

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS OF
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 19, 1966



THE ROLE OF THE STATES

IN

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

You, as state legislators, and I, as an official of the federal government, share a high responsibility--the promotion of the general welfare of the American people.

This responsibility is, in fact, set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States. It is one of the great over-riding purposes for which our system of government was established.

We are, as we must be, active partners in this great task.

There was a time--and many of us still vividly remember it--when the federal government failed to meet its share of this responsibility, and our problem was to get it moving to do so.

We have won that battle; that era is over. We have established firmly the principle that the federal government has this positive duty.

ERA OF CREATIVE FEDERALISM

Now, we are in a new era--the era of a working partnership among all levels

of American government, the era of what President Johnson has called "creative federalism."

Creative federalism means more than just cooperation; ~~it means energized cooperation~~. It means that we are developing an active alliance among governments and private groups--an alliance in which all levels of government, along with industry, labor, agriculture, the universities, the foundations, and the public service organizations, are principal partners.

We have achieved this partnership in our space effort, with outstanding success. We are increasingly carrying on the war against poverty and the battle against air and water pollution in the same way. We shall have this partnership in the Model Cities program and in the programs of the new Department of Transportation.

The federal government's role is not to dominate--but to stimulate, cooperate and coordinate, at its heart, that role in working with others to set higher standards in meeting human need.

Energized federalism means, in brief, effective and timely cooperation by all levels of government and by the private sector as well.

creative

Put in the negative, energized federalism does not tolerate an all-powerful federal government--mainly devoted to the comfort and propping up of weak, obsolete and ineffective state and local governments.

The duty of modern American government demands a full partnership of effort. So right off the bat, it means "better" state and local government--representatives better paid, better staffed and aggressive.

~~Creative~~
~~Energized~~ federalism means programs and policies which are locally inspired; locally developed and locally administered. But wherever necessary, this local initiative is aided by broader design for state and regional development, stimulated and supported by federal skills and resources.

ACTIVE PARTNERSHIP

Under this active partnership, we will be satisfied that federal aid is effective only if it results in achievements of quality, not just projects in quantity. Now, Washington, D. C. can't do all of the job. We have to do it together. We need a renaissance of state governments, a revitalization of local governments and the rededication of private initiative. ~~I am here to plead for an active partnership, and since we are going to have this alliance, let's make~~

sure that each partner is not only able to carry his share of the load, but strong enough so that he is respected.

This revitalized control does not say that the federal government should dominate; it says all should cooperate. This is the heart of our renewed concept of American government.

Energized federalism has to mean that we modernize government--federal, state and local. It has to mean local initiative. It has to mean getting at the problems where the people are.

THESE ARE YOUR PROBLEMS

Where are the problems? Where are the problems of the big city? They're not just in Washington. They are in your state. Where are the problems of rural poverty? They are out where you live.

Where are the problems of parking and transportation and communication and air pollution? They are not just here. These are your problems--and they are ours, because this is one nation.

You have these problems, but we can't get at them at the nation's capital. That is the point. We can get at them in part from ~~here~~. We can give grants-in-aid. We can set standards for their use. We can train technicians. But ultimately, if there are going to be, for example, better schools,

they won't just have "grewed," like Topsy, in some unknown way or place. They will be in your state and in your town, and they will be there only because of your leadership and your initiative. If there is going to be better housing, you will have to want it where your people live and where you live, in your state and in your town. And if the air is to be cleaned, and if the water is to be pure, you will have to fight the pollution where you live.

LIAISON ROLE

It has been my privilege, at the request of the President, to work with state and local government officials to make our American partnership effective. As the President's liaison with local government officials, I went to him some time ago and said, "Mr. President, we need the greater participation and help of our local government people." And we discussed ways to get them. In recent months, he has been trying to get them, by order and by urging.

The President recently issued an important Executive Order for this purpose to the heads of ten major federal departments and agencies. In it, he instructed them "to take steps to afford representatives of the chief executives of state and local government the opportunity to advise and consult in the development and execution of programs

which directly affect the conduct of state and local affairs." We are eager to see local government and state government involved more systematically and consistently in federal programs. These programs just can't work out of Washington.

LET'S LEARN FROM EACH OTHER

To my mind, the greatest thing to happen in American government in the last few years is the State Legislative Leaders Conference. We can't do things here in Washington unless you are in tune with us in your state and we are in tune with you. We need to learn from each other. I don't think Washington is always right, and I doubt that you feel you are always right. What we most need to do is to get on the same wave length, and the Conference is making that possible.

So the door to consultation is wide open, and I urge you and other state and local officials to take full advantage of it. I urge you to be alert, aggressive, and insistent.

NEEDED: NEW LEGISLATION

As you know, the number of measures to implement an energized American federalism will be considered by the new Congress.

The first is the proposed Intergovernmental Cooperation Act. It has been strongly endorsed by the Administration, many of you, many Governors, and organizations of municipal and county officials.

I have worked to achieve enactment of many of the proposals made by this legislation for many years. As a United States Senator, I was a member of the original Kestnbaum Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. This commission in fact gave birth to our renewed national interest in energized, creative American federalism. And I was privileged to be, with Senator Ed Muskie, one of the two original sponsors of the Act establishing the present Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

TRAINING FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The second measure is legislation to establish a vigorous manpower program. The need of state and local governments for more and better trained personnel could not be more clear. In the conferences I have held, State and local officials attending throughout the nation repeatedly and consistently have pled for assistance in the training and recruitment of qualified employees. We need well-trained, well paid, competent, dedicated

employees if our full partnership is to work. We are now in the process of developing such a manpower program for submission to the next Congress. This legislation can only be enacted through your support and work. I urge that you give them.

The third implementation proposal is for an adequate and uniform relocation program, generally similar to the present Urban Renewal provisions. This is another highly needed measure--especially in light of the vast redevelopment plans already in the pipelines and the accelerated pace of landtakings for many purposes by governments at all levels.

CORRECT INCONSISTENCIES

The lack of any provision under some programs for relocation assistance or compensation, and the disparity and inequity of the provisions applicable to other programs must be remedied.

These deficiencies result in unfair and inconsistent treatment of those persons and businesses most in need of help: the old, the poor, the lifetime small neighborhood retailers and the members of racial minorities.

These proposals deserve favorable Congressional action in the next Congress. There are other significant measures which also merit your attention.

LEGISLATIVE REFORM

First on this list is legislative reform. I refer to the current efforts and absences of effort--to strengthen state legislatures and to alert the public to our urgent need for a strong and independent legislative branch in every state.

We are making progress in our efforts to improve the legislative process and also to inform our citizens of the potential of legislative leadership still to be tapped. The Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, for example, is assisting reform efforts and generating renewed public involvement in the legislative process. The National Municipal League and the American Assembly, augmented by a series of state assemblies on American legislatures, have established important public information programs. Your own organizations--this Conference of Legislative Leaders and the National Legislative Conference--are continuing their crucially important work to improve the legislative process in the states.

These efforts bear down hard on the need for increased compensation, capable staffs, and adequate physical facilities for individual legislators. These reforms are basic if we are to attract more good men to membership in the state legislatures.

CITIZEN AWARENESS

These efforts call for annual legislative sessions, with no time or subject restrictions, and they recommend committee reorganization and procedural reform.

In the elections last November, a number of states adopted constitutional amendments providing for annual legislative sessions and increased compensation for legislators. Our citizens are becoming more aware of the state legislatures and they want to energize them.

We have heard a good deal about the need for planning, programming, and budgeting by the administrative agencies. By the same token, the legislatures need to be equally well equipped to evaluate these budgetary proposals of the administrative agencies and the executive if the legislatures are to maintain their initiative.

Obviously, our vigorous partnership requires that all the partners be adequately equipped.

We need to ask ourselves in the Congress, in the State Legislatures, and in the city council meetings

- are we organized and tooled up?
- do we need better working statutes or ordinances?
- can a single local unit do the job, or does it require a more metropolitan or regional structure?
- are governmental responsibilities efficiently distributed?
- do we have enough adequately trained personnel to carry out these responsibilities?
- are the committees of the legislature equipped to oversee the agencies and programs for which they are responsible?

Many of these questions go far beyond just matching of monies, or how much money is in a grant. The federal-state-local partnership should speak to these questions as well as to the question of money.

LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH

In dealing with their complex responsibility, our legislatures, it seems to

me, have need of the kind of technical assistance which the Legislative Reference Service provides to our Congress.

When I first became a member of the United States Senate Appropriations Committee, it had a total staff of 26 people. Each department and most of the independent agencies, when they came before us with their requests, brought with them more staff "experts" on their budgets than our committee had to screen the requests from all departments and agencies combined. They spent hundreds of thousands of dollars just to present their appropriations requests, and there we sat, a few Senators, and were literally overwhelmed by the unbelievable power of the Executive Branch of the government. And in every state legislature, it is the same thing.

So what is my message to you? Equip yourself and give a good accounting of yourself. Staff yourself. Provide adequate salaries for yourselves and your staff, if you want competence and the control it brings. Your administrators and the public are not going to think any less of you.

PUBLIC RESPECT

People know that they get what they pay for these days. It is my view that people will respect us a great deal more if we do a

real job. Do a real job and ask to be compensated for doing a real job. Staff your committees to do the job for the people.

Now, one thing that gives the Congress of the United States some balance with the Executive Branch is what we call the Legislative Reference Service. We have bolstered the Library of Congress, staffed it with some of the best people in the country, so that it is the brain trust for the legislative leaders. Get yourself a National Legislative Research Service that any one of you can use. You can do it among your several states. Your effort, already begun in cooperation with the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University, toward a center for Legislative Service, is in this spirit.

NEED FOR REVENUE SHARING

Certainly, you can use all the help you can get. For your state legislative bodies will be faced in coming sessions with tremendous problems arising from the growth in our population and its changing patterns and from accelerating technological change in transportation, economic development, and many other fields.

One of the most fundamental problems is how to choose among various methods available for financing what our energized system of government does.

A number of bills enacted by the 89th Congress provide new tools to aid in financing programs. Many of them provide additional direct economic assistance to the state governments. These Acts uniformly express the clear intent of the Congress to recognize the equal responsibility and full partnership of the states in the federal system.

In the coming year, federal funds will constitute about 17 percent of the more than 90 billion dollars that state and local treasuries will spend. This is what I call sizeable revenue-sharing.

PROPOSALS STUDIED

We are also hearing about the possibility of other forms of federal cash assistance as solutions to the fiscal problems of state government, such as the Heller Plan, for directly sharing federal revenues with the states, or the plans for giving federal taxpayers a tax credit for state and local taxes. This debate is welcome indeed, and we should make a massive effort to examine every option and to see if a decision can

be reached. Regardless of which choice is made for increasing aid to the states, we will increase this allocation of national resources. But the important question is "What are we going to do with the cash when we get it?"

Your government, the Executive, and the Congress, is taking a close look at every one of these proposals to strengthen the financial resources of state and local government. A decision soon is imperative. You cannot have an equal partner if one is anemic. And we are fed up with tired blood in the arterial stream of American politics.

LAWS FOR TODAY'S PROBLEMS

How many in this audience recognize that most of the states of the Union have no constitution that is related in any way to the present needs of our society--or to the structure of our society? I think most of you do.

And if you think state constitutions are out of date, what about state law, most of which has been passed by rural dominated legislatures? Most of those state laws on the books are related to problems that no longer even exist, and to institutions that have lost their usefulness.

And what is even more significant is the tradition of state government that was rural oriented--that doesn't speak the language of the cities. It does not feel the problems of the city, and being able to feel them--deeply understand them--is crucial. The bureaucracy is oriented towards another way of life--a good life, but one that is irretrievably gone--because all of their supervisors for years and years, came from rural areas.

THE UNIVERSAL CHALLENGE

You are not alone in these almost frightening handicaps. The Congress and nearly every town and city council, county board, and regional commission faces the same problems and experiences the same headaches. There are very few problems in America that are purely state problems, or purely city problems, or purely national problems. There are enough problems, enough challenges, enough opportunities in today's and tomorrow's America to keep us all hard at work--and we shall do much better working together than separately or even against one another.

Indeed, it could be said today, as it was said by Ben Franklin when he signed the Declaration of Independence, that now "we shall all hang together, or assuredly we will all hang separately."

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REMARKS

Prof. Jess Unruh
unruh

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

Dr Elson

WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOVEMBER 19, 1966

You, as state legislators, and I, as an official
of the federal government, share a high responsibility
-- the promotion of the general welfare of the American
people.

This is, in fact, set forth in the pre a mble to the
Constitution of the United States as one of the great
over-riding purposes for which our system of government
was established.

We are, as we should be, partners in this great
task.

↳ There was a time -- and many of us can vividly
remember it -- when the federal government was remiss

in fulfilling its share of this responsibility, and the problem was to get it moving to do so.

↳ That battle has been won; that era is over!

The principle that the federal government has a positive role to play has been firmly established.

↳ We are now in a new era -- the era of a working partnership among all levels of government; the era of what President Johnson has called "creative federalism."

↳ We are also in the era of a developing partnership between government and non-governmental organizations -- industry, labor, agriculture, the university, the foundation, the public service organization. }

↳ We have achieved such a partnership in our space effort, with outstanding success. This is how we are increasingly, too, carrying on the war against poverty and the battle against air and water pollution. ↳ This is

Partnership - Govt, industry - university

what we intend in the Model Cities program and the new Department of Transportation.

↳ The role of the federal government is not to dominate -- but to stimulate, cooperate and coordinate and to work with others in setting higher standards in the meeting of human need.

↳ Creative federalism means effective and timely cooperation between all levels of government and the private sector as well.

~~But~~ ^{no}, creative federalism does not mean strong, *rich*, powerful federal government -- aiding, comforting, propping up weak, obsolete, ineffective state and local government.

↳ Modern American government requires a partnership of efforts -- with each partner fulfilling his own duties and responsibilities.

modern

↳ It means better state and local government.

↳ It means sufficient federal aid where it is needed
and effective local administration when it is required.

↳ Creative federalism means programs, policies,
and projects locally inspired, locally developed, locally
administered -- but with a broader design that includes
state and regional development, backed and supported
by federal assistance and resources.

↳ Creative federalism means modernizing government, *all levels*
strengthening the economy -- at all levels -- and doing it
in terms of modern needs and future requirements.

The Truth is — We need a renaissance of state government,
a revitalization of local government and private initiative.

But Federal aid, to be effective, must be managed
and used in a political and social environment that is
conducive to action and results, and not to procrastination

Conclusion to quality, not just to quantity.

↳ After all, it is you who know best what to do and have the strongest incentive to do it, for the urban and rural poor are in your states. The slums are in your cities. It is your streets and highways that are congested, your water and air that is being polluted.

↳ It has been my privilege, at request of the President, to work with state and local government officials to make this partnership more real and effective. (we try)

↳ One outcome of these discussions has been the recent Executive Order by the President to the heads of ten major federal departments and agencies instructing them "to take steps to afford representatives of the chief executives of state and local government the opportunity to advise and consult in the development and execution of programs which directly affect the conduct of state and local affairs."

But we need consultation
at the legislative level

So the door to consultation is wide open. And I urge you and other state and local officials to take full advantage of it. I urge you to be alert, aggressive, and insistent. We need to hear and heed your views about how federal-state-local programs may best be framed to make them function most effectively for the benefit of the American people, to whom all of us are ultimately responsible.

As you know, a number of measures concerned with implementing creative federalism will be considered by the new Congress,

(1) First is the proposed Intergovernmental Cooperation ~~Act~~ Act. It has been strongly supported by the Administration, and by many of you, by many governors, and by organizations of municipal and county officials.

~~This legislation is something I have been~~
~~working for over many years.~~ As a United States Senator,
I was a member of the original Kestnbaum Commission
on intergovernmental relations, ~~which in 1955 was,~~
~~I believe, the birthplace of the creative federalism concept.~~
And I was privileged to be ~~the~~ ^{co-author} author of the bill establishing
the present Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental
Relations.

(2) Second, there is the need of state and local
governments for more adequate personnel.

~~In the conferences I have held with state and~~
~~local officials throughout the nation, I have repeatedly~~
~~heard their pleas for assistance in training and attracting~~
~~qualified employees to government.~~

~~We need to build up reservoirs of talent~~
sufficient to staff all government ~~jobs~~ ^{positions} properly. ~~We need~~
well-trained, well paid, competent, dedicated employees.

↳ We are now in the process of developing a Proposed
manpower program for submission to the next Congress.
It will need your support for its enactment.

(3) ↳ Third, an adequate and uniform relocation
program, generally similar to the present Urban
Renewal provisions, is another pressing intergovernmental
need -- especially in light of urban development needs
and the accelerated pace of land-takings by governments
at all levels.

The lack of any provision for reimbursement
and assistance to those displaced by some programs
and the variety of provisions applicable to other programs
must be remedied. It results in unfair and inconsistent
treatment of those persons and businesses most in need
of help: The old, the poor, the small corner grocer,
the members of a racial minority.

~~These proposals deserve favorable Congressional~~
~~action.~~ *L* There are other significant measures which also
merit your attention.

L First on this list is legislative reform. I refer
to the current efforts to strengthen state legislatures
in order to assure a
~~and to alert public agencies to the need for a strong and~~
independent legislative branch. *you have taken the lead in this,*

There are signs that we are making progress in
our efforts to improve the legislative process and also
to inform our citizens of the achievements and the
potential still to be tapped. The Citizens Conference on
State Legislatures, for example, is assisting reform
efforts and generating renewed public involvement in the
legislative process. The National Municipal League and
the American Assembly, augmented by a series of state
assemblies on American legislatures, have public
information programs. Your own organizations -- this

~~Conference of Legislative Leaders and the National~~
~~Legislative Conference -- continue efforts to improve~~
~~the state legislative process.~~ *There are many several*

~~These efforts underscore~~ the need for adequate *& better*

compensation, staff assistance, and physical facilities

for individual legislators -- *is being recognized*

I supported - ~~so that we can attract more~~
~~good men to the state legislatures.~~ *There are several*

Encouraging
Developments -

~~They stress the call for annual sessions, with~~

~~no time restrictions.~~

~~They recognize the urgency of committee~~

~~reorganization and reformed procedures.~~

L In the recent elections, constitutional amendments
were adopted in a number of states providing for annual
legislative sessions, increased compensation for
legislators and special sessions to consider gubernatorial
vetoes. *- [Signature]*

These actions indicate that our citizens are becoming more aware of the needs of the state legislatures and are showing an increased willingness to meet them.

We have heard a good deal about the need for planning, programming and budgeting by administrative agencies. By the same token, legislatures need to be equipped to evaluate the budgetary proposals and plans advanced by administrative agencies. Sophisticated analysis by legislative committees and staff is necessary, if the legislatures are to maintain their initiative. Choices must be made among various methods of financing.

Legislation enacted by the 89th Congress provides a number of tools to aid in financing various programs.

Many of them provide additional direct economic assistance to state government. These Acts express the clear intent of Congress to recognize the equal responsibility of the states in the development of creative federalism.


know what is available

↳ Federal assistance to state and local governments should represent about 17 per cent of the more than 90 billion dollars that state and local treasuries will expend this year. This is what I call sizeable revenue-sharing.

↳ A great deal is being said about the possibility of other forms of revenue-sharing as a solution to the fiscal problems of state government, such as the so-called Heller Plan.

↳ There are those who ~~wish to~~ over-simplify the concept. Any such program would have to include proper standards and safeguards.

↳ Suitable methods of distribution would have to be worked out, and above all a proper method of allocation between state and local governments would have to be devised.



what needs to be done

We know that the ~~job to do~~ requires more than a simple money partnership -- more than just matching a federal grant, or sharing of a tax revenue.

↳ The partnership between the federal government and the states and localities is a partnership which requires that all partners are adequately equipped to fully participate in their responsibilities. We need to ask ourselves in the Congress, in the State Legislatures, in the city council meetings ...

-- are we organized and tooled up?

-- do we need a better working statute or ordinance?

-- can a single local unit do the job, or is it going to require a more metropolitan or regional structure?

-- What about reorganization of governmental responsibilities?

-- do we have adequate and trained personnel to assume these responsibilities?

-- are the committees of the legislature equipped to analyze and oversee the problems?

↳ Many of these questions go far beyond just matching of moneys, or how much money is in a grant.

The federal-state-local partnership should go to these questions as well as the money.

↳ Civil Service Commission specialists should be called upon to help with state and local personnel training and organizations.

↳ In dealing with these and many other complex subjects, our legislatures, it seems to me, have need of the kind of technical assistance which the Legislative Reference Service provides to our Congress.

↳ One possible solution would be to set up a National Legislative Research Center. It might be financed by the states themselves through an interstate compact, possibly with additional support from the foundations or the federal government. ↳ Your effort, already begun in cooperation with the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University, toward a center for Legislative Service, is in this spirit.

↳ Certainly, you can use all the help you can get. For your state legislative bodies will be faced in coming sessions with tremendous problems arising from the growth in our population and its changing patterns and from accelerating technological change in transportation, economic development, and many other fields.

↳ How many in this audience recognize that most of the states of the Union have no constitution that is related in any way to the present needs of our society?

~~Or to the structure of our society?~~

⚡ And if you think state constitutions are out of date, what about state law that has all been passed by rural dominated legislatures over years? And ~~most of~~ *many of* ~~the~~ *those* state laws are related to problems that no longer are even with us, and insitutions that have lost their usefulness.

And what is even more significant is the tradition of state government that was rural oriented that has not -- doesn't speak the language of the cities. It does not feel the problems of the city. The bureaucracy is oriented towards another way because all of their supervisors, for years and years, came from rural areas.

Furthermore, increasing demands for more public services pose new challenges ... demand new approaches ... and require increased knowledge and understanding by legislators and administrators alike.

You are not alone. The Congress and nearly every town and city council, county board, and regional commission face the same problems and experience the same headaches. There are very few problems in America that are purely state problems, or purely city problems, or purely problems.

There are enough problems, enough challenges enough opportunities in today's and tomorrow's America to keep us all hard at work - and we shall do much better working together than separately or even against one another.

ⓐ Bad Day to min -
USC -

(Bob Knowles)

- Professor Jess Amrue
- Dean George De Stefano
-18- Dr Elson

Indeed, it could be said today, as it was said

by Ben Franklin when he signed the Declaration of

Independence, that now "we must all hang together,

or assuredly we will all hang separately."

Ideas - Legislative Initiative

✓ Common Purpose - "Promote Genl Welfare"

Partnership | Partnership - Fed - State - Local
Partnership - Govt - Industry - Univ
(Space - Poverty -)

Put your univ to work!

✓ Role of Fed. Govt - not to Dominate -
to Cooperate, Stimulate, Coordinate!

- Creative Federalism - Not to Prop up -
weak, obsolete State + Local -

{ Means - Modernizing State Govt
Local initiative

ⓓ Problems are where you live
Schools, Slums, Pollution

(over)

(1) Intergout Cooperation

" Intergovernmental Relations Comm
Kastenbaum Comm 1955

Sponner Advisory Comm -
Intergout Relations

(2) Adequate Personnel

(3) Legal Personnel ^{Wells, P. 1955} (Legal Reforms)

(4) National Legal Reference
Service (Eggleston Institutional
Rudgers)

Fed Assistance = 17% of the More
than \$90 billion spent by State
+ Local Govt -

This is Revenue Sharing!

Heller Plan

(X) Updating Constitution & State
Laws

8TH ANNUAL MEETING
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

NOVEMBER 19, 1966

Address by: Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

Introduction by: Honorable Jesse M. Unruh,
President, National Conference
of State Legislative Leaders

PART I

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, as the last act as the outgoing president of this organization, I have the very great pleasure--one that I've had on few occasions before but one which never fails to add to my enjoyment when I have it again. I think that tonight -- the man for whom an introduction would be very inappropriate for this audience and this man because all of us are familiar with Vice President Humphrey, his achievements in life. So it is totally unnecessary to document these details. If there are any particular accomplishments which should be emphasized here, I would rather hear them from Vice President Humphrey rather than from me. I am sure you share that. The political phenomena that is Hubert Humphrey -- and he is a political phenomena -- is almost a textbook example of those of us who call ourselves politicians -- and his success is a wholly personal achievement because his resources do not include a huge, private fortune. When he started, it did not include a celebrated name. Instead he has drawn upon his personal wealth of knowledge, compassion and decency, dedication. His career has been, I think, above anything else, a stabilizing influence in government. Much, if not most, of the forward looking legislation which has been enacted in the last few years -- which is under consideration today -- was originated and supported by Hubert Humphrey, 15 or 20 years ago. And his position has not shifted with the winds.

His appearance here tonight is particularly appropriate because he is the past master of both the legislative process and political organization. Few men, if indeed any today, share his awareness of the unity of the political, governmental, legislative complex and even less, possess his political erudition and his genuine feeling for people.

Hubert Humphrey knows that politics cannot function -- was not designed to be something separate from people. He knows the importance of communicating with the people. He knows that is part of his political task. But what is really nice is that what is a task in this respect for many of us is pleasure for him because of his genuine regard for people. Now, all of us get some criticism in politics. If we don't, it is because we are not doing anything. But virtually all the criticism that I have ever heard of Hubert Humphrey is due to his personal warmth and his zeal to let the people know what government is all about. I for one hope that he will never let that criticism dictate his style. Like many others who settle in politics as a career, I count him almost foremost as one of our heroes.

And so it is really something to personal triumph for me to be able to stand here before you tonight and present to you the third thing that GEORGE DE STEFANO and I have in common -- a great Vice President of the United States, Hubert H. Humphrey.

HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank you very much, Professor Jess Unruh, and I like to call him professor because he keeps teaching us just what we ought to do. And I look over here to my left -- and this is the first time that George has been to my left -- and your right -- and I call him none other than the dean -- Dean George D STEFANO, Dr. Elson, and my fellow legislators -- at least two years removed as far as I am concerned, but I am sort of there too. I am going to explain this to you in just a moment.

May I say first of all, Jess, how happy I am that Muriel and I can be with you and we share this hour of what I know is fun and sociability, and fellowship. I said to Virginia just a moment ago, gee, it's good to

be back with legislators again. There is a friendliness, there is a spirit of fellowship in a legislative group that I think is very unique. It isn't found in many other groups. And I sensed it the minute we walked into this fine banquet hall tonight. I have had the chance of meeting many of you personally and tonight I have the opportunity of not only to meet some of the legislators but to meet the lady of the house and the very charming wives of our legislators, and I am happy that that is our privilege, too. I see Bob Knolls about here, and of course, as if Jess and I haven't gone through enough these last few weeks, USC got walloped today and Minnesota was cheated out of a victory -- 7 to 6 -- Out in Wisconsin -- I tell you when Kansas and Wisconsin beat Minnesota is it any wonder that we suffered a defeat in the legislative elections of November 8th. Bob, congratulations and George, I don't know how Rhode Island came out, but congratulations. And, they were smart. They weren't playing this week, Jess said. And Jess, commiserations -- it was a bad time. I have a big speech here and you are going to be spared. I feel that when legislators come to Washington, they ought to have one or two gifts that are presented to them and at least one or two unexpected pleasures, and one of them tonight will be that this memorable address that I have prepared, word for word, will be made available to you privately.

Frankly, I am sort of like that fellow that, after he had received a big and extended introduction and he was billed for his address, and he gave his address. You know, he said, 1312 Main Avenue but since Mrs. Humphrey moved me, I don't quite know where I live anymore. I guess I really shouldn't say that with the President being out-of-town. But I have many things on my mind this evening, and most of which are in good

fellowship -- some which are just observations and thoughts that I would like to share with friends and neighbors. First, I want to say to Jess about these gifts, I haven't had a chance to weigh them but we are denied anything over 10 lbs. ^{According to} ~~I caught him in~~ the Douglas formula when I served in the Senate, and since I have become Vice President, we're just denied. Don't tempt me, however.

I noticed that Jess was very perceptive about this AM-FM alarmclock radio that ~~we~~ ^{he} received, and he had one good thought there, namely, that he hoped the soft music would lull our Republican friends into much overdue slumber. You shouldn't worry so much. You should really go to sleep for the next couple of years. And then he said he hoped that that alarm clock would wake up the Democratic National Committee. Well, George, I hope it's a big clock. Might I suggest that what is really needed is a calendar. I hope that nobody will repeat what I have said here tonight.

There is one thing I have learned in public life. We fellows in public office can keep a secret. That is, if it is in any way detrimental to us. I have the press right outside the door, Gentlemen. Don't leave now. They will wait for us until we are all through tonight.

Another thing, I thought maybe I would just take a few moments to say a few words to my friend, Jess, because I know that he is now Past President, just as Bob Knolls is a Past President. But there is a procedure here and a tradition which has been established in this National Conference of State Legislative Leaders that I think ought to become a part of the mores, the cultural pattern, the habits, the traditions of the American Republic. Namely, that Vice Presidents succeed Presidents.

I think that is a very good idea. And I want you to know that I am willing to live by that tradition, no matter what may happen to me in the years to come, so if you have any friends who want to become Vice President after me, let me know. But this is a very, very good idea. I noticed that one of your Executive Committee is our majority leader out in the Minnesota State House of Representatives, Aubrey Dirlam. Poor Aubrey. He is going to have trouble. He picked up so many new seats out there, he is apt to have a rebellion in his own midst. One of the advantages of having a slim majority is that everybody does tend to business. I think I should forewarn you as one who observed the work of the 89th Congress. When the boys and girls began to feel that they have substantial majorities, they will play. And they will be absent. And they occasionally will just pass on a crucial vote. So, since you are the leaders, line them up early, please.

There are other observations that I think are overdue. By the way, I speak to you not in my role of Vice President, because I have not become quite accustomed to it yet. I may need several more years. I don't want you to take this as any political inference at all unless you are a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. Or unless you are from Texas and are writing to the President, other than that. But I had 16 years as a United States Senator and 4 years as the Majority Whip of the United States Senate, so I feel sort of legislative. I haven't really been brainwashed yet. I'll never forget the first time that I sat down with the Director of the Bureau of the Budget when I became Vice President. We had 2 or 3 meetings, and he said to one of his associates --

I don't really believe that the Vice President likes me. You know this very distinguished American, Kermit Gordon, and he is really one of the fine and great men of our country. He was then Director of the Budget for President Kennedy and President Johnson, and he passed this word around a little bit. I heard about it. He knows all about it. This is not any secret. He said, "Maybe he ought to talk with me." I said, "That is a very good idea." In ~~surrounding~~^{in a} ~~check~~ between our intermediates, our negotiators, this quiet diplomacy that we have in every newspaper in Washington, it was passed around that the Vice President and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget would get together. He said to me, "I really worry about you. You know, I have a personal affection for you." Then he went on to even^{in a} sense -- I guess I would plagerize -- he let himself get out of control -- he said, "I even admire you." He said, "What I worry about is -- I really believe that you have a personal dislike for me. I say that because at every conference we participate in, you are rather caustic, you seem to oppose what I stand for, speak for.

"Why," I said, "Kermit, really don't let this bother you. This has nothing to do with you. I have been in the Senate of the United States for 16 years, and all 16 I have hated the Bureau of the Budget. How in the name of common sense do you expect me in 16 weeks to start to think you are a great guy?" I said, "It takes longer than that, even for a man who is willing to be on the team." "You just have to give me turn-around time, that is all." This was a way of saying that I was a legislator, and I was a Senator, and I was a committee member, and I worked at it, and I just couldn't happen to believe that the Executive Branch of the government had a monopoly on intelligence or ideas, that is all. And I still don't.

About a year ago, I gave the commencement address at Syracuse University at which I extolled what I thought were the qualities of the most misunderstood branch of the government--the legislative branch. Where I really believe most of the ideas for forward looking public policy emanate and are initiated. They are not always crystallized there. It isn't always there that they come to fruition immediately, but it is a legislator, working with his office staff or his committee or on his own, ^{who} frequently enunciates, states or articulates an idea, or a policy, which have been kicked around, and which the legislator also kicked around, finds that idea coming to what we call "official policy". The program of the Governor -- The program of the President -- The program of the Party -- or the program of the Administration. And I would like tonight to salute the people who give birth to ideas. I salute tonight the initiators of ideas. I salute tonight the people who represent people and the closest representatives of representative government that we have are ^{you} the people. The legislative leaders of our 50 states from this great Republic of ours. And I do this in good spirit and with great sincerity because I believe you are the ones who do just that.

Jess, I just wanted to say a word more about you, and then we are going to get down to cases, here. First of all, you are now the Past President and you have been extolling the virtues, as I have, of the Legislative Branch. It is all right for you to do that, but Jess, I hear a great deal about your future, and now that you have made your case, I think that you ought to have a caveat here and there, when you get elected Governor out there in California, I don't want somebody just throwing this stuff back at you all the time, that you've been saying around here. And I do predict that the man who sits alongside of us tonight, this very fine

legislator, this student of government, and he is both. He is a student of government, he is a legislator, he is a political leader, he is a team player, he fights for what he believes in. I really believe that Jeff Unruh will be one of the truly great political leaders, not only of the state of California; I think he is destined to lead that state in the years to come and I know that he is destined to live in your memory as a man that really gave this organization real meaning and real purpose.

I don't want you to get the Governor out there all shook up about this. We're going to let him serve out his term, aren't we, Jess? And he will indeed. This is a non-partisan gathering. It is nice to see my Democratic friends, and I want to say a word about the elections. It will be a brief word. There are times that I have doubts about the Democratic process, and this is one of those times. On Tuesday, November 15, I had my best day. It should have been on November 8th, but things just didn't work out right, so I took November 15. I am Chairman of the Space Council and it was on that day that the Astronauts, Lovell and Aldrenⁿ, completed their historic flight of 94 hours, as you may recall, in space and 2½ hours for ~~the~~ Astronaut Aldrenⁿ outside the space capsule, walking in space and working with tools in space. And I called the Astronauts Lovell and Aldren aboard the Wasp and I had a great visit with them. I met these men before, and one of the joys of my ~~republic~~ life is working with these space program and personnel, and I ~~walked~~ talked to both of them, and when I had Lovell on the phone, whom I know quite well, I said "You know, you have been traveling a lot." He said, "Oh, yes;" as a matter of fact, you remember he had 14 days in space and then 4 more; it gives him 18 days in space flight. I said, "You've been traveling a graat deal." He said, "Yes. And I notice, Mr. Vice President, that you have been traveling quite

a bit, too." "Yes," I said, "you've been traveling in space, which is strictly non-partisan. I have been traveling on earth. I want to tell you that your Tuesday is a lot better than mine. I want you to know that. Your splashdown came off just fine, and mine didn't do so good." These are remarkable people. Maybe some of you have noticed, and I hope that my friends that work with me have that little seal up here. I gather they do. They generally do. And if they do, I think it is about time I talked to any presiding officer that there may be, any speaker of the Legislative Branch, or any presiding officer of the Senate of any state legislature, about this seal. Vice Presidents never had a seal until about 1947. As a matter of fact, there was some questions as to whether or not they ought to have Vice Presidents. John Adams once said it was either nothing or everything. We even had some vice presidents--they never ever turned up for the job. I guess those were the happiest ~~Vice~~ Presidents--the ones *who had* *President's* that didn't come around. But, in 1947, I believe it was, they decided that Vice Presidents should have a flag. They could feel reasonably patriotic and comfortable. And then they decided also that he should have a seal, and it was just about that same period of time that they decided he should be a member of the Cabinet and a member of the National Security Council. Now, when you make a man a member of the Cabinet and a member of the National Security Council, he does get to thinking he amounts to something and the office takes on new dignity, and he even gets illusions of power. But the Congress, like you good distinguished legislators, immediately rectify that situation. They don't let it get out of hand at all. I think there must have been executive intervention at about this point. And they gave the Vice President a seal. Now, you have maybe

noticed the presidential seal, the American eagle that looks like he's been drinking Geritol and eating vitamins. His wings are up there, his feathers are shining, his eyes sparkle, and he has--when you look at it--there is the eye of the eagle turned towards the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ claws that have the olive branches. That ^{pe}presents America's commitment to Peace. Then, of course, in the other claws there are the arrows, representing America's preparedness, providing for the common defense, and that Presidential Eagle--that Presidential Seal--really sends you. It is something. It is power. It represents authority. There it is. There is the Commander-in-Chief, and that Eagle is taking off, you can plainly see it. Have you ever looked at the Vice Presidential Seal? Now, it is a nice seal, I want you to know that. But, after they made the Vice President a member of the Cabinet and the National Security Council, they said, STOP, LOOK AND LISTEN. Mainly, STOP. They have that poor little eagle looking like he just needed some motherly care. There he is, with his wings down, not too many feathers, looking slightly undernourished, and you notice over that one claw, only one little olive branch. That is all. Just one. The wings down, looking like he's set for a crash-landing any moment. And over in that other set of claws, just one arrow. But I want you to know, I'm saving it.

So, fellow legislators, let's unite. As the presiding officer of the United States Senate, this vice presidential office is the most unique in the history of government. It is hybrid. It is part Executive and it is part Legislative. And now, for a moment of seriousness, let me tell you that I think at long last, this office is coming into its own, where we have many duties to perform and many responsibilities. But of all the

responsibilities, and all of the duties, none is more important to me and none more satisfying than being back there in the United States Senate, presiding over that body. I know every Senator better than their wives know them, I want you to know, and I want to testify that they are fine men, as long as they will say the same thing about me under these circumstances. But, indeed they are. I have said many a time that I have never known people that were more dedicated to public life and public service and public good as a group and as individuals, or that work harder or give more of themselves, than the members of the Congress of the United States. And I am sure this applies with equal truth to members of our State Legislatures. In fact, you do not have many of the opportunities ^{and} in many of the services which are made available to members of the Congress of the United States.

Ben Franklin once said that, when he signed the Declaration of Independence, and a little bit later he repeated it, which history doesn't fully record, when he was there at the Constitutional Convention, that we must all hang together or assuredly we would hang separately. Those were the concluding remarks of the memorable address I was about to deliver, and I decided to use that as my text, because it is my view that the heart and very spirit of representative government is in the Legislative body. This is not to detract from the functions of the Executive or of the Judicial. Because the balance which our forefathers provided in that great insight into human relations which is Constitutional Government in this country, is one of the most, one of the unique accomplishments of history. Sometimes you must wonder, and I am sure you all have as I have, how did they figure it all out? How did they know so well what to do? And I think what they knew was what experience has now taught us, that the American people do like balance. The American people are revolutionaries in onesense, but they also believe

in moderation. Revolutionaries in the sense that they want to go ahead. They believe in self-improvement. They have almost a child-like faith in the progress of their country, and they back that up with deeds. But they also know that power is corruptible, and corrupts. As Lord Ackton has said, which is repeated so often, it is almost trite. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. But may I say also, that the absence of power used for public good can be corrupting, too. And my friends of the Legislative body, it is imperative for the good of this Republic that at every State level, and the National level, and every city in every area of this country, that the Legislative Branch of government service equip itself to exercise the power that it ought to exercise. It will do you very little good to complain about the ever-growing power of the Executive Branch if you just complain. What you need to do is to remember that that Executive Branch in the main cannot do anything without your appropriations. That Executive Branch mainly has the power that you grant it, and the real enemy of the Legislative Branch of government in Congress and in State Legislatures is the legislature itself. It just doesn't take care of itself.

Now, it was said tonight that we are with a group of politicians. I am one of them, and I am proud of it. I don't happen to think that the word "politician" is a word of derision. I don't think you have to feel downgraded because somebody called you a politician, because in a democracy, in a nation that believes in representative government, to be a politician is to be the people's servant. Thomas Jefferson once said that the only legitimate objective of government is the health and well-being and the welfare of the people. And of course, all he was saying was whether the two mandates of the Federal Constitution, and really the mandates of the

Federal Constitution come from States themselves, and those two mandates are to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare. Everything else from there on out is optional. There is not a single other requirement of Constitutional Government. Did you know that? Nothing else is required of it. (END OF TAPE 1)

Everything else you can avoid, you can put off. The only two directives of the Constitution of the United States provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Now, we all have our ideas how we promote the general welfare. That's what we need. That's what we mean by individual freedom. That's what we mean by choice, but we have the obligation to provide for the general welfare. No matter how you approach it, that obligation is still there. We have the obligation to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare--to promote it. That doesn't mean provide it. I want to make that clear. But promote it, and to provide for the common defense. And the man who is unwilling to do that, or a legislator that is unwilling to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense has no business taking oath of office. Because those two provisions are in every State constitution without exception and they are in the Federal Constitution.

So we have a common purpose, whether at the Federal level or at the State level, or the Federal level or the local level--to promote the general welfare. Now, I don't happen to believe in the welfare state. I know a number of people who talk about this. I happen to believe that the purpose of government is to help remove the impediment to human betterment, not to make sure that everybody has it easy, but to make sure that everybody has a chance.

So, I would say, that the kind of state that we envision, or the kind of society that we envision is not one in which everyone is protected but

rather in which everyone is given opportunity to make something out of his or her life.

How can we best do that? We try. We are a pragmatic people. We-- I'm not much for dogma or doctrine. Dogmas and doctrines and politics get you in a lot of trouble because this is a rapidly changing society. And my goodness, what a rapidly changing world. I wish I could take the time to let you in on some of my experiences in these areas of science and technology. This morning I met with 17 of our scientific attaches that are assigned to 17 great countries across this world. I am the author, the author of the amendment to a law that directed the Executive Branch to appoint science attaches. Science and technology today is not merely for ~~scientists~~ scientists. It affects the whole public policy. Our scientists today have a chance to work with the academic and the intellectual community in nations all over the world. Science and technology today will tell us really what is going to happen to us in the days ahead. Therefore, we need to bring the scientist and technician, the engineer in the orbit of human relations. Now, public policy. I jokingly say that the Congress--everytime it gives an assignment to the Vice President--makes him wonder why he is around. By statute I am the Chairman of the Space Council, required to coordinate all of the space activities in defense, in NASA, in Atomic ~~Energy~~ Energy, and all of our international space activities. It is a great assignment. You don't read much about it because it is a highly classified assignment, and as a Coordinator, you don't exactly become the greatest hot item in politics, you know. I think you have learned that, some of you. But it is a wonderful rewarding experience. So I am assigned the responsibility

for our space activities. Only recently, about 5 months ago, I was made Chairman of the Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development which is a long way of saying Oceanography. You notice that every time Congress assigns me something, it is either out of this world or at the bottom of the seas. Now, some people read something into that. I refuse to do so, although I have a sneaking idea of what they mean.

But, really, we are living in a time that is incredibly--that is moving with incredible pace. About a month ago, I stood up in the Smithsonian Institution for the Collier Trophy Awards. This is in the field of Aeronautics. And there was the first space capsule. The first space capsule, my fellow Americans, as a museum piece. And how old do you think it is? Five years old and it is in the museum. John Glenn's first space capsule. We travel literally hundreds of hours, thousands of hours in space since then. Far more than any other nation.

And then, just a little ways down, the aisle, was the first computer that has revolutionized industry--in management and education. All that modern science and technology today in many ways is based upon the computer. How old do you think the first one is? ~~Sixty years~~ Sixteen years. Sixteen years there has been more progress in the last 66 years than in the preceding 10,000. You know all that. Now science isn't something that affects scientists. It affects you, because you are the legislators that formulate public policy to deal with the problems that emanate from these radical changes in our technology. Of all the people that ought to know about automation, I am talking to them tonight. What its impact is. Because automation which frightened many people only a few years ago when the word came into common parlance, automation is literally

changing the whole pattern of living in America. When I think of communications satellites, let me just tell you.

There are many legislators here tonight who are appropriating, working and legislating for millions and billions of dollars for higher education. It is in your hands. Despite all the Federal aid, you really do most of it. My dear friends, within five years, higher education will be based around the communications satellite. Are you ready for it? Do you realize that within a decade we will be holding international seminars in your state university, in your college, in your town, in your state, in which there will be 20 or 30 world-famed scientists, philosophers, teachers, with instantaneous translation, educating your children or your grandchildren in your university? You will not even be paying for those teachers. That will be a blessing for a change. That's one appropriation you will not have to make, but literally, communications satellite, which today is the hottest item in international diplomacy--if anyone asks you what is the No. 1 concern of all nations today in international diplomacy--I just told you. Because every nation on the face of the earth knows that communications from here on out will not be by cable alone, not by wireless alone, but will be by communications satellite. The Japanese, the Russians, the Yugoslavs, the French, the British, the Germans, the Italians, all of them are at this very minute, even as I speak to you, meeting about how they are going to meet the needs of communications for national security, for diplomacy, for foreign policy, and for education, and for industry. The whole area of higher education will be revolutionized by COMSAT and something else like it. Ten years from now--you better go back home and think what you are going to do about it. What is its impact going to be

on your university system, your higher education system. Are you going to be the first one ready for it? How is your educational TV? Because if you haven't got it, you are not ready for it, you are going to be so far behind that you will wonder what hit you. It is going to happen like that. One day you are going to wake up and wonder what in the world took place? Why do my kids--why do all the youngsters from my state want to go to State X? I'll tell you why. Because they are ready for it.

This good man, who is your Past President, and still President, Jess Unruh, can tell you that one of the secrets of California's success is its fabulous educational structure. It started early and continues. So you see, change is upon us. This is why we need a partnership, and I am here not to ask that we have a truce between Federal and State government because there really should never have been an argument between us; I served as a Mayor of a city of half a million. I will let you in on a secret. My number one enemy was then the Legislature. Let's face it. That's a fact. If my men friends from Minnesota are here, I want to repeat it. It was. I had to live as the Mayor of Minneapolis with a charter that was older than a livery stable. And I couldn't even burn it down. It's harder to amend ^{the charter} than it is to get into the gates of heaven. It's rather hard for a politician, I will tell you that.

City charters. Now who makes possible city charters? You do. The cities are the creatures, the counties are the creatures of the state. Who is the governing body of the state? The legislature. You know just as well as I do--I am here leveling with you here tonight--I just threw the prepared speech right out. It's all in there someplace, so if the press is worried about it all, all the thoughts are in there. But I came here to talk to you

as a friend. Listen, my dear friends, 85% of the people of the United States are going to live in the cities in the next 20 years. I don't exactly like the ideas, but that is the way it appears now unless you are willing to help do something about it to get the migration back.

I spoke just the other night in St. Paul, Minnesota, on the importance of making our rural communities attractive, as these youngsters of ours are not going to live there unless they are attractive, and you know it. They are not going to farm if they can make more money as a day laborer at the filling station. They are going to want to have a place to send their children to school. They are going to want colleges and universities. And they are going to want beautiful buildings, and they are going to want parks, and they are going to want a lot of things, because they can get it in many of the big cities. So they think. They don't always get it, but they think so. It always looks a little better.

All over the world, this is the picture, my dear friends. If I could take you to Lima, Peru, tonight I could show you ~~50~~ 100,000 people who come from the highlands to the cities' suburbs and they thought it was going to be better. There they are, without water and sometimes without food, and without sanitation and without housing. But they left the Andes and came down. You know it and I know it. That is what is happening. What are we going to do about that?

* Washington, D. C. can't do all of it. We have to do it, ^{together,} I am here to talk about a partnership, and if we are going to have a partnership, let's make sure that everybody is prepared to carry his share of the load, and not only that, but strong enough so that he is respected. The Federal Government is one partner. This partnership concept does not mean that the Federal Government should dominate. It means that the Federal Government should cooperate. It

doesn't mean the Federal Government should in a sense assimilate. It means that it should stimulate, and coordinate. This is the new concept of government and we are [happy with] just ^{beginning} ~~experimenting~~ with it. Every once in awhile I have a reporter say to me, well define it more precisely. I said, "Look, politics has no precise definitions. Politics is the life of the people. We learn by doing." You know it as well as I do, experiment. That is the way we perfect legislation. I used to say in Congress, when you introduced a bill, if it came out with your name on it you were lucky. And you know that is right. By the time the boys get through working it over, and when you get the ladies in, you are lucky to have your name on it.

Every piece of legislation is a compromise. Every bit of it is an adaptation and adjustment, but I must say, that] We need to make sure that this partnership that we have is a partnership for modern government. [The role of the Federal Government not to ~~predominate~~, but to cooperate, to stimulate, to coordinate. Some people call this creative federalism. That doesn't have much sex appeal. That isn't my idea of the most catchy phrase that you can bring up in modern politics, but it means something. We have the Federal system, and that Federal system has been eroded, Ladies and Gentlemen, and it has been eroded with more and more power going to the Federal Government not merely because the Federal Government can tax. You know that. And it can. But because many a state government just ~~did not~~ put its house in order. And that is a fact.

I don't expect to walk out of here the most popular speaker you have had tonight, but I expect to walk out of here telling you a good deal of truth. Vice Presidents don't survive long anyhow, so I thought I would just get in the business tonight and let you have it.

Now, ^Jthis concept of creative federalism is not to prop up ^J. It is not designed to prop up ^J weak and obsolete state and local government. ^J If that is the case then it is a waste of money. There are 14 hundred separate governing jurisdictions in the Metropolitan area of New York City. Now, how do you coordinate with them? Will you tell me? I have been in this government business a long time. I was a teacher of government, I've been a practioner of government, I've been a county chairman, a precinct worker, a party organizer, a mayor, I've done every chore that you can think of in government and I think I've learned a little ^J Not much, but maybe a little. ^J And when I hear about all the bureaucracy of the Federal Government, and we sure have some of it, and when I hear about all the duplication and all the overlapping, all I want to say is join the Lodge, Boys, because back home you've got plenty of it, too, and you know it. And the purpose of the Federal Government is not to bail out obsolescence. We do a lot of it, but we are not going to do it any longer because we cannot afford it.

I said to a group of Cabinet officers only two days ago--I said we are going to do something in Oceanography, and this is a great thing, by the way. Food from the sea. Mining the shelf--the Continental Shelf. Oil wells, fuels, fantastic things, the study of the weather. We are going to do things. We are going to spend--we are going to change and we are going to spend--but we are not going to spend any more money this year than we did two years ago, but we are going to spend it for different purposes, so get ready to eliminate things that you ought to have eliminated a decade ago. I am in charge here, boys, and when this budget comes in--if you want to try something new, well get rid of the old covered wagon

because if you have got one left, take it over to the Smithsonian. Don't try to keep running it on the highway. We are not going to pay for it. And that is the way it has to be.

We are having to close up Federal establishments. We are having to close up Federal research offices that were no longer needed, and we had to do it at every level of government. Because people can only pay for so much. } Creative federalism means modernizing government-- Federal, State and local. It means local initiative. It means [if you please--] getting ~~back to the problems~~ at the problems where the people are. [Now] Where are these problems? [All of these things that these Washingtonians talk about? Where are they?] Where are the problems of the big city--not just in Washington. They are in your state. The problems of the so-called urban ghetto. The problems of rural poverty. They are not ^{just} here in the District of Columbia. They are out where you live. Where are the problems of parking and transportation and communication and air pollution? They are not just here. These are your problems. They are not only yours, they are ours because this is one nation. And all I am trying to say to you is , when you have these problems, we can't get at them at the nation's capital. We can get at them in part from here. We can set standards. We can train technicians. We can provide technicians. We can have grants in aid [and we will get to that in just a moment] but ultimately, if there ^{are} ~~is~~ going to be better schools, they will be in your state and in your town, under your leadership with your initiative. If there is going to be better housing it will have to be where your people live and where you live in your state and in your town. And if the air is to be cleaned [as a matter of fact there is far less air pollution over Washington despite all the gases that are let off around here, than there are in many other places] and if we are going to

have pollution controlled, { with the exception of the Potomac which sets the national example of how you can really pollute a river, } we are going to start to clean it where you live. *

Now, this all gets down to what we call, a partnership concept of Federal, State and local government, with private industry. Do you know what the secret of success of the space program is? Do you know why we are able to have 12 Gemini shots and not one failure? Because the Federal government didn't do it alone. Because the State governments didn't do it alone, even though their universities cooperated. Because industry didn't do it alone. And you know why the United States of America today is out in front in the space effort? Because we put together a team-- Federal, industry, university, public and private--a working team. Every state that is represented here tonight can have that kind of a team at your university. You can have Federal grants to your universities. The new power is brain power. The new wealth is intelligence. And what I am saying to you is--intergovernmental cooperation is no longer a slogan, it is a necessity. Absolute necessity. I was one of the authors of one of the original intergovernmental relations commission. I served on the _____ Commission. I am one of the two sponsors of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations with Ed Muskie of Maine who is one of the truly fine, outstanding United States Senators that sponsored that legislation.

What do we do then to strengthen the fabric of representative government at the state level? First of all, we have to buckle down to having adequate personnel for your legislature. I remember one day here years ago, when we totaled up the appropriation bills that were coming to the

Appropriations Committee and I served on the Appropriations Committee. It didn't take me long to find out where the power was. It took me a little while to get there but it didn't take me long to find out where it was. And I got on the Appropriations Committee and you'd be surprised how quickly the Cabinet officers started remembering your first name. And they were interested in how your wife was feeling, how the children are doing, and how is your mother, and all sorts of things. And all I can say is that I found at that time that the United States Senate Appropriations Committee, ^{it} had a total staff--clerks, technicians and all--of 26 people. Every department came down with about 1,000 ready to take them on. The Federal Government spent hundreds of thousands of dollars to present its appropriation request. There sat a few Senators--the 26 included doorkeepers, telephone operators, there were about 6 technicians--and we sat there and were literally overwhelmed by the unbelievable power of the Executive Branch of the government coming in with their requests. And you are supposed to be smart enough to take on the whole Defense Department with one staff man, 2 staff men? Listen, if you had half the Army, you still were having trouble. You are supposed to take on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with billions of dollars of requests, and my dear friends, in every state legislature, it is the same thing. So what is my message to you? Equip yourself and give a good accounting of yourself. Staff yourself. Provide competent salaries, decent salaries for yourselves and your staff. They are not going to think any less of you.

If you want people to think you are a \$3,000 a year man, go ahead. People know that they get what they pay for these days. It is my view

that people will respect us a great deal more if you do a real job and you ask to be compensated for doing a real job, and staff your Committees to do the jobs for the people.

(May I make one more suggestion. The Eagleton Institute, that our friend Jess is so closely associated with as a Professor. That is why I call him Professor. Don Hersberg is a ~~professor~~ Director. He does a remarkable job. This is a research institute in many ways, but do you know what gives the Congress of the United States some control, some balance with the Executive Branch? What we call the Legislative Reference Service.

(My present Director of the National Oceanographic Council was the Science Legislative Reference Service Specialist. I had a hard time getting him. The Congress didn't want to let him go. But we have pooled up in the government, the Library of Congress, so that it is the brain trust for the Congress, and I suggest as a practical proposal for the legislative leaders--get yourself a National Legislative Research Service that you can tap in for anyone of you. You can do it among your several states. *

Now, I know the hottest item is all this business about revenue. What is it that makes for good government? I said, when I was teaching, good people and money. And both of them are required. And I think we are getting better people in our state governments all the time. And better people in our local governments. But one of the great needs, and I can tell you, I listened to the hearings down here before the Ribicoff Committee. They were excellent hearings on our cities. I heard mayors come in and say, "We need 50 billion dollars." I heard somebody else, "we need 100 billion dollars." That really didn't take much research.

Anybody can ask for money. But I want to say right now that if we could give the cities 50 billion dollars, they don't have the personnel to handle it and spend it in a way that wouldn't get them all in jail. Right now.

And I speak as a mayor and most mayors know that. It takes planning. It takes personnel. It takes a program. It takes a designed policy. Don't misunderstand me. Our cities desperately need help and I don't know whether they need 50 billion dollars or 100 billion dollars, one man said 250 billion dollars. He went the whole way. But whatever amount it is they need, the important thing is management. We found this out in foreign aid. Do you know the greatest weakness of foreign aid is? It isn't the amount that we give, the countries. It isn't that little piddling waste that some people talk about. The greatest danger in foreign aid is the inadequacy of management at the host country, the recipient country. They just don't have the management to use in many places. So we have to spend time training a civil servant, training engineers, training managers, and this is why we are incorporating more and more in our foreign aid, private business in America. Putting our private businessmen to work training people so that when they get the loan from the United States, your money, that they know what to do with it. I am unalterably opposed to just dishing it out and if this makes me a conservative, I am conservative. I want to make it clear right now.

But I am very much for putting out the help if people are ready to use it because there are unbelievable needs in this country. Now, we talk about revenue sharing. Seventeen per cent of the more than 90 billion

dollars of state and Federal, and state and local monies today comes from Federal grants and aids. I am not at all sure that our present Federal grant and aid program is what it should be. In fact, as a former member of the Senate, I studied it a great deal. I think there is a lot to be found in it. A lot found wanting, I should say. But I can tell you that the Congress of the United States is looking into it. I had a man from the Executive Branch say to me the other day, "I'm worried about the study that is being made up there in Congress." I said, "I'm not." I want to tell you something--the Congress makes sure the Executive Branch does its job. I know that every member of the Executive Branch wants to do a good job. I think that they are the most selfless people that I have ever met, and they do a tremendous job. But this is an unbelievably large government, and one of the purposes of the committees and the sub-committees with any legislative assembly is to--not to obstruct--it shouldn't be--but to refine, to interrogate, to investigate. For what purpose? Greater efficiency. Better use of the resources--human, physical, and financial.

I gather you had several speeches about my friend, Walter Heller, and his plan. Well, I think Walter Heller is a very bright man. I can honestly tell you that I introduced him to the late President Kennedy. He was the Dean of the School of Economics of the University of Minnesota. He's been my friend for years. * But whether it's the Heller Plan or ^{someone else's} whether it is Jess's plan, or George's plan, ^{Plan,} or the Vice President's plan, the important thing is "What are we going to do with it when we get it?" [Now, your government has not turned its thumbs down on any revenue-sharing plan.

I think you ought to know so that we don't get into a big to-do about it.]
Your government, your president, and your Executive Branch, and your
Congress is taking a look at every one of these proposals that are being
made today to strengthen the monetary, financial resources of state and
local government. It is imperative. You cannot have an equal partner
if one is anemic, ^{because it} [and financial anemia, economic anemia] destroy, the meaning
of Federalism. [So without coming to you and saying, it is going to be
this way, or that way, all I can tell you is that when the time comes,
we can take a look at that patch structure once again, so we can pay our
Federal bills, and the international and terribly, difficult international
commitments that we presently have. When that time comes,] We are [going to]
take ^{in?} a good, solid, hard, constructive look,--healthy look--at how we can
do a better job with state and local government.] But we are going to have
mayors asking us, my dear fellow legislators, because I still consider
myself one as presiding officer of the Senate.] My fellow legislators, we
are going to have mayors saying to us--are you going to give [Federal
sharing--that is, sharing of] Federal revenues to the State without any
standards for local governments? Are you going to give Federal sharing
of revenues to the State without any uniform standards as to efficiency,
and the use of that money? These are the questions we will have to answer.
I leave you with this thought. *

We have just issued a new Executive Order, which requires that all
the great so-called Great Society programs, before they are ^{applied} ~~acted~~ and
initiated, must have panels of State and local representatives to work
out the refinements for the application of those programs. Now that
Executive Order primarily relies upon the Governors of the several states
to appoint those panels. May I say that I had something to do with

encouraging that Order. ¹* In my liaison role with local government officials, I went to the President some time ago and said, "Mr. President, we need greater participation of our local government people." ²* Farris Bryant, the former Governor of the State of Florida, as you know, is one of the President's advisors on State Government matters, in charge of the Office of Emergency Planning ³* Management. We want to see local government, state government, people brought in more closely to these Federal establishments and to these Federal programs because they can't work out of Washington. And the greatest thing that I think is happening in government the last few years is the State Legislative Leaders Conference. And I will tell you why.

Because we can't do things here in Washington unless you are in tune with us in your state. We need to learn from each other. I don't think Washington is always right. And I don't think that you feel that you are always right. What we need to do is start to get on the same wave length. ⁴* And everyone of us legislators know that we have to make adjustments to each other. You never get it your way exactly. One of the great qualifications--one of the essential qualifications of a good legislator--is to learn how to compromise without the loss of principle. How to make adjustments without losing purpose. And I think if we can continue these meetings, and we can have a sharing of thought between those of us here at the Federal level and you at the State Legislative level, that we can come out actually and visit with you at your legislatures about the programs, about the innumerable programs, aid to education, the poverty program, the pollution program, the conservation programs, all of these many programs, I think we will have a better working government because the government of the people, by the people, and for the people is you,

it is the mayor, the county commissioner, the county judge, the councilmen, the governor, the congressman, the representative, the senator, the President, and yes, even the Vice President.

Thank you very, very much.

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President. May I just say, in closing out this 1966 Annual Convention of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders, again how much of a pleasure it has been for me to be your presiding officer this last year, and leave on a note which we do not generally refer to, but since I feel there is some necessity for encouragement to my own party, may I just leave you Republicans with this disquieting thought that we have Hubert Humphrey, and you Democrats and all Americans with the quieting thought that all of us have Hubert Humphrey. The meeting stands adjourned.



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