

From the Office of:
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HUMPHREY PROPOSES THREE CONGRESSIONAL GROUPS

FOR LONG-RANGE ISSUES, PROBLEMS

Los Angeles, Dec. 8 -- Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) said today that Congress is not staffed, equipped or oriented to handle effectively the long-range international and domestic problems it faces.

Humphrey proposed the establishment of two, new Joint Congressional Committees and a "Congressional Institute" of intellectual talent to help Congress meet its responsibilities to the Nation.

"The members of Congress," Humphrey said, "are too preoccupied with the massive number of immediate problems at any one time to look ahead, to plan ahead, to develop effective policy."

The Senate Assistant Majority Leader outlined three specific proposals in an address to a Convocation of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (Fund for the Republic) in Los Angeles.

First, "we must establish a permanent Joint Committee on Congressional Organization and Operations, to look ahead to the problems and needs of the legislative branch of our Government."

"Among other questions," Humphrey said, "this Joint Committee would help Congress prepare for the impact of population changes and shifts on our representative body."

"Expected population shifts from one region of the country to another---namely from rural areas to urban centers---will have significant effects on the character and orientation of Congress, particularly the House of Representatives.

(more)

1 INSERT
ON
P. 10

"This Joint Committee is necessary now to help keep the Congressional machinery up to date, to study and recommend changes for the methods and institutions used in the legislative process."

Second, "Congress has an imperative need for a Joint Committee on National Security Affairs, to coordinate all aspects of Congressional work in fields related to national security and to permit Congress to develop effective, coherent policy on national security issues."

"Such areas as defense, trade, international economics, disarmament, and general diplomatic activity are all integral parts of the essential issue of national security."

"Congress, however, now approaches each separately---often with several different committees involved---and is thus unable to develop its own national security policy."

Humphrey said that the Joint Committee on National Security Affairs would be the Congressional counterpart of the Executive Branch's National Security Council, with advisory functions. Its members would come from the House and Senate committees related to foreign relations and armed services and from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Third, "Congress needs a 'Congressional Institute' with a staff of expert talent representing all areas of international and domestic problems."

"The members of the Senate and the House of Representatives are lucky today if they can individually or collectively give attention to an issue which will have to be resolved less than a year from now."

"Congress must mobilize and utilize the great pool of intellectual and professional talent in this Nation to help keep itself informed of the issues and patterns of the Nation and the world which will require action five years from now, ten years from now, twenty years from now."

"The 'Congressional Institute' should be staffed with experts capable of alerting Congress to problems and issues when they are in the early stages of development, and capable of recommending appropriate steps to prepare the Nation for those problems."

The Senator concluded:

"Today, Congress is challenged with a heavy workload and complicated issues. There is no question that in future years the work of Congress will increase tremendously, and the issues of legislation will become increasingly complex."

"The Nation must have a representative body which is capable of doing more than responding to crisis. We need a Congress which can grow to meet the growing needs of the Nation, and can plan to fulfill those needs."

Fund for the Republic
Addendum to Fund for Adult Education
Dinner

Draft

THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS FACING DEMOCRACY IN A REVOLUTIONARY WORLD

by

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Los Angeles, Calif.
Dec. 8, 1963

My concern today is with the nature of the national

Legislative Process
legislative process in the face of the evident massive changes

taking place in American technology and in our population.

America's cities are literally exploding, and technical and

scientific knowledge is increasing geometrically.

Open to Serious Study
Open to question is whether our political and economic

institutions can and will prove sufficiently flexible, and responsive,

and efficient to permit the kind of basic decision making that will

be required.

If we are to remain a democracy, of course we must look beyond mere

mechanical refinements in the Executive and the Legislature.

We must look to the relationship of our people with the government.

Respect for law and order, faith in representative government, confidence in national policy, ~~is not~~ is engendered not only by tested and accepted institutions of government — the constitutional system — but also, and by the belief and conviction that government

~~gap~~ can translate into action the popular will or national consensus.

For ~~A~~ gap has developed between the people and government

~~gap~~
CIVIL
RTS

Citizenship
GAP

This gap is

fed by those who have somewhat successfully sold the idea that

government is intrinsically ~~bad~~ ^{bad}, and the Federal Government

in particular is the "enemy" of the people. "Politics"

continues to be widely considered a "dirty business", and to

be avoided as a profession.

Congress, too, is under heavy fire - especially this year -

for being dilatory and inefficient.

~~My thesis today is that Congress can be made more efficient.~~

But let there be no misunderstanding as to the causes of the ^{current} slow-

down on appropriations, foreign aid, civil rights and tax

legislation and other legislative proposals

The causes of the slow-down are to be found in ^{not only} ~~in a whole~~ ^{obsolete} rules and out-moded congressional machinery, but also in a series of deliberate delaying actions in subcommittees and

committees throughout both Houses of Congress. A little sand in

the gears here, a ^{small} ~~little~~ monkey-wrench in the machinery there,

and a cumulative slow-down can be caused with relative ease.

CIVIL
RTS
OPPOSITION

Remember, too, that guerrilla warfare is the most tedious and difficult kind of all to deal with. The French in Algeria, the drawn-out warfare in Viet-Nam, even/difficulties of the British with the American revolutionists in 1776, demonstrates that a relatively few activists can tie up enormously larger *and stronger* forces if they choose to avoid frontal assaults.

The technique of guerrilla warfare in the Congress is ^{also} a very effective. But with the passage of the Civil Rights bill by the House we are going to bring the opposition to a pitched *head-on* battle in the Senate -- the goal of every anti-guerrilla commander. We expect to win that pitched battle -- filibuster or no filibuster. The President and the Senate leadership are absolutely committed to win.

But I do not come before you today to ^{or explain} defend the Congress as it is in 1963. My purpose is to discuss some specific changes in ~~the~~ Congress ^{and organization} which should be made in response to the changing nature of our society -- ^{changes required} ~~and in order to prepare~~

you are to ~~it to~~ meet intelligently our massive problems, the outlines of which are now emerging. We must look ahead.

Wall H. Stewart

LOOK AHEAD

-4-

Population

First of all, let us see what is happening - ~~in gross~~ -
to the population of the United States.

Very simply, it is exploding. By 1980 there will be more
than ~~250~~ million of us. We are coalescing and clustering in
giant urban complexes. The word "city" does not ^{adequately} ~~sufficiently~~

describe them. We have ~~had~~ to go to the Greeks for the word

"megalopolis" to ^{describe} ~~point to~~ these super cities ^{now} arising. By 1980

there will be 80 million ^{over} ~~persons~~ ^{living or residing} ~~living~~ in only one of

these chains -- from Boston along the eastern seaboard to

Washington ^{DC} ~~Another~~ ^{string} will bulge along the rim of the Great Lakes

from Buffalo to Chicago. The population cluster in Florida

and some other spots along the Gulf Coast will thicken. A

few inland webs will swell: the Twin Cities of Minnesota, Denver,

Salt Lake City, Phoenix.

(Newt Minnow - Van Wildermere)

By 1980 the shape of Congress will be changed by these great population changes. If the cities will be under-represented in the Senate, they will dominate the House membership.

Changes / The projections for 1980 prepared by the Bureau of the Census are ~~most interesting~~ show these major changes in the House of Representatives:

- a shift in power to the great city areas, across the board;
- a shift of power ^{beyond} clearly westward to the Mountain states and the West Coast;
- ^{barely} the Midwest holding its own;
- the states of the Old South, the Border states, New England, and the large Middle Atlantic states losing representation.

Check this
o/c The Old South will lose about ten per cent of its House seats (6 seats)

The Border States will lost almost 15 per cent of their seats (6 seats)

New England will lose 15 per cent of its seats (3 seats)

The New York - Pennsylvania - New Jersey area loses almost ten per cent (7 seats)

The Midwest, picking up 3 seats (principally in Michigan) continues to hold about a fourth of the House seats.

Keep Texas and Florida with their fast-growing cities, pick up 6 seats between them -- up almost 15 per cent.

The Mountain states -- picking up 3 seats - pick up almost 15 per cent in their representation.

The Pacific Coast (including Alaska and Hawaii) -- picking up 10 seats - registers a gain of almost 20 per cent in the House.

~~V~~Virtually every new seat added will be a seat representing a

large city -- some 26 seats, across the country.

In short, by the time the toddlers ~~to~~^{of} today are ready to vote,

the House of Representatives will be a body measureably more Western

and more urban-oriented. *A major proportion of the population will have had no contact with or understanding of rural America.*

Question What WILL SUCH A SHIFT IN POPULATION mean
IN THE CONGRESS mean - IN TERMS OF -

CITY PLANNING
CONSERVATION NEEDS - Conservation
AGRICULTURAL PATTERNS - Agric
"BACKWASH" AREAS OF CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT
SCHOOL AND HOSPITAL NEEDS? Unemploy
Educ + Health Needs
Transportation + Communication
Economic Planning + Develop

It is interesting to speculate ^W what will happen to

House City
Senate Area

legislation in a Congress in which the House primarily will

represent cities, and the Senate will - far more than it does

today - disproportionately represent rural areas and areas of

comparatively sparse population?

For example, while the old

South, the border states and New England will represent

31 per cent of the House, the Senate representation will be

38 per cent

out

Not only will Our people ~~will not~~ not be living on farms and in

villages in any great percentage; they will be more and more

concentrated in great cities *in limited and selected areas.*

Cities
Troubles

Unless ^{CREATIVE} ~~great~~ steps are taken, these cities are going to
strangle themselves. Their air is getting foul. Their water
supply is a problem in both purity and sufficiency. They are

for the most part ugly and depressing. Their educational

(Educ)

systems are having difficulty. Their crime is increasing.

(Crime)

~~They can't get their people to work on the land to lag behind~~
population grows
Central cities and suburbs are dividing along lines of race

and class, as a massive migration of Negroes continues to enter the core cities of the North and West from the rural slums of the South.

To deal with the cities' problems, ~~an~~ almost hopeless tangle of city governments, suburban councils, county governments and state authorities attempt to stay afloat with

inadequate tax bases, and uncertain jurisdictions *and less than friendly or understanding state legislatures*
Overlaying all of these, and exaggerating the tensions

are the problems of persistent unemployment -- caused by

Automation
automation, increased efficiency of workers, and wholesale ^{changes} changes in

raw material production, *and the scientific and technological revolution in agriculture producing hundreds of thousands of people.*

But
domestic problems in 1980 may, ~~as they are now~~, continue

Domestic International Problems
to be ~~cast~~ ^{over} shadowed. The "most important problem" as our late ^{beloved}

President John F. Kennedy said, "is world peace." The ~~arms of~~ ^{military power}

of the U. S. ~~have~~ ^{has} been and ~~are~~ ^{is} necessary for the defense of freedom.

alone
Yet we know that arms are a bleak and cold and uncertain insurance

against the holocaust of thermonuclear war.

DISARM

Planning for DISARM

One day, the choice of the Soviet world may be to take *bold* steps toward disarmament. Frankly, today we would be ill-prepared to seize the opportunity. Our almost total absence of planning to cushion the undoubted economic shock of major arms reduction might well mean an aggravation of our domestic *social and* economic problems.

The resurgence of Western Europe, the rise of independent states in Asia and Africa, the fundamental changes taking place inside the Communist "bloc", the revolutionary ferment stirring the societies of Latin America, Africa and Asia -- all these raise other problems of vast importance to the United States -- problems that require constructive and intelligent responses. There are new wants and demands, new power structures, new forces at work in the world. The absence of thermonuclear war does not mean that we are not going to have problems ~~foreign and domestic~~ that will tax our energies and our abilities to their utmost.

of course, Something will be done about these problems. "Something"
always is. Some may "solve" themselves by exploding. Some
may be "solved" by hot-headed extremists and fanatics. Again
to quote our late President, "Those who make peaceful revolution
impossible, make a violent one inevitable."

L It is my belief that honest, intelligent men and women
can continue to make representative democracy work.

7
FUNDAMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS ARE
Something radical is going to have to be *MADE IN* done about improving

1
the self-government of the metropolitan areas, and *IN* ~~or~~ providing

STRONGER
a tax base for state governments. But we may as well face the

fact that it will continue to *be* the Federal Government -- with its

unique ability to tax the concentrations of wealth for the good

of the entire nation -- that will have to bear *main* the burden of

dealing with the problems of poverty, deprivation and blight

that sprawl across *WHOLE* ~~great~~ regions of the country.

Sumner
And certainly it will continue to be the Federal Government
which has the unique responsibility for the ~~great~~ problems of
international living, with the crises of peace and war.

As technology changes the face of the United States, it is deeply affecting the relationships between nations.

Transportation, communications, use of raw materials, energy sources -- all these are changing rapidly and radically, and change the theories upon which international relations were once based.

To deal intelligently with these problems of broad domestic policy, and of foreign policy, and at the same time to maintain

rapport with the people of the country -- these are the tasks that Congress must set itself.

Congress can streamline some of its procedures. For one

thing we should hold more joint committee hearings. Too many times the same witnesses come up/ ^{to} ~~the same~~ Capitol Hill to give the same testimony ^{again} ~~to be~~. Once should be enough. Executive mark-ups of bills could be done separately.

Either House should be able to act when ready - ~~to act~~ on all legislation - including appropriations bills.

For AID
MKT + Develop
Capitol Hill

Cooperation
Gap?

Must
minnow!

[Large handwritten signature]

Joint Committee on Nat Security!

-16-

I have proposed, and shall continue to work for, the creation of a Joint Committee on National Security - with jurisdiction over the inter-twined problems of foreign policy and armaments.

INSERT
JT CTEE ON
CONGRESSIONAL
REORGANIZATION

WE MUST ESTABLISH A PERMANENT JOINT COMMITTEE ON CONGRESSIONAL ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONS, TO LOOK AHEAD TO THE PROBLEMS AND NEEDS OF THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

We can, and should, and I believe will, modify some of the rules of the Congress which permit small minorities to frustrate the will of the majority even after prolonged debate and discussion. There must be ample time for even prolonged debate and deliberation on major issues, but eventually matters must be brought to a decision. I do not believe that the rules should be modified as to permit the roughshod treatment of a minority; debate, discussion and dissent must be provided for on all major issues.

More deeply, there is a continuing problem, for a Representative or Senator, of getting a clear reading from the people. The Civil Rights situation is a case in point. I believe there to be a national moral consensus on the imperative need for the Civil Rights program, to which Congress should respond

immediately and positively. But Congress does not seem to be sufficiently or accurately tuned in on the country's wavelength on civil rights.

Not that constituents do not write, and call, and come to Washington. Indeed, the pressure of mail and telephone calls and visitors often becomes so heavy that Senators and Representatives and their staffs are deluged and swamped. In my own office it is common to get a thousand letters and telegrams in one day -- brought in in three staggering deliveries.

One thing is certain: Congress requires significantly more staff simply to handle the problems of constituents who have problems involving the Federal bureaucracy, and to permit the members more time to consider the legislative problems before the Congress.

Congress finds itself increasingly confused about the shape of the ~~forest~~ because all it sees are the individual trees. It has too little time and too little staff to do the kind of job it must do for the country.

~~Have~~ ~~two~~ major institutions should be considered, two new arms

Busy
Cong.
Office!

Staff

~~of the Congress in addition to those which have been created to aid the Congress in the past. One would be a Congressional Institute of Fellows designed to provide a strong, trained and able staff basis for the legislative planning of Congress.~~

~~The other might be a Congressional Executive Liaison Office to coordinate with the Congressional liaison offices of the Executive Branch in expediting action on complaints from constituents.~~

There simply must be better machinery devised, ^{FOR EXAMPLE,} by which the legitimate complaints of individual Americans against the decisions of the Executive Branch may receive timely consideration.

Other nations have created separate agencies of their executives to deal with such problems. Perhaps such a system should be considered in the United States. ~~But the pattern thus far has been to throw the increasing burdens of these complaints upon individual Congressmen and Senators, who spend large shares of their individual days and nights in the mechanics of getting consideration or reconsideration by the Federal bureaucracy.~~

Properly these ~~complaints~~ are of concern to representatives

of the people. I wish merely to suggest that ^{THOUGHT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO FINDING} a better mechanism

~~can be found~~ to see that they are processed rapidly and fairly

and with the most efficient use of the time of the Congress ^{man} and

Senator.

#

*Cong
Institute*
I BELIEVE THAT IT IS TIME TO CONSIDER THE
OF all the proposals which I believe should be considered
CREATION OF A NEW ARM OF CONGRESS, AND I PROPOSE THE
to improve the workings of the Congress, the Congressional
ESTABLISHMENT OF A GROUP OF SCHOLARS TO SERVE THE
Institute of Fellows gives the most promise.
CONGRESS AS A CONGRESSIONAL INSTITUTE.

As long ago as 1922, Walter Lippmann said that a large

difficulty with Congress was that the individuals could not

adequately get on top of what they needed to know. This situation

has now, in the new "knowledge explosion", simply become enormous.

h Congress is not staffed, and no individual Congressman or Senator

is staffed, to handle ^{ITS MAJOR} ~~the fast-breaking~~ problems. The Hill is

without a mechanism to receive all of the information ^{AVAILABLE, TO} absorb

and assimilate it, sift it, ^{TO} be confidently decisive with it, ~~on~~

~~all of the measures upon which it must act.~~

The Executive department has grown in response to ^{the problems.} ~~these~~.

OF THE COUNTRY.

It commands more and more experts, and will continue to do so.

Congress finds it ever more difficult to second-guess the

Executive, or to innovate. In frustration Congress is often

led simply to taking a negative and obstinate view of Executive

proposals, to attempting to frighten individual bureaucrats rather

than to challenge them on the facts.

IN THE PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL INSTITUTE,

~~What is needed is~~ a staff which is equipped far beyond

^{WOULD BE EXPECTED}

the small staff of Congressional committees to make creative

and perhaps divergent recommendations as to legislative action

on major problem areas, and to provide Congress with an in-depth

capability of analyzing and evaluating the major proposals of

From the Executive. /the recommendations of such an Institute Congress

could evaluate and choose.

The Institute should be staffed and organized in such a way

as to protect it from becoming a stratified bureaucracy. A one

FELLOWS OF THE INSTITUTE
to three year term of service for ~~its personnel~~ would permit

scholars to rotate in and out from the best of our colleges
and universities. Such a rotation would serve to keep

Budget
Transportation
Monetary
Fiscal
Policy
Trade
FORAID
EDUC
Grant in
AID

fresh the vitality of ideas, both in Congress, and in the University community, as well.

Selection

Of course there are problems. The question of selection is one. I would suggest that the staff be made up of fellows selected by their peers - by their professional associations, for example. *Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions* It should be an honor to be sought out and selected. There should be freedom of inquiry permitted, so that no "directed verdicts" would be permitted. At the same time, Congress would retain the decision-making, and the individual committee staffs *have responsibility* for dealing with specific legislation.

Brain Trust

The Executive has grown in developing the use of scholars and intellectuals. ~~FOR~~ President Kennedy had a superb professional staff. President Johnson has one. The Executive is able to anticipate problems, to provide some over-all designs, and to make proposals which have been thoroughly staffed and organized.

Congress, if there is to be a meaningful check and balance, must have the same kind of professional backing. *Balance*

I do not wish to be misunderstood as recommending the substitution of experts for political decision-makers.

*on Tap
not on
TOP*

Experts should be on tap, not on top. ^{But,} They can make a tremendous

contribution to the solution of problems, by their orderly

scholarship and presentation of rational alternatives. But

the buck stops on the desk of the member of Congress.

Indeed, the limitations of the experts must be understood.

yes, The limitations of the scientific method, of the use of computers,

must be understood.

I was much impressed recently by an address by Thomas Watson,

Chairman of the Board of International Business Machines, who

entitled his remarks "The Case for Balance."

Mr Watson detailed some of the exciting advances computers have

made possible. He has a good opinion of them. So do I. I

would like to see them put to simulating some of the problems

of cities instead of confining them to war games.

Mr. Watson lists some of the foremost problems of the day --

from war to racial prejudice. He says simply and flatly of

computers -- and for "computer" we can read "science" -- that

they are tools only. They are marvelous tools, but they must

be subservient to value-judgments. Unless some human being inserts value-judgments into the machine it has no preferences.

"No one of our foremost problems", he says, "can be solved by the application of scientific knowledge alone."

Of course those problems will not be solved without the knowledge either. But science has limitations and must be complemented by something more. "American solutions", Mr. Watson points out, "must come from backgrounds steeped in the philosophies of Paine, Jefferson, Madison, John Adams, John Marshall, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and countless others who have contributed to the wide-ranging and free mind of the well-educated ~~real~~ American."

Finally, and in summary, I have confidence in the toughness and flexibility of our political system. It was a remarkable fact, in the history of the world, that the changeover from one ^{ENORMOUSLY} ~~highly~~ powerful President of the United States to another could be made in a moment without major disruption of our society. That in itself is a testimony to the vitality and the strength of our institutions and the innate good sense of our ~~system~~ ^{people}.

JFK
to
HBJ

I am an optimist. In the last resort, this youthful
experiment in representative government is being made on faith.

And we who have faith in democracy believe that a system based

on common sense, on a willingness to ~~think~~ and try new things, ~~to accept~~

to accept & change on tolerance for the views for others, will prove in the long

run the most efficient ~~and~~ orderly and humane of all the many

ways by which men have attempted to organize our society ~~their societies~~.



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