

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA

COPE Legislative Conference

Washington-Hilton Hotel
June 16, 1971

In the next 10-12 years, we will need an investment of at least 30 billion dollars in mass transit. This is the measure of how we have neglected this most vital part of what should be a balanced transportation system.

The service to those most in need has been shocking and it's getting worse. Fares continue to rise, customers are being driven away, private enterprise is getting out of the business as fast as it can -- and I don't blame them. In the last 20 years over 300 transit companies have gone out of business. Three-fourths of the failures were in cities of less than 50,000.

The poor and those trapped in the inner cities are deprived of the chance to travel to where the jobs are.

The areas most in need have been receiving the least help. A reallocation of funding has been authorized by the Congress. In the Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1970, the Federal Government was authorized to spend \$10 billion over a period of 12 years. But the other \$20 billion must come from the states and localities.

How are they to get this needed financing when they already are broke or rapidly going broke? Right now, our states and cities have submitted more than 100 applications for capital grants for mass transit improvement and construction -- totalling over \$7 billion. Part of the solution would be establishment of a National Domestic Development Bank to provide a major new source of capital funds and technical assistance.

I have recently introduced legislation to accomplish just that. Through direct Federal grants, redirection of some of the funds pouring into the Highway Trust Fund, plus long-term financing available through such a Development Bank, we can begin to meet the mass transit challenge of the decades ahead.

Just how important is planning to the welfare of the United States? What must we foresee in the years ahead in transportation, power generation and transmission, and financing our national growth?

Just what is the measure of the problem?

By this time tomorrow, there will be 6,000 more automobiles on the road. This increase goes on day after day. Right now we have over 111,000,000 vehicles on the road. They are crowded into less than 2% of the land area of the U.S.

We are being strangled relentlessly. Before the turn of the century, if we continue to build highways at the present rate, New Jersey will be one monstrous slab of concrete, serving as part of a super-super highway between Washington and New York. And instead of going faster, the cars of the year 2,000 will be moving ever more slowly until they congeal into one huge mass of steaming motors and frustrated humanity.

Transportation is literally the economic circulatory system of the U.S.

But what is happening today in transportation planning on a national scale? Where is the planning to create a coordinated system -- a system that utilizes the best features of each transportation component and where each component supplements the others?

Clearly, we have no national policy or program in transportation. Nor do we have an adequate national plan for the generation and transmission of the power necessary to continue America's growth.

And we have yet to provide the means of financing the tremendous growth in public services and facilities the American people demand and deserve.

Transportation, power and financing -- these are three keys to a nation's growth. If we fail to plan in these areas now, we will be unable to meet the challenge of our growth, a challenge represented by a population of some 300,000 Americans by the year 2000.

TRANSPORTATION

Our transportation planning is still in the days of the tri-motor, the steam locomotive, the Titanic and the Tin Lizzie.

Airports have no connection with train or bus stations. Center-cities have no realistic transit links with air terminals in the distant suburbs. Busses don't discharge passengers where they can switch easily to trains or planes. We have no blending of the various systems.

But the single most glaring need in our transportation systems is mass transit for urban-suburban movement of people.

In Chicago, which has a fairly good rapid transit system for commuters, the city would have to add 140 additional expressway lanes and requisite parking if the 138,000 transit riders drove automobiles. And it costs over \$5 million per mile, per lane to construct urban expressways.

Eventually, the sheer economic waste is going to force us to finally total up the cost of private auto mobility.

It is more than a dollar and cents cost. It threatens to pave over whole cities. It pollutes our atmosphere. One automobile emits more poisonous fumes than five city buses that use the new low-sulphur diesel fuel. And these buses carry 167 times more passengers. It is increasingly becoming the most deadly mode of transportation -- for motorist and pedestrian alike. It costs far more to do nothing, than to invest now in major, comprehensive improvement of our present inefficient transit system.

We have the technical capability and the resources to begin mass rapid transit systems serving our cities, the suburbs, and the rural heartland.

The San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit system, for example, proves we have the know-how. Washington, Los Angeles, New York and Seattle have prepared extensive plans for rapid transit systems. And Washington has begun construction of the largest new transit system ever -- 98 miles on completion.

What we need now is the will and the legal, political and administrative machinery to make regional transportation planning a reality.

The thousands of autonomous jurisdictions involved in major transportation policy decisions make it impossible to achieve any policy. We must create the regional institutional framework within which we can plan and develop comprehensive intermodal transportation systems.

POWER

The second essential in the planning equation is power -- the energy we need to keep America moving and growing. By the year 1975, we will be using one trillion, four hundred billion kilowatt-hours a year.

In just 10 years we will have used 18 trillion kilowatt-hours -- the same amount we have used in the last 90 years. By the year 2000, an estimated 50% of our power will come from nuclear power plants. Transmission grids presently in use are clearly inadequate -- in fact they are dangerously, and in some cases, fatally inadequate.

We must develop a national policy on energy development, production, and transmission. We must build necessary plants, transmission lines, and regional and national grids. And we must do so with care and imagination so the environment is adequately protected.

While meeting our power and energy requirements, we must direct our technology towards solving the energy-ecology dilemma. Realistically, technology's ills can only be corrected by improved and accurately directed technology. We must have a balance of technology with a balance of nature.

FINANCING

Finally, we must have a major new source of capital funds and technical assistance for the construction and improvement of public transportation systems as well as a wide range of other vital public projects.

We need a bold and imaginative way of mobilizing capital to meet the public development demands of our nation.

We are comparatively lavish in providing money for construction of steel plants or roads or dams in other countries. I think it's about time we did the same for our own people. We should be able to finance public projects on a long-term basis, like individuals can.

If you can pay for a house over 30 years, then why not pay for a transit system or a sewage system or a park system over an extended period. Recently, I introduced legislation to create a National Domestic Development Bank for just that purpose.

Our states and cities need firm, long-term credit commitments, obtained rapidly, efficiently and economically. Such financing is essential if the extensive economic and social needs of an expanding population are to be met.

What would such financing mean to you and me and the rest of our fellow Americans?

A start now on urgently needed transit systems. . .

Good schools, medical and hospital centers close to the people. . .

Better police and fire departments. . .

Parklands and clean water. . .

Improved waste disposal and treatment facilities. . .

Comprehensive day care and community service centers. . .

Adult education centers. . .
Job-training facilities. . .
Cultural centers and museums. . .
More and better low and moderate-income housing. . .
And much more.

The Domestic Development Bank I have proposed would make possible a start on the renewal of business centers in our central cities and smaller towns. It would make possible a comprehensive attack on urban and rural blight.

Those are just some of our needs. Those specifics are what America must have in the years ahead. But essential to all of them are high quality transportation systems as a framework and means for present and future mobility.

With such a system, with sufficient energy production, with the necessary financing to build a better America, we can meet the challenges of the years ahead.

And we must meet them, for they have not waited until tomorrow; they are with us today.

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COPE LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON-HILTON HOTEL

JUNE 16, 1971

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IN THE NEXT 10-12 YEARS, WE WILL NEED AN INVESTMENT OF
AT LEAST 30 BILLION DOLLARS IN MASS TRANSIT. THIS IS THE
MEASURE OF HOW WE HAVE NEGLECTED THIS MOST VITAL PART OF WHAT
SHOULD BE A BALANCED TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM.

THE SERVICE TO THOSE MOST IN NEED HAS BEEN SHOCKING
AND IT'S GETTING WORSE. FARES CONTINUE TO RISE, CUSTOMERS
ARE BEING DRIVEN AWAY, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS GETTING
OUT OF THE BUSINESS AS FAST AS IT CAN -- AND I DON'T
BLAME THEM. IN THE LAST 20 YEARS OVER 300 TRANSIT COMPANIES
HAVE GONE OUT OF BUSINESS. THREE-FOURTHS OF THE FAILURES
WERE IN CITIES OF LESS THAN 50,000.

THE POOR AND THOSE TRAPPED IN THE INNER CITIES
ARE DEPRIVED OF THE CHANCE TO TRAVEL TO WHERE THE JOBS
ARE,

THE AREAS MOST IN NEED HAVE BEEN RECEIVING THE
LEAST HELP. A REALLOCATION OF FUNDING HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED
BY THE CONGRESS. IN THE URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ASSISTANCE
ACT OF 1970, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS AUTHORIZED TO
SPEND \$10 BILLION OVER A PERIOD OF 12 YEARS. BUT THE
OTHER \$20 BILLION MUST COME FROM THE STATES AND LOCALITIES.

HOW ARE THEY TO GET THIS NEEDED FINANCING WHEN
THEY ALREADY ARE BROKE OR RAPIDLY GOING BROKE?

RIGHT NOW, OUR STATES AND CITIES HAVE SUBMITTED MORE THAN
100 APPLICATIONS FOR CAPITAL GRANTS FOR MASS TRANSIT IMPROVEMENT
AND CONSTRUCTION -- TOTALLING OVER \$7 BILLION. PART
OF THE SOLUTION WOULD BE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL
DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK TO PROVIDE A MAJOR NEW SOURCE
OF CAPITAL FUNDS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.

L I HAVE RECENTLY INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO ACCOMPLISH
JUST THAT. THROUGH DIRECT FEDERAL GRANTS, REDIRECTION
OF SOME OF THE FUNDS POURING INTO THE HIGHWAY TRUST
FUND, PLUS LONG-TERM FINANCING AVAILABLE THROUGH SUCH
A DEVELOPMENT BANK, WE CAN BEGIN TO MEET THE MASS TRANSIT
CHALLENGE OF THE DECADES AHEAD.

JUST HOW IMPORTANT IS PLANNING TO THE WELFARE OF
THE UNITED STATES? WHAT MUST WE FORSEE IN THE YEARS
AHEAD IN TRANSPORTATION, POWER GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION,
AND FINANCING OUR NATIONAL GROWTH?

L JUST WHAT IS THE MEASURE OF THE PROBLEM?

L BY THIS TIME TOMORROW, THERE WILL BE 6,000 MORE
AUTOMOBILES ON THE ROAD. THIS INCREASE GOES ON DAY AFTER
DAY. RIGHT NOW WE HAVE OVER 111,000,000 VEHICLES ON THE
ROAD. THEY ARE CROWDED INTO LESS THAN 2% OF THE LAND
AREA OF THE U.S.

WE ARE BEING STRANGLLED RELENTLESSLY ^L BEFORE THE
TURN OF THE CENTURY, IF WE CONTINUE TO BUILD HIGHWAYS
AT THE PRESENT RATE, NEW JERSEY WILL BE ONE MONSTROUS
SLAB OF CONCRETE, SERVING AS PART OF A SUPER-SUPER HIGHWAY
BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK, AND INSTEAD OF GOING
FASTER, THE CARS OF THE YEAR 2,000 WILL BE MOVING EVER
MORE SLOWLY UNTIL THEY CONGEAL INTO ONE HUGE MASS OF
STEAMING MOTORS AND FRUSTRATED HUMANITY.

^L TRANSPORTATION IS LITERALLY THE ECONOMIC CIRCULATORY
SYSTEM OF THE U.S.

BUT WHAT IS HAPPENING TODAY IN TRANSPORTATION PLANNING
ON A NATIONAL SCALE? WHERE IS THE PLANNING TO CREATE
A COORDINATED SYSTEM -- A SYSTEM THAT UTILIZES THE BEST
FEATURES OF EACH TRANSPORTATION COMPONENT AND WHERE
EACH COMPONENT SUPPLEMENTS THE OTHERS?

h CLEARLY, WE HAVE NO NATIONAL POLICY OR PROGRAM
IN TRANSPORTATION. NOR DO WE HAVE AN ADEQUATE NATIONAL
PLAN FOR THE GENERATION AND TRANSMISSION OF THE POWER
NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AMERICA'S GROWTH.

L AND WE HAVE YET TO PROVIDE THE MEANS OF FINANCING
THE TREMENDOUS GROWTH IN PUBLIC SERVICES AND FACILITIES
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DEMAND AND DESERVE.

↳ TRANSPORTATION, POWER AND FINANCING -- THESE ARE

THREE KEYS TO A NATION'S GROWTH. IF WE FAIL TO PLAN

IN THESE AREAS NOW, WE WILL BE UNABLE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE

OF OUR GROWTH, A CHALLENGE REPRESENTED BY A POPULATION

OF SOME 300,000⁰⁰⁰ AMERICANS BY THE YEAR 2000.

TRANSPORTATION

↳ OUR TRANSPORTATION PLANNING IS STILL IN THE DAYS

OF THE TRI-MOTOR, THE STEAM LOCOMOTIVE, THE TITANIC

AND THE TIN LIZZIE.

↳ AIRPORTS HAVE NO CONNECTION WITH TRAIN OR BUS STATIONS.

CENTER-CITIES HAVE NO REALISTIC TRANSIT LINKS WITH AIR

TERMINALS IN THE DISTANT SUBURBS.

BUSSES DON'T DISCHARGE PASSENGERS WHERE THEY CAN SWITCH
EASILY TO TRAINS OR PLANES. WE HAVE NO BLENDING OF THE
VARIOUS SYSTEMS.

BUT THE SINGLE MOST GLARING NEED IN OUR TRANSPORTATION
SYSTEMS IS MASS TRANSIT FOR URBAN-SUBURBAN MOVEMENT
OF PEOPLE.

IN CHICAGO, WHICH HAS A FAIRLY GOOD RAPID TRANSIT
SYSTEM FOR COMMUTERS, THE CITY WOULD HAVE TO ADD 140

ADDITIONAL EXPRESSWAY LANES AND ~~REQUISITE~~ PARKING

areas if

THE 138,000 TRANSIT RIDERS DROVE AUTOMOBILES; AND IT

COSTS OVER \$5 MILLION PER MILE, PER LANE TO CONSTRUCT

URBAN EXPRESSWAYS.

↳ EVENTUALLY, THE SHEER ECONOMIC WASTE IS GOING TO
FORCE US TO FINALLY TOTAL UP THE COST OF PRIVATE AUTO
MOBILITY.

↳ IT IS MORE THAN A DOLLAR AND CENTS COST. IT THREATENS
TO PAVE OVER WHOLE CITIES. IT POLLUTES OUR ATMOSPHERE.

↳ ONE AUTOMOBILE EMITS MORE POISONOUS FUMES THAN FIVE
CITY BUSES THAT USE THE NEW LOW-SULPHUR DIESEL FUEL.

↳ ~~AND THESE BUSES CARRY 67 TIMES MORE PASSENGERS.~~ IT
IS INCREASINGLY BECOMING THE MOST DEADLY MODE OF TRANSPORTATION --

FOR MOTORIST AND PEDESTRIAN ALIKE. IT COSTS FAR MORE
TO DO NOTHING, THAN TO INVEST NOW IN MAJOR, COMPREHENSIVE
IMPROVEMENT OF OUR PRESENT INEFFICIENT TRANSIT SYSTEM.

L WE HAVE THE TECHNICAL CAPABILITY AND THE RESOURCES
TO BEGIN MASS RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEMS SERVING OUR CITIES,
THE SUBURBS, AND THE RURAL HEARTLAND.

L THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEM,
FOR EXAMPLE, PROVES WE HAVE THE KNOW-HOW. WASHINGTON,
LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK AND SEATTLE HAVE PREPARED EXTENSIVE
PLANS FOR RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEMS. AND WASHINGTON HAS
BEGUN CONSTRUCTION OF THE LARGEST NEW TRANSIT SYSTEM
EVER -- 98 MILES ON COMPLETION.

L WHAT WE NEED NOW IS THE WILL AND THE LEGAL, POLITICAL
AND ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY TO MAKE REGIONAL TRANSPORTATION
PLANNING A REALITY.

THE THOUSANDS OF AUTONOMOUS JURISDICTIONS INVOLVED
IN MAJOR TRANSPORTATION POLICY DECISIONS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE
TO ACHIEVE ANY POLICY. WE MUST CREATE THE REGIONAL INSTITUTIONAL
FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH WE CAN PLAN AND DEVELOP COMPREHENSIVE
INTERMODAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

POWER

THE SECOND ESSENTIAL IN THE PLANNING EQUATION IS
POWER -- THE ENERGY WE NEED TO KEEP AMERICA MOVING AND
GROWING. BY THE YEAR 1975, WE WILL BE USING ONE TRILLION,
FOUR HUNDRED BILLION KILOWATT-HOURS A YEAR.

L IN JUST 10 YEARS WE WILL HAVE USED 18 TRILLION
KILOWATT-HOURS -- THE SAME AMOUNT WE HAVE USED IN THE
LAST 90 YEARS. L BY THE YEAR 2000, AN ESTIMATED 50% OF
OUR POWER WILL COME FROM NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS. TRANSMISSION
GRIDS PRESENTLY IN USE ARE CLEARLY INADEQUATE -- IN
FACT THEY ARE DANGEROUSLY, AND IN SOME CASES, FATALLY
INADEQUATE.

L WE MUST DEVELOP A NATIONAL POLICY ON ENERGY DEVELOPMENT,
PRODUCTION, AND TRANSMISSION. WE MUST BUILD NECESSARY
PLANTS, TRANSMISSION LINES, AND REGIONAL AND NATIONAL
GRIDS. AND WE MUST DO SO WITH CARE AND IMAGINATION SO
THE ENVIRONMENT IS ADEQUATELY PROTECTED.

WHILE MEETING OUR POWER AND ENERGY REQUIREMENTS,
WE MUST DIRECT OUR TECHNOLOGY TOWARDS SOLVING THE ENERGY-
ECOLOGY DILEMMA. REALISTICALLY, TECHNOLOGY'S ILLS CAN
ONLY BE CORRECTED BY IMPROVED AND ACCURATELY DIRECTED
TECHNOLOGY. WE MUST HAVE A BALANCE OF TECHNOLOGY WITH
A BALANCE OF NATURE.

FINANCING

FINALLY, WE MUST HAVE A MAJOR NEW SOURCE OF CAPITAL
FUNDS AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION AND
IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS AS WELL
AS A WIDE RANGE OF OTHER VITAL PUBLIC PROJECTS.

WE NEED A BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE WAY OF MOBILIZING CAPITAL TO MEET THE PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT DEMANDS OF OUR NATION.

WE ARE COMPARATIVELY LAVISH IN PROVIDING MONEY FOR CONSTRUCTION OF STEEL PLANTS OR ROADS OR DAMS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. I THINK IT'S ABOUT TIME WE DID THE SAME FOR OUR OWN PEOPLE. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO FINANCE PUBLIC PROJECTS ON A LONG-TERM BASIS, LIKE INDIVIDUALS CAN.

IF YOU CAN PAY FOR A HOUSE OVER 30 YEARS, THEN WHY NOT PAY FOR A TRANSIT SYSTEM OR A SEWAGE SYSTEM OR A PARK SYSTEM OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD.

RECENTLY, I INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO CREATE A NATIONAL
DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK FOR JUST THAT PURPOSE.

OUR STATES AND CITIES NEED FIRM, LONG-TERM CREDIT
COMMITMENTS, OBTAINED RAPIDLY, EFFICIENTLY AND ECONOMICALLY.
SUCH FINANCING IS ESSENTIAL IF THE EXTENSIVE ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF AN EXPANDING POPULATION ARE TO BE
MET.

WHAT WOULD SUCH FINANCING MEAN TO YOU AND ME AND
THE REST OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS?

A START NOW ON URGENTLY NEEDED TRANSIT SYSTEMS, . . .
GOOD SCHOOLS, MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CENTERS CLOSE
TO THE PEOPLE, . . .

BETTER POLICE AND FIRE DEPARTMENTS. . .

PARKLANDS AND CLEAN WATER. . .

IMPROVED WASTE DISPOSAL AND TREATMENT FACILITIES. . .

COMPREHENSIVE DAY CARE AND COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTERS. . .

ADULT EDUCATION CENTERS. . .

JOB-TRAINING FACILITIES. . .

CULTURAL CENTERS AND MUSEUMS. . .

MORE AND BETTER LOW AND MODERATE-INCOME HOUSING. . .

AND MUCH MORE.

THE DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK I HAVE PROPOSED WOULD MAKE

POSSIBLE A START ON THE RENEWAL OF BUSINESS CENTERS IN

OUR CENTRAL CITIES AND SMALLER TOWNS.

IT WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE A COMPREHENSIVE ATTACK ON URBAN
AND RURAL BLIGHT.

THOSE ARE JUST SOME OF OUR NEEDS. THOSE SPECIFICS
ARE WHAT AMERICA MUST HAVE IN THE YEARS AHEAD. BUT ESSENTIAL
TO ALL OF THEM ARE HIGH QUALITY TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS
AS A FRAMEWORK AND MEANS FOR PRESENT AND FUTURE MOBILITY.

WITH SUCH A SYSTEM, WITH SUFFICIENT ENERGY PRODUCTION,
WITH THE NECESSARY FINANCING TO BUILD A BETTER AMERICA,
WE CAN MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE YEARS AHEAD.

AND WE MUST MEET THEM, FOR THEY HAVE NOT WAITED
UNTIL TOMORROW; THEY ARE WITH US TODAY.

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