

[Transcript]



ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20575

October 17, 1967

Miss Barbara Ramsey  
Appointment Secretary  
to the Vice President  
Office of the Vice President  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Miss Ramsey:

Enclosed is the tape recording of the Vice President's remarks Friday, October 13, 1967, at the National Conference on Legislative Leadership sponsored by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

The Vice President was introduced by Governor Price Daniel, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning. The introduction begins at about 180 on the tape recorder index. Previous introductions and remarks by Attorney General Ramsey Clark fill the first part of the tape.

Also enclosed is a stenographic transcript of the Vice President's remarks that was done for us by the firm of Ward and Paul.

If you have any questions about the enclosures, or if we can be of assistance in any other way, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Elton K. McQuery".

Elton K. McQuery  
Assistant Director

Enclosures

Garrowwb

Phone (Area 202) 628-4266

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ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS  
ADDRESS BY HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, VICE PRES-  
IDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
OPENING REMARKS BY HONORABLE PRICE DANIEL, EX-  
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF TEXAS

- - -

Friday, October 13, 1967

- - -

1:40 p.m.

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MR. DANIEL: Senator, distinguished legislative leaders,  
Attorney General Clark, and ladies and gentlemen, I am happy to  
be with you on this occasion, and I want to add my word of  
appreciation for the attendance, for your having come here to  
discuss important matters relating to the legislative leaders in  
our respective states and relating to the administrative and  
legislative branches of our government here in Washington.

I am glad to pinch hit for Governor Bryant on this  
occasion as the President has requested me to do in the Office  
of Emergency Planning. I simply want to say this, and I regret  
that he is not here to hear it. He is actually at a luncheon  
which was planned by the staff as a farewell party for him. For  
some reason, they did not know that he had this engagement.  
Since they have some pretty valuable gifts over there, you see  
where the Governor went and can understand why he did so.

WARD & PAUL

25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001

1           It is an honor to succeed him to be vice chairman on  
2 this committee, and to succeed him in the office of Director for  
3 Emergency Planning. However, it is a difficult job to follow  
4 him because of the outstanding work that he did. You will be  
5 glad to know that he will continue as chairman of the Advisory  
6 Commission and I will be working with him as a member and a vice  
7 chairman.

8           First let me present to you those at the head table.

9           On my right, we have the majority leader of the  
10 Colorado House of Representatives, who was a member of the panel  
11 this morning, Representative John Mackie.

12           The Vice President is speaking next door. Some people  
13 think there are times when he has no terminal facilities. So we  
14 do have time for you to recognize the guests at the head table.

15           The majority leader of the Connecticut Senate, also a  
16 member of the morning panel, Senator Edward L. Marcus.

17           Mr. Arrington, President pro tem of the Illinois  
18 Senate, another member of the panel. And of course, the man who  
19 presented me and preceded this morning. He is a very valuable  
20 member of our Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.  
21 He really knows, I think, what you legislative leaders are  
22 interested in and he certainly does not mind speaking forth.  
23 Sometimes there is a question about his terminal facilities, but  
24 we love him.

25           Senator De Stefano.

1           On my left we have Representative Marion Crank, majority  
2 leader of the Arkansas House of Representatives and a former  
3 member of our Advisory Commission.

4           Then we have an old colleague, with whom I served as  
5 governor and member of the Executive Committee of the National  
6 Governors Conference, former governor of Kansas, now president  
7 of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, and one of our  
8 morning speakers, Governor John Anderson.

9           Mr. Vice President, we have been holding forth and having  
10 part of our program here awaiting you. Someone was bold enough  
11 to suggest that there was some question about your terminal  
12 facilities next door, so we went right ahead with the program  
13 and had a fine talk from the Attorney General.

14           We are so honored to have you with us on this occasion.

15           Our honored guest speaker at this luncheon has an out-  
16 standing record in legislative leadership. He was elected to  
17 the U.S. Senate in 1948 and re-elected in 1954 and 1960. It was  
18 my privilege to serve with him in the U.S. Senate for four years.  
19 His Democratic colleagues selected him as the assistant majority  
20 leader in 1961, and, as you know, he has been president of the  
21 U.S. Senate and the presiding officer, especially when there are  
22 any close votes, since January 20, 1965. Prior to coming to the  
23 U.S. Senate, he had experience in local government, he rose to  
24 fame in this nation for the wonderful job he did as mayor of  
25 Minneapolis for two terms. At the request of the President, he

1 has coordinated and implemented the federal government's  
2 responsibilities in areas of civil rights and poverty. Among his  
3 many assignments and activities, he is a member of the Cabinet,  
4 the National Security Council, chairman of the National Aero-  
5 nautics and Space Council, chairman of the Peace Corps Advisory  
6 Council, honorary chairman of the National Advisory Council to  
7 the Office of Economic Opportunity, and chairman of the Presi-  
8 dent's Council on Youth Opportunity.

9 His outstanding achievements in working with the  
10 President's Council on Youth Opportunity are widely known, and I  
11 am sure would rank high on any list of accomplishments for which  
12 he might like to be known. Of particular interest to many of  
13 you state legislators is the fact that the Vice President has been  
14 assigned the responsibility of working as the chief liaison  
15 officer for this administration with the cities and local units  
16 of government. He has given wonderful support to the program of  
17 federal-state relations and is interested in government at all  
18 levels and making our governments better serve the people of this  
19 country.

20 It is my privilege to present to you His Excellency,  
21 the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert  
22 Humphrey.

23 (Standing applause.)

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

25 Governor Daniel and Governor Bryant, my distinguished

1 friend, the Attorney General, and the legislative leaders,  
2 speakers, president pro tem, majority leaders, minority leaders.  
3 This is a rather terrifying experience for just a vice president  
4 to face such power. I recognize now why I saw all those tele-  
5 vision cameras when I came in here. For a moment I almost began  
6 to think it was for me. Then it dawned on me who was here and  
7 they are just watching you. So be careful, ladies and gentlemen,  
8 what you say and what you do.

9 I was visiting next door with the representatives of  
10 the Mexican-American people in our nation, talking with them  
11 about some of their hopes and aspirations, some of their  
12 problems. It is a wonderful thing to have them here in our  
13 capital city, as I indicated, to bring to the attention of the  
14 responsible authorities of this government the critical needs  
15 of some of their people, of some of our people, our fellow  
16 Americans. I said to them what I am sure is your conviction,  
17 that I long for the day when we no longer speak of people in  
18 terms of their ethnic groups but when we speak of people as  
19 citizens of the United States and remember them as just our  
20 fellow citizens, our first-class citizens of the United States.

21 I did say to them, which is the general theme of my  
22 conversation about this country, that what we are trying to do  
23 these days is through a working partnership between the federal,  
24 state, and local governments and the private sector, to build a  
25 partnership that will upgrade the quality of American life, to

1 maximize the performance of the American community, to energize  
2 and revitalize the lives of our people, at least those who have  
3 all too long not shared in the many blessings and benefits of  
4 this country.

5 I don't believe that is a naive philosophy, nor do I  
6 think it is a far-fetched hope. I think it is well on the way to  
7 its achievement. I was asked today or it was suggested to me  
8 today according to the notes that I have here --and I got a copy  
9 of your program -- it says Friday luncheon, drop-by greetings.  
10 What that means, I don't know, but there is a great deal of  
11 difference between an address and drop-by greetings. An address  
12 is major, well written, well- organized, well-timed speech.  
13 Drop-by greetings can be almost anything in terms of quantity,  
14 quality, or time. It is sort of smorgasbord, as we say out in  
15 our part of the country. You just pick and choose.

16 As I was introduced here, you gathered that I am about  
17 the only general practitioner that is left in the government of  
18 the United States. Everybody else is a specialist. That is, I  
19 am the only general practitioner without a license to practice.  
20 The other general practitioner is the president. He has a  
21 license to practice. I have the privilege, though, that very  
22 few are given to take a look at the operations of our government  
23 from every angle and a very wide point of perspective and to  
24 see what we are trying to do and at least in my own mind to  
25 judge it and evaluate it and analyze it and pass that along to

1 the other authorities, or to the authorities in the government  
2 of the United States.

3 Now, lieutenant governors know what I mean. Maybe I  
4 should be talking with them. I think probably I should organize  
5 a sort of union of lieutenant governors and vice presidents.  
6 There is only one of those at a time.

7 I want to talk to you a little bit about our relation-  
8 ship at the federal and state level. Now, you have two men here,  
9 Governor Daniel and Governor Bryant, both of whom could speak to  
10 you with authority and with background and knowledge of the  
11 relationship of a governor's office to the Federal Government.  
12 I have never been a governor, but I have been a legislator --  
13 that is, at the federal level. Sixteen years in the United  
14 States Senate, your legislators, your legislative leaders. I  
15 was Senator, chairman of a committee and subcommittee, and  
16 majority whip, the deputy leader of the United States Senate.  
17 So I have had both the experience, as one senator put it the  
18 arrogance of power, and I have also had the experience of being  
19 with no power at all except with just one vote on occasion. But  
20 I am a legislator. I have been a legislator. I preside over  
21 the U.S. Senate. And I am convinced that one of the main  
22 difficulties in America today is communication between the  
23 executives of our respective communities -- that is, cities,  
24 states, and the legislators, even at the federal level, between  
25 the executive branch -- the President, the White House staff,

1 and the Cabinet -- and the legislators. Here we have had a  
2 determined and very considerable program of trying to keep in  
3 close touch with our legislative leaders, both majority and  
4 minority. There is a regular meeting, as you know, once a week  
5 or more often, of the President with his leadership -- that is,  
6 the majority leadership -- in the Congress of the United States.  
7 There are meeting intermittently between the President of the  
8 United States and the majority and minority leadership. Then  
9 there are the many special gatherings of the President and  
10 representatives of his Cabinet with the majority and minority  
11 leadership of the Congress and sometimes with a full committee or  
12 often times two or three deep into a committee. I mention this  
13 at the federal level because I think this is the secret of govern-  
14 mental progress. You really don't make progress in a pitched  
15 battle. You make it out of cooperation, out of adjustment, some-  
16 times out of compromise, but at all times out of trying to pro-  
17 mote a better understanding between those who have responsibility,  
18 and the responsibility of a legislator, state or federal, is  
19 tremendous.

20           Needless to say, the responsibility of a chief  
21 executive is very, very significant. So we have tried to set up,  
22 not in terms of the Constitution -- the Constitution doesn't  
23 provide for political parties, nor does it provide for consulta-  
24 tion between the executive and the Congress. In fact, my history  
25 reminds me that in the first administration of our Federal

1 Government, when George Washington's cabinet members started to  
2 come down to the Congress, they threw them out, saying that there  
3 was a separation of powers and stay away. Many people believe that  
4 the separation of powers means that you are supposed to have a  
5 sort of area of sterilization between the two branches, so that  
6 you don't ever talk. Well, of course, the Federal Government  
7 can't work that way.

8           The same thing is true on a state level, as you men  
9 well know. If you are going to have an effective state legisla-  
10 ture, regardless of party differences, you have to work together,  
11 legislative and executive. The success of that depends upon  
12 leadership and depends upon the willingness of the people to put  
13 the interests of their state as they see it above their personal  
14 interest or that of their party. I have been in politics long  
15 enough to know that there are many varied interests that we have.

16           Now, I want to talk to you about how we at the federal  
17 level cannot only work with our Congress, which we are having  
18 even some difficulty with on occasion, but how we can work with  
19 the legislators and the legislative leadership at the state  
20 level. The reason -- very simple. Practically every single  
21 program that the Federal Government has initiated in the past few  
22 years, and I believe in years before that, requires active cooper-  
23 ation and participation by the state -- if not by state govern-  
24 ment, at least by an instrumentality of the state which must be  
25 authorized by the state legislature, namely a county or a city.

1 I believe that in the past we have forgotten that, or we have  
2 paid too little emphasis to it.

3 I personally believe that one of President Johnson's  
4 most singular accomplishments is his effort, the effort that he  
5 has made to work with governors, to keep them informed and of  
6 recent days and recent years, with your activity in your own  
7 organization for the President and his officers of government to  
8 work with state legislative leaders. The programs that we have,  
9 everything from highway programs to the war on poverty, depend  
10 upon your cooperation. If we are going to do anything about the  
11 pollution of our streams and the pollution of the air, we can't  
12 do it without the help of the state legislature. If we are going  
13 to do anything about our schools that improves the quality or the  
14 quantity of education, it requires your participation. Really,  
15 if we are going to do anything about our cities, it will depend  
16 on what you are willing to do. If we are going to do anything  
17 about rural America, it will in large measure depend upon what  
18 you are willing to do.

19 I have gone around the country talking about this. I  
20 haven't exactly been able to sell it, and I don't think it really  
21 has been getting through. That is why I wanted to stop by here  
22 today. I do not believe that we prove ourselves to be worthy of  
23 public trust by indulging in demagoguery where one of us pits  
24 the Federal Government against the state government or where one  
25 pits the Congress against the state legislature or vice versa.

1 The day of pitting capital against labor, Federal Government  
2 against state government, as a way to gain votes and political  
3 prestige and political attention is over. It is too expensive,  
4 it is too costly, it is too dangerous. Every person in this  
5 room knows that the government of the United States is the  
6 government in Washington, the state capital, the counties, the  
7 cities, the villages, and the hundreds of thousands of little  
8 separate governmental jurisdictions. You know that. When we  
9 speak of the government, you are in it and so am I in it. I was  
10 in it when I was in the Senate. The government isn't in the  
11 White House. It isn't in the Justice Department, either, and it  
12 isn't in the Defense Department. It is with you, with me, in  
13 every school board and every district and every village, town,  
14 and hamlet. And most of the government that affects people is  
15 what you do.

16 I was the mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota, for two  
17 terms and what that city government did had more to say about the  
18 lives of the people in Minneapolis than any state or federal  
19 government. We made the zoning laws, we had the power of police,  
20 we put out the fires or let them burn. We cleaned out the trash  
21 or it gathered. The city government. And yet you and I know  
22 that the city government has no more authority than the state is  
23 willing to give it. I would be less than honest with you if I  
24 tell you I didn't use to think that the biggest enemy I had when  
25 I was mayor of Minneapolis was the state government, because I

1 couldn't get much attention from it to the needs of a half million  
2 people, a half million people, when it didn't have adequate  
3 representation at the state legislature. It had quality repre-  
4 sentation, but when it is just one vote, it just didn't have  
5 enough representatives. And I didn't see that I had a state  
6 government in those days. I am speaking of those days. That is  
7 20 some years ago. I didn't think I had a state government that  
8 understood the housing needs of our people, that understood the  
9 revenue needs of our people, that understood the police needs of  
10 my city, that understood the welfare needs of my city. Yet I had  
11 in that city one-fifth of the total population of the state and  
12 the amount of state aid that I received, you could have put in  
13 a peanut. So I used to come to Washington. That was before I  
14 became a senator, too. I would come down here, not because I  
15 loved Washington, but because I loved Minneapolis and I was  
16 looking for somebody to help me. I had a job to do. I was a  
17 mayor of the 15th largest city in the United States. And I had  
18 serious problems. They weren't my problems, they were the com-  
19 munity's problems, they were the state's problems. And when I  
20 couldn't get any help at the legislature, gentlemen and ladies,  
21 and I couldn't get any at the state house, I went any place. I  
22 think I almost would have gone overseas if I thought I could have  
23 made it.

24 But I used to come to Washington. Many a man and woman  
25 has said Washington government, the government here, gets too big.

1 I grew up in business. I was born above a drug store and raised  
2 inside of one. My daddy used to tell me, "Son, whenever you  
3 don't put something in the order book and a customer comes in  
4 and asks for it and we are out of it and they go to another place  
5 to get it, we have lost a customer." I never forgot that.

6 He said there are two or three things you have to learn  
7 in business: You have to learn how to keep your books, you have  
8 to learn how to keep inventory, you have to learn how to put  
9 things down in the order book when you are short or out, and you  
10 have to learn how to take care of customers. But when you don't  
11 have the order books filled and when you don't have it in stock  
12 when somebody comes in and they needed it, they need it now, son,  
13 and when they don't get it and have to go somewhere else to get  
14 it, you have lost a customer.

15 When a state doesn't have it, is unwilling to stock it,  
16 unwilling to provide it, the mayor of the city is not going to  
17 love the governor or the legislature at all. He runs for office,  
18 too. You have heard about that. He comes just pell mell down  
19 to Washington, D.C., and he will start a major war on you.

20 That is exactly what has happened. I know the mayors  
21 of America. I have had more meetings with mayors of America than  
22 any public official in the last 250 years. I meet with them all  
23 the time, and I know what they think, what they are saying. And  
24 we try to work. Farris Bryant and I work together. We are not  
25 trying to promote hostility between the state government and

1 Federal Government. We are trying to work together, and my good  
2 friend and I, Price Daniel. We try to work together.

3 It gets right back to what I am saying, that the pro-  
4 grams we have today now are essentially programs that require the  
5 cooperation, the partnership between the federal and state govern-  
6 ments, and the local governments are the children of the state.  
7 There isn't a local government that has any more authority than  
8 your state constitution or the legislature is willing to give it.  
9 They have a charter, but you can revoke that. That charter comes,  
10 many of them, because you permitted it. In other words, you have  
11 the power in the legislature. So we need you and we need to work  
12 with you. And you need to understand what your Federal Government  
13 is trying to do and we need to understand your peculiar problems,  
14 the problems that are peculiar to you and your need to you.

15 I believe this is what we are really at now. This  
16 country of ours is not a monolith. Now I want to give a little  
17 lecture to my friends in Washington. I can do this, because as  
18 I am Vice President I have a lot of responsibility and not much  
19 authority. But I am a student of government. I used to teach  
20 American Government and local government. I sometimes feel I owe  
21 all my students a refund now, after having been in it a while. I  
22 don't know if I have served my country well, but I have been able  
23 to observe what goes on and I am keenly interested in public  
24 service and in the quality of public service and what public  
25 service does for the people. That is the only purpose of public

1 service, what it does for our community.

2           Many times we in Washington are prone to think of the  
3 United States of America as if it were one solid board with one  
4 permanent grain all the way through it with no variations. This  
5 is a pluralistic society. It is a mosaic. It is not a monolith,  
6 it isn't a community, a national community that has one culture,  
7 one ethnic group, one religion, one type of economy. It is a  
8 mixture. And that is its vitality. that is its beauty, and that  
9 is also its complexity. Therefore, when national legislation is  
10 passed, those of us who are trying to more clearly understand  
11 this America of ours must realize that that national legislation  
12 must be rather broad in principle and have adaptations that fit  
13 the locality and the state and the community. That is where you  
14 come in for your advice and for your counsel.

15           I have noticed in the last year that more legislative  
16 leaders are testifying before Congress. That is exactly what  
17 we need. We don't just need the prominent economists from the  
18 University of Minnesota or Harvard or the University of California  
19 to come down here and testify. He has never been in government.

20           Don't misunderstand me, I respect their knowledge. But  
21 until you have really been burned a little bit in public service,  
22 until you have been at it, until the constituents have worked  
23 you over a little bit, until you have traveled in every township,  
24 nook and cranny, village and city, you don't know about govern-  
25 ment. You can write books on it but you don't know about it.

1 I could have written a book on it before I got down here, and I  
2 think I would have been in less trouble than the one I will write  
3 when I leave here.

4 (Applause)

5 We need our people, our people need to hear. The men  
6 that are in Congress come from you, and the Senate -- the men of  
7 the House and of the Senate come from your communities. They  
8 want to do what is right. They are not down here determined to  
9 injure you or your people. There are different points of view  
10 we have. President Johnson has said he has never found a man in  
11 Congress or in the government that had determined to come down  
12 here to hurt the people. People come down here to do what they  
13 think is right. We just disagree once in a while as to what is  
14 right. But we don't need to disagree as to a man's motivation.  
15 But we need to hear from the majority leader and minority leader  
16 of the state legislatures on every bill of any consequence that  
17 requires state cooperation. We need to hear from your governor,  
18 too, who represents the total state. We really need your counsel  
19 and advice. I am not going to say it will always be accepted,  
20 because frankly they don't accept -- once in a while they accept  
21 some of mine, not often. You can't expect your counsel and advice  
22 always to be accepted, but it is part of the mix. We need you.

23 Then besides that, you need to hear what the senator  
24 says and the congressman says who has to vote on that legislation,  
25 the dialogue, not the argument, not trying to prove that you are

1 just parochial and that you have a narrow minded point of view  
 2 and that the congressman or the senator has a worldly or a  
 3 national point of view. That isn't getting us any place. We  
 4 need to have people come before these committees, testify. We  
 5 even need your advice before the bill is put out, before it is put  
 6 to the committee. That is what the President of the United States  
 7 is asking of his cabinet.

8 In one of our cabinet meetings, ladies and gentlemen,  
 9 the President of the United States said, "Before you start sending  
 10 up legislation, I want you to double check with governors and with  
 11 legislative leaders to see what the bugs are in this, to see if  
 12 this is the sort of thing that will work, to see that this is the  
 13 sort of thing that is needed." It doesn't mean that we will veto  
 14 something that we planned on doing, but I think that rational and  
 15 reasonable men take that advice seriously.

16 Now, I have been in Washington since 1948 and the first  
 17 president that I have ever heard that has said to any of his  
 18 federal officials, "Before you start to develop a whole new nation-  
 19 al policy, would you mind talking with the governors and the  
 20 legislative leaders; if it relates to municipalities, would you  
 21 talk to some of the mayors?"

22 There is an association, there is a group.

23  
 24  
 25

WARD & PAUL

end wb

1 I know that my friend, Ferris Bryant, went around the  
2 country, meeting with Governors and Cabinet officers of the  
3 states and I know with some of the legislative leaders. I  
4 know that Governor Daniel will do the same thing.

5 Might I suggest that I am sure you do the same at  
6 your State Legislature, that if there is legislation that  
7 affects the cities and townships, you talk with the local people.  
8 I hope you do, because we need you.

9 What I am saying is that the partnership is that not  
10 one has all the voting stock and the other one is just window  
11 dressing. The partnership that we need between federal and state,  
12 between President and Governor, between senator, congressman,  
13 and legislator, between President and Vice President and  
14 Majority Leader and Speaker and Minority Leader, that partner-  
15 ship is one of mutual respect and one in which we each carry our  
16 share of the load, where we can talk it out ahead of time.  
17 We are not helping anybody by just proving that the President  
18 was wrong or proving that the Governor was wrong or having the  
19 President prove that the Majority Leader of the House of Repre-  
20 sentatives was wrong or the Minority Leader. We are helping  
21 when we can get something done.

22 Now I am going to be more specific. What are some  
23 of the critical needs today? I think you know them.

24 First of all, in our poverty areas, and every state  
25 has some, the basic need is a job -- j-o-b. That job can best

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1 be provided through private industry, and I think it is the  
2 duty of the Federal Government and the State Government, of  
3 every officer of that government to work with private industry  
4 to find out how those jobs can be provided.

5 Let me give you an example of what I am talking  
6 about. We have gone on for a long time feeling -- let me  
7 back up here a minute. The people that are unemployed today,  
8 most of them, are what we call unemployables. Who put that  
9 tag on them I do not know, but that is what they call them.  
10 Or they have another fancy phrase. They are called the hard  
11 core, and even now we talk about ghettos. I think that ought  
12 to be gotten out of our language. This country is not --  
13 "ghettos" has no place in the lexicon of a free society. But  
14 at least these people are unskilled, oftentimes poorly edu-  
15 cated, all too often discouraged and frustrated, sometimes  
16 hostile and cynical or bitter. They can be white or black  
17 and when I was in California, a man of Oriental ancestry came  
18 up and said, would you mind, Mr. Vice President, including us  
19 in? We are neither white nor black. Some of us are brown,  
20 yellow, some red. There are all kinds of Americans. I said  
21 thank you for reminding me of that.

22 The group that we are talking about that plagues  
23 us today in terms of our social problems is the discontented,  
24 the disheartened, the deprived, the poor. Now, there is a  
25 way to take care of them which is about what we have been

1 doing, and you are as guilty as we are, so do not lay it one  
2 on the other. You have been voting those welfare budgets.  
3 I was Chairman of the Board of Public Welfare in Minneapolis  
4 when I was Mayor. I know about the welfare budget. We had  
5 plenty of it. But I will tell you something, I was the first  
6 mayor in the U. S. to set up a vocational program to get the  
7 people off the welfare budget and we did. We took hundreds  
8 of families and trained them for jobs. I speak from experi-  
9 ence, not from the textbook. I started to write that text-  
10 book. We went in and found families that had been on relief  
11 for thirty and forty years and said, let's find out if those  
12 families cannot be trained for jobs.

13 We went out to the industrialists in 1945 and 1946  
14 and said, listen, we have a family that we are training up,  
15 boys that we are training up, we have a breadwinner of a fam-  
16 ily, who could be breadwinner of a family, we are training  
17 them so we want you to hire them.

18 They have a big argument up in Congress now about  
19 training people that are on welfare. I believe they should  
20 if a person is physically able. We are not trying to build  
21 in this country a welfare state. We all ought to come to  
22 that agreement. We are trying to build in this country a  
23 state of opportunity.

24 The easiest thing for a man in government to do  
25 in a rich society is to write a check, even if you have to

1 have it on borrowed money. I call that checkbook diplomacy.  
2 I said that out in Honolulu when I was talking to the Bar  
3 Association out there. You can always write out another  
4 check and it will keep somebody peaceful for a while. Or  
5 maybe once in a while you have to face up to the problem.

6 You can have a checkbook family, too. When the kids  
7 get in trouble, buy them another car, give them another dollar,  
8 another hundred. What they need is attention and love and  
9 guidance. That takes more time. It takes more sense, too.

10 You can have checkbook welfare and checkbook com-  
11 passion, too. Just give bigger welfare budgets. I happen to  
12 be a liberal, compassionate man. My religion has taught me  
13 that, my parents taught me that. I believe that the handi-  
14 capped, people really in need, children and mothers that cannot  
15 work, and children that are unable to work, of course, be-  
16 cause they are children, that are in need need to have wel-  
17 fare, compassion, charity. I believe in that.

18 I do not believe because you are compassionate, you  
19 are a weakling or a coward. I think you are a strong man and  
20 brave. I do not think that charity reveals that you are soft.  
21 I think it reveals that you are good. But I want to say that  
22 charity and welfare can be carried too far. What you really  
23 ought to do is start to separate the welfare cases from the  
24 opportunity cases. And that means that we need to emphasize  
25 the training and the education and the character development

1 and the human development, the development of human resources,  
2 not by the opiate of a welfare check, but by the exciting  
3 experience of training and guidance and education and counsel-  
4 ing and motivation.

5 That takes time. That is where you separate the men  
6 from the boys, because that means you have to figure out what  
7 no one has been able to figure out for the last 500 years or  
8 longer, how do you take a person or a family that has had tra-  
9 dition or a background of being nonproductive, a taxeater  
10 rather than a taxpayer; how do you take that nonproductive  
11 person, that person that seems to have no motivation, no de-  
12 sire to help himself, how do you get him to help himself and  
13 be a self-sustaining citizen? That is what we are trying to  
14 do. We are fumbling, we are faltering, but we are trying to  
15 do it and we are making some advance.

16 I happen to think that this is where all levels of  
17 government have a role and it cannot be done by the Federal  
18 Government, and if it is, you ought to be ashamed of yourselves,  
19 because we ought not to do it all here. The Government of the  
20 United States is not in Washington. Just part of it is here.  
21 It is in the state capital, as I said, in the county seat,  
22 and in the city hall. That is where the government is closest  
23 to the people.

24 I think state legislative bodies, with their gover-  
25 nors, should start to think about now how they, in their states,

1 can work through their school system, through their training  
2 institutes, through their private enterprise, to get the  
3 hard core unemployed employed, trained, on the job, and pro-  
4 ductive. The greatest single source of new economic power in  
5 America is in the poor.

6 That is what I told that group across here a moment  
7 ago. Some fellows here are from Minnesota, some of our repre-  
8 sentatives here. We had high grade iron ore in Minnesota until  
9 they schooped it all out of the earth. Two or three wars and  
10 an industrial expansion, eighty percent of all the iron ore  
11 used in the United States in the last seventy -- up until  
12 1960, from 1875 to 1960 -- was from the iron ore mines of  
13 the United States and sixty-some percent of that was from  
14 Minnesota. Finally they scooped it all out and there was  
15 nothing left.

16 That is like all the skilled workers, they are gone.  
17 They have jobs. All the semiskilled, they have jobs. Anybody  
18 who really wants to work has a job today and you know that,  
19 except for a few instances where there is a little technologi-  
20 cal unemployment for a while. But this is a fully employed  
21 economy for the employables. We had fully utilized our  
22 high-grade ore and we ended up with 40 percent unemployment,  
23 bankruptcy, insolvency, communities dying out. But somebody  
24 said, look, you have two billion tons of taconite over there,  
25 you have millions of tons of low-grade iron ore, there is  
iron in there. All you need to do is beneficiate it, improve

1 it, develop it, and you can have a boom in your economy.

2 And we did, by tax laws, by writing in investment,  
3 by processing. Today we have what we call the beneficiation  
4 of taconite and we exported last year millions of tons of  
5 taconite pellets in competition with Liberaï, Venezuela,  
6 African and Canadian ore. And what was a small economy is a  
7 booming economy in iron ore, or at least a prosperous economy  
8 and a moving economy, with hundreds of millions of dollars of  
9 investment.

10 Now, what is my analogy? The skill was all gone,  
11 that is the high-grade ore. The skilled workers are all used  
12 up today, they are in use. But below that, there were bil-  
13 lions of tons of low-grade ore and taconite, as we have today  
14 one-seventh of our population that is poverty-stricken. We  
15 have hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed today because  
16 they are unemployable according to certain standards. We need  
17 to beneficiate those people. We need to enrich their human  
18 resources just exactly as industry went in and took low-grade  
19 ore and enriched it, beneficiated it, made ~~the~~ most productive,  
20 made ~~the~~ most usable iron ore in the world. Prosperity came  
21 from it, profits came from it, exports came from it and America  
22 is richer because of it and the people are better because of  
23 it.

24 This is what can happen in America. I saw it. I  
25 was in Fresno, California. I was in Alameda. I went into

1 a training program by the Alameda Central Labor Council.  
2 They were training welders. On the morning that I arrived,  
3 six welders got a job.

4 And who do you think they were? Hard core unem-  
5 ployed, never had a job in their lives and most of them have  
6 been in jail or the reformatory or prison. They had already  
7 placed over a hundred of them. Every one of them had been a  
8 welfare case or had been a case for a penal institution or  
9 a correction institution. Every one of them the taxpayers  
10 had spent thousands of dollars upon, to get nothing out of  
11 them.

12 And somebody said they got together with industry  
13 and the government -- the Central Labor Council, the Chamber  
14 of Commerce in Oakland, the Federal Government. And they got  
15 together and put together a training program. They are now  
16 turning out heavy machine operators at a minimum wage of  
17 \$4.90 an hour. They were turning out that day welders at  
18 \$2.90 an hour. They were becoming taxpayers, self-sustaining,  
19 productive citizens.

20 It can be done. Now, that is not just a federal  
21 job. That is for you, too. Jobs. I think the jobs ought  
22 to be in private industry. I think that we have had far  
23 too much emphasis upon the Federal Government trying to do  
24 it alone. I think every State Legislature ought to take a  
25 look at its tax laws to see whether there are any tax incentives

1 you can give your private industry out there to train the  
2 workers in your state. That is where your poor are. You pay  
3 the welfare bills. Let's see whether or not we can upgrade  
4 the job training, the on-the-job training.

5 I think the Federal Government ought to do it, too,  
6 and we are doing it. The President announced a few days ago  
7 a pilot project for five major cities to give it a run. I  
8 believe he ought to go to private industry where we have the  
9 hard core unemployed and say, loo, I think you ought to do it,  
10 you give them the going wage. The difference between what  
11 that person can earn and what it costs you to train him, we  
12 will give you. But let's let you do it.

13 What we do not need is a 1967 WPA. What we need is  
14 a partnership, where government, federal, state and local,  
15 has a partnership so where a man has a job and he gets a  
16 check, it does not come from a department of the state or  
17 your welfare government, but comes from General Electric or  
18 Westinghouse or Honeywell, I have to get a Minnesota firm in,  
19 or the three Ms.

end rh

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WARD & PAUL

25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20001

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is what we need to do.  
2 We're prone to look to Washington to do this. Gentlemen,  
3 I'm here to ask you to innovate at the State level. When I  
4 was in college we used to talk about Professor Commons out in  
5 Wisconsin. He was the great innovator in Wisconsin on social  
6 security and social welfare. Governor Alfred Smith of New  
7 York became a presidential candidate primarily because his  
8 State was a laboratory for a new America. Whatever you may  
9 think about him, he was a tremendous political force in his  
10 State, and his legislative leaders pioneered in many of the  
11 things that are today the reality for the Nation. I think  
12 our State legislatures are the laboratories of democratic  
13 government, and I am of the opinion that when we're talking  
14 about what the Federal Government ought to be doing, we need  
15 some test areas to see how it really works. I don't know of  
16 anybody who can work closer to the people than the people who  
17 live with the people. If there are going to be better schools  
18 or worse ones, it is going to be where you live, not where we  
19 live down here in Washington. The District of Columbia has  
20 enough of its problems. But if there are going to be more  
21 jobs or fewer jobs, it is out where you are. If there's going  
22 to be clean air or air that is polluted, it's where you are.  
23 And sometimes it's not good enough for one state to have good  
24 antipollution measures when the next state right across the  
25 border has sulphurous gas going out of the smokestacks in the

1 next state. You know the State compact or regional approaches  
2 to these things.

3 So I ask you to give your attention to jobs, give  
4 your attention to city legislation. The model city bill has  
5 passed here in Congress. I don't know what's in it. Sometime,  
6 I want to go over it with you. I just know that for the first  
7 time, the President of the United States has put together a pro-  
8 gram or policy or concept that permits participation by State  
9 Government, local government, private groups, in the rebuilding  
10 of a neighborhood and of a city.

11 And neighborhoods -- remember, every city is but a  
12 collection of neighborhoods. It is a federation of neighbor-  
13 hoods. And remember that every state is a federation of cities,  
14 villages, hamlets, and farms. They are all distinct, they are  
15 all individual.

16 That model cities program -- I once got into what they  
17 said was some difficulty here because I called it a Marshall  
18 Plan for the United States. I still do, because that is what  
19 it is. It provides for genuine planning, Federal, State and  
20 local. And it provides for private initiative and private  
21 participation. You're not going to rebuild America out of  
22 Washington. I'm here to tell you. It is a bad thing for a  
23 Vice President to say, I guess. You're not going to rebuild  
24 America out of public funds. We're going to do it out of  
25 private funds. The public can help. The public can give the

1 extra measure, the loan guarantees, maybe the tax incentives.  
2 The public can help with the planning money, with the technical  
3 assistance. The public resources can share, can help build the  
4 infrastructure, help train the people.

5 But to rebuild America as it needs to be in some areas  
6 is going to take private investment, private encouragement,  
7 private initiative, and that is going to require our cooperation.

8 Remember when the businessman is talking about govern-  
9 ment, he is talking about you, too, not just the fellows down  
10 in Washington. When he's mad at government, he is mad at you,  
11 too, because you tax him, too. And by the way, you have been  
12 doing quite a little of it. And by the way, you had to do it.  
13 It doesn't make you popular, but you have to do it.

14 Can I ask you to help us in our youth program? I'm  
15 Chairman of the Youth Council. This is why I am here today.  
16 Can you think of anything that is better for you? The Youth  
17 program is good for you economically, socially, and politically,  
18 ladies and gentlemen. I note that a number of you go to 4-H  
19 Club meetings, and I doubt that you go there to learn how to  
20 milk cows. Most of you like to be seen at high school commence-  
21 ments, and I know it isn't because you are expecting a diploma.  
22 It does have something to do with getting elected. But it also  
23 has something to do with knowing the people and being part of  
24 that and being included in that.

25 The Youth Opportunity program is designed to help

4 1 youth get experience in living, wholesome experience in living.  
2 We're educating our young people today in schools. It's like  
3 hothouse growth. It's the best that we can do.

4           When I grew up, I got my education alongside my  
5 father. It was Humphrey's Drugstore. He brought me into  
6 Humphrey's Drugstore. Do you think if he was a manager for  
7 Waldron's, he could have had me tailing alongside of him? Do  
8 you think the manufacturer, the industrial worker, the worker  
9 in Ford or the worker in General Motors or American Motors or  
10 Chrysler could bring his kid along and say, "I want you to see  
11 how Daddy does it"? Oh, no. Daddy goes off to the plant, the  
12 kid goes off to school, and Mother goes about her business.  
13 It's the only way we can do it today. But we have to give them  
14 that experience. We have to find jobs for young people so that  
15 they learn real life in real time, not in fiction, this syn-  
16 thetic hothouse experience, but the experience of real life  
17 out in real life, on the playgrounds, in jobs, in training pro-  
18 grams.

1 Now, I have called upon every Governor and every  
2 Mayor in America to set up a Youth Opportunity Commission in  
3 their state. Most of the crime, I think the Attorney General  
4 will tell you, is committed by youngsters 15 or 16 years of  
5 age.

6 Is that correct?

7 I think that is the largest group.

8 ATTORNEY GENERAL CLARK: More crimes are committed  
9 by people that age than any other age.

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That's right, more crimes  
11 are committed by people 15 or 16 than by any other group. That  
12 young man or woman is a restless soul, and the greatest source  
13 of power is not atomic power but youth power. You either  
14 direct it to constructive purposes or it will do like atomic  
15 power: it gets loose in the hands of bad people and is used  
16 for destructive purposes. Last summer, we provided with your  
17 cooperation in your state, with private groups, with very  
18 little cooperation from legislators -- I'm not angry about it,  
19 it's just a fact -- 1,400,000 jobs for young people, deprived,  
20 needy young people. A year ago, it was a million. This last  
21 summer, my dear friends, we provided in Boy Scout camps across  
22 the United States, through the help of private individuals in  
23 your communities, with some help from the Federal government,  
24 25,000 camping experiences. A year before, the number of in-  
25 creases in Boy Scout camps was \$292.

1           What about a camping program in your state? What  
2           can you do about it in the next legislative session? Do you  
3           have enough camps? Are you really interested in getting these  
4           young people a camping experience?

5           What about a job program? Have you called upon the  
6           employers in your state? Has your Governor set up a commission  
7           or a youth council to maximize, energize the private and state  
8           resources of your state to take care of youth problems?

9           We have youth commissions that take care of those in  
10          trouble. I know about that. Every time you get one arrested,  
11          we have laws passed that if they get arrested, you'll give them  
12          attention. I had that in Minneapolis. They had it in the State  
13          of Minnesota. I forget what they called it, Youth Rehabilita-  
14          tion or something. But they have to get in trouble before  
15          they can rehabilitate them.

16          What about keeping them out of trouble? What about  
17          a youth program in every state -- not in Washington alone. We  
18          have worked our heads off this last summer. But I call upon  
19          you when you go back to your State Legislature that somehow,  
20          something is done, if it is only passing a resolution to call  
21          the attention of the people in your state that the number one  
22          asset is their youth, that in your state, there are a number  
23          of them without jobs, without part-time jobs and without  
24          adequate education and in the summer, they're standing on the  
25          street corners. They ought to be in a factory, they ought to

1 be in a wholesale house, they ought to be out on a road job,  
2 they ought to be working. And they can be.

3 I'm happy to tell you, private industry is excited  
4 about this. All over America, we're getting help now; all  
5 over the nation.

6 I was in Kansas City the day before yesterday. We  
7 had a hundred businessmen there this summer that met. I asked  
8 them to get busy and start to employ young people. They took  
9 me seriously. They organized this 100 into a separate  
10 committee in Kansas City. The Mayor was telling me about it.  
11 They have gone from plant to plant, not just a general ad  
12 saying, we love young people; employ **them**. No, they have gone  
13 **from** plant to plant -- these are private businessmen now that  
14 organized with the cooperation of the Mayor and the Governor --  
15 they have gone from plant to plant and they have put on 2,200  
16 young people that never had jobs before in private industry.  
17 These are hard-core unemployed that would be involved in trouble  
18 unless they were at work.

19 That's what I really wanted to tell you. Jobs, kids,  
20 education. When you hear of a program that somebody is talk-  
21 ing about down here in Washington, if it looks any good, why  
22 dont you grab it?

23 You know, I have found out that most of the good  
24 ideas that I have are some that I stole from somebody else.  
25 If he lets you, take it. There's no law against that. They

bsp-1 call it in writing plagiarism, and in politics, they call it  
2 being smart.

3 (Applause.)

end 2 4 I want to summarize my case. We need you. I think  
5 you need us. I think we ought to consult on legislation be-  
6 fore the legislation becomes a reality. We need your counsel  
7 and advice. I ask you to take a good look in your home state,  
8 what your legislature can do to stimulate not just the War on  
9 Poverty but the adventure and opportunity. That is what we're  
10 talking about.

11 A lot of people don't want just to be talking about  
12 poverty. I don't like it myself. I want to see people have a  
13 chance -- not a chance to get on the unemployment compensation  
14 rolls, not a chance to get on the welfare rolls, but a chance  
15 to get a job and a chance to get in industry and a chance to  
16 get in school and a chance to amount to something. Let's see  
17 what we're doing about it at the legislature level. If you  
18 do enough about it, we can continue to make mistakes down here  
19 and it won't hurt anybody. But if you don't do something  
20 about it, any mistake we make could be disastrous.

21 If we make some right judgments, which I think we  
22 have, you might want to join in on it. I'm sure if you do  
23 join in, we'll do better. I'm sure that we'll learn more from  
24 you than you'll learn from us.

25 I say this in all sincerity, not to flatter you: we

Esp-5

1 need the revitalization of State government in America like  
2 we have never needed it before. We need to have people at a  
3 local level to take a look at local government like never be-  
4 fore. We need to understand that the power of this nation  
5 is in its people and its private resources. We need to have  
6 that philosophy and we need to make our government a partner  
7 with them and them with us. I really appeal to you to take the  
8 lead now and we'll try to cooperate.

9 Thank you.

10 MR. DANIEL: Mr. Vice President, I think this  
11 audience has shown its appreciation for this wonderful address.  
12 We do appreciate it more than we can tell you.

13 (Whereupon, at 2:40 o'clock p.m., the Conference was  
14 adjourned.)

WARD &amp; PAUL



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