

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

August 18, 1971

Two weeks ago, when I spoke to a student group in Washington, I was asked, "How has Congress changed?"

I responded with observations on personalities, committees, and leadership.

But there is a more fundamental change.

Our country is going through a massive sorting out process -- we are re-examining our beliefs, our ways of doing things, our institutions, and our values.

This questioning, this concern is healthy -- for it can reinvigorate a nation with new purpose and direction.

At the same time, I am fearful that a complete turning inward will also turn our minds towards the past.

We cannot afford to devote our national intellectual power to dwelling on our yesterdays.

The importance of the past is found in the lessons to be learned. But, too often, dwelling on the past provides excuses for doing little about the present and hides and obscures the needs of the future.

It is more exciting to make our minds reach out, to imagine, to visualize the way life could be.

To create, to plan, to think ahead -- these are the challenges of our time. For, as John Galsworthy said, "If you do not think about the future, then you cannot have one."

What will our needs be in the future?

How will we mobilize resources to meet these needs?

And, what will be the consequences of policies we adopt today on the policies we must adopt tomorrow?

Together, state and federal governments must ask questions that have scarcely been addressed before.

Consider the needs in transportation, in energy, health care and education.

In the next decade, over \$35 billion will be required just for mass transit facilities. Many more billions are necessary to build highways, airports, seaports, and subways.

But, how many? And where?

And what will our energy needs be? Every night millions of Americans sleep under the threat of power blackouts, brownouts, and electrical rationing.

In the next fifteen years, our energy needs will be double those of today. And by the year 2000, Americans will be using 76 trillion hours of energy -- more than four times the present rate.

Where are we going to get that much energy? And what will the costs be -- on our environment, and on our way of living?

Consider population. Our population will reach 300 million in the year 2000. Where are these people going to live? Will we continue the same settlement patterns and policies that now mean that 70 percent of the people live on two percent of our land?

Will we as a nation continue to see 600,000 people a year migrate to the big cities -- adding to the crush of overcrowded, congested, and under-serviced metropolitan areas?

What are we going to do about our population problem? How will we meet the demand for housing and education?

What will the health care needs of our nation be ten years from now, or thirty years from now?

I am not just talking about the costs of health care -- I am talking about the actual delivery of services.

Our health care system today is muscle bound. Some areas of our cities and countryside get very inadequate care, while a favored few in our nation receive the best care in the world.

We must ask some basic questions: How many doctors will we need? How many nurses? How many hospitals -- and what kind -- neighborhood centers, medical clinics, specialized single disease treatment facilities?

And what about preventive care? Are we as a nation going to place all our resources into treatment? Why not focus on prevention?

What will our educational needs be in the next twenty years? Will our schools be able to offer the educational experience that will give students the ability to think, to maximize their potential?

And where will the educational focus be? I happen to believe that we must spend more of our educational dollar on developmental pre-school programs.

Research has shown that fifty percent of the total intellectual development of a child occurs before the age of five. What kinds of programs do we have to help the child in the early years -- the most inquisitive years? What about the rest of our population?

Estimates are that over 10 percent of the labor force in 1990 will be working on problems related to the environment. What is going on now in our educational institutions to prepare people for this work?

What I am asking is this: Is it sound policy for a nation of our size, our wealth, our potential, facing our responsibilities, to be without a progressive, effective social policy, a population policy, a communications policy, a health policy, an educational policy, an energy policy, or a financing policy?

I say it is not sound policy and it makes no sense.

We must ask how are we going to grow, how will we finance our growth, what kind of life we will have in the future, and what will be the role of state and local government in policy making?

Our nation must begin now to define and articulate a national growth policy.

It is time we had a statement of growth problems and goals -- a rational framework for the future, for thinking ahead instead of becoming the victims of the past.

A rational growth policy must have at least three elements: first, planning and organization; second, basic objectives; third, financing.

We must have adequate planning at all levels of government.

I believe we must establish a new national planning agency, directly responsible to the President, and composed of representatives from federal, state and local government.

This planning agency should have the broadest responsibilities -- to study, analyze and formulate population policy, energy policy, housing policy, education policy, health care policy, transportation policy -- in short, a human resource policy.

And we must have institutional structures capable of putting the plans into operation.

Planning without consultation, without development, without the ability to get things moving is useless.

In our state legislatures, this means more professionalism, more staff, better pay, more in-depth analysis, and up-to-date information systems.

The computer should not be the sole possession of finance and industry. It must be a tool to improve the efficiency and operations of government.

To put it bluntly, government is behind the times. We live in a technological age.

But our institutions of government are victims of the failure to change. Our institutions today are just moving into the 20th Century while our social and economic needs are running far ahead.

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I realize that many improvements have already come about. I applaud your efforts at modernization.

And I have seen the results: more and more state legislators are making their opinions, observations, and ideas felt in Washington.

You are being heard, and you are being effective.

I believe we should regularize this interchange between Congress and the legislatures.

I intend to propose legislation setting up a Joint Congressional-Legislative Council -- to be a continuing body in which Congressmen and legislators can meet on mutual problems, to provide a forum for new ideas, and to work together on mutual problems.

I also intend to propose regular meetings between the President and the 50 Governors, and between the President and his Cabinet officers and state legislators.

I am not talking about regional press conferences or social hours. I am talking about real working sessions.

This Council and these periodic meetings can be important tools for political leadership to harmonize and coordinate our vast governmental structure.

OBJECTIVES

Two objectives must be an integral part of national growthy policy

First, we must assure a floor of basic services for all of our citizens. We must guarantee that Americans in every part of our nation have adequate standards of education, health, and housing; and every other human need.

Second, we must make "freedom of residence" a reality for all. To live as a free people with free political institutions requires that we all be able to choose where we want to live.

That freedom is being denied today -- by technology, by confused national policies, and by the lack of national concentration to our domestic demands. Lack of opportunity in some areas of the country is forcing the preponderance of our population into a handful of cities.

The 1970's should be a decade of domestic development.

We must right the imbalance that has made our nation privately wealthy and publicly poor.

FINANCING

Finally, national growth policy must have a financing component that is equal to the development task.

The present "stop-start" method of public financing has resulted in a string of broken promises to our cities and communities. It does not help solve problems, it only exacerbates them.

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We need some new thinking on public finance.

But we all know that unless we get this economy moving again, all our methods of financing will fall flat.

Inflation has boosted food prices, housing costs, clothing costs, automobile costs, and medical costs.

The consumer price index increases at an annual rate of over 7 percent.

High prices eat away at our pay checks, and unwise government policies decrease the value of our dollar.

Unemployment totals over 5.5 million people, and the hidden unemployment -- people so discouraged because they cannot find a job -- may make the total as high as 7 million unemployed.

We simply cannot continue with a high rate of unemployment, with high interest rates, climbing inflation, and a sluggish economy.

These appalling facts have demanded action for many months.

Finally, under pressure from Congress and the public, a stubborn President has been compelled to take action. Regrettably, while he has tried to close the economic barn door, most of the inflation horses are already out.

Many of us, and I have been one of them, have repeatedly called for a National Incomes Policy.

The President's actions to freeze wages and prices and to protect the dollar from international speculation are commendable. But we also need to stabilize interest rates.

And the tax reduction that the President proposes for 1972 should become effective at once.

In short, we must stimulate our economy, we must build confidence in the dollar, and we must stop inflation.

I request the President to call an immediate conference of Governors and state legislative leaders to discuss the recent changes in economic policy. And the President should move beyond the present crisis into an economic measure that will support a long-term national growth policy.

This is what I mean by the new federalism.

The first financing program is revenue sharing.

I strongly protest the President's postponement of revenue sharing. Our cities and states are caught in a financial squeeze of unprecedented magnitude. It is more serious than any time since the depression.

If revenue sharing was necessary last week, it is no less necessary now.

To abrogate our responsibility to states and cities would be a travesty that cannot be tolerated.

Another measure crucial to more rational financing is welfare reform.

And, I say to you that the President's recommendation that we postpone welfare reform for a year is an outrageous example of mixed priorities.

Welfare reform has three purposes. First, to help those who really need help. Second, to retrain and employ those who are capable of work. Third, to alleviate the crushing property tax burden on state and city taxpayers.

All three of these purposes are vital. All three are necessary. Welfare reform must not be derailed or delayed.

Let me stress that welfare reform is a national problem. It demands national answers and national financing now -- not later but this year.

Another needed financing program is the National Domestic Development Bank -- legislation I recently introduced to help cities, states and towns finance vitally needed public projects.

I propose that we now apply accepted principles of international finance at home by providing long-term loans at low interest rates and couple that help with technical assistance.

This plan will allow our governments to move ahead on a wide range of urgently needed public construction.

It will provide an alternative source of funds for new schools, for medical and hospital centers, for day care centers, parks, waste disposal plants, playgrounds, mass transit systems, and much more.

It can provide jobs and stimulate the economy.

It can help promote better balanced urban-rural growth.

We have used this approach successfully overseas. I say if we can help build a better Rio de Janeiro, then we can build a better Minneapolis or Milwaukee or Detroit or Pennsylvania or Colorado.

Next, we can and must enact the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act of 1971.

This legislation can help stem the tide of outmigration before it becomes a flood.

This proposal is fundamental to a National Growth Policy. It is designed explicitly for communities under 35,000 population. It creates a Federal Rural Development Credit Agency to be an expediter of community programs.

This is a bill that will help small communities conserve their most basic resource -- people -- people who can rebuild and revitalize their communities.

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Still another financing measure we can take is to open the Highway Trust Fund so that states and cities can use some of this money to maintain and rebuild their highways and streets.

Balanced growth requires accessibility. The highways of rural America, the streets of urban America are important to the development of our nation.

And, the Highway Trust Fund is a source of money that will allow development to proceed immediately.

Next, we must re-examine the way education is financed in this country. Traditionally, education has been financed by property taxes. But property taxes are escalating to unreasonable proportions. They are breaking the back of homeowners, and they do not provide a growing base to pay for expanded educational demands.

I propose that we establish an Educational Trust Fund.

And, I believe that this fund can be financed through an annual appropriation of not less than 25 percent of the total educational bill of this nation.

In addition, we can place all the royalties from the sales of products developed by government-assisted patents, and from royalties from sales of the oil under the Rocky Mountain shale lands into this trust fund.

Finally, we can enact a series of bloc grants that provide significant amounts of money with flexible federal guidelines. And the federal government can use its taxing system to collect taxes for the states.

Both of these measures can assist the financing base for state action based on state priorities.

Organization and planning, fundamental objectives, and financing. These are three essential ingredients of a National Growth Policy.

But let us remember: Unless our National Growth Policy is a joint effort among all units of government, unless it's from the best thinking of all our people, then any statement of aims will have little relevance in answering the questions the future will force us to answer.

The times require a new federalism -- a federalism not of competition between federal and state government but a federalism of cooperation and sharing.

The times require a working partnership between government and the private economy. Unless we actively solicit the advice, the productivity, the ingenuity of the private sector, we will be tapping only half our resources.

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The solutions to problems of growth are not self-evident.

There is no magic wand that will make them disappear.

The problems of national growth are serious and awesome.

But, they are not impossible.

Our joint resolve to do what must be done, to put our minds and abilities to the task, is the only way I know to get the job done.

It is the only way that the hopes of men become the works of man.

And, it is the only way that men can live and grow together.

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NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE SPEECH

AUGUST 18, 1971

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

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⑩ Wm - was - Prudery

⑪ Rain - 14 H

(applies
your Program)

X Follow Legislators
Lt. Governors } I've
Suffered with
you

X Legislators - San Juan Dec 1, 1970

#

Honorary citizens mps
(Mr Murray)

L. M. M. M.

"THE DOGMAS OF THE QUIET PAST ARE INADEQUATE TO THE STORMY PRESENT. THE OCCASION IS PILED HIGH WITH DIFFICULTY, AND WE MUST RISE WITH THE OCCASION. AS OUR CASE IS NEW, SO MUST WE THINK ANEW. WE MUST DISENTHRALL OURSELVES."

President Bill James - President, Maryland Senate -
Sen. Rick Coleman - Sen. Minority
Leader.

~~Bob Merriam (Sen. Baker)~~

TWO WEEKS AGO, WHEN I SPOKE TO A STUDENT GROUP IN

WASHINGTON, I WAS ASKED, "HOW HAS CONGRESS CHANGED?"

I RESPONDED WITH OBSERVATIONS ON PERSONALITIES,

COMMITTEES, AND LEADERSHIP.

I noted much
BUT THERE IS A MORE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE.

h OUR COUNTRY IS GOING THROUGH A MASSIVE "SORTING OUT

PROCESS--WE ARE RE-EXAMINING OUR BELIEFS, OUR WAYS OF DOING

THINGS, OUR INSTITUTIONS, AND OUR VALUES.

h THIS QUESTIONING, THIS CONCERN IS HEALTHY--FOR IT CAN
REINVIGORATE A NATION WITH NEW PURPOSE AND DIRECTION.

h AT THE SAME TIME, I AM FEARFUL THAT A COMPLETE TURNING
INWARD WILL ALSO TURN OUR MINDS TOWARDS THE PAST.

(an addiction with Past)
(1)

L WE CAN NOT AFFORD TO DEVOTE OUR NATIONAL INTELLECTUAL

POWER TO DWELLING ON OUR YESTERDAYS

L THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PAST IS FOUND IN THE LESSONS TO

BE LEARNED. BUT, TOO OFTEN, DWELLING ON THE PAST PROVIDES

EXCUSES FOR DOING LITTLE ABOUT THE PRESENT AND HIDES AND

OBSCURES THE NEEDS OF THE FUTURE

I think

IT IS MORE EXCITING TO MAKE OUR MINDS REACH OUT, TO

IMAGINE, TO VISUALIZE THE WAY LIFE COULD BE,

L TO CREATE, TO PLAN, TO THINK AHEAD--THESE ARE THE

CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME, *(Lancelotti)* FOR AS JOHN GALESWORTHY SAID, "IF

YOU DO NOT THINK ABOUT THE FUTURE, THEN YOU CAN NOT HAVE ONE."

L WHAT WILL OUR NEEDS BE IN THE FUTURE? !

L HOW WILL WE MOBILIZE RESOURCES TO MEET THESE NEEDS?

(3)

AND, WHAT WILL BE THE CONSEQUENCES OF POLICIES WE

ADOPT TODAY ON THE POLICIES WE MUST ADOPT TOMORROW?

TOGETHER, STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS MUST ASK

QUESTIONS THAT HAVE SCARCELY BEEN ADDRESSED BEFORE.

CONSIDER THE NEEDS IN TRANSPORTATION, IN ENERGY,

HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION

- in financing!

estimated
IN THE NEXT DECADE, OVER \$35 BILLION WILL BE REQUIRED

JUST FOR MASS TRANSIT FACILITIES. MANY MORE BILLIONS ARE

NECESSARY TO BUILD HIGHWAYS, AIRPORTS, SEAPORTS, AND SUBWAYS.

BUT, HOW MANY? AND WHERE?

AND WHAT WILL OUR ENERGY NEEDS BE? EVERY NIGHT MILLIONS

OF AMERICANS SLEEP UNDER THE THREAT OF POWER BLACKOUTS,

BROWNOUTS, AND ELECTRICAL RATIONING.

It is impossible to plan industrial expansion w. that

1658

Some idea on projection of energy
or power availability - + when
available + where?

IN THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS, OUR ENERGY NEEDS WILL BE
DOUBLE THOSE OF TODAY AND BY THE YEAR 2000, AMERICANS
WILL BE USING 76 TRILLION HOURS OF ENERGY--MORE THAN FOUR
TIMES THE PRESENT RATE

WHERE ARE WE GOING TO GET THAT MUCH ENERGY? AND WHAT
WILL THE COSTS BE--ON OUR ENVIRONMENT, AND ON OUR WAY OF
LIVING?

CONSIDER POPULATION! OUR POPULATION WILL REACH 300
MILLION IN THE YEAR 2000. WHERE ARE THESE PEOPLE GOING TO

LIVE? WILL WE CONTINUE THE SAME SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND
POLICIES THAT NOW MEAN THAT 73 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE LIVE
ON TWO PERCENT OF OUR LAND? - 85% by 1990.

L WILL WE AS A NATION CONTINUE TO SEE ^{over} 600,000 PEOPLE

A YEAR MIGRATE TO THE BIG CITIES--ADDING TO THE CRUSH OF

OVERCROWDED, CONGESTED, AND UNDER-SERVICED METROPOLITAN

AREAS? —

*are we to drift aimlessly
or are we to plan?*

L WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT OUR POPULATION PROBLEM?

HOW WILL WE MEET THE DEMAND FOR HOUSING AND EDUCATION?

for example L WHAT WILL THE HEALTH CARE NEEDS OF OUR NATION BE TEN — ~~90~~

YEARS FROM NOW, OR THIRTY YEARS FROM NOW?

L I AM NOT JUST TALKING ABOUT THE COSTS OF HEALTH CARE--

which are sky-rocketing —

I AM TALKING ABOUT THE ACTUAL DELIVERY OF SERVICES. —

L OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM TODAY IS MUSCLE BOUND. L SOME

AREAS OF OUR CITIES AND COUNTRYSIDE GET VERY INADEQUATE CARE,

WHILE A FAVORED FEW IN OUR NATION RECEIVE THE BEST CARE IN THE

WORLD.

(6)

L WE MUST ASK SOME BASIC QUESTIONS: HOW MANY DOCTORS
WILL WE NEED? HOW MANY NURSES? HOW MANY HOSPITALS--AND
WHAT KIND--^{Health}NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS, MEDICAL CLINICS, SPECIALIZED
SINGLE DISEASE TREATMENT FACILITIES?

L AND WHAT ABOUT PREVENTIVE CARE? ARE WE AS A NATION
GOING TO PLACE ALL OUR RESOURCES INTO TREATMENT? WHY NOT
FOCUS ON PREVENTION?

Then WHAT WILL OUR EDUCATIONAL NEEDS BE IN THE NEXT TWENTY
YEARS? WILL OUR SCHOOLS BE ABLE TO OFFER THE EDUCATIONAL
EXPERIENCE THAT WILL GIVE STUDENTS THE ABILITY TO THINK, TO
MAXIMIZE THEIR POTENTIAL?

L AND WHERE WILL THE EDUCATIONAL FOCUS BE? I HAPPEN TO
BELIEVE THAT WE MUST SPEND MORE OF OUR EDUCATIONAL DOLLAR ON
DEVELOPMENTAL PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAMS.

RESEARCH HAS SHOWN THAT FIFTY PERCENT OF THE TOTAL

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF A CHILD OCCURS BEFORE THE AGE

OF FIVE, WHAT KINDS OF PROGRAMS DO WE HAVE TO HELP THE

CHILD IN THE EARLY YEARS--THE MOST INQUISITIVE YEARS? --

and what about the special child - the physically + mentally handicapped

WHAT ABOUT THE REST OF OUR POPULATION?

Education going through an intensive evaluation + examination

~~ESTIMATES ARE THAT OVER 10 PERCENT OF THE LABOR FORCE~~

~~IN 1990 WILL BE WORKING ON PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE ENVIRON-~~

~~MENT. WHAT IS GOING ON NOW IN OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS~~

~~TO PREPARE PEOPLE FOR THIS WORK?~~

and do we have any estimates as to COST -

WHAT I AM ASKING IS THIS: IS IT SOUND POLICY FOR A

NATION OF OUR SIZE, OUR WEALTH, OUR POTENTIAL, FACING OUR

RESPONSIBILITIES, TO BE WITHOUT A PROGRESSIVE, EFFECTIVE

SOCIAL POLICY, A POPULATION POLICY, A COMMUNICATIONS POLICY,

A HEALTH POLICY, AN EDUCATIONAL POLICY, AN ENERGY POLICY,

OR A FINANCING POLICY?

and

I SAY IT IS NOT SOUND POLICY! AND IT MAKES NO SENSE!

WE MUST ASK HOW ARE WE GOING TO GROW, HOW WILL WE

FINANCE OUR GROWTH, WHAT KIND OF LIFE WE WILL HAVE IN THE

FUTURE, AND WHAT WILL BE THE ROLE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERN-

MENT IN POLICY MAKING?

↳ OUR NATION MUST BEGIN NOW TO DEFINE AND ARTICULATE A

NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY!

↳ IT IS TIME WE HAD A STATEMENT OF GROWTH PROBLEMS AND

GOALS--A RATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE, FOR THINKING

AHEAD INSTEAD OF BECOMING THE VICTIMS OF THE PAST

↳ A RATIONAL GROWTH POLICY MUST HAVE AT LEAST THREE

(1) ELEMENTS: FIRST, PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION; SECOND, BASIC

OBJECTIVES; THIRD, FINANCING.!

and WE MUST HAVE ADEQUATE PLANNING AT ALL LEVELS OF
GOVERNMENT. - (*no Planning at National Level*)

L I BELIEVE WE MUST ESTABLISH A NEW NATIONAL PLANNING
body
~~AGENCY~~, DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO THE PRESIDENT, AND COMPOSED

OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.!

L THIS PLANNING AGENCY SHOULD HAVE THE BROADEST RESPONSIBILITIES--TO STUDY, ANALYZE AND FORMULATE POPULATION POLICY, ENERGY POLICY, HOUSING POLICY, EDUCATION POLICY, HEALTH CARE POLICY, TRANSPORTATION POLICY--IN SHORT, A HUMAN RESOURCE POLICY.

L ~~AND, WE MUST HAVE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES CAPABLE OF~~
~~PUTTING THE PLANS INTO OPERATION.~~

L PLANNING WITHOUT CONSULTATION, WITHOUT DEVELOPMENT,
WITHOUT THE ABILITY TO GET THINGS MOVING IS USELESS. !

*spend
millions.
need
not*

L IN OUR STATE LEGISLATURES, THIS MEANS MORE PROFESSION-
ALISM, MORE STAFF, BETTER PAY, MORE INDEPTH ANALYSIS, AND
UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION SYSTEMS.

L THE COMPUTER SHOULD NOT BE THE SOLE POSSESSION OF
FINANCE AND INDUSTRY. L IT MUST BE A TOOL TO IMPROVE THE
EFFICIENCY AND OPERATIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

L TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, GOVERNMENT IS BEHIND THE TIMES.

WE LIVE IN A TECHNOLOGICAL AGE - *and politically, we act as if we are in the Horse & Buggy age.*

L ~~BUT OUR INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT ARE VICTIMS OF THE~~
~~FAILURE TO CHANGE.~~ L OUR INSTITUTIONS TODAY ARE ^{now} JUST MOVING

INTO THE 20TH CENTURY WHILE OUR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS
ARE RUNNING FAR AHEAD.

You have made before the point that one of the major needs in our federal system is to strengthen and mobilize state legislatures. Much still needs to be done in this area but you can recognize that more has been done in the last few years than is generally realized. Thirty (30) states now have annual sessions. State planning agencies are being formed all across the country. Departments of community affairs are being created etc. When legislators are willing to reform they have a difficult time doing it when they increase their pay or add professional staff they are often criticized severely by the news media papers and the electorate, not to mention the beating they take over tax reform. At any rate, they will appreciate your recognizing that much effort is being made to better state legislatures.

L I REALIZE THAT MANY IMPROVEMENTS HAVE ALREADY COME
ABOUT, I APPLAUD YOUR EFFORTS AT MODERNIZATION.

AND I HAVE SEEN THE ^{Positive} RESULTS: MORE AND MORE STATE
LEGISLATORS ARE MAKING THEIR OPINIONS, OBSERVATIONS, AND

IDEAS FELT IN WASHINGTON

L YOU ARE BEING HEARD, AND YOU ARE BEING EFFECTIVE.

L I BELIEVE WE SHOULD REGULARIZE THIS INTERCHANGE BETWEEN
CONGRESS AND THE LEGISLATURES.

L I INTEND TO PROPOSE LEGISLATION SETTING UP A JOINT
CONGRESSIONAL-LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL--TO BE A CONTINUING BODY

IN WHICH CONGRESSMEN AND LEGISLATORS CAN MEET ON MUTUAL
PROBLEMS, TO PROVIDE A FORUM FOR NEW IDEAS, AND TO WORK

TOGETHER ON MUTUAL PROBLEMS.

(~~Intergovernmental~~)
I was a Sponsor of Advisory Commission on
Intergovernmental Relations - secured on it - 1667
- worked without comp

L I ALSO ~~INTERVIEW~~ ^{need} ~~THE~~ REGULAR MEETINGS BETWEEN
THE PRESIDENT AND THE 50 GOVERNORS, AND BETWEEN THE

PRESIDENT AND HIS CABINET OFFICERS AND STATE LEGISLATORS.

~~much~~ I AM NOT TALKING ABOUT REGIONAL PRESS CONFERENCES OR

SOCIAL HOURS. I AM TALKING ABOUT REAL WORKING SESSIONS.

L ~~Joint Congressional. Legislative~~
THIS COUNCIL AND THESE PERIODIC MEETINGS CAN BE IMPOR-

TANT TOOLS FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP TO HARMONIZE AND COORDINATE

OUR VAST GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

OBJECTIVES

L TWO OBJECTIVES MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF NATIONAL

GROWTH POLICY.

FIRST, WE MUST ASSURE A FLOOR OF BASIC SERVICES FOR ALL OF
OUR CITIZENS. WE MUST GUARANTEE THAT AMERICANS IN EVERY PART

OF OUR NATION HAVE ADEQUATE STANDARDS OF EDUCATION, HEALTH,

AND HOUSING; AND EVERY OTHER HUMAN NEED.

(mobile Population)

(2)

SECOND, WE MUST MAKE "FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE" A REALITY

FOR ALL. TO LIVE AS A FREE PEOPLE WITH FREE POLITICAL

INSTITUTIONS REQUIRES THAT WE ALL BE ABLE TO ^{freely} CHOOSE WHERE

WE WANT TO LIVE

— and be able to share in certain common benefits + standards

↳ THAT FREEDOM IS BEING DENIED TODAY--BY TECHNOLOGY, BY

CONFUSED NATIONAL POLICIES, AND BY THE LACK OF NATIONAL CON-

CENTRATION TO OUR DOMESTIC DEMANDS

↳ LACK OF OPPORTUNITY *Economic + Cultural*

on SOME AREAS OF THE COUNTRY IS FORCING THE PREPONDERANCE OF OUR

POPULATION INTO A HANDFUL OF CITIES.

⊗ L

THE 1970'S SHOULD BE A DECADE OF DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT.

WE MUST RIGHT THE IMBALANCE THAT HAS MADE OUR NATION PRI-

VATELY WEALTHY AND PUBLICLY POOR.

FINANCING

I think,

FINALLY, NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY MUST HAVE A FINANCING

COMPONENT THAT IS EQUAL TO THE DEVELOPMENT TASK.

L THE PRESENT "STOP-START" METHOD OF PUBLIC FINANCING

HAS RESULTED IN A STRING OF BROKEN PROMISES TO OUR CITIES

our own people,

AND COMMUNITIES. ~~IT DOES NOT HELP SOLVE PROBLEMS, IT ONLY~~

EXACERBATES THEM.

L WE NEED SOME NEW THINKING ON PUBLIC FINANCE.

L BUT WE ALL KNOW THAT UNLESS WE GET THIS ECONOMY MOVING

AGAIN, ALL OUR METHODS OF FINANCING WILL FALL FLAT,

L INFLATION HAS BOOSTED FOOD PRICES, HOUSING COSTS, CLOTHING

COSTS, AUTOMOBILE COSTS, AND MEDICAL COSTS.

THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX INCREASES AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF

OVER 7 PERCENT.

(15)

HIGH PRICES EAT AWAY AT OUR PAY CHECKS, AND UNWISE
GOVERNMENT POLICIES DECREASE THE VALUE OF OUR DOLLAR.

UNEMPLOYMENT TOTALS OVER 5.5 MILLION PEOPLE, AND THE
HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT--PEOPLE SO DISCOURAGED BECAUSE THEY CAN
NOT FIND A JOB--MAY MAKE THE TOTAL AS HIGH AS 7 MILLION
UNEMPLOYED.

WE SIMPLY CANNOT CONTINUE WITH A HIGH RATE OF UNEMPLOY-
MENT, WITH HIGH INTEREST RATES, CLIMBING INFLATION, AND A
SLUGGISH ECONOMY.

THESE APPALLING FACTS HAVE DEMANDED ACTION FOR MANY
MONTHS.

FINALLY, UNDER PRESSURE FROM CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC,

the
A STUBBORN PRESIDENT HAS BEEN COMPELLED TO TAKE ACTION.

REGRETTABLY, WHILE HE HAS TRIED TO CLOSE THE ECONOMIC BARN
DOOR, MOST OF THE INFLATION HORSES ARE ALREADY OUT.

MANY OF US, AND I HAVE BEEN ONE OF THEM, HAVE REPEATEDLY
CALLED FOR A NATIONAL INCOMES POLICY.

↳ THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS TO FREEZE WAGES AND PRICES AND
TO PROTECT THE DOLLAR FROM INTERNATIONAL SPECULATION ARE COM-
MENDABLE. BUT WE ALSO NEED TO STABILIZE INTEREST RATES.!

↳ AND THE TAX REDUCTION THAT THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES FOR 1972
SHOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE ~~IN~~ 1971.

↳ IN SHORT, WE MUST STIMULATE OUR ECONOMY, WE MUST BUILD
CONFIDENCE IN THE DOLLAR, AND WE MUST STOP INFLATION.!

↳ I REQUEST THE PRESIDENT TO CALL AN IMMEDIATE CONFERENCE
OF GOVERNORS AND STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS TO DISCUSS THE

(17)

RECENT CHANGES IN ECONOMIC POLICY, AND THE PRESIDENT SHOULD

MOVE BEYOND THE PRESENT CRISIS INTO AN ECONOMIC ^{Policy} THAT

WILL SUPPORT A LONG-TERM NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY.

~~THIS IS WHAT I MEAN BY THE NEW FEDERALISM~~

~~REVENUE SHARING.~~ !

~~I cannot support~~

~~I STRONGLY PROTEST~~ THE PRESIDENT'S POSTPONEMENT OF REVENUE

SHARING. OUR CITIES AND STATES ARE CAUGHT IN A FINANCIAL

SQUEEZE OF UNPRECEDENTED MAGNITUDE. ~~IT IS MORE SERIOUS THAN~~

~~ANY TIME SINCE THE DEPRESSION.~~

IF REVENUE SHARING WAS NECESSARY LAST WEEK, IT IS NO LESS

NECESSARY NOW,

~~TO ABROGATE OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO STATES AND CITIES WOULD~~

~~BE A TRAVESTY THAT CAN NOT BE TOLERATED.~~

L ANOTHER MEASURE ~~TO MORE NATIONAL FINANCING~~

IS WELFARE REFORM.

~~AND I SAW YOU~~ THE PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATION

THAT WE POSTPONE WELFARE REFORM FOR A YEAR IS AN ~~EXAMPLE~~

EXAMPLE OF MIXED PRIORITIES

L WELFARE REFORM HAS THREE PURPOSES, L ⁽¹⁾ FIRST, TO HELP
THOSE WHO REALLY NEED HELP, L ⁽²⁾ SECOND, TO RETRAIN AND EMPLOY
THOSE WHO ARE CAPABLE OF WORK, L ⁽³⁾ THIRD, ~~to relieve~~ ^{to relieve} THE

CRUSHING PROPERTY TAX BURDEN ON ~~STATE AND LOCAL~~ TAXPAYERS,

L ALL THREE OF THESE PURPOSES ARE VITAL, L ALL THREE ARE
NECESSARY, L WELFARE REFORM MUST NOT BE ~~POSTPONED~~ DELAYED!

L LET ME STRESS THAT WELFARE ~~REFORM~~ IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM.
IT DEMANDS NATIONAL ANSWERS AND NATIONAL FINANCING NOW--NOT
LATER BUT THIS YEAR.

ANOTHER NEEDED FINANCING PROGRAM IS THE NATIONAL
DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK. LEGISLATION I RECENTLY INTRO-
DUCED TO HELP CITIES, STATES, AND TOWNS FINANCE VITALLY
NEEDED PUBLIC PROJECTS.

I PROPOSE THAT WE NOW APPLY ^{the} ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF
INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AT HOME BY PROVIDING LONG-TERM LOANS
AT LOW INTEREST RATES AND COUPLE THAT HELP WITH TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE. (~~World Bank~~)

THIS PLAN WILL ALLOW OUR GOVERNMENTS TO MOVE AHEAD ON
A WIDE RANGE OF URGENTLY NEEDED PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION ^{and}
economic expansion.
IT WILL PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR NEW
SCHOOLS, FOR MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CENTERS, FOR DAY CARE CENTERS,
PARKS, WASTE DISPOSAL PLANTS, PLAYGROUNDS, MASS TRANSIT SYSTEMS,
AND MUCH MORE.

~~IT CAN PROVIDE JOBS AND STIMULATE THE ECONOMY.~~

~~IT CAN HELP PROMOTE BETTER BALANCED URBAN RURAL~~

~~GROWTH.~~

L WE HAVE USED THIS APPROACH SUCCESSFULLY OVERSEAS.

I SAY IF WE CAN HELP BUILD A BETTER RIO DE JANEIRO, THEN

WE CAN BUILD A BETTER MINNEAPOLIS OR MILWAUKEE OR DETROIT

OR PENNSYLVANIA, OR COLORADO,

L NEXT, WE CAN AND MUST ENACT THE CONSOLIDATED FARM AND

RURAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971.

(over 40 years)

THIS LEGISLATION CAN HELP STEM THE TIDE OF ^{Rural} OUTMIGRATION

BEFORE IT BECOMES A FLOOD.

L THIS PROPOSAL IS FUNDAMENTAL TO A NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY.

IT IS DESIGNED EXPLICITLY FOR COMMUNITIES UNDER 35,000 POPULATION.

Bank
L IT CREATES A FEDERAL RURAL DEVELOPMENT CREDIT AGENCY TO BE
AN EXPEDITER OF COMMUNITY PROGRAMS.

It will
L ~~IT WILL~~ HELP SMALL COMMUNITIES CON-
SERVE THEIR MOST BASIC RESOURCE--PEOPLE--PEOPLE WHO CAN

REBUILD AND REVITALIZE THEIR COMMUNITIES.

#
L STILL ANOTHER FINANCING MEASURE WE CAN TAKE IS TO OPEN
THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND SO THAT STATES AND CITIES CAN USE
SOME OF THIS MONEY TO MAINTAIN AND REBUILD THEIR HIGHWAYS AND
STREETS!

h BALANCED GROWTH REQUIRES ACCESSIBILITY, THE HIGHWAYS
OF RURAL AMERICA, THE STREETS OF URBAN AMERICA ARE IMPORTANT

TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATION. *They are a vital part of our Transportation System.*
~~AND THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND IS A SOURCE OF MONEY THAT~~

~~WILL ALLOW DEVELOPMENT TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY.~~

h- NEXT, WE MUST RE-EXAMINE THE WAY EDUCATION IS FINANCED
 IN THIS COUNTRY. l TRADITIONALLY, EDUCATION HAS BEEN FINANCED

BY PROPERTY TAXES l BUT PROPERTY TAXES ~~ARE ESCALATING TO~~
~~UNREASONABLE PROPORTIONS~~ l THEY ARE BREAKING THE BACK OF

HOMEOWNERS, AND THEY DO NOT PROVIDE ^{an adequate} GROWING BASE TO PAY FOR

EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL DEMANDS. l

also Education needs a
reliable, assured source
of income.

l I PROPOSE THAT WE ESTABLISH AN EDUCATIONAL TRUST FUND, l

~~AND I BELIEVE~~ l THIS FUND CAN BE FINANCED THROUGH AN
^{commitment} ANNUAL APPROPRIATION OF NOT LESS THAN 25 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL

EDUCATIONAL BILL OF THIS NATION. l

l ^{should} ~~IN ADDITION~~ WE CAN PLACE ALL THE ROYALTIES FROM THE
 SALES OF PRODUCTS DEVELOPED BY GOVERNMENT-ASSISTED PATENTS, l

and ~~AND FROM ROYALTIES FROM~~ SALES OF THE OIL UNDER THE ROCKY

MOUNTAIN SHALE LANDS INTO THIS TRUST FUND, l

h FINALLY, WE CAN ENACT A SERIES OF BLOC GRANTS THAT
PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT AMOUNTS OF MONEY WITH FLEXIBLE FEDERAL
GUIDELINES, AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN USE ITS TAXING
SYSTEM TO COLLECT TAXES FOR THE STATES. Stimulus (Piggy-Back)

~~BOTH OF THESE MEASURES CAN ASSIST THE FINANCING BASE
FOR STATE ACTION BASED ON STATE PRIORITIES.~~

yes Organization and Planning, agreed FINANCIAL OBJECTIVES, AND
FINANCING. THESE ARE THREE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENTS OF A NATIONAL
GROWTH POLICY.

BUT LET US REMEMBER: UNLESS OUR NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY
IS A JOINT EFFORT AMONG ALL UNITS OF GOVERNMENT, UNLESS IT'S
FROM THE BEST THINKING OF ALL OUR PEOPLE, THEN ANY STATEMENT
OF AIMS WILL HAVE LITTLE RELEVANCE IN ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS
THE FUTURE WILL FORCE US TO ANSWER.

L THE TIMES REQUIRE A NEW FEDERALISM--A FEDERALISM NOT

OF COMPETITION BETWEEN FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT BUT A

FEDERALISM OF COOPERATION AND SHARING

*This must be the
paternal direction of the future!*

and L THE TIMES REQUIRE A WORKING PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN GOVERN-

MENT AND THE PRIVATE ECONOMY. L UNLESS WE ACTIVELY SOLICIT

THE ADVICE, THE PRODUCTIVITY, THE INGENUITY OF THE PRIVATE

SECTOR, WE WILL BE TAPPING ONLY *a fraction of* OUR RESOURCES.

L *national* THE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS OF GROWTH ARE NOT SELF-EVIDENT,

and THERE IS NO MAGIC WAND THAT WILL MAKE THEM DISAPPEAR,

~~THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL GROWTH ARE SERIOUS AND AWESOME.~~

BUT, THEY ARE NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

But, OUR JOINT RESOLVE TO DO WHAT MUST BE DONE, TO PUT
OUR MINDS AND ABILITIES TO THE TASK, IS THE ONLY WAY I
KNOW TO GET THE JOB DONE,

IT IS THE ONLY WAY THAT THE HOPES OF MEN BECOME THE
WORKS OF MAN,

AND, IT IS THE ONLY WAY THAT MEN CAN LIVE AND GROW
TOGETHER. —

Sandburg.
/ # #

Carl Sandburg:

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair
ahead of us, *I* see America in the crimson light of a rising sun
fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. *I* see great days ahead,
great days possible to men and women of will and vision..."

NAMES OF MINNESOTA STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

S E N A T E

President Pro Tem: Joe Josephson

Majority Leader: Stanley Holmquist

Asst. Majority Leader: Harmon Ogdahl

Minority Leader: Nick Coleman

Asst. Minority Leader: Harold Kalina

Asst. Minority Leader: Vern Jensen

H O U S E O F R E P R E S E N T A T I V E S

Speaker: Aubrey Dirlam

Majority Leader: Ernest Lindstrom

Asst. Majority Leader: John Johnson

Asst. Majority Leader: Thomas Newcomb

Asst. Majority Leader: Wallace Gustafson

Minority Leader: Martin Sabo

Asst. Minority Leader: L.J. Lee



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