

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

January 27, 1975

Washington, D.C.

I would like to welcome all of you this morning to a conference which is indispensable to confront the serious problems we face today.

It is only with a frank and forthright exchange of views that the world's democracies can weather the economic and political crises which now abound.

How we deal with the issues of inflation, recession and economic interdependence ultimately affects our security -- both internal and external.

I thought it would be useful to deal briefly with an issue which I know best. It is an issue which has a great impact on the ability of the United States to provide the leadership vitally needed today. It is an issue which will determine whether my country can set its own economic house in order. I speak of the critical matter of Executive-Legislative relations.

I have served in the Congress of the United States since 1948 with a brief interlude as Vice President. I have sat as an elected official in the President's cabinet room and in the Senate's caucus room. I have viewed our nation from both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, and I feel I am equipped to deal with the subject.

Let me speak frankly.

Today we have a non-elected President and Vice President facing a heavily Democratic Congress. The ingredients for political confrontation are present. The challenge which the leaders of this nation face is to avoid the looming obstacles of partisan and institutional differences and forge a partnership based on shared needs in the national interest. Secretary Kissinger has used the phrase "new partnership." I can only endorse this concept.

But a partnership involves sharing, it involves giving and it involves compromise.

Allow me to look at only some of the requirements of this partnership from both sides.

First of all, the Administration --

President Ford and Secretary Kissinger have already experienced serious policy differences with the Congress. There certainly will be more.

I believe that there is no masterful strategy which the Administration can follow to avoid policy differences with the Congress. Differences are inevitable in our system.

The test lies in how we deal with these differences. No useful purpose is served by complaining that the Congress should stay out of various foreign policy issues.

Nor is a useful purpose served by dealing with the Congress only when it is time for the hard sell.

I urge the President and Secretary of State as well as other cabinet members, as they develop plans for 1975, to take note of Congressional priorities. They should do this not because our egos need massaging, but because many of the concerns and insights of Senate and House members deserve serious consideration in the policy councils of government.

I urge this course of action not because of the brilliance of our concepts -- we are no more consistently right than the Administration -- but because our views tend to reflect the sentiments and priorities of the American people.

Congress cannot run the nation's foreign or domestic policy on a day to day basis. And no member of Congress should interfere frivolously with a Secretary of State's responsibilities as he conducts important negotiations. But the American people are demanding greater accountability from their government officials and the programs they manage. No area of foreign or domestic policy should be exempt from this concern.

The Executive Branch must be more willing to take closer note of Congressional attitudes and policy priorities. If Congress had more confidence that its views were respected, there would be less need for Congress to enact what the President terms "restrictive legislation."

If the Administration takes these steps, then the Congress must act in several critical areas --

First, the Congress has a responsibility to end the ridiculous fragmentation of its committee and subcommittee system.

We need to establish a Joint Committee on National Security to provide a central focus for all of the interdependent economic and security problems. Administration officials are now forced to sit before numerous committees to explain their policies.

Second, the Congress must be willing to exercise a legitimate oversight function of Executive Branch policies and programs. Billions of dollars are spent without adequate legislative supervision and follow-up. This issue is at the heart of public skepticism with governmental programs.

Third, Congress must equip itself with the staff and facilities to fulfill its constitutional role as a coequal branch of government. Without adequate staff, the ability to be a source of alternative policies is hindered.

Fourth, the Congress must force the Administration to escape from the realm of crisis management and into the arena of planning. We have no long-range planning in this government, and we are in the midst of a severe economic crisis, partly because of our neglect to do something about this problem. Can you imagine, a trillion dollar economy and not a single government agency involved in looking two years or even five years ahead. The Congress must plan and use its power over budgets and appropriations to force this practice on a reluctant administration.

I believe a true atmosphere of cooperation can be developed in the coming months. If this happens, the day will soon come when the Congress and the Executive can sit down together and worry about what is the right thing to do, rather than shouting about whose rights are being abridged.

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Father Henle

I WOULD LIKE TO WELCOME ALL OF YOU THIS MORNING TO A  
*in our efforts*  
CONFERENCE WHICH IS INDISPENSABLE TO CONFRONT THE SERIOUS  
PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY.

IT IS ONLY WITH A FRANK AND FORTHRIGHT EXCHANGE OF VIEWS  
THAT THE WORLD'S DEMOCRACIES CAN WEATHER THE ECONOMIC AND  
POLITICAL CRISES WHICH NOW ABOUND.

HOW WE DEAL WITH THE ISSUES OF INFLATION, RECESSION AND  
ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE ULTIMATELY AFFECTS OUR SECURITY --

BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL. *There is an obvious interrelationship between our economic conditions and those in other lands*  
I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DEAL BRIEFLY WITH AN

ISSUE WHICH I KNOW BEST.

Energy - Food - 1 - }  
Trade - & Finance }

L IT IS AN ISSUE WHICH HAS A GREAT IMPACT ON THE ABILITY OF  
THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP VITALLY NEEDED  
TODAY. IT IS AN ISSUE WHICH WILL DETERMINE WHETHER MY  
COUNTRY CAN SET ITS OWN ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER L I SPEAK  
OF THE CRITICAL MATTER OF EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS.

L I HAVE SERVED IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE  
1949 WITH A BRIEF INTERLUDE AS VICE PRESIDENT L I HAVE SAT AS  
AN ELECTED OFFICIAL IN THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET ROOM AND IN  
THE SENATE'S CAUCUS ROOM. L I HAVE VIEWED OUR NATION FROM BOTH  
ENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, AND I FEEL I AM EQUIPPED TO DEAL  
WITH THE SUBJECT.

L LET ME SPEAK FRANKLY.

TODAY WE HAVE A NON-ELECTED PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT  
FACING A HEAVILY DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS L THE INGREDIENTS FOR  
POLITICAL CONFRONTATION ARE PRESENT L THE CHALLENGE WHICH THE  
LEADERS OF THIS NATION FACE IS TO AVOID THE LOOMING OBSTACLES  
OF PARTISAN AND INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES AND FORGE A PARTNER-  
SHIP BASED ON SHARED NEEDS IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST L SECRETARY  
KISSINGER HAS USED THE PHRASE "NEW PARTNERSHIP." L I CAN ONLY  
ENDORSE THIS CONCEPT,

L BUT A PARTNERSHIP INVOLVES SHARING; IT INVOLVES GIVING  
AND IT INVOLVES COMPROMISE.

L ALLOW ME TO LOOK AT ONLY SOME OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THIS  
PARTNERSHIP FROM BOTH SIDES.

FIRST OF ALL, THE ADMINISTRATION --

↳ PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAVE ALREADY

EXPERIENCED SERIOUS POLICY DIFFERENCES WITH THE CONGRESS.

↳ THERE CERTAINLY WILL BE MORE.

↳ I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS NO "MASTERFUL STRATEGY" WHICH

THE ADMINISTRATION CAN FOLLOW TO AVOID POLICY DIFFERENCES WITH

THE CONGRESS. ↳ DIFFERENCES ARE INEVITABLE IN OUR SYSTEM.

↳ THE TEST LIES IN HOW WE DEAL WITH THESE DIFFERENCES.

↳ NO USEFUL PURPOSE IS SERVED BY COMPLAINING THAT THE CONGRESS  
SHOULD STAY OUT OF VARIOUS FOREIGN POLICY <sup>and economic</sup> ISSUES.

↳ NOR IS A USEFUL PURPOSE SERVED BY DEALING WITH THE CONGRESS

ONLY WHEN IT IS TIME FOR THE HARD SELL.

Vunderberg - take off - as well as the crash landing.

L I URGE THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE AS WELL AS OTHER  
CABINET MEMBERS, AS THEY DEVELOP PLANS FOR 1975, TO TAKE NOTE  
OF CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITIES. THEY SHOULD DO THIS NOT BECAUSE  
OUR EGOS NEED MASSAGING, BUT BECAUSE MANY OF THE CONCERNS AND  
INSIGHTS OF SENATE AND HOUSE MEMBERS DESERVE SERIOUS CONSIDERA-  
TION IN THE POLICY COUNCILS OF GOVERNMENT.

L I URGE THIS COURSE OF ACTION NOT BECAUSE OF THE BRILLIANCE  
OF OUR CONCEPTS -- WE ARE NO MORE CONSISTENTLY RIGHT THAN THE  
ADMINISTRATION -- BUT BECAUSE OUR VIEWS TEND TO REFLECT THE  
SENTIMENTS AND PRIORITIES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

L CONGRESS CANNOT RUN THE NATION'S FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC POLICY  
ON A DAY TO DAY BASIS.

Econ Policy-

Foreign Aid



h AND NO MEMBER OF CONGRESS SHOULD INTERFERE FRIVILOUSLY

WITH A SECRETARY OF STATE'S RESPONSIBILITIES AS HE CONDUCTS

IMPORTANT NEGOTIATIONS. L, BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING

GREATER ACCOUNTABILITY FROM THEIR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND

THE PROGRAMS THEY MANAGE L NO AREA OF FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC

POLICY SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM THIS CONCERN.

L THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH MUST BE MORE WILLING TO TAKE CLOSER

NOTE OF CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES AND POLICY PRIORITIES. L IF

CONGRESS HAD MORE CONFIDENCE THAT ITS VIEWS WERE RESPECTED,

THERE WOULD BE LESS NEED FOR CONGRESS TO ENACT WHAT THE

PRESIDENT TERMS "RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATION."

L IF THE ADMINISTRATION TAKES THESE STEPS, THEN THE

CONGRESS MUST ACT IN SEVERAL CRITICAL AREAS --

① L FIRST, THE CONGRESS HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO END THE

RIDICULOUS FRAGMENTATION OF ITS COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE

SYSTEM, (ELABORATE ON TRADE MATTERS.) -

{ Finance  
Foreign Rel.  
Commerce

L WE NEED TO ESTABLISH A JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY

TO PROVIDE A CENTRAL FOCUS FOR ALL OF THE INTERDEPENDENT

ECONOMIC AND SECURITY PROBLEMS. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ARE

NOW FORCED TO SIT BEFORE NUMEROUS COMMITTEES TO EXPLAIN THEIR

POLICIES.

② L SECOND, THE CONGRESS MUST BE WILLING TO EXERCISE A LEGITIMATE

OVERSIGHT FUNCTION OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

L BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ARE SPENT WITHOUT ADEQUATE LEGISLATIVE

SUPERVISION AND FOLLOW-UP. L THIS ISSUE IS AT THE HEART OF PUBLIC

SKEPTICISM WITH GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS.

#3

④ THIRD, CONGRESS MUST EQUIP ITSELF WITH THE STAFF AND

FACILITIES TO FULFILL ITS CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE AS A COEQUAL

BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT L WITHOUT ADEQUATE STAFF, THE ABILITY TO

BE A SOURCE OF ALTERNATIVE POLICIES IS HINDERED.

④

④ FOURTH, THE CONGRESS MUST FORCE THE ADMINISTRATION TO ESCAPE

FROM THE REALM OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT AND INTO THE ARENA OF

PLANNING. L WE HAVE NO LONG-RANGE PLANNING IN THIS GOVERNMENT.

~~and~~ WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF A SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS, PARTLY

BECAUSE OF OUR NEGLECT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS PROBLEM ~~at~~

*an early stage.*

2 CAN YOU IMAGINE, <sup>1 1/2</sup> A TRILLION DOLLAR ECONOMY AND NOT A SINGLE

GOVERNMENT AGENCY INVOLVED IN LOOKING TWO YEARS OR EVEN FIVE

YEARS AHEAD. <sup>1/</sup> THE CONGRESS MUST PLAN AND USE ITS POWER OVER

BUDGETS AND APPROPRIATIONS TO FORCE THIS PRACTICE ON A

RELUCTANT ADMINISTRATION.

4 I BELIEVE A TRUE ATMOSPHERE OF COOPERATION CAN BE DEVELOPED

IN THE COMING MONTHS. <sup>4</sup> IF THIS HAPPENS, THE DAY WILL SOON COME WHEN

THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE CAN SIT DOWN TOGETHER AND WORRY

ABOUT WHAT IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO, RATHER THAN <sup>arguing</sup> ~~SIGHTING~~

ABOUT WHOSE RIGHTS ARE BEING ABRIDGED.

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