITY  
ARE SEPARATE AND APART FROM HIGHWAYS. THEY ARE AN INTEGRAL  
PART OF OUR TRANSPORTATION CIRCULATORY SYSTEM, AND IT

IS TIME THAT WE RECOGNIZED THAT FACT,

*Transit is an imperative*

NUMBER EIGHT: TAX REFORM

*Lehewick, Mass  
It needs its own  
Trust fund or  
to be funded out of  
the highway trust fund*

WE CAN AND MUST REFORM THE TAX SYSTEM,

WE SHOULD DE-EMPHASIZE THE REGRESSIVE SALES AND

PROPERTY TAX AND EMPHASIZE MORE EQUITABLE LOCAL AND  
STATE INCOME TAX.

THIS REFORM WILL NOT BE EASY. METHODS OF FINANCING

CHANGE SLOWLY, AND PEOPLE DO NOT EAGERLY EMBRACE INCOME TAXES.

BUT, LOOK WHAT HAPPENS IF WE DO NOT CHANGE OUR LOCAL

TAX STRUCTURES:

-- SALES TAXES IN FISCAL 1975 WILL YIELD SOME

\$28 BILLION.

-- PROPERTY TAXES WILL ACCOUNT FOR SOME \$39 BILLION.

-- INCOME TAXES, ON THE OTHER HAND, WILL BRING IN

ONLY \$10 BILLION.

-- AND, CORPORATE TAXES WILL PRODUCE ONLY \$3.7 BILLION.

↳ IN OTHER WORDS, THOSE LEAST ABLE TO PAY WILL BE ASKED

TO SHOULDER MOST OF THE TAX LOAD.

~~We have become a nation that as privately  
Rich, & publicly poor. The program I have  
outlined here to day, can help redress that  
imbalance.~~

WE MUST HAVE A MORE EQUITABLE TAX STRUCTURE AND ONE  
THAT WILL ENABLE THE STATES TO SHARE WITH THE CITIES.

#2 THE SECOND ESSENTIAL OF A NATIONAL URBAN STRATEGY IS  
SOCIAL PROGRESS.

MONEY IS CRUCIAL BUT WE ALSO NEED A STRATEGY OF  
ALLOCATING THAT MONEY TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR  
ALL OUR PEOPLE.

AMONG OTHER THINGS, SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS SUITABLE  
EMPLOYMENT AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE IN ONE'S  
WORK. — The Right to productive, useful,  
rewarding work.

IT MEANS WE MUST STRIVE TO PROVIDE A NATIONAL FLOOR  
OF BASIC SERVICES FOR EVERY CITIZEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

~~Cities, Counties, States — these are  
governmental units that we must use  
to bring these services. But with  
a free moving population, the~~

~~and often cities overlap state lines -~~

- 21 -

WE ARE A HIGHLY MOBILE SOCIETY. ALMOST 20 PER CENT OF OUR POPULATION IS ON THE MOVE EVERY YEAR. *Therefore,*

WE MUST GUARANTEE ALL AMERICANS, NO MATTER WHERE THEY LIVE, BASIC SERVICES AND BASIC STANDARDS, *Clean Air - clean water,* CLEAN, Safe,

AND WELL-LIT STREETS, GARBAGE COLLECTION, ADEQUATE PUBLIC

Health care + Sanitation - SAFETY, AND OTHER BASIC SERVICES ARE MATTERS OF RIGHT FOR

EVERY AMERICAN. *These are but part of the benefits + privilege of being a citizen of the U.S., and* THE CITIES HAVE THE MANPOWER TO MAKE GOOD ON THIS

GUARANTEE. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MUST HELP SUPPLY

THE RESOURCES *to fail or falter in this responsibility, who ~~do~~ violate basic human rights!*

SOCIAL PROGRESS ALSO MEANS AN ADEQUATE WELFARE

SYSTEM FOR THOSE WHO NEED ASSISTANCE - *and a*

*program of training, job placement, and work for those capable of work.*

~~with quality of life~~

L SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS SCHOOLS -- GOOD SCHOOLS <sup>1 H</sup>

MEANS QUALITY EDUCATION, AND, IT MEANS A SUBSTANTIAL ~~yearly~~

*yearly doubling -*

<sup>^</sup> INCREASE IN FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION.

L IT MEANS ADVANCING ON ALL THESE FRONTS, NOT RETREAT.

L SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS A NATION-WIDE SYSTEM OF HEALTH

AND DENTAL CARE

*- prepared and accessible.*

~~DOCTORS, NURSES~~

L IT MEANS MORE HOSPITALS, NEIGHBORHOOD HEALTH CENTERS

CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE, AND MORE MEDICAL MANPOWER,

*Doctors, Nurses,*

*dentists, technicians.*

L AND IT MEANS MUCH MORE EMPHASIS ON PREVENTIVE CARE.

L SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS DAY CARE FACILITIES FOR THE

CHILDREN OF WORKING MOTHERS.

*[social Progress means ~~more~~,  
a decent home in a safe  
and wholesome neighborhood -  
- yes, homes for*

L SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS RACIAL PEACE, L IT MEANS RESPECT  
FOR OUR INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES. L AND, IT MEANS A  
CONTINUING EFFORT IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE TO  
ERASE INJUSTICE AND DISCRIMINATION AND INEQUALITY  
OF OPPORTUNITY!

*and* SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS A CONCERTED ATTACK, LED BY THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGAINST DRUG ABUSE AND DRUG ADDICTION.

L DRUGS COST THE CITIES UNTOLD BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN  
CRIME. AND THE HUMAN COST CANNOT BE CALCULATED!

L IN WASHINGTON ALONE, DRUG RELATED CRIME TOTALS  
\$450 MILLION.

L IN NEW YORK CITY, THE COST IS ABOUT \$2 BILLION.

EVEN MORE FRIGHTENING IS THIS FACT. IN THE LAST  
 EIGHT YEARS, DRUG ABUSE KILLED MORE PEOPLE IN NEW YORK  
CITY THAN THE ENTIRE STATE OF NEW YORK LOST IN THE  
VIETNAM WAR.

YET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDS A PITTANCE ON DRUG  
 CONTROL ~~and rehabilitation~~

~~I BELIEVE~~ WE MUST CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN ALL OUR  
 ACTIVITIES RELATING TO THE CONTROL OF DRUGS AND THE  
 REHABILITATION OF DRUG USERS AND ADDICTS I INTEND TO  
 INTRODUCE LEGISLATION TO CREATE A DRUG CURE AND CONTROL  
 AUTHORITY THAT WOULD DO JUST THAT.

I RECOMMEND AN EMERGENCY APPROPRIATION TO DEAL WITH  
 THE DRUG PROBLEM FACED BY VIETNAM VETERANS.

*armed services*  
 V.A.  
 I recommend immediate financial +  
 technical assistance to state + cities

AND I CALL ON THE PRESIDENT TO CONVENE AN IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON DRUG CONTROL.

↳ MANY AGENCIES MUST JOIN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE  
GROWING DRUG EPIDEMIC.

↳ IF THE CIA CAN FIND A SABOTEUR, THEN IT CAN FIND  
A DRUG SMUGGLER. ↳ IF THE FBI CAN FERRET OUT SUBVERSIVES,  
IT CAN FIND THE DRUG PUSHERS.

↳ THE FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, THE BUREAU OF  
NARCOTICS, THE CUSTOMS BUREAU -- ALL RESOURCES OF THE  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD JOIN NOW IN A MAJOR OFFENSIVE  
AGAINST THE MENACE OF DRUG ABUSE AND ADDICTION. *These*

*agencies must work with local police services.*

↳ ~~We must~~ OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS THAT WILL

STOP THE FLOW OF HEROIN INTO THIS COUNTRY ~~FROM ABROAD~~

*Every Ambassador should be instructed  
to put this high on his agenda.*

< AND IF WE CANNOT NEGOTIATE AGREEMENTS, THEN WE MUST

APPLY STRONG SANCTIONS TO DRY UP THE ILLEGAL ENTRY OF

DRUGS -- SANCTIONS THAT WOULD INCLUDE THE WITHDRAWAL OF

ALL U. S. ASSISTANCE - *economic & military.*

< NO NATION CAN BE A TRUE FRIEND AND ALLY IF IT

CONTRIBUTES TO THE POISONING OF OUR PEOPLE,

< DRUG TRAFFIC IS MURDER ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN. IT

MUST BE STOPPED.

X FINALLY, SOCIAL PROGRESS MEANS CIVIL PEACE.

NO ONE CAN BE SECURE WHERE THERE IS VIOLENCE, CRIME,

AND DISORDER.

THE FIRST RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENT IS TO PRESERVE

AND PROTECT LIFE, AND, WE <sup>can and</sup> MUST DO SO WITHIN THE

CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES, ~~THE~~ PROCESS.

↳ EVERY CITIZEN MUST BE ABLE TO LIVE IN PEACE, THINK

IN PEACE, DO BUSINESS IN PEACE, AND FEEL SECURE IN HIS

RESIDENCE

*The program we are a nation privately rich, but publicly poor, the program I have outlined, will help redress that imbalance.*

↳ THE PROGRAM I HAVE OUTLINED WILL REQUIRE PLANNING, Priorities

*commitment* AND DETERMINED POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, IT WILL ~~REQUIRE~~

REQUIRE MONEY — *and lots of it.*

↳ BUT IT WILL COST MORE NOT TO DO IT, THAN TO DO IT! !

↳ I AM CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE THE TOOLS TO DO THE JOB.

WE HAVE THE KNOW-HOW, WE HAVE THE MANPOWER, AND WE HAVE

THE RESOURCES AND THE WEALTH, IF WE WILL USE THEM WELL.

↳ WE CAN START BY CLOSING TAX LOOPHOLES AND FINDING  
MORE EQUITABLE WAYS TO RAISE MONEY.

AND WE CAN START BY CHALLENGING OUR FISCAL PRIORITIES:

↳ DO WE NEED \$80 BILLION DOLLARS FOR THE PENTAGON?

↳ I SAY NO!

↳ NATIONAL SECURITY IS NOT MERELY A MATTER OF TROOPS  
AND WEAPONS. SECURITY ULTIMATELY LIES IN OUR PEOPLE,

↳ IT LIES IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THE  
NATION AND IN CITIES THAT ARE ALIVE AND GROWING, NOT  
SICK AND DYING.

↳ THE PEOPLE AND THEIR WELL-BEING IS THE SOLID BASE  
OF THE REAL SECURITY WE MUST BUILD.

\* \* \*

FOUR YEARS AGO, A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION CONCLUDED  
THAT "THIS NATION IS MOVING TOWARDS TWO SOCIETIES --  
ONE BLACK AND ONE WHITE -- SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL."

SINCE THEN, WE HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT NOT ALL  
OF OUR URBAN PROBLEMS ARE RACIAL.

↳ WE KNOW NOW THAT THERE ARE PROBLEMS OF POLITICAL  
ORGANIZATION, OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, OF COMMUNITY  
SERVICES, AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

↳ WE KNOW NOW THAT URBAN PROBLEMS ARE AS INTRICATE  
AS THEY ARE DISTURBING, AND, AS DIVERSE AS THEY ARE  
AGONIZING.

↳ WE KNOW NOW THAT WE MUST HAVE A NATIONAL URBAN  
STRATEGY IF WE ARE TO BUILD THE KIND OF CITIES THAT  
WE MUST HAVE -- CITIES THAT ARE RICH AND REWARDING PLACES  
IN WHICH TO LIVE AND WORK AND RAISE CHILDREN.

↳ IF WE DO NOT ACT NOW, WE CAN FORGET SUCH LOFTY  
CONCEPTS AS "NATIONAL GREATNESS," "NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS,"  
"BROTHERHOOD" AND "DRIVING DREAMS," } FOR THE DREAMS WILL  
TURN INTO NIGHTMARES.

↳ CAN WE AS A NATION BUILD GREAT CITIES?

↳ CAN WE MAKE IT?

↳ I AM AN OPTIMIST. I BELIEVE WE CAN.

Ⓟ But, we must put our house of Democracy  
in order - we must end the War -  
we must call our country to its  
greatness - the

I BELIEVE WE CAN REACH WHAT COTTON MATHER CALLED  
THE "HEAVENLY CITY" -- A CITY TO BE INHABITED BY AN  
INNUMERABLE COMPANY OF ANGELS AND BY THE SPIRITS OF  
JUST MEN."

# # # # #



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