

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ASKING ME TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY. IT IS INDEED AN HONOR AND A CHALLENGE TO SPEAK TO SUCH A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF PLANNERS. YOU AND I SHARE A COMMON CONCERN ABOUT OUR URBAN LANDSCAPE. WITH ~~33~~^{46 MIDDLE AND LARGE SIZED} CITIES IN OUR OWN STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS, WE HAVE AMPLE OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE A LASTING IMPRINT ON THAT LANDSCAPE.

AS A CITY COUNCILLOR IN LOWELL, A COMMISSIONER FOR MIDDLESEX COUNTY AND FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS A CONGRESSMAN FROM THE FIFTH DISTRICT, I BEGAN TO BE IDENTIFIED AS A SPOKESMAN FOR OUR CITIES. THE LOWELL NATIONAL PARK BILL, THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SECTION OF MY CONGRESSIONAL STAFF, THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS WE HELPED LAUNCH IN LOWELL AND LAWRENCE WERE CONCRETE STEPS TAKEN TO HELP BRING BACK THE CITIES IN MY DISTRICT.

I LIKE TO THINK OF MYSELF AS THE SENATOR FROM LOWELL. HAVING ROOTS IN AN OLDER CITY IS AS MUCH PART OF MY PERSONAL IDENTITY -- PERHAPS EVEN MORE -- THAN MY GREEK HERITAGE OR MY PEACE CORPS BACKGROUND. LOWELL IS STILL MY HOME.

UNTIL RECENTLY, LOWELL WAS NOT A VERY ROMANTIC PLACE TO COME FROM. LIKE OTHER MILL TOWNS OF THE NORTHEAST, LOWELL WAS A FORGOTTEN CITY. NOBODY TALKED ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF LOWELL'S WORKING CLASS AS THEY TALKED ABOUT THE URBAN POOR IN THE SIXTIES. LOWELL WAS SO DISCOUNTED THAT SHE COULDN'T EVEN GET THE MONEY TOGETHER TO LEVEL THE MILLS THAT WERE CONSIDERED EYESORES.

IT IS THE OTHER LOWELL'S IN MASSACHUSETTS THAT NEED OUR ATTENTION NOW. I HOPE TO BE REMEMBERED AS THE SENATOR WHO HELPED BRING MASSACHUSETTS' OTHER FORGOTTEN CITIES BACK.

THAT IS AN AWESOME TASK, PARTICULARLY AT A MOMENT WHEN THE GROUNDWORK LAID OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS TO REVITALIZE OUR NATION'S CITIES IS VERY SHAKEY. AN URBAN POLICY PRESENTED BY PRESIDENT CARTER ONLY A YEAR AGO HAS ALREADY BEEN SCRAPPED. PROPOSITION 13 HAS DICTATED A FEDERAL BUDGET THAT SERIOUSLY LIMITS FEDERAL URBAN ASSISTANCE. THE ADMINISTRATION SAYS THAT "AUSTERITY" WILL CURE OUR URBAN ILLS. CONGRESS, EQUALLY BITTEN WITH THE "BALANCED BUDGET" BUG, I FEAR, MAY SLASH URBAN PROGRAMS EVEN MORE.

WHAT MAKES THE CURRENT POLITICAL MOOD EVEN MORE FEARSOME IS THE CONCURRENT DEBATE ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT WE HAVE AN URBAN CRISIS. WHILE WE SPENT THE FIRST TWO YEARS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION DEBATING WHETHER OR NOT TO HAVE AN URBAN POLICY, WE ARE NOT DEBATING WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE HAVING AN URBAN CRISIS. YOU HAVE PROBABLY SEEN THE RECENT ARTICLES IN NEWSWEEK, THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE AND HARPERS THAT PORTRAY OUR CITIES AS GLITTERING MAGNETS OF AFFLUENT YOUNG PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE. THE "RENAISSANCE CITY" -- WHETHER NEW YORK, BOSTON OR WASHINGTON -- IS NOW THE "PACE SETTER OF THE POST-INDUSTRIAL AGE" WITH ITS BOUTIQUE AND ~~SICO~~ ^{DISCO} LINED STREETS, RESTORED BROWNSTONES, AND SIDEWALK CAFES.

ITS IMPORTANT TO LOOK AT THE RENAISSANCE WHICH IS TAKING PLACE IN MANY OF OUR CITIES SO WE CAN ANALYZE TRENDS AND SET POLICY WITH A PERSPECTIVE ON THE FUTURE. BUT TO DISMISS URBAN PROBLEMS WITH THE MAGIC WAND OF A QUINCY MARKET OR A CITI CORP TOWER DISTURBS ME. " GENTRIFICATION" THE NEW BUZZ WORD FOR MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE MOVING IN TO ~~CITIES AND POOR~~ ^{INNER CITY NEIGHBORHOODS} ~~PEOPLE MOVING TO~~ ^{POSITIVE EFFECTS} ~~AND~~ MAY HAVE SOME ~~FACTUAL~~ BASIS, BUT CERTAINLY ~~IT~~ ^{IT} HASN'T TURNED OUR CITIES AROUND. THE SAME URBAN PROBLEMS ^{le} WE BEGAN TO TALK ABOUT IN THE SIXTIES ARE STILL WITH US.

HERE ARE A FEW MORE DISTURBING FACTS ABOUT OUR CITIES:

- * BETWEEN 1970 AND 1977, THE POPULATION IN OUR CITIES DECLINED BY FIVE PERCENT WHILE THE SUBURBAN POPULATION CLIMBED 12 PERCENT.
- * AS A RESULT OF MIGRATION OUT OF OUR CITIES IN 1976, \$18 BILLION LESS INCOME WAS AVAILABLE TO FAMILIES LIVING IN OUR CITIES THAT YEAR.
- * THE POVERTY RATE IN OUR CITIES WAS HIGHER IN 1976 THAN IN 1969.
- * THE INCOME OF FAMILIES MOVING OUT OF OUR CITIES IS HIGHER THAN FAMILIES MOVING IN.

* TWO TIMES AS MANY WOMEN HEAD HOUSEHOLDS IN OUR CITIES THAN IN OUR SUBURBS. ^{STILL}
THE ENCOURAGING SIGNS CANNOT BE DISCOUNTED. A VERY RECENT BOOM IN MANHATTAN OFFICE RENTALS AND HOTEL-OCCUPANCY RATES HAS BOOSTED NEW YORK CITY TAXABLE REAL ESTATE RATES ^{ENDING} ~~TO~~ A THREE YEAR DECLINE. A NEW YORK OFFICIAL SAID " THERE HAS BEEN A WHOLE CHANGE IN CLIMATE IN MANHATTAN PROPERTY VALUES. VALUES ARE GOING UP BECAUSE OFFICE BUILDINGS ARE BECOMING FULLY RENTED, NEW HOTELS ARE BEING BUILT AND EMPTY LOFTS ARE BEING CONVERTED INTO APARTMENTS." THAT'S MANHATTAN. AT THE SAME TIME, REAL ESTATE IN THE BRONX AND BROOKLYN CONTINUED ^T TO DETERIORATE AND PROPERTY VALUES HAVE DECLINED IN THOSE ^{TO} BOROUGHES.

WE HAVE SIMILAR EXAMPLES IN MASSACHUSETTS. QUINCY MARKET IS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL RETAIL OPERATION IN THE COUNTRY -- PERHAPS IN THE WORLD. IT HAS BROUGHT \$6 MILLION ^{A YEAR} IN REVENUE TO THE STATE AND ATTRACTS MORE PEOPLE PER DAY THAN DISNEYLAND.

DOES THAT MEAN WE CAN FORGET FALL RIVER, BROCKTON, NEW HAVERHILL NEW BEDFORD OR LAWRENCE WHERE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES RANGE BETWEEN 9 ¹² and ¹² PERCENT? I DON'T THINK SO.

THE LOWELL NATIONAL PARK WILL GENERATE \$ ²⁰⁰ ~~100~~ MILLION IN SPENDING OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS. DOES THAT MEAN WE CAN OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT MANUFACTURING EMPLOYMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS IS ONLY SLIGHTLY HIGHER TODAY THAT IT WAS IN 1914? THE MEDIAN INCOME OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES IS GROWING AT TWO THIRDS THE NATIONAL RATE AND THE GAP MAY BE WIDENING. I DON'T DON'T THINK WE CAN SHUT OUR EYES TO THOSE FACTS. ^{FACTS}

(more)

WE HAVE MADE STRIDES IN ATTRACTING NEW INVESTMENTS, NEW JOBS AND NEW RESIDENTS TO CITIES. HOUSING REHABILITATION PROGRAMS ARE IN PROGRESS IN NEIGHBORHOODS ~~AND~~ DOWNTOWN RENEWAL PROGRAMS ARE TAKING PLACE IN CITIES AROUND THE NATION. NONETHELESS, THE URBAN CRISIS IS NOT OVER -- NOT SO LONG AS THE TREND TOWARDS A MORE SERVICE ECONOMY CLOSES DOWN MANUFACTURING JOBS IN OUR CITIES; NOT SO LONG AS WE RETAIN A REGRESSIVE TAX STRUCTURE; CONTINUE TO DISPLACE OUR ELDERLY AND OUR POOR: POLLUTE OUR DRINKING WATER AND RUN THE RISK OF WATER SHORTAGES BECAUSE OF DECAYED INFRASTRUCTURES; NOT SO LONG AS OUR SCHOOLS DON'T EDUCATE OUR CHILDREN: AND BLACK YOUTHS ARE UNEMPLOYED AT ~~THE~~ RATES OF 15 TO 20 PERCENT.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN'T NEGLECT OUR CITIES -- ESPECIALLY, OLDER, INDUSTRIAL, NORTHEAST CITIES, THE MOST SEVERLY HIT BY THE ECONOMIC CRUNCH. IT IS OUR DISTRESSED CITIES WHICH REAP THE LEAST BENEFIT FROM OVERALL ECONOMIC RECOVERY, SOMEWHAT LOWER INFLATION RATES AND SLIGHTLY REDUCED ^NUNEMPLOYMENT. FEDERAL AID HAS BEEN CRUCIAL TO MAINTAINING THESE CITIES, AND THE LONG TERM OUTLOOK FOR THAT AID IS DISCOURAGING.

CITY SERVICES HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED AT RELATIVELY STABLE LEVELS BECAUSE OF DIRECT FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT, PUBLIC WORKS GRANTS AND REVENUE SHARING. THESE PROGRAMS HAVE ALSO AVERTED SHARP INCREASES IN LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES. UNFORTUNATELY, CITIES ARE BEGINNING TO CUT BACK SHARPLY ON SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAMS FOR LOW INCOME PEOPLE, BADLY NEEDED MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENTS OF CAPITAL INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS ARE POST-^{Being}PONED.

(more)

ADD SIX/ cities

FACING THIS EVENTUALITY, WE HAVE TO LOOK AT WHAT WILL COME OUT OF WASHINGTON THIS YEAR. UNFORTUNATELY, DUE TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S ACCOMODATIONS TO AN AUSTERITY BUDGET AND CONGRESSIONAL SENSITIVITY TO THE TAX CUT REFERENDUMS A NUMBER OF MAJOR URBAN POLICY INITIATIVES MAY EITHER NEVER GET TO THE CONGRESS OR DIE THROUGH LACK OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION.

HERE ARE MY LEGISLATIVE PRIORITIES FOR THE CITIES:

* THE PRESIDENT CUT ASSISTED HOUSING UNITS BY 25 PERCENT IN THE 1980 BUDGET RECOMMENDATION. WITH ~~OVER~~ 60 PERCENT OF THE HOUSING IN MASSACHUSETTS OVER FORTY YEARS OLD, I CANNOT SUPPORT THAT DRASTIC A REDUCTION.

* CONGRESS LET THE COUNTERCYCLICAL FISCAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM EXPIRE AT THE END OF THE LAST CONGRESS. I WILL ^{FOR}SUP PORT THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR \$400 MILLION OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS TO HELP DISTRESSED CITIES WITH SHORT TERM FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

* THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION (EDA) WILL COME BEFORE CONGRESS FOR NEW AUTHORIZATION THIS YEAR. I WILL SUPPORT IT AND WILL WORK TO SEE THAT LOAN AND GRANT PROGRAMS FOR BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ARE TARGETED MORE ~~AND~~ ^{EQUITABLY} FOR NEW ENGLAND'S CITIES.

* REVENUE SHARING FOR CITIES WILL EXPIRE THIS YEAR, IF CONGRESS DOES NOT TAKE ACTION. OPPONENTS OF THIS PROGRAM ARGUE THAT IT SHOULD BE PHASED OUT BECAUSE IT IS "DEFICIT-SHARING". I SUPPORT REVENUE SHARING BECAUSE IT HAS ALLOWED CITIES TO STABILIZE THEIR PROPERTY TAX BASE WHICH IS AN IMPORTANT INCENTIVE TO PRIVATE INVESTMENT.

(MORE)

FURTHERMORE, THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET FOR NEXT YEAR CALLS FOR SEVERE CUTS IN WELFARE AND SOCIAL SERVICES. TO MY MIND, CUTTING BACK ON THESE VITAL PROGRAMS WILL ONLY MEAN BAILING OUT OUR CITIES AT EVEN GREATER COST LATER ON. THE IMMEDIATE IMPACT WILL BE TO HURT THE PEOPLE WHO SUFFER FROM THE GREATEST NEED IN OUR SOCIETY.

SO WHAT IS LEFT OF THE CARTER PROGRAM? THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANK IS THE ONLY MAJOR ITEM WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION WILL ASK CONGRESS TO CONSIDER. THE BANK AS PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT WOULD FINANCIALLY SUPPORT LOW INTEREST LOANS TO BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY LOCATED IN DISTRESSED AREAS. I SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT BANK CONCEPT AS ANOTHER MEANS TO PROVIDE JOBS AND INCOME FOR THE POOR AND UNEMPLOYED.

THERE IS LITTLE AGREEMENT IN WASHINGTON ON HOW THE BANK SHOULD WORK AND WHO IT WILL HELP. LAST YEAR, THERE WERE SEVEN DIFFERENT BANK BILLS AND ~~TWO~~ TWO MAJOR COMMITTEE STUDIES. THIS YEAR WE CAN EXPECT AS MANY. I WILL STRONGLY FAVOR A NATIONAL BANK WITH TWO MAJOR COMPONENTS: ~~ONE~~ TARGETING OF MONEY TO HELP BUSINESSES IN DISTRESSED AREAS RATHER THAN SPREADING THE MONEY AROUND; AND ~~THE~~ A PRIMARY FOCUS ON ASSISTING SMALL BUSINESSES. I SUPPORT THE ~~OTHER~~ ^{LATTER} BECAUSE THE BULK OF NEW MANUFACTURING JOBS ARE GENERATED BY BUSINESSES WITH LESS THAN 200 EMPLOYEES. ~~I~~ I THINK WE SHOULD PUT OUR RESOURCES ~~IN~~ WHERE WE CAN ~~SEE THE MOST BENEFIT~~ PRODUCE THE MOST JOBS.

(MORE) MORE)

add ⁷eight/CITIES

WITH A LACK OF STRONG INITIATIVE IN WASHINGTON, THE FATE OF OUR CITIES WILL FALL MORE AND MORE INTO THE LAPS OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, PRIVATE INVESTORS AND CITIZEN GROUPS. WE HAVE HAD STRONG LOCAL AND STATE EFFORTS HERE IN MASSACHUSETTS. IN FACT, THE OFFICE OF STATE PLANNING HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN HELPING LOCAL COMMUNITIES DEVELOP REVITALIZATION STRATEGIES. OUR STATE'S PROGRAMS HAVE GAINED NATIONAL ATTENTION.

WE NEED MORE THAN EVER TO CONTINUE THAT CREATIVE COOPERATION AT THE STATE, LOCAL AND FEDERAL LEVEL. MY OWN SUCCESS IN GETTING THE LOWELL PARK LEGISLATION PASSED IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF HOW THAT PROCESS HAS WORKED IN THE PAST.

WHEN THE LOWELL PARK LEGISLATION WAS INTRODUCED FOUR YEARS AGO, THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE OPPOSED IT. THE PARK SERVICE WAS NOT INTERESTED IN THE FAR-OUT IDEA OF A NATIONAL PARK IN AN URBAN AREA; THERE WAS NO PRECEDENT FOR TELLING THE STORY OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION; AND THE MAGNITUDE OF THE RESTORATION REQUIREMENTS IN THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION AREA REACHED FAR BEYOND THEIR SCOPE. THIS WAS MASSIVE URBAN REVITALIZATION, AND THE PARK SERVICE WOULDN'T TOUCH IT.

More

ADD 18.1/cities

HOW DID WE TRANSFORM THEIR NOTION OF THE PARK AND WHY IT WOULD WORK? WE NEEDED ANOTHER AGENCY OF GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN INVOLVED. WE HAD TO CONVINCING THE PARK SERVICE THAT THE LOCAL COMMUNITY WOULD CARRY ON WITH THE PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT WORK IF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MADE A COMMITMENT: " ...

A PLANNER DREAMED UP THE IDEA OF A PARK COMMISSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF LOCAL, STATE AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THE COMMISSION HAS THE AUTHORITY TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE HISTORIC STRUCTURES THREATENED BY ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT. IT ALSO HAS THE AUTHORITY TO DEVELOP AND IMPLEMENT A STRATEGY FOR USE OF THE CITY'S HISTORIC RESOURCES. HAVING THE PARK THERE ENABLES US TO TURN LOWELL AROUND. SO FAR NOT ONE FEDERAL DOLLAR HAS BEEN SPENT ON THE PARK. BUT THE NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARK HAS GIVEN THE BUSINESS AND BANKING COMMUNITIES THE CONFIDENCE TO INVEST IN LOWELL'S FUTURE.

IF YOU GO TO LOWELL TODAY, YOU WILL ^{see} THAT THE CITY IS A MODEL FOR OTHER CITIES THAT A CITY CAN COME BACK. IT IS ALSO A SYMBOL OF THE INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT TASK OF CONVINCING A CITY IN BELIEVING IN ITSELF ONCE AGAIN. TO MY MIND, THE WORST THING CONFRONTING REVITALIZATION EFFORTS IS NOT LACK OF MONEY OR A FEDERAL POLICY. IT IS THE ATTITUDE THAT A COMMUNITY CANNOT COME BACK.

Move

ADD NINE/cities

THE LOWELL PARK IS A TURNING POINT FOR THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE WHICH HAS ^{BEGUN TO} ~~SHIFTED~~ SOME OF ITS RESOURCES INTO ^{OTHER} ~~OUR~~ CITIES. STATES, AS WELL, INCLUDING MASSACHUSETTS, ARE PUTTING PARKS ON THEIR URBAN AGENDA. THIS PROVES THAT THERE IS ALWAYS NEW GROUND TO BE BROKEN. THE CREATIVE ENERGY AND COMMITMENT WHICH INDIVIDUALS HAVE EXERCISED IN TURNING AROUND

IT IS THE LOWELL'S , THE CHICOPEES, THE CHELSEAS, WHERE OPPORTUNITIES ARE. IT IS IN THESE CITIES WHERE THE REAL TESTS OF THE GOOD IDEAS YOU LEARN IN YOUR STUDIES COME. IT IS HERE THAT THE REAL SOLUTIONS TO THE NITTY GRITTY PROBLEMS OF OUR CITIES LIE.

LOWELL IS A TESTIMONY TO THE WORDS OF A FIFTH CENTURY POLITICIAN IN A CITY CALLED ATHENS. ARISTIDES SAID:

"NOT HOUSES FINELY ROOFED OR THE STONES OF WALLS WELL-BUILDDED
NAY NOR CANALS AND DOCKYARDS MAKE THE CITY, BUT MEN ABLE TO USE THEIR
OPPORTUNITY DO."

(Read Very Slowly)

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