

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

JOINT SESSION OF THE WEST VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE  
Charleston, West Virginia  
February 3, 1972

Have you ever wondered what it would be like if government really worked?

If we had uniformly good schools with quality education for all of our children?

If all our elderly could live out their lives in security and with decency?

If there were enough good jobs for all those who wanted to work?

If our health system provided quality health care for all Americans instead of for just a few?

If peace were a fact of life instead of just a long-sought goal?

If these things came to pass, we would not be living in a utopia.

No, we would be living in a country where government worked -- where the goal of government was people.

Somehow it seems people have been forgotten.

And this is a tragic fact in 1972 because we have just lived through a decade of commitment to people's needs.

When John F. Kennedy and I came to West Virginia in the spring of 1960, we found a state and a nation beset by serious economic decline.

We found a people who had given much but who had been denied their rightful share of prosperity in a nation becoming richer every year.

In the spring of 1960 the people of West Virginia and the 18 million Americans living in the Appalachian region became symbols of those left behind by an affluent nation.

Despite the fact that 75,000 people were out of work here, West Virginians were not about to give up.

And you didn't.

Both John Kennedy and I made a commitment to the people of West Virginia and both of us -- in our own way -- worked to fulfill this commitment. He as President and I as Majority Whip -- the same position that your distinguished Senator Robert Byrd holds today.

John Kennedy has been taken from us.

But I want to continue his tradition of government dedicated to the people. I want to continue the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman, of Lyndon Johnson -- the tradition of caring about the needs of people.

During the decade of the 1960's, government stirred the spirit of man's lofty ambitions.

And, the verdict of the 1960's is this: We had our troubles -- and they were severe. But we learned that problems are never solved by looking backwards. It is to the horizons of tomorrow that we must cast our eyes.

What will be the verdict of the 1970's?

We face today a crisis of public responsibility.

Government itself is at fault.

Widespread doubt clouds our system of government.

The vital elements of faith in the people by those in government and confidence in the government by the people has been seriously eroded. Without that trust and confidence, representative government cannot work.

We are a great nation of massive wants crying for attention. We need new schools, hospitals, clinics, roads and parks. But with more than five million people out of work nationally, 35,000 people without jobs in West Virginia, families suffering, our leaders stand in the way of job creating programs they claim are nothing but government make-work.

The sad fact of 1972 is that the government of this nation has failed to equal the vitality and dreams of the American people.

While the government stands still, the American people want an end to poverty, good homes, adequate health care and jobs.

But how can we move forward?

What must government do now?

Good government that responds to the needs of people must first have agreement with the people as to what is to be done, how it is to be done, and when it is to be done.

And that, my friends, means planning and goals. We will be plagued by hit and miss and stop and go programs until planning becomes a part of government.

In order to begin a decade of domestic development, we must organize our institutions of government around three themes.

One, we must launch a concerted attack on special tax privilege, tax shelters for the wealthy and tax unfairness.

Two, we must rekindle the inventive flame of state and local government.

Three, we must refocus our attention on our primary source of strength: the American people.

The American tax system is unfair and unjust.

It is rigged against work, against wages, against salaries.

It is rigged against the elderly.

It is rigged against the middle income worker.

It is rigged against the poor.

And it is rigged in favor of unearned income.

Our tax system rewards wealth and deals harshly with the man who must earn a livelihood by holding a job.

The American people will not tolerate a system which allows 301 Americans with incomes in excess of \$200,000 to pay no income tax at all.

The American people will not tolerate a system which allows the largest oil company in the world -- netting over 2.4 billion dollars -- to pay less than 11 percent of its income in taxes.

The American people will no longer tolerate a system which relies too heavily on the regressive and unjust property tax as a major source of local revenue. This tax is a hardship for the middle-income home owner. It prevents full educational opportunity for all children.

We must create a tax system that puts a halt to the relentless battle among special interests to see who pays the least. All American taxpayers are oppressed today because some Americans are not paying their fair share.

The time has come for tax reform and tax justice at the state and federal level.

As a second theme, we must restore a more even balance between state responsibilities and state financial resources.

The federal government pays less than 7 percent of the total education bill of our children -- yet all children are citizens of the United States.

And the Nixon Administration now wants to put an end to the Appalachian Regional Commission.

I pledge to you today that I will join with your two able and distinguished Senators from West Virginia, Jennings Randolph and Bob Byrd, to prevent this program from dying. It has helped West Virginia and many other states. The Appalachian Regional Commission has done too much to improve the quality of life for West Virginians to die a slow death at the hands of the present Administration.

Today I call for a fair sharing between states and the federal government. We need a partnership -- not a rivalry.

Let us increase the partnership in the budget decisions of the federal government. How can the federal government form a \$250 billion budget when West Virginians were never asked about their housing, health, or education needs?

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I say, let us share our tax dollars, let us share our budget decisions, let us share our problems.

Let us find together our common solutions in a new American partnership.

Finally, the crisis of public responsibility will be ended when the American people become the focus once again of government -- when government remembers the first three words of the Constitution are "We the people..."

Government of the people means something when the hungry are fed, when the poor have jobs, when our natural resources are protected, when those who labor in the mines of West Virginia are protected from the ravages of disease and disaster.

Something is happening in this nation and those of us in government had better recognize it. People are demanding accountability, responsibility, and sensibility from every level of government.

They want to know who's in charge. And they want results. And they have a right to no less.

Government can no longer substitute the promise of action for action, rhetoric for performance, and TV prime time for first class, prime service.

The people of West Virginia, the American people are saying to government: "Give us policies we can believe in -- give us services we want and can pay for."

America does not need to be paralyzed by a government of indecision and indifference. We are capable of doing great things -- we have done so before.

We helped a war torn Europe rebuild its cities. And we must do the same and better here.

We can build more and better homes.

We can provide comprehensive health care for all.

We can revitalize rural America.

All of this can be done if only we make the commitment, plan for it, mobilize our resources, and get to work.

The '70's must be a decade for reconciling our differences, for rebuilding our country and for reaffirming our faith in god, country, and self.

Over 30 years ago Franklin Roosevelt said that "the test of progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

This is the challenge of the 1970's. And to mee the challenge we must be able to say of this decade: It was a time when government rediscovered people and together a nation moved forward again.

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000930

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

JOINT SESSION OF THE WEST VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE

CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA

FEBRUARY 3, 1972

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MEMORANDUM

February 2, 1972

Gov Moore  
Jump Rankin  
Bark Bond

TO: Senator  
FROM: Dan S.  
SUBJECT: Appearance before Legislature

State of Matthew Neely  
Harley Kelgro

Gov Moore

NAMES TO MENTION IN INTRODUCTION

Speaker

✓ Louis McManus -- Speaker of the House of Delegates

President

Hans McCourt -- President of the Senate

Tommie Miles -- Majority Leader of the House  
(old friend; 1960 supporter)

Bill Brotherton -- Majority Leader of the Senate

C.A. Blankenship - clerk of House

Howard Carson - clerk of Senate

~~WE'VE BEEN GETTING CALLED FROM GOVERNOR SENATE MOORE'S~~

Special Meeting to Mrs Borasky -

Disting Members of Court - + Board of Public works

~~BECAUSE MOORE WILL NOT BE OUR GOVERNOR AND WE CAN'T GET REELECTED.~~

Please Note: YOU MIGHT ALSO MENTION TWO OLD FRIENDS:

CLERK BLANKENSHIP OF THE HOUSE AND

SENATE CLERK HOWARD CARSON.

Blankenship  
Howard Carson

- Bob Mallohan  
- Harley Staggins  
- John Slack SLACK  
- Ken Hookler HOOKLER  
- James Kee KEE

It is good to be back in W. Virginia.

Dream with me <sup>000932</sup>

↳ HAVE YOU EVER WONDERED WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE IF

GOVERNMENT REALLY WORKED? *some needed it would*

↳ IF WE HAD UNIFORMLY GOOD SCHOOLS WITH QUALITY EDUCATION

FOR ALL OF OUR CHILDREN?

↳ IF ALL OUR ELDERLY COULD LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN SECURITY

AND WITH DECENCY?

↳ IF THERE WERE ENOUGH GOOD JOBS FOR ALL THOSE WHO WANTED

TO WORK?

↳ IF OUR HEALTH SYSTEM PROVIDED QUALITY HEALTH CARE FOR ALL

AMERICANS INSTEAD OF FOR JUST A FEW?

↳ IF PEACE WERE A FACT OF LIFE INSTEAD OF JUST A LONG-SOUGHT

GOAL?

L IF THESE THINGS CAME TO PASS, WE WOULD NOT BE LIVING IN A  
UTOPIA!

L NO, WE WOULD BE LIVING IN A COUNTRY WHERE GOVERNMENT WORKED  
-- WHERE THE GOAL OF GOVERNMENT WAS ~~PEOPLE~~ *in fact, Heart of the People*

*But,* SOMEHOW IT SEEMS PEOPLE HAVE BEEN FORGOTTEN, *But the People + For the People*

~~AND THIS IS A TRAGIC FACT IN 1972 BECAUSE WE HAVE JUST LIVED  
THROUGH A DECADE OF COMMITMENT TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS,~~

L WHEN JOHN F. KENNEDY AND I CAME TO WEST VIRGINIA IN THE  
SPRING OF 1960, WE FOUND A STATE AND A NATION BESET BY SERIOUS  
ECONOMIC DECLINE.

L WE FOUND A PEOPLE WHO HAD GIVEN MUCH BUT WHO HAD BEEN  
DENIED THEIR RIGHTFUL SHARE OF PROSPERITY IN A NATION BECOMING

*were getting*  
RICHER EVERY YEAR.

*where some people*

IN THE SPRING OF 1960, THE PEOPLE OF WEST VIRGINIA AND THE  
18 MILLION AMERICANS LIVING IN THE APPALACHIAN REGION BECAME

SYMBOLS OF THOSE LEFT BEHIND ~~BY AN AFFLUENT NATION,~~ *forgotten & forsaken.*

*But* L DESPITE THE FACT THAT 75,000 PEOPLE WERE OUT OF WORK HERE,

WEST VIRGINIANS WERE NOT ABOUT TO GIVE UP,

L AND YOU DIDN'T!

L BOTH JOHN KENNEDY AND I MADE A COMMITMENT TO THE PEOPLE OF

WEST VIRGINIA AND BOTH OF US -- IN OUR OWN WAY -- WORKED TO FULFILL

THIS COMMITMENT L HE AS <sup>our</sup> PRESIDENT AND I AS MAJORITY WHIP, <sup>of the Senate</sup> -- THE

SAME POSITION THAT YOUR DISTINGUISHED SENATOR ROBERT BYRD HOLDS

TODAY - *We kept our promise ~~and~~ to West Virginia and the nation.*

L JOHN KENNEDY HAS BEEN TAKEN FROM US,

BUT I WANT TO CONTINUE HIS TRADITION OF GOVERNMENT DEDICATED  
TO THE PEOPLE. I WANT TO CONTINUE THE TRADITION OF FRANKLIN

ROOSEVELT, OF HARRY TRUMAN, OF LYNDON JOHNSON -- THE TRADITION OF  
CARING ABOUT THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE. *Government that cares,  
Government with a heart.*

L DURING THE DECADE OF THE 1960's, GOVERNMENT STIRRED THE  
SPIRIT OF MAN'S LOFTY AMBITIONS.

L ~~AND THE TRADITION OF THE 1960's IS THIS~~ <sup>*to be sure*</sup> WE HAD OUR TROUBLES

-- AND THEY WERE SEVERE. BUT WE LEARNED THAT PROBLEMS ARE NEVER

SOLVED BY LOOKING BACKWARDS L IT IS TO THE HORIZONS OF TOMORROW

THAT WE MUST CAST OUR EYES.

L WHAT WILL BE THE VERDICT OF THE 1970's? - *How will we be fed fed.?*

~~WE FACE TODAY A CRISIS OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY.~~

~~GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS AT FAULT.~~

L WIDESPREAD DOUBT CLOUDS OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

L THE VITAL ELEMENTS OF FAITH IN THE PEOPLE BY THOSE IN

GOVERNMENT, AND CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE HAS

BEEN SERIOUSLY ERODED. WITHOUT THAT TRUST AND CONFIDENCE,

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT CANNOT WORK.

L WE ARE A ~~MASSIVE~~ NATION OF MASSIVE WANTS CRYING FOR ATTENTION!

L WE NEED new industries NEW SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS, CLINICS, ROADS AND PARKS, airports *With*

MORE THAN FIVE MILLION PEOPLE OUT OF WORK NATIONALLY, 35,000

PEOPLE WITHOUT JOBS IN West Virginia, FAMILIES SUFFERING, *there*

*is no planning, no commitment to*  
~~LEADERS STAYING IN THE WAY OF NOT CREATING PROGRAMS THEY CLAIM ARE~~  
put our people back to work -  
~~HOPEFULLY THE GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE WORK.~~

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Instead, we are told that things will  
be better - ~~but~~ We are told that the future  
looks bright, even as the cost of living goes  
up, & the economy is in recession, and the  
welfare rolls increase, & unemployment grows.  
THE SAD FACT OF 1972 IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF THIS NATION

HAS FAILED TO EQUAL THE VITALITY AND DREAMS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT STANDS STILL, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT

*the want + need*

AN END TO POVERTY, A GOOD HOMES, ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE AND JOBS.

h BUT HOW CAN WE MOVE FORWARD?

L WHAT MUST GOVERNMENT DO NOW?

~~GOOD~~ GOVERNMENT THAT RESPONDS TO THE NEEDS OF PEOPLE MUST  
FIRST HAVE AGREEMENT WITH THE PEOPLE AS TO WHAT IS TO BE DONE,  
HOW IT IS TO BE DONE, AND WHEN IT IS TO BE DONE.

AND THAT ~~MEANS~~, MEANS PLANNING AND GOALS. *We have been*

*and will continue to*

BE PLAGUED BY HIT AND MISS AND STOP AND GO PROGRAMS UNTIL PLANNING

BECOMES A PART OF GOVERNMENT,

IN ORDER TO BEGIN A DECADE OF DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT, WE MUST ORGANIZE OUR INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AROUND THREE THEMES.

ONE, WE MUST LAUNCH A CONCERTED ATTACK ON SPECIAL TAX PRIVILEGE, TAX SHELTERS FOR THE WEALTHY AND TAX UNFAIRNESS.

↳ TWO, WE MUST REKINDLE THE INVENTIVE FLAME OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

↳ THREE, WE MUST REFOCUS OUR ATTENTION ON OUR PRIMARY SOURCE OF STRENGTH: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

↳ THE AMERICAN TAX SYSTEM IS UNFAIR AND UNJUST.

↳ IT IS RIGGED AGAINST WORK, AGAINST WAGES, AGAINST SALARIES.

↳ IT IS RIGGED AGAINST THE ELDERLY.

IT IS RIGGED AGAINST THE MIDDLE INCOME WORKER.

↳ IT IS RIGGED AGAINST THE POOR.

↳ AND IT IS RIGGED IN FAVOR OF UNEARNED INCOME.

↳ OUR TAX SYSTEM REWARDS WEALTH AND DEALS HARSHLY WITH THE

MAN WHO MUST EARN A LIVELIHOOD BY ~~HOLDING A JOB.~~

*his hourly wage, his weekly check, or his annual salary.*

~~THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NOT TOLERATE A SYSTEM WHICH ALLOWS~~

*hundreds of*

~~THE~~ AMERICANS WITH INCOMES IN EXCESS OF \$200,000 TO PAY NO INCOME

TAX AT ALL.

↳ THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NOT TOLERATE A SYSTEM WHICH ALLOWS

THE LARGEST OIL COMPANY IN THE WORLD -- NETTING OVER 2.4 BILLION

DOLLARS -- TO PAY LESS THAN 11 PERCENT OF ITS INCOME IN TAXES.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NO LONGER TOLERATE A SYSTEM WHICH  
 RELIES TOO HEAVILY ON THE REGRESSIVE AND UNJUST PROPERTY TAX AS  
 A MAJOR SOURCE OF LOCAL REVENUE. THIS TAX IS A HARDSHIP FOR THE  
 MIDDLE-INCOME HOME OWNER. IT PREVENTS FULL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY  
 FOR ALL CHILDREN.

WE MUST CREATE A TAX SYSTEM THAT PUTS A HALT TO THE  
 RELENTLESS ~~EFFORT~~ <sup>EFFORT BY</sup> SPECIAL INTERESTS TO SEE WHO PAYS THE  
 LEAST ~~AMOUNT~~ <sup>MANY</sup> TAXPAYERS ARE OPPRESSED TODAY BECAUSE SOME  
~~GROUPS~~ ARE NOT PAYING THEIR FAIR SHARE

THE TIME HAS COME FOR TAX REFORM AND TAX JUSTICE AT THE STATE  
 AND FEDERAL LEVEL.

*Rather than suggesting a Value Added National Sales tax, which ~~is~~ violates every principle of fairness & justice - which will add to the cost of living - The President &*

has Administration should be leading the fight for economic justice & fair play  
in our tax system

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a letter

~~As a second theme~~ WE MUST RESTORE ~~AN~~ BALANCE

BETWEEN STATE RESPONSIBILITIES AND STATE FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PAYS LESS THAN 7 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL

EDUCATION BILL OF OUR CHILDREN -- YET ALL CHILDREN ARE CITIZENS

OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Education is too important to be left to the limited financial resources of the property tax - It needs a continuous and generous contribution by the Federal government. I propose*

AND THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION NOW WANTS TO PUT AN END TO A steady increase in Fed Aid to Educ until at least 25% of all educational costs are paid from Fed Revenue - Trust Fund

THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION.

~~They must stop~~

~~I~~ I WILL JOIN WITH YOUR TWO ABLE

AND DISTINGUISHED SENATORS FROM WEST VIRGINIA, JENNINGS RANDOLPH

AND BOB BYRD, ~~TO PREVENT THIS PROGRAM FROM DYING~~ *to keep and strengthen this program.* IT HAS HELPED

WEST VIRGINIA AND MANY OTHER STATES,

*It needs your support, and*

THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION HAS DONE MUCH TO

IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR WEST VIRGINIANS, ~~we will not~~

*Let I suffer*

SLOW DEATH AT THE HANDS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION.

↳ TODAY I CALL FOR A FAIR SHARING BETWEEN STATES AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, WE NEED A PARTNERSHIP -- NOT A RIVALRY.

~~Government~~  
~~to the people~~  
~~and~~

↳ LET US INCREASE THE PARTNERSHIP IN THE BUDGET DECISIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, HOW CAN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FORM A

\$250 BILLION BUDGET WHEN WEST VIRGINIANS WERE NEVER ASKED ABOUT

THEIR HOUSING, HEALTH, OR EDUCATION NEEDS? *The Federal Budget*

*is far bigger, far important, and affects far many lives, to be the special instrument of just a few people in Washington. Let the Mayor, the Commission, the Legislators, the Governor have their say. Give them suggestions*

LET US FIND TOGETHER OUR COMMON SOLUTIONS IN A NEW AMERICAN

PARTNERSHIP.

FINALLY, THE CRISIS OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE ENDED  
 WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BECOME THE FOCUS ONCE AGAIN OF GOVERNMENT  
 -- WHEN GOVERNMENT REMEMBERS THE FIRST THREE WORDS OF THE  
 CONSTITUTION ARE "WE THE PEOPLE..."

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE MEANS SOMETHING WHEN THE HUNGRY ARE  
 FED, WHEN THE <sup>unemployed</sup> ~~poor~~ HAVE JOBS; WHEN OUR NATURAL RESOURCES ARE  
 PROTECTED; WHEN THOSE WHO LABOR IN THE MINES OF WEST VIRGINIA  
 ARE PROTECTED FROM THE RAVAGES OF DISEASE AND DISASTER;  
 when the sick have hosp + medical care;

SOMETHING IS HAPPENING IN THIS NATION AND THOSE OF US IN  
 GOVERNMENT HAD BETTER RECOGNIZE IT. PEOPLE ARE DEMANDING  
ACCOUNTABILITY, RESPONSIBILITY, AND SENSIBILITY FROM EVERY LEVEL  
OF GOVERNMENT. ~~the people~~

THEY WANT TO KNOW WHO'S IN CHARGE. AND THEY WANT RESULTS.

AND THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO NO LESS.

GOVERNMENT CAN NO LONGER SUBSTITUTE <sup>fact</sup> THE PROMISE OF  
ACTION FOR ~~ACTION~~ <sup>achievement,</sup> RHETORIC FOR PERFORMANCE, AND TV PRIME  
TIME FOR FIRST CLASS, PRIME SERVICE.

↳ THE PEOPLE OF WEST VIRGINIA, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE  
SAYING TO GOVERNMENT: "GIVE US POLICIES WE CAN BELIEVE IN --  
GIVE US SERVICES WE WANT AND CAN PAY FOR."

↳ AMERICA ~~must not~~ BE PARALYZED BY A GOVERNMENT OF  
INDECISION AND INDIFFERENCE. WE ARE CAPABLE OF DOING GREAT  
THINGS -- WE HAVE DONE SO BEFORE.

WE HELPED A WAR TORN EUROPE REBUILD ITS CITIES. AND WE ~~COMMITTED~~

DO THE SAME AND BETTER *right here.*

↳ WE CAN BUILD MORE AND BETTER HOMES —  
*we can provide for our needy*

↳ WE CAN PROVIDE COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL.  
*we can feed our hungry*

↳ WE CAN REVITALIZE RURAL AMERICA,  
*we can protect our environment*

ALL OF THIS CAN BE DONE IF ONLY WE MAKE THE COMMITMENT,

PLAN FOR IT, MOBILIZE OUR RESOURCES, AND GET TO WORK

THE '70'S MUST BE A DECADE FOR RECONCILING OUR DIFFERENCES,

FOR REBUILDING OUR COUNTRY AND FOR REAFFIRMING OUR FAITH IN

GOD, COUNTRY, AND SELF.

OVER 30 YEARS AGO FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT SAID THAT "THE TEST OF PROGRESS IS NOT WHETHER WE ADD TO THE ABUNDANCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE MUCH; IT IS WHETHER WE PROVIDE ENOUGH FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TOO LITTLE."

THIS IS THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1970's. AND TO MEET THE CHALLENGE WE MUST BE ABLE TO SAY OF THIS DECADE: IT WAS A TIME WHEN GOVERNMENT REDISCOVERED PEOPLE AND TOGETHER A NATION MOVED FORWARD AGAIN.

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