

Dr Muller  
Dr Jack Fisher  
Cong. Sarbanes

Recycling  
1969-70

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

JOHNS HOPKINS' UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

APRIL 26, 1973

U.S. Threat  
now

C

Crisis - Food.  
- Energy.  
- Transportation

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

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

FROM HIS FEELING THAT THE URBAN CRISIS IS OVER.

Crisis

↳ YOU HAD BETTER BELIEVE THAT THE URBAN CRISIS IS NOT

OVER IN MY BOOK. TO BE SURE, THE WORD "CRISIS" DOES TEND

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

TO DESCRIBE THE STATE OF OUR LARGE CITIES.

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

↳ WHEN YOU ARE AT THE CROSSROADS, THE SLIGHTEST MOTION ONE  
WAY OR THE OTHER PROPELS YOU IN ONE DIRECTION -- RATHER THAN

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

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

↳ AFTER WASTING A LOT OF TIME AND RESOURCES REORGANIZING AND

DISMANTLING AND DECENTRALIZING, WE WILL WIND UP WITH TOO

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

CRISIS. *now lets examine* WHAT ARE THE PRESIDENT'S REASONS FOR SAYING THE

URBAN CRISIS IS OVER.

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

SOMEHOW THEY DEVELOPED THE NOTION THAT STATE AND LOCAL

GOVERNMENTS ARE DOING VERY WELL FISCALLY.

---

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

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

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

-4-

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

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

↳ THEY WOULD FIND:

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

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

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

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

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

-- BUSINESS AREAS WITH PLYWOOD OVER THE DOORS AND  
WINDOWS

-- TRAFFIC CONGESTION

-- TOTALLY INADEQUATE MASS TRANSIT

-- GENERAL LACK OF ADEQUATE WATER AND SEWER FACILITIES

-- STREETS IN <sup>Poor</sup> ~~THE~~ REPAIR

-- TOO FEW PARKS THAT CITY PEOPLE CAN USE

-- LACK OF HEALTH CLINICS FOR THE AVERAGE PERSON.

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

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

L THOSE DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS ARE CRITICAL, BECAUSE WHAT  
FLOWS FROM THEM ARE TWO <sup>very</sup> ~~radically~~ DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW  
ABOUT WHAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO.

-7-

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

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

LET ME QUOTE YOU FROM HIS MESSAGE ON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

"AMERICA'S COMMUNITIES ARE AS DIVERSE AS OUR

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

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

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

*is found* IN THEIR DIVERSITY, BUT THEIR PROBLEMS ARE ALARMINGLY SIMILAR

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

FORCES:

THESE NATIONAL FORCES INCLUDE:

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

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

TO ITS URBAN CENTERS.

THEY INCLUDE:

-- DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND NEW HOUSING, WHICH

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

↳ THESE NATIONAL ECONOMIC FORCES ARE LEADING TO:

-- AN INCREASING GAP BETWEEN THE MAJORITY OF THE LABOR

FORCE WITH GOOD WAGES AND BENEFITS, AND A MINORITY WITH

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

↳ THESE FORCES ARE MANIFESTED IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT WAYS

IN DIFFERENT CITIES, BUT THEY ARE NATIONAL FORCES, NOT LOCAL

ONES.

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

TO PROPOSE A POLICY OF NATIONAL-GOVERNMENT DISENGAGEMENT.

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

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

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

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

RAT CONTROL AND LEAD POISONING PROGRAMS - yet these

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

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

-- HE WOULD GIVE CITIES A HOBSON'S CHOICE -- USE THE MONEY TO  
PAY FOR AN UNEMPLOYED FATHER <sup>the</sup> OR ~~THE~~ UNEMPLOYED SON

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

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

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

STARTS

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

SERVICES. THESE ARE PEOPLE PROGRAMS THAT ARE DESPERATELY NEEDED

-12-

-- CHILD CARE

-- CONSUMER EDUCATION

-- JOB COUNSELING

NOW, THE PRESIDENT GIVES VARYING REASONS FOR THESE  
CUTBACKS.

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

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

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

( Pentagon )

-13-

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

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

*But*

↳ THE PRESIDENT SAYS HIS BUDGET WILL ACTUALLY RESULT IN \$1 BILLION IN NEW MONEY FOR THE CITIES, SINCE HIS GENERAL AND SPECIAL REVENUE-SHARING FUNDS WILL MAKE UP FOR THE CATEGORICAL CUTS HE HAS PROPOSED.

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

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

-14-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

or allegheny county Maryland.

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

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

-17-

THE POLICY ALTERNATIVES ARE FAIRLY CLEAR.

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

AND WITNESS THE CONTINUED MOVEMENT OF THE PHYSICAL AND

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

BASICALLY, IS THE NIXON POLICY.

OR WE CAN TRY TO SAVE THE CENTER-CITY. *Just the Center*

*metropolitan area.*

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

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

AND EDUCATION, AND THEIR PARENTS HAVE DECENT JOBS, THEN

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

BE "KEPT UP."

-18-

L THEN NEIGHBORHOODS WILL BE <sup>safer</sup> ~~SAFE~~ AND ~~CLEAN~~ <sup>er</sup>

THEN INDUSTRY WILL BE ATTRACTED BACK INTO THE CITY

BY A VITAL LABOR FORCE.

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

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

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



-20-

THIS ADMINISTRATION WOULD PULL THEM FARTHER APART.

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

PRESIDENT USES.

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

But ~~the~~ <sup>effective</sup> Government requires  
 Trust & faith to give confidence

But Budget is a legislative program is  
 but a tool to be used for a greater  
 purpose - to ~~ensure~~ <sup>establish</sup> justice, to ensure  
~~peace~~ domestic tranquility, to provide  
 for the common defense & and the general <sup>promote</sup>  
 and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves & posterity & welfare.



# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)