

The original documents are located in Box D26, folder “Annual Conference of State Legislative Leaders, Honolulu, HI, December 4, 1968” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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The tides of change that have swept the field of government in the past few decades have generally not dealt well with the State Legislature. Beset by an exploding federal establishment on the one hand, and an academic and press fascination toward the executive branch on the other hand, the State Legislature has seen its prestige and status slip gradually downward. Caught in the vise of rising demand for services and declining sources of revenue, the legislator has found himself in the untenable position of seeing the needs of the citizens of his State remaining unmet or witnessing the shift to Washington, D.C. of problem solving initiative and leadership. While other authorities and other establishments are credited with the great forward progress of the country, the legislator catches only back-handed blame for the cost of it all.

Along with all this has gone the incredible increase in the complexity of running state government; the staggering amount of time required to do the job; the abysmal failure in most cases of compensation and staff assistance to keep pace with the mounting demands of the position.

the NEED

the MEANS

These are some of the problems the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders has taken as its own; and through the association approach, hopes to provide the means by which individual legislators, and legislatures, will find their individual solutions.

Within the membership of the National Conference are the talents, resources, experience and skills to meet all these challenges, and to find the creative solutions demanded by the times. The job will never be completed, but it has been begun.

OFFICERS

President — Hon. JOHN L. O'BRIEN — Minority Leader,
House of Representatives, WASHINGTON
First Vice President — Hon. STEWART LAMPREY —
President, The Senate, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Second Vice President — Hon. MAURICE A. DONAHUE —
President, The Senate, MASSACHUSETTS

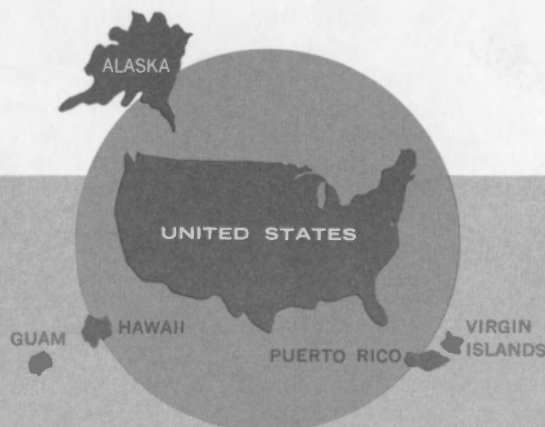
PAST PRESIDENTS and Members of EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. C. GEORGE DeSTEFANO — Minority Leader, The Senate, RHODE ISLAND
Hon. JESSE M. UNRUH — Speaker of the Assembly, CALIFORNIA
Hon. ROBERT P. KNOWLES — President Pro Tempore, The Senate, WISCONSIN
Hon. GEORGE L. SMITH II — Speaker, House of Representatives, GEORGIA
Hon. ARTHUR J. BIDWILL — Chairman, Executive Committee, The Senate, ILLINOIS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. W. RUSSELL ARRINGTON — President Pro Tempore, The Senate, ILLINOIS
Hon. BEN BARNES — Speaker, House of Representatives, TEXAS
Hon. EARL W. BRYDGES — President Pro Tempore, The Senate, NEW YORK
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Hon. CURTIS W. STEEN — Majority Whip, The Senate, DELAWARE
Hon. JOHN D. VANDERHOOF — Speaker, House of Representatives, COLORADO
Hon. ROBERT E. WALDRON — Speaker, House of Representatives, MICHIGAN
Hon. H. LABAN WHITE — Speaker, House of Delegates, WEST VIRGINIA

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

759 North Milwaukee Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

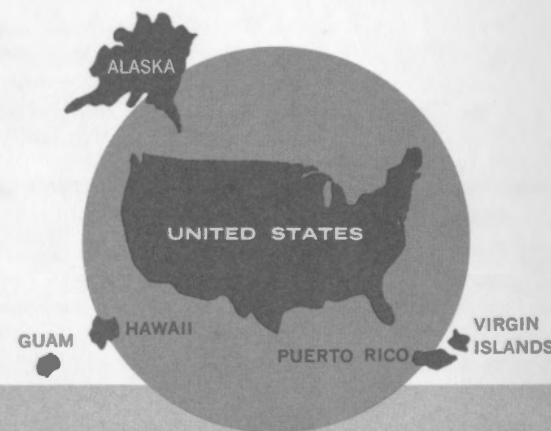
Tel: A/C 414 276-4030

EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

Donald Herzberg, Director
Rutgers University
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Tel: A/C 201 247-1766

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE of STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS



"Dedicated to
strengthening the States
and the
State legislative process
through
enlightened Leadership."



WHAT IT IS

The National Conference of State Legislative Leaders is the only organization of its kind in the United States. It is devoted exclusively to the problems, challenges and opportunities facing state legislators, state legislatures, and legislative leaders. It seeks to serve the legislator and the legislature, and to help meet the never-ending need to maintain the equality, effectiveness and efficiency of the legislative branch.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

In 1959 the leadership of the New York State Legislature held exploratory conversations with leaders throughout the nation, and as a result of the interest thus developed, invited the leaders of all the states to a meeting in Albany, New York, in December of that year. This gathering met with an enthusiastic response, and the National Conference was formed at that time as a permanent organization. A ten-member Executive Committee was elected to plan and organize the Conference, and a Secretary-Treasurer was named to form a continuing secretariat.

MEMBERSHIP

Under the by-laws as developed in succeeding years, membership is by state, with each state paying the same dues. The states are represented in the Conference by their own Majority and Minority leaders, as the state designates, including Presidents pro tem, Speakers, floor leaders, whips, etc.

HOW IT OPERATES

A twelve-member Executive Committee and a President, First and Second Vice Presidents, are elected by the membership at the annual meeting each year, and are responsible for the ongoing activities of the Conference between annual meetings.

The Executive Committee approves the arrangements for a Secretariat. Past Presidents remain as members of the Executive Committee upon the completion of their term.

FINANCES

Each state that joins the National Conference pays \$1,000 per year dues; there are no other assessments or fees.

SPECIAL PROJECTS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

● The Center for Legislative Services

In January, 1966, the Executive Committee of the National Conference voted to join with the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers — The State University, in the establishment of a Center for Legislative Services on the Rutgers campus in New Brunswick, New Jersey. This new Center blends practical political and legislative skills, with the academic research of Eagleton Institute, in coordination with the experience of the state legislators who make up the Executive Committee and, indeed, the Conference itself.

The new Center initially offers services in three areas: First, it is prepared, upon invitation, to enter any state and produce a detailed, practical and realistic study of the State Legislature in that state, including comparative information on such items as staffing, committee procedures, space, pay and allowances, legislative procedures, and various strengths and weaknesses. These studies would be performed by Eagleton personnel under the direction of a senior political scientist and with the advice and supervision of a National Conference Executive Committee member. Eagleton is also prepared to assist in the implementation of the study results, to assist the legislature in upgrading and improving itself.

Second, the new Center will compile and disseminate information from the 50 states on such matters as staff procedures, committee organization and function, pay and perquisites of legislators, public relations devices, bill processing, etc.

Third, the personnel at the Center will be ready and available to answer the questions of any legislative leader, on matters of a substantive nature or in regard to any of the above.

● The annual meeting

The National Conference holds a three-day annual meeting the latter part of each year, attended by legislative leaders from most of the states. The program at these meetings is factual and informative, bringing together authorities and experts in many of the fields with which legislators deal. Such items as the federal-state relationship, the public relations problems of legislatures, the challenges of education, revenues, and other subjects, and many similar topics, are presented annually. Of equal importance is the time allotted for mutual exchange of problems and solutions in informal conversation.

● Roll Call

Beginning in 1966 the Washington weekly newspaper, "Roll Call" was designated the official newspaper of the National Conference, and at the Conference expense is being sent to key legislators in all member states. "Roll Call" is a Capitol Hill publication devoted to Congressional news and views, and since affiliation with the National Conference has added a significant amount of regular state capitol news and editorial material.

● National conference scholarships

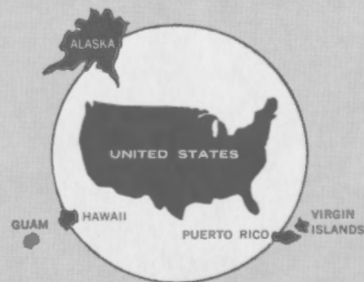
The National Conference maintains a scholarship fund awarded annually to a graduate student to assist in the production of a doctoral thesis related to the legislative process. The rules and operation of the scholarship award are managed by the American Political Science Association for the National Conference.

● Coordination with other groups

The National Conference maintains close contact with other organizations interested in state government, including the Council of State Governments, the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures, the National Municipal League, etc.

NCSLL 1968 CONVENTION PROGRAM





**NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
OF STATE
LEGISLATIVE
LEADERS**

**TENTH ANNUAL
MEETING**

Ilikai Hotel
Honolulu, Hawaii
December 3-6, 1968



President Lyndon B. Johnson



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 8, 1968

For the past decade the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders has done much to develop creative solutions to the complex problems of state government. Your work confirms our forefathers' wisdom in our federal system.

To function properly, our federal system demands a strong and viable government at both the national and state levels. Through this complementary partnership, we have the means to combat all the challenges which modern life presents.

As America grows greater and stronger and more complex, that partnership, which underpins our entire philosophy of government, represents a most vital element in our hopes and plans for the future of this land and the good of our people.

I wish you another productive meeting of your 1968 National Conference of State Legislative Leaders.



HON. JOHN A. BURNS
Governor, Hawaii



EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS
HONOLULU

JOHN A. BURNS
GOVERNOR

MESSAGE FROM GOVERNOR JOHN A. BURNS
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

December 3 - 7, 1968

It is my honor and my pleasure to extend the most cordial welcome and the warmest Aloha of the people of Hawaii to the delegates attending the annual convention of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders, December 3 -- 7, 1968.

We of Hawaii are proud to be hosts to those whose performance of a most vital function is essential to the continued growth and progress of our Nation. As the most recent addition to the family of the States, Hawaii is also pleased that this convention should be held in the center of a society we believe is unique throughout the world. It is our belief that the heritage of the Hawaiian has afforded us further development in successful human relations among ethnic groups than is to be found elsewhere. It seems fitting to us, therefore, that deliberations which must concern the pressing problems of our day be held in an atmosphere that contains the seeds of social harmony.

It is our hope that your conference proves highly fruitful, and that in addition to your deliberations, you may find the opportunity of acquainting yourselves with our people and of enjoying yourselves with the relaxation that has attracted so many of our visitors.

Aloha, and may the Almighty be with each of you and yours always.

John A. Burns



HON. NEAL S. BLAISDELL
Mayor, Honolulu, Hawaii



NEAL S. BLAISDELL
MAYOR

CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96813

August 5, 1968

The people of the City and County of Honolulu are proud that the tenth annual National Conference of State Legislative Leaders will be held in Honolulu in 1968, the first time this major governmental conference has come to Hawaii.

As Mayor of Honolulu, I welcome officials and delegates and their families, and assure them of a warm aloha which should make this tenth annual conference particularly enjoyable event. Honolulu is a colorful and exciting city for tourists and convention delegates throughout the year, especially so during the Christmas holiday period when you will be here.

We are confident, as hosts to many high-level governmental and professional conferences in Honolulu in recent years, that your delegates will find new dimensions in local, national and international affairs, in this cosmopolitan capital city of the Fiftieth State.

Our City and County of Honolulu government, established sixty-one years ago, has been in the vanguard of the nation-wide trend toward metropolitan jurisdictions. In many other areas of municipal government, under our 1959 City Charter, we have pioneered new ways to cope with challenges that face all metropolitan districts. We are proud of our projects in slum clearance and redevelopment; of a relatively low crime rate of development of public recreational facilities around the island, and our Honolulu International Center; of our nationally recognized Board of Water Supply and Police Department; and of recent legislation in the areas of ethics and aesthetics. We invite legislative leaders to meet with our City and County officials, visit our municipal agencies, and inspect our public facilities.

Best wishes for a successful and effective conference in Honolulu.

Neal S. Blaisdell

NEAL S. BLAISDELL
Mayor
City and County of Honolulu



HON. JOHN J. HULTEN
President of the Senate
HAWAII

On behalf of the Senators in the Hawaii State Legislature, I wish to extend to the delegates a cordial welcome to Hawaii. We are pleased to act as hosts for the Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders. I am sure that the delegates will be impressed by their visit to this, the youngest State, and that they will leave Hawaii impressed also by Hawaii's desire for legislative improvement. We look forward to the exchange of ideas, the dynamics of group concern and group searching, to help us develop and strengthen our state legislatures. A meeting such as this will move us further in that direction. Aloha to all of you.



HON. TADAO BEPPU
Speaker, House of Representatives
HAWAII

On behalf of colleagues in the Hawaii State Legislature, may I extend to you a cordial welcome to Hawaii. We are happy that this state has been chosen as the site of the tenth annual meeting of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders. We are grateful for the opportunity to serve as your hosts.

State governments have become complex in operation. Modern technology, advances in science and industrial development have given rise to a myriad of social and economic problems which are demanding more and more of the time, resources and attention of state governments. During the past few years the annual meetings of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders have contributed much to strengthening the role of state legislatures in coping with the problems of modern society. May this tenth meeting be as fruitful as those of the past.

We sincerely hope that your stay in Hawaii will be a pleasant one. May I suggest that, as time permits, you walk among the people of our state. I am certain that you will find that Hawaii is not only the Land of Aloha, but also a community which is alert and vibrant, with a deep concern for the welfare of all mankind.



DANIEL K. INOUE
United States Senator
HAWAII

I join with the people of Hawaii in welcoming delegates to the 1968 National Conference of State Legislative Leaders.

We are proud that you selected Hawaii as the site for your convention and I know that you will enjoy our pleasant climate and unrivaled scenery.

But I believe that by the time you leave our islands you will have learned that our most important asset is our people who are filled with what we call the Aloha spirit, a very special blend of friendliness and hospitality.

May I extend to each and everyone of you my best wishes for a successful conference.



HIRAM L. FONG
United States Senator
HAWAII

On behalf of the people of Hawaii, I extend a warm welcome to the 10th Annual National Conference of State Legislative Leaders.

As one who served for 14 years in the Hawaii Legislature, I appreciate the vital role effective State Legislatures have in meeting the mounting problems and challenging opportunities of modern society.

I wish for all delegates a most productive and pleasant conference in Honolulu. Hawaii is proud to be the host State, and we hope that you will enjoy the traditional hospitality and aloha planned for all of you.



OFFICERS



HON. JOHN L. O'BRIEN
President
Minority Leader
House of Representatives
WASHINGTON

HON. STEWART LAMPREY
First Vice President
President, The Senate
NEW HAMPSHIRE

HON. H. LABAN WHITE
Speaker, House of Delegates
WEST VIRGINIA

HON. EARL W. BRYDGES
President Pro Tempore, The Senate
NEW YORK

PAST PRESIDENTS AND MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



HON. MAURICE A. DONAHUE
Second Vice President
President, The Senate
MASSACHUSETTS

HON. C. GEORGE DeSTEFANO
Minority Leader, The Senate
RHODE ISLAND
Past President

HON. GEORGE PAYNE COSSAR
Majority Leader
House of Representatives
MISSISSIPPI

HON. MARION H. CRANK
Majority Leader
House of Representatives
ARKANSAS



HON. JESSE M. UNRUH
Speaker, The Assembly
CALIFORNIA
Past President

HON. ROBERT P. KNOWLES
President Pro Tempore, The Senate
WISCONSIN
Past President

HON. AUBREY W. DIRLAM
Majority Leader
House of Representatives
MINNESOTA

HON. BRUCE KING
Speaker, House of Representatives
NEW MEXICO



HON. GEORGE L. SMITH II
Speaker, House of Representatives
GEORGIA
Past President

HON. ARTHUR J. BIDWILL
Chrm., Exec. Committee, The Senate
ILLINOIS
Past President

HON. MARVIN MANDEL
Speaker, House of Delegates
MARYLAND

HON. CURTIS W. STEEN
Majority Whip, The Senate
DELAWARE



HON. W. RUSSELL ARRINGTON
President Pro Tempore, The Senate
ILLINOIS

HON. BEN BARNES
Speaker, House of Representatives
TEXAS

HON. JOHN D. VANDERHOOF
Speaker, House of Representatives
COLORADO

HON. ROBERT E. WALDRON
Speaker, House of Representatives
MICHIGAN

FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Some of the most important substantive issues facing the country today have been explored by the Executive Committee in its meetings this year.

Early in the year, the Committee agreed that the Medicaid program is one of the most complicated and difficult subjects facing the states. The Committee was successful in urging the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to launch a major study of the Medicaid program. During the course of the year the A.C.I.R. has delved deeply into the ramifications of Medicaid, held public hearings and amassed a wealth of useful information for the states. At the same time, a study on Medicaid was conducted by the staff of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, and a report was made to state legislative leaders on this study.

The broad area of federal-state relations has received much attention from the Executive Committee this year. In June we held a meeting in Washington, D. C., devoted to federal assist programs. Through the good offices of Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington, we were offered the unique opportunity of meeting at the Senate Office Buildings in Washington, and hearing from a number of representatives from the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare; Transportation; Justice; Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The urgent need for better state-federal coordination and cooperation in these areas was brought home to legislators and agency representatives alike.

In addition to our growing concern over federal-state issues, we have maintained the previous programs of the NCSLL. Through our relationship with the Eagleton Institute of Politics and the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures we have maintained our leadership in the area of legislative improvement. We have expanded our use of our official publication, Roll Call, with a series of articles through the year from legislative leaders dealing with programs and techniques they have developed in their own states. At NCSLL expense, Roll Call is now mailed to approximately 3,000 state legislators throughout the country. It provides a weekly source of news about other states and other state legislatures, devoting its back page every issue to news of the states.

We have continued our scholarship program, and with the American Political Science Association's assistance we plan to offer another \$2,500 grant this year to a scholar who plans to write his Ph.D. dissertation upon the general subject of state government.

We look forward to the opportunity during this annual convention to meet with leaders of all the states to continue that contact with them that is the strong foundation of our organization.

FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

Welcome to Hawaii! And welcome to the annual convention of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders. I think I can promise you without question one of the finest, and most enjoyable conventions we have ever had. Our Hawaiian hosts have gone to great length to make our stay here pleasant, and our deepest appreciation goes to them for their efforts.

Once again, I believe we are going to have record-breaking attendance at this meeting. And once again, this attendance will demonstrate the strength and continued growth of our organization.

This has been a year of progress for the National Conference. As the report from the Executive Committee indicates, we have moved steadily into the areas which so concern us as leaders of our state governments. The broad policy questions of federal-state relations have been discussed in depth during our meetings this year, and there is every indication that we are ready to make our influence as legislative leaders even more widely felt as we move ahead.

The expansion of our Executive Committee from ten to twelve members, approved by this convention last year, has broadened the base of our representation, and brought with it new strength to our efforts. In all our activities during the year the Executive Committee has shown the same dedication to our purposes of strengthening state government that has characterized this organization since its founding in 1959.

I look forward to the opportunity of visiting with you during this convention. Our officers, our staff, and our hosts, will spare no effort to make your stay enjoyable and worthwhile. I believe you will return from this meeting with valuable ideas, strengthened convictions, and renewed purpose; and that you will continue your splendid efforts to make this federal system of ours continue to be the envy of the world.

President
HON. JOHN L. O'BRIEN
Minority Leader
House of Representatives
WASHINGTON



1968 CONVENTION PROGRAM

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3

All Day

Registration . . . In front of Pacific Ballroom

10:00 A.M.

CINCPAC Briefing

Bora-Bora/Moorea Rooms—Ilikai Hotel

4:00 P.M.

Executive Committee Meeting

Beau Rivage Room—Ilikai Hotel

6:30 P.M.

Welcoming "Aloha" Reception

Marina Roof—Ilikai Hotel

Attire: Hawaiian—Ladies—Muumuus or casual
Men—Aloha shirts or casual

Dinner: On Your Own

*NOTE: LAPEL NAME BADGES REQUIRED FOR
ADMISSION TO ALL EVENTS.*

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4

10:00 A.M.

OPENING SESSION

Bora-Bora/Moorea Rooms, Ilikai Hotel

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

Senator Stewart Lamprey, New Hampshire

GENERAL REMARKS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Representative John L. O'Brien

Washington—NCSLL President

GREETINGS

Honorable John A. Burns, Governor, Hawaii

Honorable Neal Blaisdell, Mayor, Honolulu

REPORT FROM EAGLETON INSTITUTE

Donald Herzberg

Executive Director, Eagleton Institute, New Jersey

SPECIAL REPORT

Hawaiian Constitutional Convention

Speaker Tadao Beppu, Hawaii

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Introduction: Senator Arthur Bidwill, Illinois

Speaker: Honorable Gerald Ford, M.C., Michigan

12:00 Noon

LUNCHEON . . . Pago Pago Room—Ilikai Hotel

LEGISLATIVE REPORT AWARDS

Representative John L. O'Brien

Introduction: Speaker John D. Vanderhoof, Colorado

Speaker: Dr. Charles J. Hitch, President, University
of California

2:00 P.M.

Selection of One Business Session-Workshop per Day

BUSINESS SESSION-WORKSHOP

"PUBLIC EMPLOYEE BARGAINING"

Bora-Bora Room—Ilikai Hotel

Moderator: Speaker Robert Waldron, Michigan

Panelists:

Robert Chanin, General Counsel, National
Education Association, Washington, D. C.

Dr. William Hebert, Massachusetts Teachers
Association

Hon. Robert Griffin, U. S. Senate, Michigan

Legislative Reactors:

Representative Mark Litchman, Washington

Representative Howard Y. Miyake, Hawaii

Speaker Moses Weinstein, New York

2:00 P.M.**BUSINESS SESSION-WORKSHOP**
"MEDICAID-STEPCHILD THAT GREW UP"

Moorea Room—Ilikai Hotel

Moderator: Speaker Marvin Mandel, Maryland*Panelists:*Garland L. Bonin, Commissioner of Welfare,
LouisianaDonald Herzberg, Executive Director, Eagleton
Institute, New Jersey

Senator Norman F. Lent, New York

Congressman Daniel Rostenkowski, Illinois

Legislative Reactors:

Speaker Charles F. Kurfess, Ohio

Senator Verle A. Pope, Florida

Representative Oliver L. Thompson, Jr., Rhode
Island**5:45 P.M.**

Buses leave Ilikai Hotel

6:30 P.M.Tour of Hawaiian Throne Room and New State
Capitol Building

Reception at the Governor's Mansion

Buses available for return to Ilikai Hotel

Attire: Suits and Cocktail Dresses

Dinner: On Your Own

*NOTE: LAPEL NAME BADGES REQUIRED FOR
ADMISSION TO ALL EVENTS.***THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5***Selection of One Business Session-Workshop per Day***9:30 A.M.****BUSINESS SESSION-WORKSHOP**
**"THE LEGISLATIVE LEADER AND THE
GOVERNOR"**

Bora-Bora Room—Ilikai Hotel

Moderator: Senator John J. Hulten, Hawaii

Report on Special Research Project

Professor Norman Meller—Political Science

Department—University of Hawaii

Panelists:

Senator Ray Bateman, New Jersey

Governor Richard Hughes, New Jersey

Wayne McGown, Secretary, Department of
Administration, Wisconsin*Legislative Reactors:*

Speaker Franklin W. Gunnell, Utah

Senator Stanley W. Holmquist, Minnesota

Representative Charles M. Jones, Georgia

9:30 A.M.**BUSINESS SESSION-WORKSHOP**
**"WHEN THE MEDIA INTERVIEWS AND
WORKS WITH YOU"**

Moorea Room—Ilikai Hotel

Moderator: Senator Stewart Lamprey, New Hampshire*Panelists:*Al Benjamin, Commentator, WNAC-TV,
Boston, MassachusettsThomas B. Littlewood, Chicago Sun-Times,
Washington Bureau, Washington, D. C.Mel Riddle, Director of Public Affairs, Westgate
California Corporation, Burbank, California*Legislative Reactors:*

Representative George Payne

Cossar, Mississippi

Speaker John S. Garrett, Louisiana

Assemblyman Robert Monagan, California

6:30 P.M.

Special Reception with Vietnam R & R Troops

Pacific Ballroom—Ilikai Hotel

Attire: Hawaiian—Ladies—Muumuus or casual
Men—Aloha shirts or casual

Dinner: On Your Own

*NOTE: LAPEL NAME BADGES REQUIRED FOR
ADMISSION TO ALL EVENTS.*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6*Selection of One Business Session-Workshop per Day***9:30 A.M.****BUSINESS SESSION-WORKSHOP****"THE LEGISLATURE'S PLACE IN THE WAR ON CRIME"**

Bora-Bora Room—Ilikai Hotel

Moderator: Speaker Ben Barnes, Texas*Panelists:*Dale Anderson, Baltimore County Executive,
MarylandJohn Ingersoll, Director of the Federal Bureau of
Narcotics & Dangerous Drugs, Washington, D.C.

Curtis Brostron, Chief of Police, St. Louis, Missouri

Hon. Hugh Scott, U. S. Senate, Pennsylvania

Legislative Reactors:

Speaker Otis R. Bowen, Indiana

Speaker Bruce King, New Mexico

Senator Lawrence J. Lee, Missouri

9:30 A.M.**BUSINESS SESSION-WORKSHOP****"RAISING, STRETCHING AND DISTRIBUTING THE TAX DOLLAR"**

Moorea Room—Ilikai Hotel

Moderator: Rep. Aubrey W. Dirlam, Minnesota*Panelists:*

Hon. John Byrnes, M.C., Wisconsin

Governor John Connally, Texas

Dr. Murray L. Weidenbaum, Dept. of Economics,
Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri*Legislative Reactors:*

Representative John H. Conolly, Illinois

Senator George V. Kenneally, Jr., Massachusetts

Representative Ray S. Smith, Jr., Arkansas

11:45 A.M.

Buses leave Ilikai Hotel

12:00 Noon**LUNCHEON . . . Royal Hawaiian Hotel,
Monarch Room***Introduction:* Senator Maurice A. Donahue,
Massachusetts*Speaker:* The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye,
U. S. Senate, Hawaii

The ACIR Medicaid Society

1:30 P.M.**FINAL BUSINESS SESSION**Immediately Following Luncheon, Royal Hawaiian
Hotel, Monarch Room

Buses available for return to Ilikai Hotel

3:30 P.M.**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING**

Beau Rivage Room—Ilikai Hotel

6:30 P.M.

State Banquet Cocktail Party

Pool Area—Ilikai Hotel

8:00 P.M.**STATE BANQUET—Pacific Ballroom—Ilikai Hotel***1969 Convention:* Speaker George L. Smith II, Georgia*Benediction:* Reverend Abraham K. Akaka, Pastor,
Kawaiahao Church, Hawaii*Introduction:* Representative John L. O'Brien,
Washington—NCSLL President*Speaker:* The Honorable Henry Jackson, U. S.
Senate, Washington

Attire: Suits and Cocktail Dresses

**NOTE: LAPEL NAME BADGES REQUIRED FOR
ADMISSION TO ALL EVENTS.**

HAWAIIAN HOST COMMITTEE

Co-Chairmen:

Representative Tadao Beppu

Senator John J. Hulten

Representative Howard Y. Miyake

SENATE

Toshi Ansai

George Ariyoshi

James K. Clark

William E. Fernandes

Eureka B. Forbes

Seichi Hirai

Harvey Kimura

David C. McClung

Hebden Porteus

Sakae Takahashi

Vincent H. Yano

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Pedro De La Cruz

Joseph Garcia, Jr.

Stanley I. Hara

Stuart Ho

Peter Iha

Frank C. Judd

Tony Kunimura

Barney B. Menor

Howard K. Oda

Robert C. Oshiro

Andrew Poepoe

James Y. Shigemura

Wilfred "Buddy" Soares

Jack Suwa

Coordinator:

Allan McGuire, Hawaiian Visitors Bureau

NCSLL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Hon. Marvin Mandel, *Chairman*

Hon. W. Russell Arrington

Hon. George Payne Cossar

Hon. Aubrey Dirlam

Hon. Curtis W. Steen

Hon. John D. Vanderhoof

Hon. H. Laban White

NCSLL NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Hon. George L. Smith II, *Chairman*

Hon. Arthur J. Bidwill

Hon. C. George DeStefano

Hon. Robert P. Knowles

Hon. Jesse M. Unruh



The aftermath of tragedy is grief; the aftermath of grief is hope.

We *have* all grieved. Now we await the dawn of hope;

Hope that the tears of yesterday will bring forth the beauty of tomorrow:

Hope that our departed son of Massachusetts will not have given his life in futile pursuit of his dream of truth and justice in our nation:

Hope that those high ideals for which he lived and struggled will find fulfillment, not only in our laws, but in our hearts and minds as well.

Robert Kennedy has departed our earth.

But his spirit will remain in our land as long — yes longer — than any of us living today will live.

Men are born to die.

But truth lives on forever.

And he was the embodiment of truth — he pursued it recklessly, at times ultra-competitively, but never compromisingly.

We must hold our heads high as his bereaved family held theirs in time of sorrow.

For there is a higher force we serve than man.

And *His* truth, like the spirit of a Robert Kennedy, must eventually prevail.

So let us sorrow no longer.

And let us not brood in vain.

But let us rather be determined that we'll realize his hopes; that we'll strive to know and heed the truth; that we will one day be worthy, as Robert Kennedy was worthy, to *live* the truth.

It is for us, the living, to make certain that his truth goes marching on.

HON. MAURICE A. DONAHUE
President, The Senate
MASSACHUSETTS



THE ILIKAI HOTEL

At the gateway to Waikiki Beach in Honolulu, Hawaii, stands the most exceptional structure in the islands — the Ilikai Hotel. Rising 30 stories, it is built on a 7-acre site which was dredged from the sea; its total development cost: \$45,000,000.

Within this city called "Ilikai," (meaning Surface of the Sea) there are 850 spacious and tastefully-appointed hotel rooms and it is the brainchild of one of Hawaii's foremost industrialists, Chinn Ho and his Capital Investment Company. Construction began in 1961. In 1966 nearly 400 hotel rooms and a magnificent PACIFIC BALLROOM with seating capacity of 1,800 was added.

Six individual restaurants contribute to the Ilikai's reputation for serving the finest cuisine in Honolulu. From the 24-hour PIER 7 Restaurant to the "TOP OF THE I," thirty stories up the glass elevator to dining in glass-enclosed luxury, the restaurants feature remarkably excellent food and service.

The FOUNTAIN LANI is an informal area for cocktails and snacks—where bathers need not change for refreshments—and the COFFEE HOUSE serves broiler specialties, sandwiches and desserts from its complete menu.

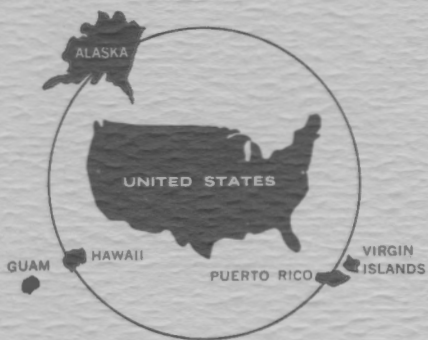
The jewel of Ilikai dining is the elegant, new "DYNASTY" Restaurant, a sophisticated dining spot seating 200 guests, devoted to superb cuisine from the Orient, the Continent and the Islands.

Two nightclubs provide complete entertainment within the resort property. The HONG KONG JUNK is a Chinese Riverboat nightclub anchored one floor beneath the main lobby featuring excellent Cantonese Chinese Dinners, and top quality entertainment each night but Monday.

The CANOE HOUSE . . . a romantic hideaway with teak-paneled walls and lava rock gardens from which fresh orchids grow. Shell light fixtures emit a soft glow and the tapa carpeting is luxurious and welcoming. This is Arthur Lyman's new home in Honolulu, who with his exotic sounds and new vocal arrangements, remains a favorite with Hawaii's visitors.

Recreation is unlimited at the Ilikai Hotel. With two pools, a sunway to the sandy beach, boating, shuffleboard, surfing, a putting green, and arrangements for tennis and golf.

The world's largest shopping center is located two blocks away, an easy, delightful stroll along the ocean.



CARDS

HONOLULU, HAWAII

DEC. 4, 1968

Congress of the United States

Office of the Minority Leader

House of Representatives

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Gerald R. Ford
M.C.

WEDNESDAY

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF
STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS



435 | 192 00
174 100
18 00
17 40
44

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1968, AT HONOLULU, HAWAII.

AT THIS MOMENT WE ARE APPROACHING A TIME OF GREAT OPPORTUNITY AND GREAT CHALLENGE. THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE CHALLENGE ARE CAUGHT UP IN A SINGLE QUESTION: HOW DO WE SOLVE THE CRUSHING PROBLEMS OF THE LATE SIXTIES AND THE SEVENTIES IN THE AMERICA WE ALL LOVE?

WHERE ARE WE TODAY? WHAT ARE THE CHIEF PROBLEMS THAT FACE YOU AND ME AND ALL AMERICANS?

2/HONOLULU

IT'S GREAT TO BE HERE. AS A CONGRESSMAN, I FIND IT WONDERFUL TO BE ABLE TO DROP IN ON A PLUSH SPOT LIKE THIS ON BUSINESS WITHOUT GOING ON A CONGRESSIONAL JUNKET.

AND I FEEL VERY COMFORTABLE HERE DESPITE THE FACT THAT HAWAII GAVE REPUBLICANS SHORT SHRIFT IN THE NOVEMBER 5 ELECTION. HAWAIIANS HAVE A GIFT FOR MAKING EVEN REPUBLICANS FEEL WELCOME IN THE ISLANDS.

OF COURSE, HAWAII IS KIND OF UNREAL, ANYWAY. IT'S NOT JUST THE CLIMATE. I GUESS IT'S THE RATES THEY CHARGE FOR

3/HONOLULU

HOTEL ROOMS HERE IN HONOLULU.

HONOLULU IS A LOT LIKE WASHINGTON, D.C. THERE'S THAT AIR OF UNREALITY ABOUT BOTH PLACES. AND THERE'S THE FEEL OF BIG MONEY EVERYWHERE. IN THE ISLANDS IT'S IN PINEAPPLE, REAL ESTATE AND RESORT HOTELS. IN WASHINGTON, IT'S IN THE APPROPRIATIONS ROOMS OF THE CONGRESS AND THE BUREAUCRATIC HONEYCOMB WHERE THE GRANTS-IN-AID ARE DISPENSED.

ACTUALLY, WASHINGTON IS UNIQUE. IT IS THE ONLY CAPITAL IN THE WORLD WHERE A \$30,000-A-YEAR AGENCY HEAD IN A PLUSH

4/HONOLULU

OFFICE CAN PICK UP A RINGING TELEPHONE AND ANSWER:

"POVERTY..." MAY I HELP YOU?"

YOUNG PEOPLE ARE VERY PROMINENT IN HAWAII. AND SOON THERE WILL BE MANY MORE OF THEM IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ONCE DICK NIXON FOLLOWS THROUGH ON HIS GOAL OF BRINGING MORE YOUNG PEOPLE INTO GOVERNMENT. BUT THERE'S A GENERATION GAP HERE JUST AS THERE IS IN WASHINGTON AND ELSEWHERE. OF COURSE, ONCE YOUNG PEOPLE START MAKING MONEY ON THEIR OWN THE GENERATION GAP BEGINS TO CLOSE...BECAUSE THAT'S WHEN THEY

5/HONOLULU

FIND OUT THAT THE "MAN FROM UNCLE" IS REALLY THE TAX COLLECTOR.

THAT IS ONE OF THE MATTERS I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY -- TAXES -- AND ALSO THE SUBJECT WHICH HAS LONG BEEN UPPERMOST IN MY MIND: HOW DO WE SOLVE THE CRUSHING PROBLEMS OF THE LATE SIXTIES AND THE SEVENTIES IN THE AMERICA WE ALL LOVE?

WHERE ARE WE TODAY? WHAT ARE THE CHIEF PROBLEMS THAT FACE YOU AND ME AND ALL AMERICANS?

6/HONOLULU

Let me turn to other matters
APART FROM THE BLOODY CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, THE SEETHING CAULDRON OF IMMINENT WAR IN THE MIDEAST, AND THE IMBALANCE IN EUROPE PRECIPITATED BY THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, OUR MOST PERPLEXING ^{domestic} PROBLEMS CAN BE SUMMED UP IN THREE WORDS: "THE URBAN CRISIS."

Let me put it in its worst context
COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS...A POISONOUS BREW CONCOCTED FROM ALL THE MAJOR ILLS OF OUR NATION -- RAMPANT CRIME, INADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS, HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT, SHOCKINGLY

7/HONOLULU

DANGEROUS POLLUTION OF OUR AIR AND WATER, ANTIQUATED TRANSPORTATION, DISGRACEFUL HOUSING, INSUFFICIENT AND INEFFECTIVE PUBLIC FACILITIES, DETERIORATION OF THE FAMILY AS A UNIT OF SOCIETY, LACK OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS, AND AN EXPLOSIVE FAILURE OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN YOUNG AND OLDER AMERICANS, NEGROES AND WHITES.

ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS CRY OUT FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION. THE QUESTION: WHO DOES WHAT AND HOW? AND HOW WILL THE ACTION PROGRAM BE PAID FOR?

8/HONOLULU

IN WASHINGTON THERE IS A GOVERNMENT BUILDING ON WHICH THERE IS ETCHED IN STONE THESE WORDS: "WHAT IS PAST IS PROLOGUE."

TO KNOW WHERE YOU WANT TO GO AND HOW YOU MIGHT GET THERE, / IT IS OFTEN HELPFUL TO SEE WHERE YOU'VE BEEN.

HOW DID THE COMPLEX OF CITY PROBLEMS REACH CRISIS PROPORTIONS? LET ME GIVE YOU A CAPSULE REVIEW.

WHEN OUR CORE CITIES WERE YOUNGER AND STILL GROWING, THEIR OWN RESOURCES WERE SUFFICIENT TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE. WHERE GOVERNMENT FAILED TO RESPOND TO THOSE

9/HONOLULU

NEEDS, IT WAS A FAILURE OF ORGANIZATION, REPRESENTATION ^{and} ~~AND~~
^{inert} BIG-CITY POLITICAL MACHINES. THEN WORLD WAR II EXPLODED,
AND DOMESTIC CONCERNS WERE ^{necessarily} LAID ASIDE. AFTER THE WAR, CITIES
STRUGGLED WITH A HUGE BACKLOG OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS.
RESIDENTS AND BUSINESSES SPILLED OVER THE CORE CITY'S
BORDERS. SUBURBIA BEGAN TO DEVELOP AND GROW. UPPER AND
MIDDLE INCOME GROUPS LEFT THE CORE CITY FOR THE SUBURBS,
LEAVING BEHIND THOSE ECONOMIC GROUPS MOST IN NEED OF PUBLIC
SERVICES AND LEAST ABLE TO PAY FOR THEM. YOUNG PEOPLE

10/HONOLULU

LEFT, LEAVING BEHIND OLDER CITIZENS TO RELUCTANTLY SUPPORT
THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN FROM LOW INCOME FAMILIES. OFTEN,
INDUSTRY LEFT, AND THIS SAPPED THE REVENUE SOURCES OF THE
CITY STILL FURTHER. WHILE THE COST OF CITY SERVICES
INCREASED, THE CITY'S ABILITY TO MEET THOSE COSTS DIMINISHED.
CITIES TURNED TO THEIR PARENT STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR HELP.
BUT THE STATES WERE CAUGHT IN THEIR OWN CRISES, AND THEY
ALSO WERE HAMPERED BY A RELIANCE ON LIMITED TAX SOURCES.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS BOUND BY NO SUCH RESTRAINTS.

11/HONOLULU

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD THE RICH REVENUE TOOL OF THE
PROGRESSIVE INCOME TAX, WITH A NATURAL GROWTH IN FEDERAL
REVENUE AS THE ECONOMY GREW. ^{right or wrong} IN ANY CASE, THE CONGRESS
OFTEN WAS WILLING TO SPEND ^{far} MORE THAN TAXES BROUGHT IN. TAX
SOURCES FOR THE STATES FAILED TO MATCH THOSE OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT. ^{in the 1930s} THE NEW DEAL HAD PRODUCED AN ABUNDANCE OF NEW
PROGRAMS. AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION HAD PRODUCED AN ATTITUDE
OF LOOKING TO WASHINGTON FOR SOLUTIONS TO LOCAL PROBLEMS.

THUS BEGAN A SYSTEM OF FEDERAL AID TO THE CITIES,

12/HONOLULU

SOMETIMES TOTALLY BYPASSING THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES.

~~IS THIS BAD?~~

THERE ARE THOSE WHO PREACH A "NEW FEDERALISM" WHICH
WOULD GREATLY EXPAND DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT AND THE CITIES. THEY SEEK TO PILE NEW PROGRAMS
OF CATEGORICAL GRANTS-IN-AID ATOP THE PRESENT TOWERING
FEDERAL AID STRUCTURE OF MORE THAN 400 PROGRAMS.

LET'S LAY ASIDE PHILOSOPHICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ^{+ party} CONSIDERATIONS. A KEY QUESTION REGARDING ANY PROGRAM OR

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simply
SYSTEM ¹ IS: DOES IT WORK? I POSE THIS QUESTION ABOUT THE CATEGORICAL GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM ON BEHALF OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO ARE UNCONCERNED ABOUT THE FLOW OF IMMENSE POWER TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON AND THE CONSEQUENT WEAKNESS OF THE CITIES AND THE STATES.

THE REAL ISSUE -- DOES THE PRESENT SYSTEM WORK? IS AMERICA GETTING A SATISFACTORY RETURN FOR ITS TALENT AND ITS DOLLARS? ANY THINKING AMERICAN WHO SIFTS OBJECTIVELY THROUGH THE EVIDENCE WOULD HAVE TO SAY, "NO." DESPITE A

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MASSIVE INFUSION OF FEDERAL FUNDS INTO GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS, THE URBAN CRISIS PERSISTS AND GROWS MORE ACUTE. PERSISTENT CITY PROBLEMS PRODUCE A DEADLY COMBINATION OF DISADVANTAGE AND DISCONTENT AND CONTRIBUTE TO LAWLESSNESS AND DISORDER.

A SHARPLY GROWING NUMBER OF AMERICANS NOW ARE LOOKING FOR NEW SOLUTIONS. THEY ARE LOOKING FOR GOVERNMENT TO LEAD THEM IN NEW DIRECTIONS. TO USE THE EVERYDAY LANGUAGE OF POLITICS, THEY WANT A CHANGE.

THAT IS THE MANDATE GIVEN ~~TO US~~ IN THE RECENT ELECTION --

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THE MANDATE GIVEN TO THOSE WHO WILL GOVERN IN THE CITY COUNCILS AND COMMISSIONS, IN THE STATE LEGISLATURES, AND IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CONGRESS IN THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD.

A MANDATE FOR CHANGE.

THE PEOPLE SAID: WE HAVE HAD VIOLENCE AND WILD DESTRUCTION THRUST UPON US. CONDITIONS OF DISADVANTAGE AND SOCIAL FAILURE HAVE BEEN LAID BARE FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE. THE OLD RESPONSES -- ONE MORE FEDERAL PROGRAM, / ANOTHER

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STUDY COMMISSION, / ANOTHER PLEA FOR LAW AND ORDER -- JUST WON'T DO. PRESENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN TRIED AND FOUND WANTING. LET US MOVE IN NEW DIRECTIONS TO LIFT THE URBAN CRISIS FROM OUR LAND.

NOW THE LAWMAKERS MUST RESPOND. WE MUST CHART THOSE NEW DIRECTIONS. WE MUST FASHION A WINNING COMBINATION OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION IF THE URBAN CRISIS IS TO BE MET.

HOW CAN WE MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE URBAN CRISIS?

IN GENERAL TERMS, THERE IS BUT ONE ANSWER: EVERY LEVEL ^{every segment of our society} OF GOVERNMENT AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN MUST BECOME COMMITTED TO THE TASK OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF OUR URBAN AND SUBURBAN AREAS. WE NEED A NEW APPROACH -- AN APPROACH IN WHICH STATE GOVERNMENTS PLAY A MAJOR ROLE, AN APPROACH WHICH FOSTERS THE INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL GROUPS AND ^{local} GOVERNMENTS.

TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, THE FOUNDATION OF THAT NEW APPROACH ^{But, 2 all an important postscript - a new prescription -} IS MONEY. THE USE OF TAX MONEY IN NEW WAYS TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL OBJECTIVES. ¹ The new tool can be The Internal Revenue Code.

① OUR STATES AND CITIES NEED AN UNFETTERED SHARE OF THE REVENUES WHICH NOW POUR INTO THE NATIONAL TREASURY.

② INDUSTRY NEEDS SPECIAL TAX CREDITS AS AN INCENTIVE TO MOVE INTO THE CORE CITIES WITH NEW PLANT / LARGE-SCALE ON-THE-JOB TRAINING FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED / AND BOLD VENTURES INTO LOW-INCOME HOUSING.

BUT MONEY ALONE IS NOT THE ANSWER. LOCAL CITIZENS AND LOCAL GROUPS MUST ASSUME GREATER RESPONSIBILITY AND BECOME IMBUED WITH THE DESIRE TO SOLVE LOCAL PROBLEMS LOCALLY. AND

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LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MUST FIND THE EXPERTS THEY NEED TO PLAN AND GUIDE LOCAL PROGRAMS.

THROUGH IT ALL, THE CENTRAL CONSIDERATION IS A CHANGE OF HANDS ON THE PURSE STRINGS...A SHIFT OF DECISION-MAKING AND SPENDING POWER FROM WASHINGTON TO THE ^{*bureaucracy*} CITIES AND THE STATES. FOR THAT REASON I URGE THAT CATEGORICAL GRANTS-IN-AID BE CONSOLIDATED INTO BROAD PROBLEM AREA GRANTS ^{*commonly called bloc grants*} AND THAT ULTIMATELY A PERCENTAGE OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE BE SHARED UNDER A REBATE AND EQUALIZATION FORMULA WITH THE STATES

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AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL UNITS.

I BELIEVE IN THE INHERENT VITALITY OF THE STATES. I BELIEVE IN THE ABILITY OF THE STATES TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT AND ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REHABILITATION OF OUR METROPOLITAN AREAS. AND DESPITE THE TREND IN RECENT YEARS, I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT LOCAL PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS IF THEY ARE GIVEN THE TOOLS, PARTICULARLY THE REVENUE, TO DO THE JOB.

TODAY WE HAVE ENTERED UPON A NEW ERA OF GREAT

21/HONOLULU

OPPORTUNITY AND EQUALLY GREAT CHALLENGE.

~~WITH THE ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT~~, THE OPPORTUNITY
IS HERE TO SWING AMERICA AROUND AND HEAD IT IN THE DIRECTION
OF A DYNAMIC FEDERALISM WHICH WILL FLOURISH IN OUR SYSTEM
OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT/ IF WE WILL BUT
NOURISH IT.

THE WAY IS OPEN BUT IT WILL BE HARD. THERE ARE ^{honest, conscientious} MEN IN
CONGRESS, PRIMARILY LIBERALS, WHO WILL FIGHT A FLOW OF
FEDERAL FUNDS TO THE STATES AND CITIES WITHOUT STRICT

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^{equally able & dedicated}
FEDERAL CONTROLS. THERE ARE ALSO ¹ MEN IN CONGRESS, AMONG
THEM POWERFUL CONSERVATIVES, WHO WILL STRONGLY OPPOSE TAX
CREDITS TO BRING INDUSTRY INTO THE CORE CITIES AS THE
LEADER IN AN ASSAULT ON HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND SLUM
HOUSING.

^{as your legislative bodies reflect your constituents}
BUT CONGRESS REFLECTS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, ¹ AND THE
LEADERS IN THE STATE LEGISLATURES ARE AMONG THE GREAT
MOLDERS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

THIS, THEN, IS ONE OF THE CHALLENGES FACING STATE

LEGISLATIVE LEADERS IN THIS TIME OF OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA.

But it is not a partisan issue -
OUR NEW PRESIDENT WILL PROVIDE THE IMPETUS, THE

INITIATIVE FOR THE DYNAMIC FEDERALISM REPRESENTED BY

Revenue sharing is no partisan product - Dr. Walter Heller.
FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING. WHETHER THAT MOVEMENT WILL MOVE

FORWARD TO SUCCESS, OR FALTER AND FAIL WILL DEPEND IN LARGE

MEASURE ON WHAT YOU, THE STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS OF

AMERICA, DO IN THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS.

LOFTY LANGUAGE AND AN EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN WILL NOT BE
ENOUGH. THE CHALLENGE TO THE STATES IS FAR GREATER.

THE STATES MUST HELP THEMSELVES. THEY MUST CONVINCE
THE CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE THE WILL AND
THE MACHINERY TO MEET CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS.

WHEREVER STATE CONSTITUTIONS HAVE LAGGED BEHIND
TODAY'S PROBLEMS, REVIEW AND REVISION SHOULD BECOME THE
ORDER OF THE DAY. THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS
MUST FACILITATE -- NOT HAMPER -- THE TASK OF PROVIDING VITAL
SERVICES.

I COMMEND TO OTHER STATES THE EXAMPLE OF MY OWN STATE

OF MICHIGAN, WHERE A NEW CONSTITUTION SUITABLE TO THE NEEDS OF MODERN SOCIETY WAS SHAPED AND APPROVED IN RECENT YEARS.

These meetings reflect that effort & will
THERE MUST BE GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE STATES. ¹

KEEN ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE ^{greater} ~~THE~~ USE OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS IN THE FIELDS OF WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT, CONTROL OF FISHERIES, TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, PORT ADMINISTRATION, AND HIGHER EDUCATION. THE POTENTIALITIES OF SUCH INTERSTATE COOPERATION HAVE HARDLY BEEN TAPPED, AND THE END-RESULT WOULD BE TO REDUCE THE FEDERAL ROLE AND

26/HONOLULU

INCREASE STATE RESPONSIBILITIES IN MANY IMPORTANT FIELDS. THE ALREADY IMPORTANT WORK OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS IN CRIME CONTROL, UNIFORM STATE LAWS, AND RECIPROCAL SUPPORT OF DEPENDENTS SHOULD BE EXTENDED. NEW ADVANCES SHOULD BE MADE IN CONTROL OF AIR POLLUTION, ELIMINATION OF INTERSTATE TRADE BARRIERS, AND OTHER COOPERATIVE STATE GOVERNMENT ATTACKS ON MUTUAL PROBLEMS.

OUR DYNAMIC NEW FEDERALISM WILL BLOSSOM ONLY IF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS STATE GOVERNMENTS GROW IN STRENGTH,

RESPONSIBILITY AND CAPABILITY.

STATE GOVERNMENTS CAN AND SHOULD PROMOTE THE STRONG LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT WHICH IS THE FOUNDATION OF A DYNAMIC FEDERAL SYSTEM. THEY COULD ESTABLISH OFFICES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO WORK IN LIAISON WITH LOCAL UNITS. THEY COULD ENCOURAGE LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL UNITS TOO SMALL TO BE EFFICIENT TO MERGE WITH OTHERS OR ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS SUCH AS WATER AUTHORITIES.

THE ULTIMATE CHALLENGE IS TO WIN THE INVOLVEMENT AND

LOYALTY OF THE ALIENATED CITIZENS IN OUR COMMUNITIES. WE MUST LEARN TO RELATE TO THEM...NOT ONLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE INDIVIDUALS ESTRANGED FROM OUR SOCIETY BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY. WE MUST SAVE THE FAMILY IF WE ARE TO SAVE THE COMMUNITY. WE MUST SAVE THE COMMUNITY IF WE ARE TO SAVE THE STATE AND THE NATION...AND GROW TO NEW GREATNESS AS A PEOPLE.

CRIME IS A PROBLEM WHICH DEMANDS THE GREATEST POSSIBLE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION AND FRESH NEW EFFORT.

29/ HONOLULU

THE CONGRESS IN THE LAST SESSION ADOPTED A NEW APPROACH --
A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM THROUGH BLOC GRANTS TO ATTACK CRIME
UNDER STATE PLANS WITH FEDERAL FUNDS.

*These funds will help to
train + up-grade*

However WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIAL
AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN AN AREA AND THE INCIDENCE OF
CRIME ~~there~~. AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD FULLY AND FIRMLY
ENFORCE THE LAW. THE GUILTY MUST BE APPREHENDED, TRIED AND
PUNISHED. A SOCIETY THAT ALLOWS ITS LAWS TO BE FLOUTED,
LOSES THE RESPECT OF ALL OF ITS MEMBERS.

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STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MUST ENCOURAGE PUBLIC
SUPPORT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT WITH JUSTICE WHILE WORKING WITH
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE COURTS AND IMPROVE
LOCAL POLICE WORK. THE OVERALL PROGRAM MIGHT WELL INCLUDE
STATE AND LOCAL EXPERIMENTATION WITH HEALTH, WELFARE AND
EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE BETTER LAW
ENFORCEMENT ATTITUDES.

WE MUST, AS A NATION, ELEVATE THE MORAL AND ETHICAL
ATTITUDES OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE TASK AHEAD IS GREAT - BUT

31/ HONOLULU

I AM SURE THAT OUR NEW CHIEF EXECUTIVE WILL BE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE MORAL TONE NOT ONLY OF THE PRESIDENCY BUT OF THE NATION.

ABOVE ALL, HE WILL SEEK TO LEAD, NOT TO DICTATE. HE WILL MOVE TO STRENGTHEN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND TO INVOLVE ALL AMERICANS IN THE TREMENDOUS TASK OF MEETING THE URBAN CRISIS.

I URGE THAT WE ALL LEND HIM OUR HANDS AND OUR HEARTS, THAT UNITY AND INVOLVEMENT BE OUR THEME. ONLY IN THAT WAY

32/ HONOLULU

CAN THIS GREAT NATION OF OURS ACHIEVE THE HIGH PURPOSE WHICH IS THE DREAM OF ALL OUR CITIZENS.

#

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE
LEADERS, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1968, AT
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JUNKET.

AND I FEEL VERY COMFORTABLE HERE

1) Here bi-partisan / legislative
partisan / executive

2) Problems -
Political - people have solved.
Constitutional - electoral
International - V. N.
Domestic - ① Economy
② Yulian crisis

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CHIEF PROBLEMS THAT FACE YOU AND ME AND ALL AMERICANS *Turn to other matters*

Let me turn APART FROM THE BLOODY CONFLICT IN VIETNAM, THE SEETHING CAULDRON OF IMMINENT WAR IN THE MIDEAST, AND THE IMBALANCE IN EUROPE PRECIPITATED BY THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, OUR MOST PERPLEXING PROBLEMS CAN BE SUMMED UP IN THREE WORDS: "THE URBAN CRISIS."

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PROBLEMS REACH CRISIS PROPORTIONS? LET ME
GIVE YOU A CAPSULE REVIEW.

WHEN OUR ~~COR~~ CITIES WERE YOUNGER
AND STILL GROWING, THEIR OWN RESOURCES WERE
SUFFICIENT TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE.
WHERE GOVERNMENT FAILED TO RESPOND TO THOSE
NEEDS, IT WAS A FAILURE OF ORGANIZATION,

mept

REPRESENTATION AND ~~BIG-CITY~~ POLITICAL MACHINES. THEN WORLD WAR II EXPLODED, AND DOMESTIC CONCERNS WERE LAID ASIDE. AFTER THE WAR, CITIES STRUGGLED WITH A HUGE BACKLOG OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENT PROJECTS. RESIDENTS AND BUSINESSES SPILLED OVER THE CORE CITY'S BORDERS. SUBURBIA BEGAN TO DEVELOP AND GROW. UPPER AND MIDDLE INCOME GROUPS LEFT THE CORE CITY FOR THE SUBURBS, LEAVING BEHIND THOSE ECONOMIC GROUPS MOST IN NEED OF PUBLIC SERVICES AND LEAST ABLE TO PAY FOR THEM. YOUNG PEOPLE LEFT, LEAVING BEHIND OLDER CITIZENS TO RELUCTANTLY SUPPORT THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN FROM LOW INCOME FAMILIES. OFTEN, INDUSTRY LEFT, AND THIS SAPPED THE REVENUE SOURCES OF THE CITY STILL FURTHER. WHILE THE COST OF CITY SERVICES INCREASED, THE CITY'S ABILITY TO MEET THOSE COSTS DIMINISHED. CITIES TURNED TO THEIR PARENT STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR HELP. BUT THE STATES

WERE CAUGHT IN THEIR OWN CRISES, AND THEY ALSO WERE HAMPERED BY A RELIANCE ON LIMITED TAX SOURCES.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS BOUND BY NO SUCH RESTRAINTS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD THE RICH REVENUE TOOL OF THE PROGRESSIVE INCOME TAX, WITH A NATURAL GROWTH IN FEDERAL REVENUE AS THE ECONOMY GREW. IN ANY CASE, ^{right or wrong} THE CONGRESS OFTEN WAS WILLING TO SPEND ^{far} MORE THAN TAXES BROUGHT IN. TAX SOURCES FOR THE STATES FAILED TO MATCH THOSE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE NEW DEAL HAD PRODUCED AN ABUNDANCE OF NEW PROGRAMS. AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION, ^{7-12-1930s} HAD PRODUCED AN ATTITUDE OF LOOKING TO WASHINGTON FOR SOLUTIONS TO LOCAL PROBLEMS.

THUS BEGAN A SYSTEM OF FEDERAL AID TO THE CITIES, SOMETIMES TOTALLY BYPASSING THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES.

IS THIS BAD?

THERE ARE THOSE WHO PREACH A

"NEW FEDERALISM" WHICH WOULD GREATLY EXPAND DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CITIES. THEY SEEK TO PILE NEW PROGRAMS OF CATEGORICAL GRANTS-IN-AID ATOP THE PRESENT TOWERING FEDERAL AID STRUCTURE OF MORE THAN 400 PROGRAMS.

LET'S LAY ASIDE PHILOSOPHICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS. A KEY QUESTION REGARDING ANY PROGRAM OR SYSTEM IS: DOES IT WORK? I POSE THIS QUESTION ABOUT THE CATEGORICAL GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM ON BEHALF OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO ARE UNCONCERNED ABOUT THE FLOW OF IMMENSE POWER TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON AND THE CONSEQUENT WEAKNESS OF THE CITIES AND THE STATES.

THE REAL ISSUE -- DOES THE PRESENT SYSTEM WORK? IS AMERICA GETTING A SATISFACTORY RETURN FOR ITS TALENT AND ITS DOLLARS? ANY THINKING AMERICAN WHO SIFTS OBJECTIVELY THROUGH THE EVIDENCE WOULD HAVE

TO SAY, "NO." DESPITE A MASSIVE INFUSION OF
FEDERAL FUNDS INTO GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS,
THE URBAN CRISIS PERSISTS AND GROWS MORE
ACUTE. PERSISTENT CITY PROBLEMS PRODUCE A
DEADLY COMBINATION OF DISADVANTAGE AND
DISCONTENT AND CONTRIBUTE TO LAWLESSNESS AND
DISORDER.

A SHARPLY GROWING NUMBER OF AMERICANS
NOW ARE LOOKING FOR NEW SOLUTIONS. THEY ARE
LOOKING FOR GOVERNMENT TO LEAD THEM IN NEW
DIRECTIONS. TO USE THE EVERYDAY LANGUAGE
OF POLITICS, THEY WANT A CHANGE.

THAT IS THE MANDATE GIVEN ~~TO US~~
IN THE RECENT ELECTION -- THE MANDATE GIVEN
TO THOSE WHO WILL GOVERN IN THE CITY COUNCILS
AND COMMISSIONS, IN THE STATE LEGISLATURES,
AND IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CONGRESS IN
THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD.

A MANDATE FOR CHANGE.

THE PEOPLE SAID: WE HAVE HAD

VIOLENCE AND WILD DESTRUCTION THRUST UPON US. CONDITIONS OF DISADVANTAGE AND SOCIAL FAILURE HAVE BEEN LAID BARE FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE. THE OLD RESPONSES -- ONE MORE FEDERAL PROGRAM, ANOTHER STUDY COMMISSION, ANOTHER PLEA FOR LAW AND ORDER -- JUST WON'T DO. PRESENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN TRIED AND FOUND WANTING. LET US MOVE IN NEW DIRECTIONS TO LIFT THE URBAN CRISIS FROM OUR LAND.

NOW THE LAWMAKERS MUST RESPOND. WE MUST CHART THOSE NEW DIRECTIONS. WE MUST FASHION A WINNING COMBINATION OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION IF THE URBAN CRISIS IS TO BE MET.

HOW CAN WE MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE URBAN CRISIS?

IN GENERAL TERMS, THERE IS BUT ONE ANSWER: EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN MUST BECOME

COMMITTED TO THE TASK OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF OUR URBAN AND SUBURBAN AREAS. WE NEED A NEW APPROACH -- AN APPROACH IN WHICH STATE GOVERNMENTS PLAY A MAJOR ROLE, AN APPROACH WHICH FOSTERS THE INVOLVEMENT OF LOCAL GROUPS AND GOVERNMENTS.

TO PUT IT BLUNTLY, THE FOUNDATION OF THAT NEW APPROACH IS MONEY...THE USE OF TAX MONEY IN NEW WAYS TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL OBJECTIVES.

OUR STATES AND CITIES NEED AN UNFETTERED SHARE OF THE REVENUES WHICH NOW POUR INTO THE NATIONAL TREASURY.

INDUSTRY NEEDS SPECIAL TAX CREDITS AS AN INCENTIVE TO MOVE INTO THE CORE CITIES WITH NEW PLANT, LARGE-SCALE ON-THE-JOB TRAINING FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED, AND BOLD VENTURES INTO LOW-INCOME HOUSING.

BUT MONEY ALONE IS NOT THE ANSWER. LOCAL CITIZENS AND LOCAL GROUPS MUST ASSUME

GREATER RESPONSIBILITY AND BECOME IMBUED WITH THE DESIRE TO SOLVE LOCAL PROBLEMS LOCALLY. AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MUST FIND THE EXPERTS THEY NEED TO PLAN AND GUIDE LOCAL PROGRAMS.

THROUGH IT ALL, THE CENTRAL CONSIDERATION IS A CHANGE OF HANDS ON THE PURSE STRINGS...A SHIFT OF DECISION-MAKING AND SPENDING POWER FROM WASHINGTON TO THE CITIES AND THE STATES. FOR THAT REASON I URGE THAT CATEGORICAL GRANTS-IN-AID BE CONSOLIDATED INTO BROAD PROBLEM AREA GRANTS AND THAT ULTIMATELY A PERCENTAGE OF FEDERAL INCOME TAX REVENUE BE SHARED UNDER A REBATE AND EQUALIZATION FORMULA WITH THE STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL UNITS.

I BELIEVE IN THE INHERENT VITALITY OF THE STATES. I BELIEVE IN THE ABILITY OF THE STATES TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT AND ESSENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REHABILITATION OF OUR

METROPOLITAN AREAS. AND DESPITE THE TREND IN RECENT YEARS, I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT LOCAL PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED BY LOCAL OFFICIALS IF THEY ARE GIVEN THE TOOLS, PARTICULARLY THE REVENUE, TO DO THE JOB.

TODAY WE HAVE ENTERED UPON A NEW ERA OF GREAT OPPORTUNITY AND EQUALLY GREAT CHALLENGE.

WITH THE ELECTION OF A NEW PRESIDENT, THE OPPORTUNITY IS HERE TO SWING AMERICA AROUND AND HEAD IT IN THE DIRECTION OF A DYNAMIC FEDERALISM WHICH WILL FLOURISH IN OUR SYSTEM OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IF WE WILL BUT NOURISH IT.

THE WAY IS OPEN BUT IT WILL BE HARD. THERE ARE MEN IN CONGRESS, PRIMARILY LIBERALS, WHO WILL FIGHT A FLOW OF FEDERAL FUNDS TO THE STATES AND CITIES WITHOUT STRICT FEDERAL CONTROLS. THERE ARE ALSO MEN IN CONGRESS, AMONG THEM POWERFUL CONSERVATIVES,

WHO WILL STRONGLY OPPOSE TAX CREDITS TO BRING INDUSTRY INTO THE CORE CITIES AS THE LEADER IN AN ASSAULT ON HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND SLUM HOUSING.

BUT CONGRESS REFLECTS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE. AND THE LEADERS IN THE STATE LEGISLATURES ARE AMONG THE GREAT MOLDERS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

THIS, THEN, IS ONE OF THE CHALLENGES FACING STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS IN THIS TIME OF OPPORTUNITY FOR AMERICA.

OUR NEW PRESIDENT WILL PROVIDE THE IMPETUS, THE INITIATIVE FOR THE DYNAMIC FEDERALISM REPRESENTED BY FEDERAL REVENUE SHARING. WHETHER THAT MOVEMENT WILL MOVE FORWARD TO SUCCESS, OR FALTER AND FAIL WILL DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON WHAT YOU, THE STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS OF AMERICA, DO IN THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS.

LOFTY LANGUAGE AND AN EDUCATIONAL

CAMPAIGN WILL NOT BE ENOUGH. THE CHALLENGE TO THE STATES IS FAR GREATER.

THE STATES MUST HELP THEMSELVES.

THEY MUST CONVINCE THE CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE THAT THEY HAVE THE WILL AND THE MACHINERY TO MEET CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS.

WHEREVER STATE CONSTITUTIONS HAVE LAGGED BEHIND TODAY'S PROBLEMS, REVIEW AND REVISION SHOULD BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF STATE GOVERNMENTS MUST FACILITATE -- NOT HAMPER -- THE TASK OF PROVIDING VITAL SERVICES.

I COMMEND TO OTHER STATES THE EXAMPLE OF MY OWN STATE OF MICHIGAN, WHERE A NEW CONSTITUTION SUITABLE TO THE NEEDS OF MODERN SOCIETY ~~WAS~~ SHAPED AND APPROVED IN RECENT YEARS.

THERE MUST BE GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE STATES. KEEN ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE USE OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS

IN THE FIELDS OF WATER RESOURCES MANAGEMENT, CONTROL OF FISHERIES, TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, PORT ADMINISTRATION, AND HIGHER EDUCATION. THE POTENTIALITIES OF SUCH INTERSTATE COOPERATION HAVE HARDLY BEEN TAPPED, AND THE END-RESULT WOULD BE TO REDUCE THE FEDERAL ROLE AND INCREASE STATE RESPONSIBILITIES IN MANY IMPORTANT FIELDS. THE ALREADY IMPORTANT WORK OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS IN CRIME CONTROL, UNIFORM STATE LAWS, AND RECIPROCAL SUPPORT OF DEPENDENTS SHOULD BE EXTENDED. NEW ADVANCES SHOULD BE MADE IN CONTROL OF AIR POLLUTION, ELIMINATION OF INTERSTATE TRADE BARRIERS, AND OTHER COOPERATIVE STATE GOVERNMENT ATTACKS ON MUTUAL PROBLEMS.

OUR DYNAMIC NEW FEDERALISM WILL BLOSSOM ONLY IF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS STATE GOVERNMENTS GROW IN STRENGTH, RESPONSIBILITY AND CAPABILITY.

STATE GOVERNMENTS CAN AND SHOULD PROMOTE THE STRONG LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT WHICH IS THE FOUNDATION OF A DYNAMIC FEDERAL SYSTEM. THEY COULD ESTABLISH OFFICES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO WORK IN LIAISON WITH LOCAL UNITS. THEY COULD ENCOURAGE LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL UNITS TOO SMALL TO BE EFFICIENT TO MERGE WITH OTHERS OR ENTER INTO AGREEMENTS SUCH AS WATER AUTHORITIES.

THE ULTIMATE CHALLENGE IS TO WIN THE INVOLVEMENT AND LOYALTY OF THE ALIENATED CITIZENS IN OUR COMMUNITIES. WE MUST LEARN TO RELATE TO THEM...NOT ONLY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE INDIVIDUALS ESTRANGED FROM OUR SOCIETY BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY. WE MUST SAVE THE FAMILY IF WE ARE TO SAVE THE COMMUNITY. WE MUST SAVE THE COMMUNITY IF WE ARE TO SAVE THE STATE AND THE NATION...AND GROW TO NEW GREATNESS AS A PEOPLE.

CRIME IS A PROBLEM WHICH DEMANDS

THE GREATEST POSSIBLE FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL COOPERATION AND FRESH NEW EFFORT. *LB*
THE CONGRESS IN THE LAST SESSION ADOPTED A NEW APPROACH -- A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM THROUGH BLOC GRANTS TO ATTACK CRIME UNDER STATE PLANS WITH FEDERAL FUNDS.

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN AN AREA AND THE INCIDENCE OF CRIME THERE. AT THE SAME TIME WE SHOULD FULLY AND FIRMLY ENFORCE THE LAW. THE GUILTY MUST BE APPREHENDED, TRIED AND PUNISHED. A SOCIETY THAT ALLOWS ITS LAWS TO BE FLOUTED, LOSES THE RESPECT OF ALL OF ITS MEMBERS.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS MUST ENCOURAGE PUBLIC SUPPORT OF LAW ENFORCEMENT WITH JUSTICE WHILE WORKING WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO STRENGTHEN THE COURTS AND IMPROVE LOCAL POLICE WORK. THE OVERALL PROGRAM MIGHT WELL INCLUDE STATE AND LOCAL

EXPERIMENTATION WITH HEALTH, WELFARE AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE BETTER LAW ENFORCEMENT ATTITUDES.

WE MUST, AS A NATION, ELEVATE THE MORAL AND ETHICAL ATTITUDES OF OUR PEOPLE.

I AM SURE THAT OUR NEW CHIEF EXECUTIVE WILL BE DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE MORAL TONE NOT ONLY OF THE PRESIDENCY BUT OF THE NATION.

ABOVE ALL, HE WILL SEEK TO LEAD, NOT TO DICTATE. HE WILL MOVE TO STRENGTHEN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND TO INVOLVE ALL AMERICANS IN THE TREMENDOUS TASK OF MEETING THE URBAN CRISIS.

I URGE THAT WE ALL LEND HIM OUR HANDS AND OUR HEARTS, THAT UNITY AND INVOLVEMENT BE OUR THEME. ONLY IN THAT WAY CAN THIS GREAT NATION OF OURS ACHIEVE THE HIGH PURPOSE WHICH IS THE DREAM OF ALL OUR CITIZENS.

-- END --

Office Copy

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD
REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE LEADERS
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1968
AT HONOLULU, HAWAII

FOR RELEASE IN WEDNESDAY PM's.

At this moment we are approaching a time of great opportunity and great challenge. The opportunity and the challenge are caught up in a single question: How do we solve the crushing problems of the late sixties and the seventies in the America we all love?

Where are we today? What are the chief problems that face you and me and all Americans?

Apart from the bloody conflict in Vietnam, the seething cauldron of imminent war in the Mideast, and the imbalance in Europe precipitated by the invasion of Czechoslovakia, our most perplexing problems can be summed up in three words: "the urban crisis."

The urban crisis is not a single problem. It is a complex of problems... a poisonous brew concocted from all the major ills of our Nation--rampant crime, inadequate educational systems, hard-core unemployment, shockingly dangerous pollution of our air and water, antiquated transportation, disgraceful housing, insufficient and ineffective public facilities, deterioration of the family as a unit of society, lack of equal opportunity for all Americans, and an explosive failure of communication between young and older Americans, Negroes and whites.

All of these problems cry out for immediate action. The question: Who does what and how? And how will the action program be paid for?

In Washington there is a government building on which there is etched in stone these words: "What is past is prologue."

To know where you want to go and how you might get there, it is often helpful to see where you've been.

How did the complex of city problems reach crisis proportions? Let me give you a capsule review.

When our core cities were younger and still growing, their own resources were sufficient to meet the needs of their people. Where government failed to respond to those needs, it was a failure of organization, representation and

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big-city political machines. Then World War II exploded, and domestic concerns were laid aside. After the War, cities struggled with a huge backlog of public improvement projects. Residents and businesses spilled over the core city's borders. Suburbia began to develop and grow. Upper and middle income groups left the core city for the suburbs, leaving behind those economic groups most in need of public services and least able to pay for them. Young people left, leaving behind older citizens to reluctantly support the education of children from low income families. Often, industry left, and this sapped the revenue sources of the city still further. While the cost of city services increased, the city's ability to meet those costs diminished. Cities turned to their parent state governments for help. But the states were caught in their own crises, and they also were hampered by a reliance on limited tax sources.

The national government was bound by no such restraints. The federal government had the rich revenue tool of the progressive income tax, with a natural growth in federal revenue as the economy grew. In any case, the Congress often was willing to spend more than taxes brought in. Tax sources for the states failed to match those of the federal government. The New Deal had produced an abundance of new programs, and the Great Depression had produced an attitude of looking to Washington for solutions to local problems.

Thus began a system of federal aid to the cities, sometimes totally bypassing the governments of the states.

Is this bad?

There are those who preach a "New Federalism" which would greatly expand direct contacts between the federal government and the cities. They seek to pile new programs of categorical grants-in-aid atop the present towering federal aid structure of more than 400 programs.

Let's lay aside philosophical and ideological considerations. A key question regarding any program or system is: Does it work? I pose this question about the categorical grant-in-aid system on behalf of those Americans who are unconcerned about the flow of immense power to the central government in Washington and the consequent weakness of the cities and the states.

The real issue -- Does the present system work? Is America getting a satisfactory return for its talent and its dollars? Any thinking American who sifts objectively through the evidence would have to say, "No." Despite a massive infusion of federal funds into grant-in-aid programs, the urban crisis

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persists and grows more acute. Persistent city problems produce a deadly combination of disadvantage and discontent and contribute to lawlessness and disorder.

A sharply growing number of Americans now are looking for new solutions. They are looking for government to lead them in new directions. To use the everyday language of politics, they want a change.

That is the mandate given to us in the recent election -- the mandate given to those who will govern in the city councils and commissions, in the state legislatures, and in the White House and the Congress in the years immediately ahead.

A mandate for change.

The people said: We have had violence and wild destruction thrust upon us. Conditions of disadvantage and social failure have been laid bare for all the world to see. The old responses -- one more federal program, another study commission, another plea for law and order -- just won't do. Present policies and programs have been tried and found wanting. Let us move in new directions to lift the urban crisis from our land.

Now the ^{Congress} ~~lawmakers~~ must respond. We must chart those new directions. We must fashion a winning combination of federal, state and local cooperation if the urban crisis is to be met.

How can we meet the challenge of the urban crisis?

In general terms, there is but one answer: Every level of government and every individual citizen must become committed to the task of solving the problems of our urban and suburban areas. We need a new approach -- an approach ~~in which state governments play a major role~~ ^{an approach} which fosters the involvement of local groups and governments.

To put it bluntly, the foundation of that new approach is money...the use of tax money in new ways to achieve social objectives.

Our states and cities need an unfettered share of the revenues which now pour into the National Treasury.

Industry needs special tax credits as an incentive to move into the core cities with new plant, large-scale on-the-job training for the hard-core unemployed, and bold ventures into low-income housing.

But money alone is not the answer. Local citizens and local groups must assume greater responsibility and become imbued with the desire to solve local

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problems locally. And local governments must find the experts they need to plan and guide local programs.

Through it all, the central consideration is a change of hands on the purse strings...a shift of decision-making and spending power from Washington to the cities and the states. For that reason I urge that categorical grants-in-aid be consolidated into broad problem area grants and that ultimately a percentage of federal income tax revenue be shared under a rebate and equalization formula with the states and local governmental units.

I believe in the inherent vitality of the states. I believe in the ability of the states to make significant and essential contributions to the rehabilitation of our metropolitan areas. And despite the trend in recent years, I firmly believe that local problems can be solved by local officials if they are given the tools, particularly the revenue, to do the job.

Today we are entering upon a new era of great opportunity and equally great challenge.

With the election of a new President, the opportunity is here to swing America around and head it in the direction of a dynamic federalism which will flourish in our system of federal, state and local government if we will but nourish it.

The way is open but it will be hard. There are men in Congress, primarily liberals, who will fight a flow of federal funds to the states and cities without strict federal controls. There are also men in Congress, among them powerful conservatives, who will strongly oppose tax credits to bring industry into the core cities as the leader in an assault on hard-core unemployment and slum housing.

But Congress reflects the will of the people. ~~And the leaders in the state legislatures are among the great molders of public opinion.~~

This, then, is one of the challenges facing state legislative leaders in this time of opportunity for America.

Our new President will provide the impetus, the initiative for the dynamic federalism represented by federal revenue sharing. Whether that movement will move forward to success, or falter and fail, will depend in large measure on what you, the state legislative leaders of America, do in the coming months and years.

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Lofty language and an educational campaign will not be enough. The challenge ~~to the states~~ is far greater.

The states must help themselves. They must convince the Congress and the people that they have the will and the machinery to meet contemporary problems.

Wherever state constitutions have lagged behind today's problems, review and revision should become the order of the day. The basic documents of state governments must facilitate -- not hamper -- the task of providing vital services.

I commend to other states the example of my own state of Michigan, where a new constitution suitable to the needs of modern society was shaped and approved in recent years.

There must be greater cooperation between the states. Keen attention should be given to the use of interstate compacts in the fields of water resources management, control of fisheries, transportation facilities, port administration, and higher education. The potentialities of such interstate cooperation have hardly been tapped, and the end-result would be to reduce the federal role and increase state responsibilities in many important fields. The already important work of interstate compacts and agreements in crime control, uniform state laws, and reciprocal support of dependents should be extended. New advances should be made in control of air pollution, elimination of interstate trade barriers, and other cooperative state government attacks on mutual problems.

Our dynamic new federalism will blossom only if local governments as well as state governments grow in strength, responsibility and capability.

State governments can and should promote the strong local self-government which is the foundation of a dynamic federal system. They could establish Offices of Local Government to work in liaison with local units. They could encourage local governmental units too small to be efficient to merge with others or enter into agreements such as water authorities.

The ultimate challenge is to win the involvement and loyalty of the alienated citizens in our communities. We must learn to relate to them...not only for the benefit of the individuals estranged from our society but for the benefit of the whole society. We must save the family if we are to save the community. We must save the community if we are to save the state and the nation...and grow to new greatness as a people.

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Crime is a problem which demands the greatest possible federal, state and local cooperation and fresh new effort. The Congress in the last session adopted a new approach -- a cooperative program through bloc grants to attack crime under state plans with federal funds.

We must recognize the relationship between the social and educational conditions in an area and the incidence of crime there. At the same time we should fully and firmly enforce the law. The guilty must be apprehended, tried and punished. A society that allows its laws to be flouted loses the respect of all of its members.

State and local governments must encourage public support of law enforcement with justice while working with the federal government to strengthen the courts and improve local police work.

The overall program might well include state and local experimentation with health, welfare and educational programs designed to encourage better law enforcement attitudes.

We must, as a nation, elevate the moral and ethical attitudes of our people.

I am sure that our new chief executive will be deeply concerned with the moral tone not only of the Presidency but of the Nation.

Above all, he will seek to lead, not to dictate. He will move to strengthen state and local governments and to involve all Americans in the tremendous task of meeting the urban crisis.

I urge that we all lend him our hands and our hearts, that unity and involvement be our theme. Only in that way can this great Nation of ours achieve the high purpose which is the dream of all our citizens.

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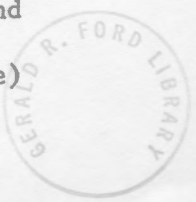
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Thus began a system of federal aid to the cities, sometimes totally bypassing the governments of the states.

Is this bad?

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problems locally. And local governments must find the experts they need to plan and guide local programs.

Through it all, the central consideration is a change of hands on the purse strings...a shift of decision-making and spending power from Washington to the cities and the states. For that reason I urge that categorical grants-in-aid be consolidated into broad problem area grants and that ultimately a percentage of federal income tax revenue be shared under a rebate and equalization formula with the states and local governmental units.

I believe in the inherent vitality of the states. I believe in the ability of the states to make significant and essential contributions to the rehabilitation of our metropolitan areas. And despite the trend in recent years, I firmly believe that local problems can be solved by local officials if they are given the tools, particularly the revenue, to do the job.

Today we are entering upon a new era of great opportunity and equally great challenge.

With the election of a new President, the opportunity is here to swing America around and head it in the direction of a dynamic federalism which will flourish in our system of federal, state and local government if we will but nourish it.

The way is open but it will be hard. There are men in Congress, primarily liberals, who will fight a flow of federal funds to the states and cities without strict federal controls. There are also men in Congress, among them powerful conservatives, who will strongly oppose tax credits to bring industry into the core cities as the leader in an assault on hard-core unemployment and slum housing.

But Congress reflects the will of the people. And the leaders in the state legislatures are among the great molders of public opinion.

This, then, is one of the challenges facing state legislative leaders in this time of opportunity for America.

Our new President will provide the impetus, the initiative for the dynamic federalism represented by federal revenue sharing. Whether that movement will move forward to success, or falter and fail, will depend in large measure on what you, the state legislative leaders of America, do in the coming months and years.

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Lofty language and an educational campaign will not be enough. The challenge to the states is far greater.

The states must help themselves. They must convince the Congress and the people that they have the will and the machinery to meet contemporary problems.

Wherever state constitutions have lagged behind today's problems, review and revision should become the order of the day. The basic documents of state governments must facilitate -- not hamper -- the task of providing vital services.

I commend to other states the example of my own state of Michigan, where a new constitution suitable to the needs of modern society was shaped and approved in recent years.

There must be greater cooperation between the states. Keen attention should be given to the use of interstate compacts in the fields of water resources management, control of fisheries, transportation facilities, port administration, and higher education. The potentialities of such interstate cooperation have hardly been tapped, and the end-result would be to reduce the federal role and increase state responsibilities in many important fields. The already important work of interstate compacts and agreements in crime control, uniform state laws, and reciprocal support of dependents should be extended. New advances should be made in control of air pollution, elimination of interstate trade barriers, and other cooperative state government attacks on mutual problems.

Our dynamic new federalism will blossom only if local governments as well as state governments grow in strength, responsibility and capability.

State governments can and should promote the strong local self-government which is the foundation of a dynamic federal system. They could establish Offices of Local Government to work in liaison with local units. They could encourage local governmental units too small to be efficient to merge with others or enter into agreements such as water authorities.

The ultimate challenge is to win the involvement and loyalty of the alienated citizens in our communities. We must learn to relate to them...not only for the benefit of the individuals estranged from our society but for the benefit of the whole society. We must save the family if we are to save the community. We must save the community if we are to save the state and the nation...and grow to new greatness as a people.

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Crime is a problem which demands the greatest possible federal, state and local cooperation and fresh new effort. The Congress in the last session adopted a new approach -- a cooperative program through bloc grants to attack crime under state plans with federal funds.

We must recognize the relationship between the social and educational conditions in an area and the incidence of crime there. At the same time we should fully and firmly enforce the law. The guilty must be apprehended, tried and punished. A society that allows its laws to be flouted loses the respect of all of its members.

State and local governments must encourage public support of law enforcement with justice while working with the federal government to strengthen the courts and improve local police work.

The overall program might well include state and local experimentation with health, welfare and educational programs designed to encourage better law enforcement attitudes.

We must, as a nation, elevate the moral and ethical attitudes of our people.

I am sure that our new chief executive will be deeply concerned with the moral tone not only of the Presidency but of the Nation.

Above all, he will seek to lead, not to dictate. He will move to strengthen state and local governments and to involve all Americans in the tremendous task of meeting the urban crisis.

I urge that we all lend him our hands and our hearts, that unity and involvement be our theme. Only in that way can this great Nation of ours achieve the high purpose which is the dream of all our citizens.

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