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Congress is working on truth-in-packaging legislation this year. Speaking of mislabeling, wouldn't the dollar be a good place to start?



LIGHT TOUCHES FOR RICHMOND

You know, of course, that there are some people in Washington who think the way to solve every problem is just to appropriate a few more millions of dollars.

That reminds me of something Admiral Rickover once told the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, back when I was ~~an~~ a member of ~~it~~ that group.

Said Rickover, commenting on Washington's habit<sup>1</sup> of spending problems out of existence: "If the Soviet Union announced they were going to send a man to Hell, there would be at least two government agencies before the Appropriations Committees of the Congress demanding ~~that~~ the funds to make sure we got there first."



JOKE FOR RICHMOND

I'm not going to talk too long because I too have suffered at the hands of speakers ~~xxxx~~ entranced with the sound of their own voices.

You may have heard of the deaf old couple who were sitting out on their porch one evening. The old man tried to tell his wife how much he appreciated all she had done for him during his lifetime. ~~But~~ Being deaf, she could not understand ~~what he was~~ what he was trying to say. Finally, he shouted as loudly as he could, "I'm proud of you." And she answered, "I'm tired of you, too." --Well, I'm not going to ramble on and on and ~~get that kind of~~ risk that kind of ~~response~~ response from you.



JOKE FOR RICHMOND



One of ~~the~~ the problems we have with spending cutbacks in Congress is that everybody wants to give the ax to somebody else's project but not his own.

Whenever I want to emphasize that point I tell the story of the fellow who was sitting in a restaurant and saw a thief grab his coat off the rack and run off with it. The diner dashed ~~out~~ out into the street and called a policeman. Both of them started running after the thief. The policeman ordered the thief to halt but he kept right on going. "Shoot him," ~~shout him~~ the coat-owner shouted ~~out~~. "Shoot him--in the pants."



Congress of the United States

Office of the Minority Leader

House of Representatives

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

SPEECH CARDS

SEPT. 18, 1968  
Herold R. Ford  
M.C.

SUN, SEPT. 18

VA. MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

RICHMOND, VA.

REMARKS of U. S. Senator Robert P. Griffin  
Before the Michigan Municipal League, Convention  
September 9, 1966

The theme of your convention this week is a fitting one.

During the past few years, the nation's attention has focused increasingly on the ailments and problems of our urban centers; and this means, of course, that the nation's attention is focused on you, the men and women who make up the leadership of our municipal governments.

On your shoulders rest innumerable burdens, and I am not at all sure that you will thank me for proposing here today that we seriously consider giving you even more power and more responsibility.

When the majority of our urban grant programs were conceived, over a decade ago, City Hall still had a reputation for being an overtly political center, unconcerned with problems of blight and poverty. Old-line politicians ruled the roost; and few of them really understood the need for urban revitalization.

Consequently, the salvaging of our cities was a remote-control operation from the beginning. Federal officials dominated the



actual planning; and Federal decisions on specific problems generally overruled alternative proposals offered up by local officials.

Very few local authorities in those days had the self-

confidence to challenge Washington's expertise on urban matters --

although, as we know now, Washington was usually bluffing during

those early years. The fact is that in an area totally without

precedent no one quite knew what he was doing.

As the years passed, Federal domination in all aspects of

urban reform hardened into orthodoxy. If a city wanted Federal funds,

it had to accept Federal regulations, a maze of paperwork, plenty of

red tape and tight supervision. But this was often the best way. The

post-war grants-in-aid programs coincided with the Last Hurrah of

courthouse politics -- and <sup>the</sup> Federal ~~authorities~~ <sup>AGENCIES</sup> looked upon

local officials as politicians who understood nothing of the renewal

process.

We still have some flagrant examples of crassly political local governments. It is, for example, debatable as to which entity is more uneasily governed: The city of Chicago or the Congo Republic.

But for the most part, the municipalities are no longer the naughty orphans of our political system. The cost-accountant has replaced the political hack; the precinct boss has been supplanted by the specialist in urban planning. Serious and dedicated men have come into municipal government with ideas of their own about the future -- and their appearance has revolutionized politics on the grassroots level.

~~I know in fact of no city where this is more evident than here in Detroit, where Mayor Jerry Cavanaugh has proven himself an able and energetic analyst of the city's needs. I'm certain that every one in this room today is mindful of the Mayor's recent attempts to~~



~~justify himself with the future -- and his opponents with the past.~~

What I am suggesting is that we have, either actually or potentially, more able and more imaginative officials in our state and municipal governments than we have in the various Executive departments of the Federal government.

The reasons for this are not difficult to find:

The cities, both great and small, are becoming magnets for talented city planners, architects and management experts. And the cities are also able to draw on the great resources and talent within the community itself.

So what we are stuck with in the year 1966, if you will pardon a gruesome metaphor, is a rather unimaginative federal tail wagging a very restless urban dog... The cities are now capable of generating their own solutions in ways that Washington cannot --

And this is particularly true when solutions require the participation of private organizations.



Let me give you an example.

The aftermath of the Watts riots in the city of Los Angeles

saw the Federal government coming in with loans for businessmen and stepped-up activity in the various job-training programs.

It became apparent, several months after the explosion there, that the government simply could not solve the problem -- mainly because the big need in Watts was for more and better jobs... In an independent move, Los Angeles officials began working with local employers in an effort to find jobs for the unemployed of Watts.

To date, ~~according to my calculations and figures from the Census~~

~~in the State of California~~, more than 12,000 jobs have been landed.

I think there is a lesson here which we tend to forget.

The business community in any given city is capable of adding tremendous power to the effort of local officials to cure outstanding social deficiencies.

And yet the nature of Washington's approach practically eliminates this kind of intimate and informal public-public cooperation. It was City Hall

that brought in private industry to solve the Watts problem of unemployment --and, in retrospect, we can see that it couldn't have been handled in any other way.

I think that we are standing today at a crossroads. Shall we continue to rely so heavily on Federal grants that we lose the voice and influence of those officials closest to the problem? Or shall we embark on a system that will emphasize and strengthen the ability of states and municipalities -- and private citizens -- to solve their own problems?

I believe this is one of the most important questions facing us today; and in a rapidly changing world, we cannot afford to let it go unanswered for very long.

This is why I have favored a system of revenue-sharing that would return to the states and cities a portion of Federal tax-collections -- and with it, a larger portion of the authority for making decisions and generating new ideas.

Obviously, the states and cities have just about reached the peak of their taxing power. Bond indebtedness is high; education demands greater revenues each year; capital improvements become more expensive as urban population continues to rise. The problem of how to treat polluted water and foul air has assumed giant proportions in our municipal governments -- and giant budgets. And the complicated problem of extending municipal services to recently incorporated areas is a standing fiscal headache. The only alternative to municipal bankruptcy seems to be an increasing reliance on Federal grants, which involves not only the surrender of local judgment but a shrinkage in the effectiveness of the programs themselves.

An enduring characteristic of our nation has always been diversity, and yet it is a fact that locally-conceived solutions to local problems must first be "sold" to Federal officials if the area concerned expects to receive a grant. And because there are so many areas of need not covered by Federal grants -- long-standing bond indebtedness, for

example -- the city's future is usually dictated by Federal whim.

I think we have gone full circle and have reached the point again where men and women such as yourselves can and must determine what the local problems are -- and the solutions for those problems. But the only way we can break down the kind of orthodoxy which constantly preaches that "Washington is always right" is to devise a method of strengthening local autonomy while providing our urban areas with the resources they need to do the job.

I believe, in other words, that it is time you were released from Washington's complicated pattern of remote-control and allowed, in your own wisdom and judgment, to go forward independently.

Urban Problems

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I'm sure that no one here relishes the idea of our inner cities becoming dead craters surrounded by crowded suburbs. The central business area is the tax-base for all of our metropolitan areas; and when the central city cannot foot its share of the bill, the suburbs have to make up the difference. It is in the interest of all of us to guarantee vitality for this important area. But I do not believe that what we are now doing in the areas of urban renewal and slum clearance really strikes at the problem.

So we must reach for new ideas. We must invite new solutions.

We must experiment with concepts that will preserve the independence and integrity of state and local government. Most important of all, we must broaden and intensify the effort to save our towns and cities by making it the responsibility of all of our citizens -- not simply the city manager or the urban-planner. For we are engaged not only in curing our urban ailments and salvaging the lives of our disadvantaged citizens.

We are also engaged in a struggle to redeem ourselves -- and to retrieve the self-confidence we lost somewhere along the trail to Washington. Environmental reform, from the beginning of time, has been the business of those who live there. And I do not believe we can ignore this imperative.

I am not suggesting that a revenue-sharing plan or public-private coordination in finding jobs for the unemployed will bring the millenium. I'm not even sure there is a millenium. But I am saying that the answers of the past decade, keyed to an overwhelming Federal presence in community affairs, have proved inadequate. I am saying,

~~with Senator Alvin R. Dillhoff, that the expenditure of \$96 billion~~

FEDERAL DOLLARS IN THE PAST DECADE, on our cities has not given us a proper return on the

investment. ~~These failures, in fact, are part of the reason I voted for~~

~~the Demonstration Cities project. Perhaps in such a specialized under-~~

~~taking we will come upon some new answers. Perhaps not. But we must~~

~~continue to search.~~

Sept. 9, 1966

Urban Problems

*Note: More liberal viewpoint  
from Griffin speech.*

(PAUSE)

When we strip away all the euphemisms, we usually find that the problem of the large American city is the problem of the American Negro. Our cities will not be made well until the Negroes who inhabit the inner core are given social mobility and the opportunity to hold decent jobs.

"Social mobility" is the key phrase. And if we can compel our Southern colleagues in the Senate to quit filibustering, we will be able to devise legislation that will -- theoretically, at least -- free the Negro from his ghetto prison. I am talking, of course, about the Equal Housing title of the civil-rights bill, a measure which I wholeheartedly endorse.

I might add in passing that we could have been spared this filibuster if President Johnson had not ducked out of his responsibility in this matter. As many of you know, the President could have issued



an Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in all housing related in any way to government mortgages and public funds.

He chose not to do this -- and the result was a breakdown in the momentum of Senate business. I believe we will get a reasonable housing provision, something we should have put on the books a long time ago, but I'll never quite forgive the President for backing away from the issue. He has told us in so many words that he was going to lead us to the Promised Land -- and suddenly he deserts us in the wilderness.

But reform in housing -- when it comes -- must be accompanied by good jobs for those who want to leave the ghetto forever -- and this is the most important task on our agenda.

Without the means of breaking out, what good will it do the inhabitant of a slum to be told that he can at last move away? Where will he move without work? Why move at all if he must continue to rely



on public-housing to cover his children -- if he must continue to depend on surplus food and a dole to keep his family together?

I cannot believe that this nation, which has solved so many problems, cannot uplift the condition of our urban Negro citizens and bring them into the mainstream of national life. It is just this sort of task that Americans can handle best -- if they are given the chance.

And by this, I mean a concerted effort on the parts of private industry and government officials to open up the doors for those who are able and willing to enter.

The Watts experiment in public-private cooperation is certainly not the only <sup>SUCH</sup> attempt in the country to bring the disadvantaged into the nation's economic life. Many companies and many city halls throughout the nation are struggling to accomplish this same task. And although I am not familiar with the statistics, I will throw out a



comparison which suggest<sup>s</sup> what I am driving at. I would wager that the public-private effort on the grassroots level to find jobs for our poor citizens is eminently more successful in terms of man-hours and dollars spent than the Federal effort to train and place such individuals through the anti-poverty program.

Again, the reason for this is not difficult to find.

Local governments are in a position to harness the resources of private industry and to gain the confidence of private employers. They are in a position to understand the total needs of a community -- and they are able to apply pressure or persuasion at precisely the right point.

They are where the action is -- and there is no substitute for this kind of activity on behalf of those citizens who need decent jobs to break out of squalor and poverty.

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During the past year or so, I have seen a note of desperation creep into speeches, conferences and hearings on the American city. I

certainly share this concern, but I am not prepared to declare the city a hopeless invalid.

Jane Jacobs, in her remarkable book, "The Death and Life of Great American Cities," argued that city life, under certain conditions, can be the most rewarding life of all. She explained how sections of Boston, Philadelphia and New York City had been "un-slummed" by residents who cared. She noted the numbers of middle-class families moving back into the central city; and the number of private renewal projects undertaken by citizens' groups. And she suggested that this inner core need not be the grisly, sprawling, ugly place it has become in our times.

She pointed out that the United States is the only nation in the Western world that surrenders its inner cities to decay and deterioration. And she is convinced that these inner cities can be regenerated and made attractive, not for Negroes or for whites -- but for people -- people who want to live in the center of things, who want to be near their places of

work, who want to reside near shops and restaurants and theaters.

This is particularly true now that industries are moving away from the metro centers. The role of the city is indeed changing in our time. It is becoming, once again, a place where people live and play -- as well as work. And the key to this transition, I believe, is the individual man and woman.

The Negro in the ghetto lives there because he has to; and he is not happy there because he sees a predominantly white, middle-class society passing him by. But what if this Negro were a functioning part of our middle-class society, able to live anywhere he wished -- and what if the slum areas themselves were regenerated? I don't mean torn down to make room for a used-car lot -- but regenerated, restored, made habitable again? I believe that this would lead to the kind of environment envisioned by Mrs. Jacobs, the sort of neighborhood that anyone would be proud to live in.

Urban Problems

As Lincoln said over a century ago, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

Thank you for having me with you today.

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REMARKS BEFORE THE VIRGINIA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE CONVENTION, SUNDAY, SEPT. 18, 1966  
BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICHIGAN, HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER.

I have long felt that no job in government was as tough as that of the city official.

Sitting in the halls of Congress is not like City Council meeting on Monday night, when complaining citizens appear to gripe about special assessments and to protest that their street really doesn't need paving.

Now you find your woes greatly compounded. By pursuing excessively expansionary policies, the present administration has loosed the forces of inflation in this great country of ours and made your jobs far more difficult than before.

Inflation has hit city hall hard, and your people will be feeling it in increased tax bills or reduced city services.

I am merely stating a fact of life with which I am sure you are already painfully familiar.

In recent months the cost of government materials, payroll and service has gone up sharply.

City officials in Michigan tell us this will mean less service, higher costs for street, sewer and water improvements, less building and therefore less recreation, parks, playgrounds, higher pay for city employees, hiring of fewer city employees or allowing jobs to remain vacant when somebody leaves or retires.

There's a drive for higher pay among public employees because, after all, the cost of living has gone up for them, too.

I know you're finding that the cost of just about everything, including the borrowing of money for public improvements, has gone up.

So where do you go from here? There appear to be just two routes for city officials in their present predicament--try to raise more revenue locally or go after more strings-attached federal grants.

But there is still another avenue and it is the one the Michigan Municipal League has resolved to travel: To beat the drums for federal revenue-sharing until the cities get a fair slice of the huge sums collected each year in federal income tax.

We know that the existing methods of urban aid--urban renewal and anti-poverty programs--are not really the answer to the problems now plaguing the cities. We know that these programs, while affording some relief, seriously endanger local rule, lead to waste of taxpayer dollars and make proper management of local fiscal affairs extremely difficult.

You men have tremendous problems. Yet I am proposing here today that you be given even greater burdens.

For too long the salvaging of our cities has been a remote control operation.

Federal officials have dominated the planning. Federal decisions on specific problems generally overruled alternative proposals offered by local officials.

Few local authorities have had the self-confidence to challenge Washington's expertise on urban matters. Yet we know that Washington often is bluffing. The fact is that--especially in the early days of renewal--nobody in Washington quite knew what he was doing.

If a city wants federal funds, it must accept federal regulations, a maze of paperwork, all kinds of red tape and tight supervision. Federal agencies in many



cases look upon local officials as politicians who understand nothing of the renewal process.

But the truth is that the cities no longer are the orphans of our political system.

The cost accountant has replaced the political hack. The precinct boss has been supplanted by the specialist in urban planning. Serious and dedicated men have entered municipal government with ideas of their own about the future--and their appearance has revolutionized city development.

I am suggesting that we have more able and more imaginative officials in our state and municipal governments than we have in the various departments of the federal government.

So what we are stuck with--in this year, 1966--is a rather unimaginative federal tail wagging a very restless urban dog.

The cities are now capable of generating their own solutions in ways that Washington cannot. And this is particularly true when solutions require the participation of private organizations.

That is why I propose revenue-sharing. I say give the cities the money they need to come up with their own solutions. And I say let's bring in private industry to help them.

Private industry has an obscure name in this era for what used to be known simply as efficient problem-solving. That name is systems management. This is a tool which I believe can be used to great advantage in helping city officials meet their problems.

Maybe it's because the application of the systems management concept to city





problems is revolutionary, but not much attention has been paid to it to date.

If I may be partisan for just a minute, let me point out that it is the minority party in the Congress which has proposed this method of urban problem-solving.

And may I add that the minority has a certain amount of trouble getting action on any of its proposals, no matter how meritorious.

Our plan calls for using the new technology of this space age to assemble, measure and employ all the information that relates to a given problem and thereby come up with a single coordinated approach to it.

As we see it, immense problems like water pollution, crime, traffic congestion and slum housing would be farmed out by the government to private industry.

Industry, then, would use the systems management approach to develop and administer a comprehensive solution in cooperation with city officials.

Legislation to implement this plan has been introduced in Congress by 34 members of the minority party--44 in the House and 10 in the Senate. Their bills would create a National Commission on Public Management. The commission would examine the techniques developed by the defense and aerospace industries for complex problem-solving and recommend how they might best be applied to critical domestic problems.

We do not believe that the other party's problem-solving concepts are adequate for the overwhelming urban problems that face us. Appropriating more and more billions has not solved these problems. It has simply given us more and more bureaucrats who spend their time shuffling papers in some federal office.

Ten thousand communities are facing serious air pollution problems. The demand for water consumption may exceed the available supply before the end of this century.

There are nine million substandard housing units in America, most of them in urban areas. Traffic jams cost the nation over \$5 billion annually. These are some of the monumental problems we must tackle and lick with the aid of the systems management approach.

Today we are standing at a crossroads in the governing of this nation, its states and its cities. Shall we continue to rely heavily on federal grants--look so helplessly to the federal government that we lose the voice and influence of those officials closest to local problems? Or shall we embark on a system that will emphasize and strengthen the ability of the states and cities--and private enterprise--to solve our urban problems?

I believe this is one of the most important questions facing us today. In a rapidly changing world, we cannot afford to let it go unanswered for long.

I know how I would answer that question--and that is why I favor a system of revenue-sharing that would return to the cities and states a portion of federal tax collections--and with it, a larger portion of the authority for making decisions and generating new ideas.

Obviously, the cities and states have just about reached the peak of their taxing power. And now the cities seeking to launch new public improvements are squeezed by the highest interest rates in 40 years, interest rates driven up by the administration's mistaken policies.

Bonded indebtedness is high; educational needs demand greater revenue each year; capital improvements become more expensive as urban population continues to grow.

So many areas of need are not covered by federal grants. And, in truth, the entire existing system is shot through with weakness and waste.



I think we have come full circle. We have reached the point again where men and women like yourselves can and must determine the solutions for local problems and then carry through--carry through with the help of federal funds with no strings attached.

We must break away from the foolish and dangerous approach that declares, "Washington is always right." We must strengthen local autonomy while providing our urban areas with the resources they need to do the job.

I have long been concerned that America is becoming a land in which the private citizen does not think for himself, does not think about tomorrow but looks to "Big Daddy" government in Washington to take care of him.

This is so far removed from the America that you and I knew and love that it is enough to make a strong man weep.

Often when I ponder the great land that is ours I think of that day in Philadelphia when Benjamin Franklin left the Constitutional Convention after that body had completed its task of drafting our basic laws.

"Which have you given us," a bystander asked him. "A monarchy or a republic?"

"A republic," Franklin replied. "If you can keep it."

I look at you--you people with the toughest jobs in the country--and I think Franklin had reason to be hopeful.

Thank you.

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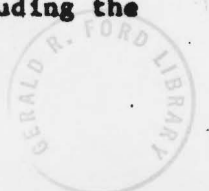
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