

Written for W. K...

Speeches

CRISIS IN THE CITIES

REMARKS OF
CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

I
I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH YOU
AND TO SPEAK ON THE TOPIC, "CRISIS IN THE CITIES".

ALTHOUGH EACH CITY IS A SEPARATE ENTITY WITH ITS
OWN SET OF PRIORITIES AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS, ALL CITIES
SHARE MANY BASIC CONCERNS -- CONCERNS SO VAST THEY HAVE
ESCALATED INTO CRISES.

TODAY'S DIFFICULTIES IN URBAN AREAS ARE SO ACUTE
THAT THEY DEMAND CONCERTED ACTION ON A NATIONWIDE SCALE
WITH A NEW AND RINGING CALL FOR LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION
FROM PRIVATE CITIZENS, BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT.

FORTUNATELY, THERE IS A GROWING REALIZATION THAT THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ALONE IS NOT THE SOLE ARBITER OF OUR
FATE, THAT ITS ROLE SHOULD BE ONE OF LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT.

WE MUST RECHART OUR COURSE AND FIND NEW DIRECTIONS
THROUGH NEW LEADERSHIP.

- THE PARADOXES -

IN MANY WAYS, AMERICA HAS BECOME A SERIES OF PARADOXES.
WE HAVE BUSINESS AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, THE ENVY OF
THE WORLD; MATERIAL PROGRESS, BEYOND THE DREAM OF KINGS. YET
WE HAVE MASSIVE FEDERAL DEFICIT SPENDING, CRIPPLING INFLATION
AND A DOLLAR IN JEOPARDY.

AMERICA'S FARMERS, THE MOST EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE
IN THE WORLD, SUFFERED AN INCOME LOSS OF 1.9 BILLION DOLLARS
LAST YEAR, FORCING THEM MORE AND MORE OFF THE FARM INTO THE
ALREADY-CROWDED CITY.

AMERICA IS A COUNTRY OF ABUNDANCE WITH OUR CITIZENS
MAKING MORE MONEY THAN ANYONE IN THE WORLD. YET IN THE MIDST
OF THIS PLENTY, WE HAVE POCKETS OF WIDESPREAD POVERTY.

AMERICA HAS MORE FREE SCHOOLING AND BETTER EDUCATIONAL
FACILITIES THAN EVER BEFORE, YET WE CAN HARDLY STAY ABREAST
OF GROWING EDUCATIONAL DEMANDS.

AMERICA, THE LAND OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY, IS UNDERGOING
RACIAL STRIFE, RIOTS AND DISORDER.

LAST WEEK: VIOLENCE IN CITIES

OTHER PROBLEMS OF OUR CITIES AND NATION HAVE BECOME
SECONDARY IN THE WAKE OF LAST WEEK'S TRAGIC EVENTS. SUDDENLY
THE ALREADY PRESSING NEEDS OF OUR CITIES HAVE BEEN SUPERSEDED
BY RACIAL VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION OF LIVES AND PROPERTY
THREATENING OUR NATIONAL WELFARE FROM COAST TO COAST.

WE HAD EXPERIENCED BEFORE THE UPRISINGS OF MOB VIOLENCE
AND DESTRUCTION IN WATTS, NEWARK, DETROIT AND ELSEWHERE AND
HOPED THE FEVER HAD RUN ITS COURSE. NOW, WE HAVE SEEN THE
RECURRENCE IN 120 CITIES ACROSS THE LAND -- IN THE NATION'S
CAPITAL WASHINGTON, D.C., IN BALTIMORE, CHICAGO AND KANSAS
CITY, TO MENTION A FEW.

THESE OUTRAGEOUS CIVIL DISORDERS EMANATE FROM THE GHETTOES IN MANY OF OUR CITIES, AND SO FAR, THE DESTRUCTION HAS BEEN LARGELY CONFINED TO THOSE AREAS. BUT AS A DISEASE SPREADS, SO NO COMMUNITY IS IMMUNE FROM AN EPIDEMIC. THE PROSPECT IS FOR ANOTHER "HOT SUMMER".

SENSELESS AND SELF-DESTRUCTIVE, THIS TIDE OF RACIAL VIOLENCE BETRAYS THE PEOPLE IN THE VERY AREAS FROM WHICH IT EMERGES. OUR FELLOW NEGRO AMERICANS ARE THE MAIN SUFFERERS FROM THESE SAVAGE ATTACKS. THE PERPETRATORS BETRAY NOT ONLY THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS BUT THE MEMORY AND ENDEAVOR OF THAT GREAT LEADER, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, SO CRUELLY STRUCK DOWN DURING A LIFE DEDICATED TO NON-VIOLENCE.

IN KEEPING WITH AMERICAN TRADITION, PERSUASION BY MANPOWER INSTEAD OF FIREPOWER WAS MORE THE ORDER OF THE DAY.

RESOLUTION -- GREATER THAN EVERY BEFORE -- DEVELOPPED TO STAMP OUT THE DISORDERS THEMSELVES AND THE CONDITIONS IN WHICH THEY BREED. THE RESPONSE FROM CITIZENS TO QUELL THESE OUTBREAKS AND REHABILITATE THE VICTIMS IN THE AFFECTED AREAS PROVES THAT 99 PER CENT OF OUR CITIZENS -- BLACK AND WHITE -- WHOLEHEARTEDLY CONDEMN THESE TERRORISTS AND RECOGNIZE THE CULPABILITY OF THOSE WHO EVEN MOMENTARILY ARE CAUGHT UP IN MOB HYSTERIA.

CERTAINLY THESE DISORDERS MUST SHOW US THAT THEY CONSTITUTE NOT JUST PROBLEMS OF INDIVIDUAL CITIES, BUT A NATIONAL CRISIS. THEIR SCOPE AND INTENSITY DEMAND ACTION AND HELP FROM EVERY RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN IN A DRIVE TO WEED OUT VIOLATORS AND TO ERASE THE ROOT CAUSES OF HATREDS AND HOSTILITIES.

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT LAST WEEK, I SENT A TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT RESPECTFULLY URGING HIM TO MAKE A STRONG AND UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT THAT THE IMPORTANT SECTIONS OF THE BILL DEALING WITH RIOTS AND CIVIL DISORDERS WOULD BE VIGOROUSLY AND CONTINUOUSLY ENFORCED. THESE SECTIONS CAN HELP RESTORE LAW AND ORDER AND CAN HELP PREVENT FURTHER OUTBREAKS OF VIOLENCE.

-VIETNAM CONFLICT-

NOTHING CAN BE OF ANY GREATER IMPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAN THE WAR IN VIET NAM. THAT THE WAR CONCLUDES IN PEACE WITH HONOR AND JUSTICE IS THE FERVENT DESIRE OF ALL OF US. WE ALL PRAY THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ATTEMPTS TO GET TALKS STARTED TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS MAY MEET WITH SUCCESS.

YET IT WOULD BE FOLLY INDEED IF WE FALL INTO A FALSE OPTIMISM IN SUCH A PRECARIOUS SITUATION.

LET US REMEMBER KOREA, AND LET US REMEMBER THE WAR GOES ON WITH HALF A MILLION AMERICAN BOYS WHO MUST HAVE OUR UNSWERVING SUPPORT.

-FISCAL IRRESPONSIBILITY-

THE RECENT GOLD CRISIS BROUGHT HOME TO AMERICANS EVERYWHERE THAT THIS COUNTRY'S RESOURCES ARE NOT UNLIMITED. DESPITE REPEATED WARNINGS THAT OUR FISCAL SYSTEM COULD NOT STAND UP FOREVER AGAINST DEFICIT SPENDING, IT TOOK THE GOLD DRAIN, BRITAIN'S DEVALUATION AND CRITICISM OF EUROPEAN LEADERS AND BANKERS TO BRING HOME THE FACTS OF DANGEROUS DOLLAR DEVALUATION.

OVER 70 BILLION DOLLARS HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE PUBLIC DEBT SINCE 1960. THE DEBT NOW TOTALS OVER 350 BILLION DOLLARS, WITH FURTHER PLANS FOR ANOTHER 20 BILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT IN THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR. WE OWE CREDITORS ABROAD 30 BILLION DOLLARS, WHILE OUR GOLD SUPPLY HAS SHRUNK TO A THIRD OF THAT AMOUNT.

TO AVOID A FINANCIAL CRISIS, WE MUST CUT SPENDING IN EVERY DIRECTION AND ESTABLISH FIRM PRIORITIES IN EXPENDITURES, AS WELL AS FACE UP TO A TAX INCREASE.

THE SITUATION HAS EVOLVED AT THE VERY TIME OUR CITIES' NEEDS ARE EXTREME. TO KEEP AFLOAT, THE CITIES REQUIRE FEDERAL AND STATE ASSISTANCE ADDED TO THEIR OWN REVENUES.

OBVIOUSLY THE MASSIVE FEDERAL SPENDING OF THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS HAS FAILED IN ITS OBJECTIVE TO SOLVE THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF AMERICA -- WAGE-ROBBING INFLATION, CONTINUED FARM COST-PRICE SQUEEZE, UNEMPLOYMENT, INTOLERABLE RISE IN THE CRIME RATE, RACE RIOTS AND VIOLENCE IN THE CITIES.

CONSIDER THE NEEDS OF OUR CITIES ...GREATER EMPLOYMENT AND JOB-TRAINING, ADEQUATE HOUSING, POLICE PROTECTION, EDUCATION, TRANSPORTATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, RECREATIONAL AND PARK FACILITIES, ADEQUATE WATER SUPPLY, ELECTRIC POWER, AIR POLLUTION.

THESE AND OTHER PROBLEMS COME WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF CITY GOVERNMENT. SOME ARE DIRECT SERVICES; SOME, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, DEPENDING ON THE CITY.

IS IT ANY WONDER THAT OUR CITY BUDGETS ARE STRAINING AT THE SEAMS AND FEDERAL SUPPORT IS SO ACUTELY NEEDED? EVERY CITY IN KANSAS IS IN THE SAME PREDICAMENT -- THE POPULATION IS INCREASING, AND THE DEMAND FOR SERVICES GROWS. THE PLIGHT OF THE GREAT METROPOLITAN CENTERS IS MORE ACUTE, BUT EVERY CITY IS IN THE SAME BOAT.

-TAX-SHARING-

AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS, I EMPATHIZE WITH THE NEEDS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS -- CITY, COUNTY, AND STATE.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS PRE-EMPTED THE BIG TAX SOURCES AND GETS THE LION'S SHARE OF THE TAKE. SOME OF THIS MONEY GETS BACK HOME TO THE CITIZENRY IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

BUT IT IS MY HOPE THAT IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE, A LARGER PORTION OF THE FEDERAL INCOME CAN BE RETURNED TO THE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FOR SPENDING AT HOME UNDER LOCAL CONTROL. THIS IDEA OF TAX SHARING IS GAINING SUPPORT, AND IT MAY COME ABOUT SOONER THAN WE THINK.

-TIME TO FACE THE FACTS-

AT ANY RATE, EVERY FEDERAL PROGRAM NEEDS THE MOST CAREFUL SCRUTINY -- HOW ESSENTIAL IT IS AND HOW EFFECTIVE IT IS -- IF WE ARE TO MEET OUR NATIONAL NEEDS.

IT IS TIME WE BRING THE ERA OF THEORY AND BUREAUCRATIC EMPIRE-BUILDING TO A SCREECHING HALT. WHAT THIS COUNTRY NEEDS IS A COMPLETE DOSE OF COMMON SENSE, KANSAS VARIETY.

IT IS TIME TO FACE FACTS, STAND UP TO THE SITUATION AS IT EXISTS, NOT AS WE WOULD WISH IT TO BE.

I BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL RESPOND TO THE REALITIES, HARSH THOUGH THEY MAY BE, ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY AND MOVE AHEAD IN A MUTUAL EFFORT TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS.

-GROWTH OF CITIES-

THE GROWTH OF THE CITIES IS PARTIALLY REFLECTED IN NUMBERS.

RIGHT AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN 1790, THE FIRST CENSUS WAS TAKEN. THE COUNT SHOWED 4 MILLION PEOPLE. IN 1867, WE WERE 30 MILLION STRONG. IN 1915, AFTER THE GREATEST IMMIGRATION MOVEMENT IN ALL HISTORY, THE CENSUS COUNTED 100 MILLION AMERICANS.

TODAY WE ARE DOUBLE THAT NUMBER -- OR OVER 200 MILLION.

CONSIDER THESE PROJECTIONS: BY 1975, WE SHOULD NUMBER 225 MILLIONS. BY THE YEAR 2000, WE MAY WELL NUMBER 300 MILLION.

-MIGRATION: HOW AND WHY-

TODAY 125 MILLION PEOPLE LIVE IN THE CITIES AND SUBURBS. THIS MEANS TWO OUT OF THREE LIVE IN A METROPOLITAN AREA. BY 1975, IT MAY BE THREE OUT OF FOUR.

CERTAIN AREAS ARE ON THE WAY TOWARD WHAT IS CALLED A MEGALOPOLIS...ON THE EASTERN SEACOAST FROM BOSTON TO WASHINGTON, ON THE WEST COAST FROM SAN FRANCISCO TO SAN DIEGO, ON THE GULF COAST AND AROUND THE SOUTHERN SHORES OF THE GREAT LAKES.

THIS MIGRATION STARTED LONG AGO AS AMERICA BECAME INDUSTRIALIZED AND INDUSTRY LOCATED IN OR NEAR THE CITIES.

DURING WORLD WAR I, THERE WAS A SONG ENTITLED "HOW YOU GONNA KEEP 'EM DOWN ON THE FARM AFTER THEY'VE SEEN PAREE?". WHATEVER THE ATTRACTION, THE EXODUS FROM THE FARM TO THE CITY HAS PICKED UP STEADILY.

IN THE 1930'S, MANY PEOPLE LEFT FARM AREAS, USUALLY FOR THE WEST COAST. IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 1940'S, DEFENSE PLANTS WERE BEGGING FOR WORKERS AND SINCE MOST OF THESE WERE IN OR NEAR CITIES, A BIG MOVEMENT OCCURRED CITYWARD. THE TREND HAS CONTINUED SINCE WORLD WAR II.

TWO THINGS OF SIGNIFICANCE HAVE OCCURRED IN RECENT YEARS. PEOPLE MOVED FROM THE CITY PROPER TO THE SUBURBS WITH THE CITIES FILLING UP WITH NEGRO CITIZENS FROM THE SOUTH, MANY OF WHOM ARE UNSKILLED AND OFTEN UNEDUCATED. THEY GRAVITATE TO THE GHETTOES, COMPOUNDING THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES.

THE SECOND BIG INFLUENCE IN THE GROWTH OF THE CITIES IS MECHANIZATION AND ADVANCES IN FARM PRODUCTION METHODS. THIS COUPLED WITH DECLINING FARM INCOME HAS HASTENED THE RACE TO THE CITIES. IT IS ESTIMATED ABOUT 600,000 PEOPLE LEAVE THE FARM FOR THE CITY EACH YEAR. ABOUT 100,000 FARM UNITS DISAPPEAR EACH YEAR.

THERE IS A GROWING EFFORT TO GET LIGHT INDUSTRY INTO RURAL AREAS TO HELP REVERSE THE FLOW OF FARM PEOPLE INTO THE CITIES.

-STANDARD OF LIVING-

THE GREAT CHANGES CREATING URBAN AMERICA HAVE BROUGHT SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS IN OUR STANDARD OF LIVING -- HIGHER INCOMES, BETTER HOMES, MORE HOME OWNERS, CAR AND TV OWNERS-- FOR THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE.

BUT ON THE FLIP SIDE OF THE COIN, OUR DOLLARS ARE WORTH LESS, INFLATION IS TAKING ITS TOLL, TAXES ARE AT AN ALL-TIME HIGH AND COSTS CONTINUE TO RISE. LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS ARE AT THEIR WIT'S END TO FIND THE MEANS TO KEEP UP WITH THE DEMANDS.

-CHALLENGE TO URBAN AMERICA-

THE CHALLENGE TO URBAN AMERICA IS BOTH IMPLICIT AND DIRECT.

WE MUST MARSHALL THE RESOURCES OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, LABOR, THE PROFESSIONS, THE CHURCHES, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNMENT. IN A COMBINED EFFORT, THESE FORCES CAN MOVE MOUNTAINS TO OVERCOME POVERTY, BLIGHT AND HOPELESSNESS IN THE CITIES.

SUCCESSFUL PROGRAMS OF THIS CHARACTER ARE UNDER WAY IN MANY CITIES, AND OFT TIMES THE RESPONSE HAS BEEN HIGHLY FAVORABLE.

JOBS, JOB-TRAINING, HOUSING AND EDUCATION ARE WHERE THE MAIN THRUSTS ARE NEEDED.

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THE COOPERATION AND THE WILL TO ATTACK THESE PROBLEMS ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT, BUT OF EACH CITIZEN AS WELL. THE TIME HAS PASSED WHEN WE COULD SAY, "WELL, THAT'S HIS PROBLEM," OR "LET GEORGE DO IT".

IN THIS ELECTION YEAR, WHEN YOU HEAR PROMISES OF INSTANT UTOPIA, I URGE YOU TO BEWARE. NO ONE CAN UNDO CONDITIONS ACCUMULATED OVER THE YEARS IN ONE FELL SWOOP OR EVEN IN A FEW MONTHS. BUT, WORKING TOGETHER, WE CAN MAKE A BIG DENT IN THE PROBLEMS.

THE INSCRIPTION ON A GREAT PUBLIC BUILDING IN WASHINGTON READS "THE PAST IS PROLOGUE". TO US, THE MEANING IS CLEAR. WE CAN'T LIVE IN THE PAST, BECAUSE WE ARE GOING TO SPEND THE REST OF OUR LIVES IN THE FUTURE. YET IF WE WILL LEARN FROM THE PAST, AVOIDING THE ERRORS OF THE PAST, WE CAN ACHIEVE THE GREAT PROMISE OF TOMORROW, OF NEXT WEEK, OF NEXT YEAR.

I THINK URBAN AMERICA HAS THE VISION, THE WILL AND THE KNOWLEDGE TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY AND TO BE READY FOR THE TOMORROWS OF THE FUTURE.