REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

MINNESOTA PRESS ASSOCIATION BANQUET

St. Paul, Minnesota

February 21, 1975

Harry Davey has told me that the theme of this year's event is "Fun Year" in Minnesota Newspapering. I find this hard to believe. To call this a "fun year" seems like the same kind of logic that the early Danish explorers used: They came across a vast, god-forsaken lump of ice and snow. And they called it Greenland.

I don't know if it was such a "fun year" in Washington reporting, either, unless you count Earl Butz's sense of humor, which has been widely overrated.

But maybe it was a better year in Minnesota. Maybe Wendy Anderson caught another bunch of fish. Or maybe Harry Davey caught a fish. Now that would be a story, right up there with "Man Bites Dog."

But, enough about stories of the "one that got away." I want to talk in a serious vein about one problem that is not going to go away, but will be very much with us in the months ahead. I am referring to the problem of working relationships between Congress and the Administration, to get on with the nation's urgent business.

Because the press reflects the way that we talk about government, and the people in turn view government the way the press sees it, I think it is time that we face up to a serious problem in communication.

We are faced with an unprecedented situation in the government of this nation. We have a Republican President and Vice President who were not elected by the people. On the other hand, we have an increasingly united Congress composed predominantly of Democrats.

Under these circumstances, it is almost irresistable for press and public alike to begin thinking in simple dualities -- the "President's plan" versus the "Congress's plan," or the executive versus the legislative branch.

The same is increasingly true of the way that we look at foreign policy. In the charges and counter-charges back and forth between the two branches, it has become too easy for one side to raise the accusation of an "imperial presidency," while the other side responds with criticism of "Congressional meddling" and the threat of so-called "legislative dictatorship."

These themes are developed so frequently that press, public, and even legislators themselves begin thinking in these simplistic terms.

But as you know, this kind of thinking will not produce the kind of effective leadership that our democracy needs to weather its current economic and political storms. It will not help to meet the challenge our leaders face to avoid the obstacles of partisan and institutional differences. And it will not aid us in forging a partnership based on shared needs in the national interest.

Clearly, we need a new emphasis on cooperation and mutual responsibility. Secretary Kissinger has called this emphasis a "new partnership," and I wholeheartedly endorse this concept.

But a partnership involves sharing, it involves giving, and it involves compromise. On both sides. Let us examine some of the requirements such a partnership must include.

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 policy making from both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, and I feel I am equipped to deal with the subject.

First of all, the Administration --

President Ford and Secretary Kissinger already have 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 and economic issues.

Nor is a useful purpose served by dealing with the Congress only when it is time for the hard sell. As Senator Vandenberg used to put it, we ought to be there on the take-off as well as on the crash-landing.

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

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

(Examples -- Economic Policy -- Foreign Aid.)

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. (Elaborate on trade matters.)

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 out of the realm of crisis management and into the arena of planning. None of you bosses would embark upon a serious undertaking without first making some projections about the future. But in this government we have no long-range planning.

We are in the midst of severe economic crisis, partly because of our neglect to do something about this problem at an early stage. Can you imagine, a 1 1/2 trillion dollar economy and not a single government agency looking two years or even five years ahead.

The Congress must plan and use its power over budgets and appropriations to force this common sense 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 arguing about whose rights are being abridged. And that day will be a bright one for all Americans.

# # # # #

President

Harry & Bern Davey

- Gordon Severa
- Dr Hussaini
- Helen Olsen

Bob Shaw -

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

"Socrates was a great Socrates gave Advice to the People

MINNESOTA PRESS ASSOCIATION BANQUET

the People poisoned Socrates"

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

FEBRUARY 21, 1975

Sen Mondale - Hello

Cong Hagedorn & wife here

Maya Cohen

(X) Jim + Jean McDonnell

Buffalo Journal Press

- Waverly Star -

"Fun year" - Not for the Minn Gophers
Not for the Vikings!
Not for the Twins!
Not for the Republicans
Not for

Our Bicentennial
Quote Jefferson!

"Yea for the Weeklies"
Minn Press Assoc

where a man sits
determines where he stands

HARRY DAVEY HAS TOLD ME THAT THE THEME OF THIS YEAR'S EVENT IS "FUN YEAR" IN MINNESOTA NEWSPAPERING. I FIND THIS HARD TO BELIEVE. TO CALL THIS A "FUN YEAR" SEEMS LIKE THE SAME KIND OF LOGIC THAT THE EARLY DANISH EXPLORERS USED: THEY CAME ACROSS A VAST, GOD-FORSAKEN LUMP OF ICE AND SNOW. AND THEY CALLED IT GREENLAND.

Perverted sense of humor!

I ~~DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS SUCH~~ doubt that 1974 was A "FUN YEAR" IN WASHINGTON REPORTING EITHER, UNLESS YOU COUNT EARL BUTZ'S SENSE OF HUMOR, WHICH HAS BEEN WIDELY OVERRATED.

BUT, then MAYBE IT WAS A BETTER YEAR IN MINNESOTA. MAYBE WENDY ANDERSON CAUGHT ANOTHER BUNCH OF FISH. OR MAYBE HARRY DAVEY CAUGHT A FISH. NOW THAT WOULD BE A STORY, RIGHT UP THERE WITH "MAN BITES DOG."

Emphasis on Tactics
Day to DAY
Not on Strategy - Long Term

Churchill

Represent -
now, other disorder

Debate, Discussion, Dialogue, Dissent + Decision!

BUT, ENOUGH ABOUT STORIES OF THE "ONE THAT GOT AWAY."

I WANT TO TALK IN A SERIOUS VEIN ABOUT ONE PROBLEM THAT IS NOT GOING TO GO AWAY, BUT WILL BE VERY MUCH WITH US IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. I AM REFERRING TO THE PROBLEM OF WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION, TO GET ON WITH THE NATION'S URGENT BUSINESS. And Government + the Press.

BECAUSE THE PRESS REFLECTS THE WAY THAT WE TALK ABOUT GOVERNMENT, AND THE PEOPLE IN TURN VIEW GOVERNMENT THE WAY THE PRESS SEES IT, I THINK IT IS TIME THAT WE FACE UP TO A SERIOUS PROBLEM IN COMMUNICATION. Emphasis on Tactics - Daily news not on Strategy - Long term!

Debate, Discussion, Dialogue, Dissent, Decision

unprecedented situation - Inflation + Recession

making the problems more difficult to understand or understandable

"Democracy is the worst possible form of Govt, except all others that have been tried from time to time

and

WE ARE FACED WITH AN UNPRECEDENTED SITUATION IN THE GOVERNMENT ~~OF THIS NATION~~. WE HAVE A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT WHO WERE NOT ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE ~~AN INCREASINGLY UNITED~~ a CONGRESS ~~CONTROLLED~~ with a large majority ~~PREDOMINANTLY~~ OF DEMOCRATS. (But then, that doesn't always add up to a majority because Democrats enjoy splitting more than uniting!)

UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS ALMOST IRRESISTABLE FOR PRESS AND PUBLIC ALIKE TO BEGIN THINKING IN SIMPLE DUALITIES -- THE "PRESIDENT'S PLAN" VERSUS THE "CONGRESS'S PLAN," OR THE EXECUTIVE VERSUS THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH. Or Democrats versus Republicans

~~THE SAME IS INCREASINGLY TRUE OF THE WAY THAT WE LOOK AT FOREIGN POLICY.~~

Repres. Govt is noisy, often disorderly - seldom efficient, but just! - Representative Govt not based on force but consent!

Name Calling - makin for Headlines!

IN THE CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN THE TWO BRANCHES, IT HAS BECOME TOO EASY FOR ONE SIDE TO RAISE THE ACCUSATION OF AN "IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY," WHILE THE OTHER SIDE RESPONDS WITH CRITICISM OF "CONGRESSIONAL MEDDLING" AND THE THREAT OF SO-CALLED "LEGISLATIVE DICTATORSHIP."

THESE THEMES ARE DEVELOPED SO FREQUENTLY THAT PRESS, PUBLIC, AND EVEN LEGISLATORS THEMSELVES BEGIN THINKING IN THESE SIMPLISTIC TERMS!

BUT AS YOU KNOW, THIS KIND OF THINKING WILL NOT PRODUCE THE KIND OF EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP THAT OUR DEMOCRACY NEEDS TO WEATHER ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STORMS.

Tough issues - no easy answers -
- Inflation - Recession - unemployment
- Energy FOOD Policy
- Trade - Health Care

Tax
Jobs
Budget
Money supply

Congress Delay! - Been in session 6 Weeks

- Organization
- New members

IT WILL NOT HELP TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OUR LEADERS FACE TO AVOID THE OBSTACLES OF PARTISAN AND INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENCES. AND IT WILL NOT AID US IN FORGING A PARTNERSHIP BASED ON SHARED NEEDS IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

Executive Continuing

Elections 1974

535 members

CLEARLY, WE NEED A NEW EMPHASIS ON COOPERATION AND MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY. SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS CALLED THIS EMPHASIS A "NEW PARTNERSHIP," AND I WHOLEHEARTEDLY ENDORSE THIS CONCEPT.

BUT A PARTNERSHIP INVOLVES SHARING, IT INVOLVES GIVING, AND IT INVOLVES COMPROMISE. ON BOTH SIDES. LET US EXAMINE SOME OF THE REQUIREMENTS SUCH A PARTNERSHIP MUST INCLUDE.

New Partnership

Economic

Energy - Conservation

I HAVE SERVED IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1949 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 POLICY MAKING FROM BOTH ENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, AND I FEEL I AM EQUIPPED TO DEAL WITH THE SUBJECT.

FIRST OF ALL, THE ADMINISTRATION --

PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER ALREADY HAVE 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.

Tough Problems

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 AND ECONOMIC ISSUES.

NOR IS A USEFUL PURPOSE SERVED BY DEALING WITH THE CONGRESS ONLY WHEN IT IS TIME FOR THE HARD SELL. AS SENATOR VANDENBERG USED TO PUT IT, WE OUGHT TO BE THERE ON THE TAKE-OFF AS WELL AS ON THE CRASH-LANDING.

THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE, AS WELL AS OTHER CABINET MEMBERS, SHOULD TAKE NOTE OF CONGRESSIONAL PRIORITIES AS THEY DEVELOP THEIR PROGRAM FOR 1975. THEY SHOULD DO THIS NOT BECAUSE OUR EGOS NEED MASSAGING, BUT BECAUSE MANY OF THE CONCERNS AND INSIGHTS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE MEMBERS DESERVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION IN THE POLICY COUNCILS OF GOVERNMENT.

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

EXAMPLES -- ECONOMIC POLICY -- FOREIGN AID.

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."

Congress must Act

IF THE ADMINISTRATION TAKES THESE STEPS, THEN THE CONGRESS MUST ACT IN SEVERAL CRITICAL AREAS --

Reorganize

FIRST, THE CONGRESS HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO END THE RIDICULOUS FRAGMENTATION OF ITS COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE SYSTEM. (ELABORATE ON TRADE MATTERS.)

(1) WE NEED TO ESTABLISH A JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY TO PROVIDE A CENTRAL FOCUS FOR ALL OF THE INTERDEPENDENT ~~ECONOMIC AND~~ national SECURITY PROBLEMS.

Joint Committee on Energy

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. (For. assist Sub Committee)

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.

Henry Ford

FOURTH, THE CONGRESS MUST FORCE THE ADMINISTRATION OUT OF THE REALM OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT AND INTO THE ARENA OF PLANNING. NONE OF YOU [redacted] WOULD EMBARK UPON A SERIOUS UNDERTAKING WITHOUT FIRST MAKING SOME PROJECTIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE. BUT IN THIS GOVERNMENT WE HAVE NO LONG-RANGE PLANNING.

WE ARE IN THE MIDST OF SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS, PARTLY BECAUSE OF OUR NEGLECT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THIS PROBLEM AT AN EARLY STAGE. CAN YOU IMAGINE, A 1 1/2 TRILLION DOLLAR ECONOMY AND NOT A SINGLE GOVERNMENT AGENCY LOOKING TWO YEARS OR EVEN FIVE YEARS AHEAD except to say, its going to be bad!

- Raw materials.
- Transportation (Rds, Hiways, Railroads, Ships, Harbors
- FOOD Policy - Educ, Health

~~THE CONGRESS MUST PLAN AND USE ITS POWER OVER BUDGETS AND APPROPRIATIONS TO FORCE THIS COMMON SENSE 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 ARGUING ABOUT WHOSE RIGHTS ARE BEING ABRIDGED. AND THAT DAY WILL BE A BRIGHT ONE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

- No Terminal illness -

# # # # #

- Learn from Trouble

Early History -

- Corruption
- Robber Barons
- War.

Continental Congress
Articles of Confed
Secession
Civil War
Reconstruction