m chick a street REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

> WASHINGTON, D. C. APRIL 5, 1971

Bunton

"CREATIVE FEDERALISM"--STILL THE BEST.

PRESIDENTS KENNEDY AND JOHNSON DECLARED "CREATIVE FEDERALISM" TO BE ONE OF THE FIRST PRIORITIES OF THEIR ADMINISTRATIONS, AND THEY WORKED TO MAKE THIS DECLARATION ARS SAW THE BEGINNINGS OF A REALITY. A HOST OF COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS -- PROGRAMS THAT TODAY, DESPITE FINANCIAL MALNUTRITION PRESCRIBED BY THE ADMINISTRATION, DEMONSTRATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CONCERTED EFFORTS EFFORTS OF FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENTS.

The DEMONSTRATE SE PROGRAMS - Crisso ERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS CAN AND MUST WORK TOGE THAT WE AFFORD THE "COMPARTMENTED FEDERALISM" OF NO 10 THE REPUBLICAN YEARS IMMEDIATELY PRECEEDING PRESIDENT KENNEDY. THIS WAS NOT FEDERALISM. IT WAS, TO USE PRESENT REPUBLICAN MILTARY JARGON, NOT A FEDERAL RETREAT FROM CLEAR GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES. IT WAS A "STAGED, STRATEGIC WITHDR and I DON'T LIKE THE PROPOSED NEW FORM OF FEDERALISM SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING.

FIRST OF ALL, IT'S NOT NEW, IT'S IN THE SAME

PATTERN OF THE 1950'S. SECOND, IT'S A PLANNED

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DISMANTLEMENT OF EVERYTHING THAT DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS AND CONGRESS BATTLED TO ACHIEVE OVER THE LAST 30 YEARS. DON'T GET ME WRONG. I SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF GENERAL REVENUE-SHARING FUNDS OVER AND ABOVE ALL PRESENT GRANTS. AS YOU KNOW CONGRESSMAN REUSS AND I HAVE OUR OWN BILL ON REVENUE SHARING, BUT I DON'T WANT TO SEE EVERYTHING YOU AND I HAVE WORKED FOR OVER THE YEARS SWEPT AWAY IN THE NAME OF "SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING," OR "REORGANIZATION,"

COUNTY ADMINISTRATORS AND LEADERS HAVE STUDIED THOSE SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING PACKAGES VOU KNOW THESE PLANS DISSOLVE LINES DELINEATING VARIOUS FEDERAL-LOCAL - 4 -

COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS, AND WHEN YOU LOOK AT TOTAL FUNDING BEFORE CONSOLIDATION AND THEN LOOK AT IT AFTER, YOU SEE CLEARLY THE REAL MEANING OF "SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING." IT MEANS TAKING MONEY YOU ALREADY HAVE AWAY FROM YOU AND THEN GIVING LESS OF IT BACK TO YOU STRIPPED OF CAREFULLY WORKED OUT PRIORITIES AND FUNDING ALLOCATIONS. L DON'T BE TEMPTED BY THE PROMISE OF MORE TO SPEND, WE BOTH KNOW THIS WILL NOT BE THE CASE, WE SAME BLOC GRANT CONSOLIDATIONS GRADUALLY TRIMMED BACK. TAKE A LOOK AT THE ADMINISTRATION'S PRESENT RECORD OF IMPOUNDING FUNDS ACTUALLY APPROPRIATED BY THE CONGRESS AND MAKE YOUR OWN JUDGMENT.

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AS OF FEBRUARY 23, 1971 THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH HAD IMPOUNDED \$11,145,000,000, THIS IS MONEY THAT THE CONGRESS HAS DECLARED SHOULD BE EXPENDED DURING FISCAL 1971. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT DONE SO, I WON'T GO INTO THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS OF IMPOUNDMENT HERE. BUT IN THIS TIME OF PRESSING NEEDS AND SCARCE RESOURCES, WHEN CONGRESS APPROPRIATES FUNDS FOR VARIOUS PROGRAMS, THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD REALIZE THOSE APPROPRIATIONS ARE PRETTY CLOSE TO BARE-BONES AND SHOULD EXPEND ALL THE FUNDS, S. PARTICULARI 1271-THEY HAVE BEEN CONVERTED TO DEFICIT FINANCING UNDER THE NEW NAME OF "FULL EMPLOYMENT BUDGET."

IN SPECIFICS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS WITHHELD

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\$200 MILLION FOR URBAN RENEWAL:

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\$200 MILLION FOR WATER AND SEWER GRANTS:

\$192.5 MILLION FOR LOW RENT PUBLIC HOUSING;

\$732.1 MILLION FOR MODEL CITIES PROGRAMS.

THAT IS A TOTAL OF \$1.324.600.000 BEING WITHHELD JUST BY THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT. THIS IS UNCONSCIONABLE. WE ARE FALLING CONTINUALLY BEHIND OUR GOAL OF 2.6 MILLION HOUSING UNITS PER YEAR. AND YET THE DEPARTMENT CHARGED WITH OVERSEEING THAT OUR NATIONAL HOUSING NEEDS ARE MET -- THE DEPARTMENT THAT SHOULD BE

201330 - 7 -IS SITTING ON OVER \$1.3 BILLION DOLLARS -- AND THAT IS JUST FOR ONE FISCAL YEAR. L THAT'S THE RECORD ON H.U.D. LNOW ADD BILLIONS WITHHELD FROM SCHOOL MILK PROGRAMS, COMMUNITY EDUCATION, REGIONAL MEDICAL PROGRAMS, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS, CONSERVATION AND RECLAMATION AND THE LIST GOES ON AND ON AND ON. ALA KENNEDY AND JOUNSON IS MUST FIGHT 10 WARMAN PUSHING FOR SPECIAL REVENUE SHARING -- THEY ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO FOUGHT TOOTH AND NAIL TO PREVENT THESE SAME PROGRAMS

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FROM SEEING THE LIGHT OF DAY , A PON'S WANT MY

LEGISLATIVE CHILDREN HANDED OVER, IN ADOLESCENCE,

TO THOSE THAT TRIED TO PREVENT THEIR BIRTH.

THE COUNTY IS THE BASIC BUILDING BLOCK OF MANY OF THE NEW FRONTIER AND GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS YOU KNOW WHAT THEIR DISMANTLEMENT OR DEBILITY WILL MEAN TO THE PEOPLE THESE PROGRAMS SERVE. YOUR ORGANIZATION MUST SPEAK OUT LOUDLY AND CLEARLY. GET TOGETHER, FIND OUT WHAT THIS NEW "COMPARTMENT FEDERALISM" IS GOING TO COST YOU. DON'T TAKE STATEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN AT FACE VALUE. AND DON'T EXPECT TO GET EVER THING THEY INSIST THEY ARE GOING TO GIVE YOU. AS

IN TESTIMONY BEFORE THE JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS, I DISCUSSED SOME OF MY THINKING ABOUT GENERAL REVENUE SHARING. / I STATED THAT I SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF REVENUE SHARING AND WOULD WORK WITH ANYONE TO SEE THAT STATES AND LOCALITIES RECEIVE CRITICALLY NEEDED FEDERAL FUNDS -- FUNDS TO HELP THEM STAY ALIVE. OUR CITIES ARE DYING AND OUR STATE AND COUNTY GOVERNMENTS ARE IN CONSTANT FISCAL CRISIS. THEY-YOU-NEED MONEY AND EVERYTHING I CAN TO SEE THAT NEED IT NOW. YOU GET THESE GENERAL REVENUE-SHARING FUNDS, TRATION RIDL. THEY CAN CALL IT THE NIXON-HUMPHREY DILL IF THEY SO DESIRE.

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I DEMONSTRATED EARLIER, THEIR RECORD SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

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ONE OF THE SUGGESTIONS, I MADE WAS THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO A LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE THAT COMBINES REVENUE-SHARING WITH A PHASED BUT COMPLETE FEDERALIZATION OF WELFARE FUNDING ACROSS THE NATION. THIS WOULD BE FAIR TO BOTH TYPES OF JURISDICTIONS. COUNTIES AND SOME LARGE CITIES CARRY AN EXTREMELY HEAVY WELFARE BURDEN AND WOULD BE HELPED SUBSTANTIALLY BY FEDERALIZATION. OTHER JURISDICTIONS WOULD BE HELPED THROUGH THE REVENUE SHARING PART OF THE PACKAGE. BOTH NEED HELP AND BOTH WOULD RECEIVE THE SPECIAL FISCAL AID THEY REQUIRE.

CHAIRMAN WILBUR MILLS, AND MEMBERS OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE HAVE PUT TOGETHER A TENTATIVE WELFARE - 11 - 361400

PACKAGE. IT INCLUDES GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME OF \$2400 FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR; FOOD STAMPS WOULD BE PHASED OUT IN FAVOR OF CASH PAYMENTS; MINIMUM PAYMENTS FOR INDIVIDUALS WOULD SCALE UP TO \$150 AND A COUPLE WOULD RECEIVE \$200 BY 1974; THE WORKING POOR WOULD BE COVERED AND THEIR TOTAL INCOME COULD REACH \$4,320 BEFORE THE \$720 WORK-SUPPLEMENT WOULD BE ERASED BY ACTUAL WORK INCOME; DAY CARE CENTERS WOULD BE PROVIDED FOR THE CHILDREN OF THOSE WORKING; AND UP TO 200,000 PUBLIC-SERVICE JOBS WOULD BE CREATED. THIS CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM WOULD SAVE THE STATES AND LOCALITIES APPROXIMATELY \$2.2 BILLION.

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I SUPPORT THIS APPROACH THOUGH I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A GRADUAL INCREASE IN TOTAL PAYMENTS TO MEET THE POVERTY LEVEL DEFINED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

TOTAL FEDERALIZATION OF ALL WELFARE, BOTH ADC AND ADULT PROGRAMS, IS OUR GOAL FOR THE EARLY '70'S BUT WE MUST ESTABLISH GOALS WITHIN WELFARE ADMINISTRATION ITSELF,

WE MUST DEVISE IMPROVEMENTS TO REMOVE ALL FOOD STAMPS AND SUBSTITUTE CASH -- PROVIDE CASH BENEFITS TO THOSE WHO ARE ELIGIBLE BUT CANNOT SECURE PUBLIC HOUSING --BRING TOTAL CASH PAYMENTS TO THE POVERTY LEVEL AND UPGRADE THIS WHEN NECESSARY -- REMOVE PRESENT CRUDITIES

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FROM WELFARE AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THOSE WHO HAVE NO REASONABLE CHANCE FOR ANOTHER TYPE OF LIFE, TO LIVE IN BASIC HUMAN DIGNITY. WE MUST NOT FANTASIZE. WELFARE WILL ALWAYS BE WITH US IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. LET US WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE IT GRANT BASIC DIGNITY TO THE RECIPIENT AND PEACE OF MIND TO THE TAXPAYER. THROUGH SIMPLICITY, EQUITY, ADEQUACY, AND DIGNITY. PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT IS PART OF THE TENTATIVE CONGRESSIONAL WELFARE PACKAGE. THE BILL WOULD PROVIDE ahr 200,000 JOBS. THE SENATE HAS JUST PASSED S.31, THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT ACT. I WAS AN ORIGINAL COSPONSOR OF THIS LEGISLATION AND THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES WAS ONE OF ITS ORIGINAL ENDORSERS, SHOULD THIS

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PASS THE HOUSE, WHICH I BELIEVE IT WILL, AND THE PRESIDENT RESISTS THE URGE TO VETO IT, WE WILL ADD ANOTHER 150,000 JOBS A TOTAL OF 350,000 UNEMPLOYED AMERICANS CAN THEN CONTRIBUTE TO OUR NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GROWTH IN SUCH AREAS AS HEALTH, EDUCATION, TRANSPORTATION, MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIC FACILITIES AND SERVICES, AND COMMUNITY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT. / IT IS WRONG TO CATEGORIZE THESE AS "MAKE WORK JOBS." WE ARE NOT MANUFACTURING THESE NEEDS. THEY ARE GLARING IN THEIR REALITY. WHAT WE ARE DOING BY THIS TYPE OF LEGISLATION IS TO MATCH THESE PRESSING NEEDS WITH PRESENTLY UNUSED MANPOWER. WE WILL BE

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PERMITTING THESE MEN AND WOMEN TO CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY AND RESTORE THEIR SENSE OF PRIDE IN A JOB WELL DONE -- IN A JOB THAT IS CRITICALLY NEEDED. WE HAVE TALKED OF WELFARE, AND REVENUE SHARING AND PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT, I SHOULD MAKE AN ASIDE HERE ABOUT THE TERMINATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON YOUTH OPPORTUNITY. WE FIND IN MARCH THAT UNEMPLOYMENT NATIONALLY HAS CLIMBED AGAIN TO_6%. UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG S 28%, 42% OF OUR YOUNG BLACKS ARE OUT OF WORK. THE SUMMER IS APPROACHING AND THE ADMINISTRATION TERMINATES A PROGRAM THAT WHEN I WAS VICE PRESIDENT ACCOUNTED FOR \$680 MILLION IN EXPENDITURES AND PROVIDED

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EMPLOYMENT FOR MORE THAN 871,000 POOR YOUTH. THESE YOUNG PEOPLE ARE YOURS. THEY LIVE IN YOUR COUNTIES. YOU KNOW HOW HARD AND SUCCESSFULLY GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS AND LABOR WORKED TO FIND JOBS FOR THESE YOUNG AMERICANS. WHAT ARE THEY GOING TO DO THIS SUMMER --A SUMMER WHEN THEIR FATHERS AND MOTHERS ARE ALSO OUT OF WORK -- HAVE LOST JOBS THAT DISSOLVED DURING THIS MANUFACTURED AND HEARTLESS RECESSION? I HOPE YOU HAVE SOME ANSWERS -- THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO HAVE NOTHING BUT TERMINATIONS ON ITS MIND.

PART OF THE HUMPHREY-REUSS BILL ON REVENUE SHARING DEALS WITH GOVERNMENTAL REFORM ON THE STATE AND LOCAL

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LEVEL. THE BILL CALLS FOR SUBMISSION OF A MASTER PLAN AND A SCHEUDLE FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. I HOPE THAT NACO WILL NOT ONLY COME RIGHT OUT AND ENDORSE THE BILL BUT WILL LOOK CAREFULLY AND POSITIVELY AT SOME OF THE SUGGESTED STRUCTURAL AND POLICY CHANGES RECOMMENDED.

I SPECIFICALLY WOULD LIKE TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS FOR COUNTY GOVERNMENTS. COUNTIES VARY GREATLY AS WE ALL KNOW. LOS ANGELES COUNTY IS VASTLY DIFFERENT FROM WESTCHESTER. COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS DIFFERS FROM NEWPORT COUNTY, RHODE ISLAND. HOWEVER, THERE ARE FOUR BASIC NEEDS THAT ALL COUNTIES HAVE IN COMMON.



1. MORE COUNTIES MUST JOIN TOGETHER IN PROVIDING tournels of Gout-SERVICES. MANY COUNTLES ION. TODAY MAINTAIN A STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT THAT WAS DESIGNED FOR THE DAY WHEN THE COUNTY SEAT WAS A DAY'S DRIVE FROM THE BOUNDARIES OF THE COUNTY AT IS OBVIOUSLY NO LONGER THE CASE AND YOU MUST CHANGE TO REFLECT THE REALITIES OF THE 1970'S AND THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE YOU SERVE SUCH MERGERS WOULD SERVE TO STRENGTHEN RATHER THAN WEAKEN COUNTY GOVERNMENT NATIONALLY, BOTH METROPOLITAN SPILL-OVER AND RURAL SPARSENESS CALL FOR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF MULTI-COUNTY MERGERS. .

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2. COUNTY BOARDS MUST BE APPORTIONED. THE COURTS HAVE APPLIED THE ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE PRINCIPLE. FAIR REPRESENTATION ON COUNTY BOARDS IS JUST AS ESSENTIAL AS IN OTHER LEGISLATIVE AND GOVERNING BODIES.

3. COUNTIES NEED INTERNAL REFORM AND REORGANIZATION. NEW PROBLEMS AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF THEIR ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS REQUIRE STRONG, PROFESSIONAL ADMINISTRATION. COUNTY BOARDS MUST IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH LOCAL ELECTED OFFICIALS AND BOTH, WORKING TOGETHER, SHOULD ESTABLISH AN EXECUTIVE POSITION FOR PROFESSIONAL MANAGEMENT and select OF THE COUNTY -- AN INDIVIDUAL SKILLED IN COUNTY ADMINISTRATION THOUGH STILL ACCOUNTABLE TO THE BOARD AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

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LASTLY, COUNTLES MUST BE FREED FROM THE 4. RESTRAINTS NOW PLACED ON THEIR ABILITY TO CONDUCT THEIR OWN AFFAIRS FFFICIENTLY AND WITH NECESSARY INDEPENDENCE. RESTRICTIONS ON YOUR AUTHORITY TO ACT, ON YOUR ABILITY to rane revenue Provide permises AND SPER AND ON YOUR ABILITY TO ORGANIZE YOURSELVES -- THESE ARE AREAS WHERE THE BONDS OF STATE LEGISLATION MUST BE EASED, LE COUNTIES ARE TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE 70'S AND 80'S. FEDERALISM IS NOT JUST FOR WASHINGTON.

BEFORE CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO MENTION THAT I AM CHAIRMAN OF THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE. WE NEED TO DEVELOP A

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NEW WAY OF THINKING ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF RURAL AMERICA. WE MUST ACHIEVE A NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AND COMMITMENT TO RESTORE THE ECONOMY AND THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT OF OUR NON-METROPOLITAN AREAS & WE MUST APPLY DESPERATELY NEEDED PREVENTIVE MEDICINE TO WHAT COULD BECOME TERMINAL ILLNESS FOR OUR CITIES LIFE SHOULD BE ATTRACTIVE ENOUGH IN RURAL AMERICA TO OFFER A TRULY REASONABLE ALTERNATIVE TO LIVING IN CITY OR SUBURD I WILL BE HOLDING HEARINGS THROUGHOUT THE NATION THIS YEAR. I INTEND TO FIND WAYS TO REVITALIZE RURAL AMERICA, THE CONTINUED ACCELERATION OF METROPOLITAN SPRAWL AND CONGESTION, COUPLED WITH THE RURAL POPULATION DECLINE AND RISE IN POVERTY WILL HAVE

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A DEVASTATING IMPACT UPON OUR HEALTH AND WELFARE, OUR ENVIRONMENT, OUR ECONOMY, OUR GOVERNMENT, AND OUR SOCIAL ORDER.

A VIABLE FEDERALISM -- A FEDERALISM BOTH CREATIVE AND COOPERATIVE. THIS IS OUR CHALLENGE -- TO MAKE THIS VENTURE WORK. OUR GOAL AND MOTTO MUST CONTINUE TO BE: "THE BEST POLITICS IS THE POLITICS OF SERVICE."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN -- THAT IS OUR POLITICS.

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