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Bert T. Combs

George W. Robinson
Eastern Kentucky University

John Ed Pearce

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Recommended Citation

Combs, Bert T.; Robinson, George W.; and Pearce, John Ed, "The Public Papers of Governor Bert T. Combs: 1959–1963" (1979). *Legislative and Executive Papers*. 17.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/upk_political_science_papers/17

THE PUBLIC PAPERS OF
GOVERNOR
BERT T. COMBS

1959-1963



George W. Robinson,
Editor

THE PUBLIC PAPERS OF
THE GOVERNORS OF KENTUCKY

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THE GOVERNORS OF KENTUCKY

Robert F. Sexton
General Editor

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THE PUBLIC PAPERS OF
GOVERNOR
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THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF KENTUCKY

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Combs, Bert T 1911-
The public papers of Governor Bert T. Combs,
1959-1963.

(The Public papers of the Governors of Kentucky)
Includes index.

1. Kentucky—Politics and government—1951-
Sources. I. Robinson, George William, 1926-
II. Kentucky. Governor, 1959-1963 (Combs) III. Ti-
tle. IV. Series: Public papers of the Governors of
Kentucky.

J87.K417 1959 353.9'769'035 78-58103
ISBN 978-0-8131-5175-5

Copyright © 1979 by The University Press of Kentucky

Scholarly publisher for the Commonwealth,
serving Berea College, Centre College of Kentucky,
Eastern Kentucky University, The Filson Club,
Georgetown College, Kentucky Historical Society,
Kentucky State University, Morehead State University,
Murray State University, Northern Kentucky University,
Transylvania University, University of Kentucky,
University of Louisville, and Western Kentucky University.
Editorial and Sales Offices: Lexington, Kentucky 40506

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FOREWORD

THE governor of Kentucky has a great deal of power, more power, say some political scientists, than the governor of any other state. Thanks to the state constitution, he not only heads but controls an administration whose agencies touch the lives of practically every Kentuckian. He is the titular, and usually the actual, leader of his party. He is the state's biggest employer, and as a result of these varied roles, he wields great influence with, if not actual control over, the state legislature and the laws it enacts.

All of this makes the governor's office a considerable prize for a man with ambition, whether his goal is public service, the law, or private business. Historically, the pay has been relatively small, but the power and prestige of the office are commodities that can be turned to advantage by a fairly shrewd, determined, energetic, tough man, as most governors must be and are. Not all Kentucky governors have gone on to wealth, fame, or higher office, and some have speculated that they could have made more money with less effort outside politics, but the average has done well.

In addition to the material considerations, the governorship offers also the opportunity to do something for one's fellowman and to write one's name in the pages of history, to leave, as Bert Combs once said, "some tracks to show that I was here." The average voter may see the politician as a creature of greed and materialism, but intangible rewards often motivate him more than he admits. And to an unusual degree, Bert Combs achieved this very human ambition. The marks of his administration are stamped deeply into the fabric of Kentucky. Some are not visible, and many people do not recognize those they see, but they are there.

The example of the Combs administration, like the career of Combs himself, is another of those reminders of the opportunity under the American system for a man to rise from modest beginnings to prominence and in doing so to enrich not only his own life but the lives of his contemporaries. Ever since John Combs left Devonshire, England, to settle in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, the Combs family has been a large and influential one, first in Virginia and later in Kentucky, but when Bert Thomas Combs was born, on August 13, 1911, in Manchester, Clay County, Kentucky, it was into the working-class family of Stephen and Martha Combs, and while he enjoyed a pleasant, small-town boyhood, it was not an affluent

one. From the time he entered school, he was considered a bright boy and graduated from high school at fifteen. But he knew that he would have to earn his way if he hoped to get a college education. And so he did. He worked his way through Cumberland College, then worked for the state Highway Department until he saved enough money to attend law school at the University of Kentucky. He graduated, second in his class, in 1937.

At a time when most depression-era boys were obliged to earn all or part of their education, there was nothing unusual in all this, but it indicated the qualities that earned young Combs respect when he entered practice in 1937, first in Manchester and then in Prestonsburg. The same year he married Mabel Hall, a pretty former cheerleader whose family had come from Knott County, and by the time he joined the army as a private in 1942, he had built up a promising law practice. After four years in the service, during which he earned the Bronze Star and attained the rank of captain, Combs returned to Prestonsburg and began his career of public service (or, to express it another way, got into politics). As evidence of the regard in which he was held by his fellow citizens, he was appointed city attorney in 1946 and Commonwealth's attorney in 1948. In 1950 he was appointed to the Court of Appeals, at that time Kentucky's highest court, and a year later won a full term on the court by defeating Simeon Willis.

This was no mean victory. Simeon Willis was a former governor and a highly respected member of the bar. Still, Combs was by no means persuaded that his future lay in politics and elective office. But he began receiving statewide publicity when his opinions on the court began receiving attention, and Democratic officials, led by Governor Lawrence Wetherby and former Governor Earle C. Clements, began to regard the quiet, handsome judge as a possible candidate for governor.

Combs was not ready, not entirely willing, and by no means able when the call came. And for a while it looked as though he might not leave his mark on Kentucky simply because he would not be elected. He was handsome, intelligent, sincere, and informed, but he delivered a campaign speech as he would deliver an important legal opinion. As one of his supporters said, he was "the kind of candidate you hope the other side will get."

When he began his race for governor in 1950, his voice left no possibility of doubt that Bert Combs was from deep in the hills. He delivered his earnest statements in a twanging monotone and punctuated them with a sawing motion of his hands, his features

almost as expressionless as his voice. When his speechwriters attempted to inject some humor into his talks, he approached the jokes like a dog sniffing a snake, and he had a tendency to sidle into a room as though apologetic about being there at all. Those who listened closely found a great deal of good sense and honesty in the Combs speeches, but even then it was not wholly to his benefit, for he had an unfortunate habit of telling unpleasant truth without the necessary sugar-coating. This can be disastrous in Kentucky, where voters prefer harsh truths in small and infrequent doses, especially when it concerns taxes.

To make matters worse, Combs was running against A. B. "Happy" Chandler, one of the most formidable candidates of his time. In contrast to Combs's earnest, honest, self-effacing manner, Happy Chandler was one of the last of the great courthouse campaigners, a skilled orator with a genius for ridicule and a sure sense for salting political wounds. Watching Happy laugh, hug, shake, sing, and shout his way through a crowd, Combs's backers could only hope that Kentucky voters would see in their man evidence that still waters run deep. They didn't. Combs lost (though not by much).

But in the process he learned. Early in his race, Combs told a Shelbyville audience a simple and obvious fact — that the state would need at least \$25 million more a year to keep operating on a decent level of service. Chandler immediately charged that Combs was planning to levy a sales tax. Combs denied it, and later condemned the tax, but the seed of suspicion had been planted and it grew, partly because he was supported by the Louisville newspapers and by John Young Brown, both long-time advocates of a sales tax. But it must be said for Combs that he seldom repeated a mistake. "There is no education in the second kick of a mule," he liked to say, and he seldom if ever required it.

The setback was painful but temporary, and by 1959 Combs was ready to run again. But this time, he was the outsider, and the incumbent Chandler administration was backing Lieutenant Governor Harry Lee Waterfield, a pleasant, personable western Kentuckian. And before he could challenge Waterfield, Combs faced a serious obstacle in the candidacy of Wilson W. Wyatt, the articulate former mayor of Louisville who had supported Combs in his 1955 campaign and now asked Combs to return the favor. With the skilled help of Earle Clements, Combs was able to persuade Wyatt to accept second spot on the ticket, and after a free-swinging primary campaign, the Combs-Wyatt ticket rolled to an easy victory in November.

The Combs administration has been called "brilliant" and "his-

toric." It has also been called "extravagant" and "scandalridden." Whatever else it was, it was interesting. Many Frankfort observers have concluded that the first administration of A. B. Chandler and the four years of Bert Combs probably represented the best government Kentucky ever enjoyed. Chandler reorganized and modernized state government, cut away a mass of dead agencies and brought to Frankfort a group of brainy young men whose contribution to state government stretched over four decades. Combs surrounded himself with men such as the legendary Edward F. Prichard, the brilliant administrator. Felix Joyner, and such officials as William Scent, Robert Bell, and others who would be serving the state twenty years later. He also began a series of construction and expansion programs designed to change the nature, as well as the face, of Kentucky.

No attempt will be made here to detail the accomplishments of the Combs administration, but a few high points may be recounted without abusing the reader too much. The first thing with which Combs must be credited is the sales tax. Without it, he would have been hamstrung. With the money the 3 percent tax produced, he revitalized a state. Critics have complained that Combs tricked the voters of Kentucky into amending the constitution and accepting the sales tax by proposing to use it to pay a bonus to Kentucky veterans of wars since 1898. And, it is true that only a small portion of 1 percent of the tax was necessary to finance the bonds issued to pay the bonus, leaving the bulk of the revenues to finance a revolution in highways, parks, and education. But the point is meaningless. The tax was a savior.

Combs was a governor of the sixties, in spirit as in fact, and his administration reflected and expressed the mood and the philosophy of the times. It was a period of optimism, growth, and a belief in ourselves and the unlimited future of America. It was a time when the cry was for more — more roads, more colleges, more schools, more hospitals, more development, more parks — and Combs struck a responsive chord when he heeded the demand and found the means to meet it.

Consider: Kentucky had historically been a "detour" state whose mud roads were a curse to farmer and tourist alike. In four years, Combs built 160 miles of limited-access, four-lane toll roads, including the Mountain Parkway, the West Kentucky Parkway, and the beginning of the Bluegrass Parkway; sixty-three miles of interstate highway and fifty-four miles of other multilane roads.

During the Combs years, 500 one-room schools were closed, 32 high schools and 102 elementary schools opened, and 4,653 new

classrooms were built. Pay raises of more than 20 percent stopped the drain of teachers from the state. A statewide educational television network was begun. State support of higher education increased by 115 percent, and \$40 million in new facilities were built at state colleges.

But it was to parks, more than to any other areas of state government, that Combs devoted his personal concerns and energies, reflecting his love for nature, the outdoors, and the land of his native state. During his administration six new parks were created, 15,000 acres were added to the park system, and \$20 million was spent on lodges, cabins, docks, stables, pools, golf courses and tennis courts, nature and riding trails, lakes, and amphitheaters. And in the process, nine major parks were so expanded and renovated that they became, in effect, new additions to the park system. These resort parks were hailed as comprising the nation's finest park system and became the core for Kentucky's hugely profitable tourist-promotion.

As governor, Combs also took a personal interest in the program under which seventeen new airports were built. He took part in the fight which finally saved the United Mine Workers Hospitals and saw them restored as Appalachian Regional Hospitals, Inc. He ignored the advice of many of his staff and the ridicule of his enemies to build on the Capitol lawn the great floral clock that is today one of the state's foremost tourist attractions. He won adoption of the first statutory merit system for state workers, freeing them from the threat of political domination and dismissal.

But in things small as well as great he gave his own distinctive flavor to the years of his term. He enjoyed a remarkably good press, partly because he spoke in plain language, partly because he was easily accessible and often humorous. And once each year he held a massive press conference at which all cabinet officers were present to answer any question. Reporters and editors mingled with staff members at cookouts and "varmint" suppers at the mansion, and Combs regaled such gatherings with often-earthy stories of politics and politicians. He loved to pin nicknames on those close to him, and in time everyone around him became familiar with The Philosopher (Prichard), Yogi (Joyner), or Field Mouse (Field McChesney).

Even with his hectic schedule, Combs never lost his love for growing things. He supervised the planting of flowers and shrubs on the Capitol grounds and along Capitol Avenue and raised roses and tomatoes behind the mansion. Once he had a vagrant swarm of bees' hived to produce honey for the mansion, and by the time he left office there were five hives on the grounds. Frequently Combs

would stop his official car (a blue Chrysler instead of the traditional Cadillac limousine) to check on the planting of a roadside park or interstate interchange. When the annual Derby breakfast grew too large for the mansion, he simply moved it outdoors, put it under a tent, and invited more people.

Combs seemed always to be on the move, flying into and out of postage-stamp airports in hair-raising weather, his tan face wreathed in a wry smile, his white trenchcoat a familiar trademark, crowning queens, cutting ribbons, breaking ground for some new project, or dedicating a park.

His term was not free of personal sadness and disappointment. His first year in office was marred by a scandal that arose over the proposed purchase of thirty-four dump trucks from a firm owned by a strong Combs supporter. Combs was forced to cancel the purchase contract, which had been made by his mentor and highway commissioner, Earle Clements, and Clements resigned in a bitterness that never entirely abated. Mrs. Combs was frequently ill, too. She worried about their son, Tommy, mentally retarded from birth, and toward the end of their term in the mansion, she slipped more and more frequently into periods of despondency which recurred persistently until her death in 1971.

In general, the Combs years were a time of movement, excitement, humor, initiative, and imagination. If he had done nothing but give the state the sales tax, which has since become the cornerstone of state government financing, he would have made a towering contribution. But he did more. In every walk of Kentucky life, Bert Combs left tracks that will long remind Kentuckians that he was here.

John Ed Pearce

GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky is a series of volumes which preserves and disseminates the public record of Kentucky's chief executives. The need to make these records available was articulated by a number of persons interested in Kentucky history, government, and politics. In 1971 the Kentucky Advisory Commission on Public Documents, created by executive order, recommended the publication of the Public Papers of the Governors of Kentucky. The commission oversees and manages all aspects of the project in cooperation with the Kentucky Historical Society.

Approximately every four years the public papers of the last governor and one earlier governor will appear in separate volumes, each designed to provide a convenient record of that executive's administration. While the organization of the material may vary from volume to volume with differences in the styles of the governors, available materials, and historical circumstances, the volumes share an overall guiding philosophy and general format.

It is our hope that the series will prove useful to all those interested in Kentucky government, including citizens, scholars, journalists, and public servants. Not in themselves interpretations of Kentucky government and history, the volumes in this series will be the basis for serious analysis by future historians.

R. F. S.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THIS volume reproduces and preserves the most important public papers of Bert T. Combs while he was governor of Kentucky. Some of these papers are available in government or newspaper repositories, but most are not. Nowhere is there a published collection.

Though efforts have been made to provide clarifying explanations for some documents, the collection is not intended as a complete history of the Combs administration. It should, however, provide some basic materials for those who wish to study Kentucky at a time when considerable government-inspired change was occurring.

Public addresses make up the majority of the documents here because they best reveal the tone of the Combs years. A chronological listing was used because it reveals the policy of the Combs administration as it evolved and shows the ways the governor dealt with varying but co-existing problems. This is best documented by observing the month-by-month developments.

This volume reproduces 168 of the governor's speeches and messages, accompanied by brief explanatory notes when important to the meaning of the speech. A fuller listing of speeches appears in the appendix. Included also are selected press releases and executive orders — those that are pertinent to major issues raised in speeches. Veto messages, which are published in the *Senate and House Journal*, are not included.

The speeches not listed are those the governor delivered without a prepared text. Nearly all of these were presented while he presided over one of the state's temporary locations away from Frankfort. Wishing to make himself more accessible to the people, Combs traveled widely in the state from August 1960 to August 1963. During that time he met with the citizens of thirty-five Kentucky communities and listened to anyone who wished to talk with him. At the same time, he frequently had the opportunity to speak to local civic clubs or other local organizations, with few exceptions, and, did so casually and off the cuff.

Even the prepared speeches, more often than not, were revised en route to the speech site. Penciled-in comments, deletion of paragraphs, and heavy use of underlining attest to the careful attention the governor paid to his speeches. Where these changes were discernible in the text, they are reflected in the printed speeches.

Political figures, state government personnel, and other Kentuck-

ians named in the speeches are identified briefly in footnotes. Birth and death dates where applicable, place of birth, current or last places of residence, and public offices held are indicated.

The most comprehensive source on the Combs administration is a collection of papers loaned to Eastern Kentucky University by Governor Combs. The collection includes press clippings, pictures, executive orders, campaign data, and a few pieces of personal correspondence, as well as nearly four hundred speeches and messages. Factual data referred to by the governor have been accepted at face value, and no effort has been made to support or disapprove positions he advanced. Neither have quotations used by the governor been checked for authenticity nor have sources for such quotations been cited.

The other sizable collection of Combs material is located with the Kentucky Division of Archives and Records at Frankfort. Boxed as it was received from the secretary of state, it includes primarily executive orders, requisitions, appointments, proclamations, and extraditions. Though not used as a source for this volume, these materials will be helpful to those who wish to look more fully into the Combs period.

Two graduate history assistants at Eastern Kentucky University, Eric Bundy and Helen Fardo, were particularly helpful in assembling and preparing the material. Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, was a limitless source of information about people and events associated with the Combs administration. Helpful also in many ways were the people at the Division of Archives in Frankfort, the Kentucky Historical Society, the Eastern Kentucky University library, and the Kentucky Advisory Commission on Public Documents.

Editing must, of necessity, be as objective as possible. This requires that the factual data presented be treated with the utmost neutrality. Conceivably the presence of one document and the absence of another might mislead the reader, but if this has occurred it has not been intentional. Needless to say, I assume full responsibility for the selection, arrangement, and accuracy of the book's contents.

G. W. R.

GOVERNOR BERT T. COMBS

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GOVERNOR BERT T. COMBS

December 8, 1959, to December 10, 1963

THE forty-sixth governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Bert Thomas Combs, was born August 13, 1911, near the small mountain town of Manchester in Clay County, Kentucky. He was the first governor of Kentucky in more than thirty years to come from the eastern Kentucky mountains, and the first Baptist governor in over one hundred years.

Young Combs attended Upper Beech Creek School until he finished the sixth grade, and then he studied for the next two years at Oneida Institute. He graduated from Clay County High School in 1927 at the age of fifteen, despite his having to work at odd jobs after school and on Saturdays.

Later he fired furnaces and swept out buildings to finance his studies at two-year Cumberland College in Williamsburg. Following three semesters at Cumberland, Combs worked three years as a clerk in the state Department of Highways and saved enough to enroll at the University of Kentucky. Here he completed one semester of pre-law work after which he entered the university's law school. While there he became the managing editor of the *Kentucky Law Journal*.

Ranked second in a graduating class of twenty-two, Combs earned his LLB degree in 1937 and received the highest honor for a law student, the Medal of the Order of the Coif. In the same year he was admitted to the Kentucky Bar Association and married Mabel Hall of Hindman, Knott County, Kentucky. They had two children, Lois Ann in 1945 and Thomas George in 1947. Combs began his professional law practice in his hometown of Manchester, but a year later moved eastward to the Kentucky valley town of Prestonsburg.

When the United States entered World War II, he enlisted in the army as a private. Rising to the rank of captain before war's end, he served in the South Pacific as a member of General Douglas MacArthur's staff. As chief of the investigating section of the War Crimes Department in the Philippine Islands, Combs assisted in the trial and prosecution of Japanese war criminals. For his military service, Combs was decorated with the Bronze Star Medal and the Medal of Merit (P.I.).

Receiving his discharge in 1946, Combs returned to Prestonsburg to resume his career as a partner in the law firm of Howard, Combs, and Mayo. He was also active during this period as president of the

Junior Bar Association of Kentucky (1946-1947), city attorney of Prestonsburg (1950), and commonwealth attorney of the Thirty-first District (1951).

In April 1951 Combs was appointed to fill a vacant seat on Kentucky's highest tribunal, the Court of Appeals. Later that same year he campaigned and was elected to serve the remainder of the eight-year court term.

Four years later he resigned his judgeship to run for governor in the Democratic primary against former governor A. B. "Happy" Chandler. In this, Combs's first bid for statewide office, "he campaigned," according to the *New York Times* (June 27, 1963), "like a judge — responsibly, methodically and unsuccessfully," and Chandler won the election.

Combs returned to Prestonsburg to resume private law practice. He remained there until 1959 when he once again entered the state gubernatorial primary, this time against Lieutenant Governor Harry Lee Waterfield. His chances for success improved significantly when a third candidate, Wilson Watkins Wyatt of Louisville, agreed to run for lieutenant governor with him. Campaigning on a platform that promised to reform state government and improve the state's economy, the Combs-Wyatt team defeated Waterfield in the primary and then over-whelmed Republican contender John M. Robsion, Jr., in the general election.

Upon completion of his term as governor, Combs practiced law in Lexington for four years. In 1967 he was appointed United States Court of Appeals Judge for the Sixth Circuit. Three years later Combs resigned his judicial post to run again for governor in the 1971 Kentucky primary. Defeated by Wendell H. Ford, he returned to private law practice in Louisville.

As governor, Combs's principal attention always focused upon local rather than national problems. He made it clear that he had no desire to hold a job in Washington, D.C., but he did campaign for and work closely with President John F. Kennedy. Active from the beginning of his term in efforts to promote federal aid to impoverished eastern Kentucky, Combs worked with other Appalachian governors and President Kennedy to direct national attention to Appalachian problems. He served for two years as the first chairman of the Appalachian Regional Governors Conference.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Frankfort / December 8, 1959

FOR myself and the other members of the incoming administration I want to thank those thousands of loyal Kentuckians who have helped to make this day a reality. Especially do I want to thank you who have come here today to be a part of this ceremony which carries with it so much of the history and tradition of Kentucky.

If any of you have been subjected to inconvenience or annoyance by reason of the convergence of this multitude of people upon the peaceful city of Frankfort, I extend my regrets as well as those of the inaugural committee. To that committee all of us are deeply indebted. They have worked extremely hard, without hope of reward, to make your visit here today a pleasant one. They were even prepared to provide a sturdy nail keg as the main prop for this event if that had become necessary. Thanks to the traditional generosity of Frankfort people, however, we are in position to consider the nail keg only a symbol of the ingenuity of Kentucky people.¹

We come here today at the end of one of the longest election campaigns in history. But if my visits with the people across Kentucky have made me more familiar with their needs as their desires, then my time and energy have been well spent. In politics, as in other fields of endeavor, I have won and I have lost.² I will admit to you that I like it better this way. But to win the governorship of Kentucky carries with it grave responsibility.

My program — which I have discussed during the past eighteen months in every county in Kentucky — falls under two broad concepts of government: reform and progress.

By reform I mean the elevation of the moral and political tone of government, the development of better methods to carry on the everyday tasks of public service. I mean an attitude of mind which views every problem of state government and every task from the standpoint of scrupulous honesty, decency, and ethics. Specifically, I mean such measures as the development of a sound statutory merit system for state employees, the reform of our election laws with provision for voting machines in every county, more home rule for our cities and other political subdivisions, and greater freedom for the legislative branch of government from executive domination.

By progress I mean the advancement of those programs which will stimulate the economy of our state and improve the living conditions

of our people. Specifically, I mean such programs as educational advancement, industrial development, the improvement of our tourist business, development of research and better marketing and agriculture, the building of more and better highways, conservation of our forests and other natural resources, and control and management of our abundant water supply.

I have made certain pledges to you, the people of Kentucky. I know what those pledges are and I think you know what they are. I expect to keep those pledges. The basic, overriding pledge which I have made is to conduct the affairs of Kentucky on a high ethical plane. That pledge, above all others, constitutes a solemn covenant between you, the people of Kentucky, and Bert Combs. This is a covenant in which my personal and political friends have agreed. This is a covenant to which the people of Kentucky have the right to hold me and to which I must hold my friends. Every member of the incoming administration must not only be completely free from the taint of improper conduct in government but must, indeed, be above such suspicion. To me honesty and integrity should be the keystones of a state administration. As to specific proposals in government, reasonable men may differ, but on matters of principle and basic public morality there must be a firm and uncompromising tone.

This attitude — this spirit — this atmosphere — must prevail at the top and descend through the ranks of all of those in state government.

During the Great Depression, I lived in Frankfort as a state employee earning \$125.00 per month. I return now with a little more responsibility, a little more authority, and a little better salary. But, even so, I return as a state employee, a servant of the people of Kentucky. Unlike other state employees, however, I return for only four years. At the end of those four years, I will not even have earned the seniority rights which will accrue to other state employees. The only thing I can hope for, therefore, is to leave the governor's office four years from now with the respect and, perhaps, the affection of the people I serve. This will be the objective toward which I shall strive.

It shall be my purpose to treat other state employees with consideration and courtesy. I want you to be free from harassment, from undue pressure, and from political dictation. But I say to you frankly that so far as the governor can prevent it, there will be no "sleepers" or "drones" on the state payroll and no sinecures in state government during my administration. We will expect you to give an honest day's work for an honest day's pay. It is my hope that we can

build a morale among state employees which will give greater dignity to public service in Kentucky and make it an attractive career for the most able of our young men and women.

The approval by the people of the soldiers' bonus³ presents a new and an unusual problem to the next legislature and the incoming administration. The proposal, as approved by the people, requires that the bonus be financed by a general retail sales tax. Since this is a direct mandate from the people, I think we must face up to the problem squarely and candidly. If the legality of the bonus amendment is upheld, I shall recommend that the legislature make provision to comply with the terms of the mandate.

We will make a determined and aggressive effort to gain those things which are best for the majority of the people of Kentucky. We shall not have a standstill, do-nothing administration. As a former member of the military service, I think there is merit in the army slogan that in time of crisis it is better to take some action, even though it might not be the wisest course possible, rather than to sit still and be overtaken by the enemy.

In the ebb and flow of political tides, history has taught a lesson. Easy victories and big majorities sometimes give rise to arrogance, false pride, and uncontrolled ambitions. It is gratifying, of course, to have the people's confidence, but this should always carry with it a sobering sense of responsibility and humility. We must keep in mind the adage that in politics both victory and defeat are temporary and that good government is the best politics. We must remember that those who differ with us are fellow Kentuckians and have the God-given right to disagree. It is too often easy for those who exercise, for a brief moment, arbitrary power to become persuaded that their opinions are infallible and that all criticism is motivated by evil design. In politics generosity is often the truest wisdom. Vindictive minds have no place in a great Kentucky.

Whatever else it might prove, my election has proved that your son or your daughter may someday be elected governor of Kentucky. One old gentleman was frank enough to state it boldly shortly after the election when he said to me, "Son, if you can do it, anybody can do it."

My hopes for Kentucky are high. I am confident that we shall make real progress during the next four years. But the difficulties which lie ahead will challenge the best thought, the deepest devotion, and the utmost capacity for self-sacrifice of which all of us are capable. You, the people of Kentucky, have the right to expect of me all that it is possible for me to give, but I think I have the right at the same time

to ask of you that you do not demand of me that which is not possible.

We hope you enjoy your visit in Frankfort. We hope, too, that you will visit with us during the next four years. But it will make it easier for us to see you and talk with you if you do not all come at once. Mayor Gerard⁴ has, in effect, given you a key to the city. On behalf of the incoming administration I would like to extend to you for today the symbolical key to Kentucky.

To Governor Chandler⁵ and to his family we extend best wishes for their future peace and happiness. For Mrs. Chandler's courtesy and cordiality in acquainting Mabel with the operation of the mansion, we are very grateful.

When the pageantry of today is done, the great task will remain — the task of bringing to Kentucky four years of honest, progressive, ethical government. We shall approach that task with a spirit of determination, of dedication, and of humility. In the words of Kipling:

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The Captain and the Kings depart;
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice;
An humble and a contrite heart.

In conclusion, I say to you, the people of Kentucky, with your cooperation, your counsel, and your prayers we can and we shall build a greater Kentucky.

Judge Montgomery,⁶ I am now prepared to take the oath of office. If Lois will hold the Bible and if Wilson Wyatt⁷ will come forward, you may administer the oath to Wilson and to me.

1. Ten thousand people turned out to view a three-hour parade prior to the Governor's speech. Combs earlier had objected to state employees' being assessed to provide him with a fancy inauguration and suggested that he would prefer being sworn in standing on a nail keg. The traditional fanfare prevailed, but Congressman Frank Chelf (Democrat from Kentucky's Fourth District, 1944–1966) did present the governor with a special nail keg anyway. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, December 9, 1959.

2. Combs lost the gubernatorial primary election in 1955 to A. B. Chandler.

3. A referendum authorizing the payment of a bonus to Kentucky war veterans had been approved by a vote of 320,753 to 280,244. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 7, 1959.

4. John I. Gerard (1905–1967), mayor of Frankfort, Kentucky (1957–1959); born in Bowling Green, Kentucky, and resided in Frankfort. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 24, 1976.

5. Albert Benjamin Chandler (1898–), state senator (1929–1931); lieutenant governor of Kentucky (1931–1935); governor (1935–1939, 1955–1959); United States senator (1939–1946); born in Corydon, Kentucky, and resides in Versailles, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1971–1972*, 12th ed. (Chicago, 1971), p. 105.

6. Morris Carpenter Montgomery (1907–1969), Kentucky commonwealth attorney (1951–1952); judge, Kentucky Court of Appeals (1954–1969), chief justice, Kentucky Court of Appeals (1959–1960, 1968–1969); born in Hustonville, Kentucky, and resided in Lawrenceburg, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1969–1970*, 10th ed. (Chicago, 1969), p. 710.

7. Wilson Watkins Wyatt (1905–), mayor, Louisville (1941–1945); housing expediter, administrator, National Housing Agency (1946); lieutenant governor of Kentucky (1959–1963); member, Democratic National Committee (1960–1964); born in Louisville and resident of Louisville. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1975–1976*, 14th ed. (Chicago, 1975), p. 783.

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LEGISLATIVE MESSAGES

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EXTRAORDINARY SESSION
OF THE KENTUCKY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Constitutional Convention Call
Frankfort / December 22, 1959

You have been called into extraordinary session to consider the advisability of acts necessary to take the sense of the people on calling a convention for the purpose of a limited revision of the state constitution.¹

The present constitution is the fourth since Kentucky became a state in 1792. Our first constitution remained in effect only seven years. The second was in force for approximately fifty years. The third met the needs of the state for forty-one years. The present constitution is now sixty-eight years old. It contains more than 16,500 words. It is approximately five times the length of the constitution of the United States and is five times as long as the Magna Charta. It contains detailed and specific legislation which has grown obsolete during the past sixty-eight years.

When the present constitution was written, the state was not concerned with highway construction, public assistance, juvenile delinquency, public or mental health, or many other major problems which confront us today. There were no automobiles, no radios, and no television. The airplane was still a dream in the minds of visionary people, and atomic energy, minimum wages, social security, and the forty-hour week had not even reached the discussion state. Only few homes had running water. There were few telephones. The great majority of our people had never seen an electric light. This is the constitution under which the Commonwealth must operate today. The state cannot go forward as it should without some constitutional changes.

The constitution may be changed by either of two methods: amendment or convention. The amendment method is slow and cumbersome. No more than two amendments may be submitted at one time. Only nineteen amendments have been approved in sixty-eight years. The second method, that is, a complete rewriting of the constitution by a convention, has been rejected by the people twice in the past thirty years, to wit, 1931 and 1947. There are those who would not change the constitution one iota. Others would recom-

mend a complete rewriting of the instrument. I think there is a middle ground between the two extremes. So, I have asked you to convene here today to consider the advisability of taking the sense of the people on the question of a limited revision of our constitution. Many of the basic provisions of the present constitution are sound and workable. For instance, it is my judgment that the bill of rights should be left intact.

The procedure for change is set forth in Sections 258 through 263 of the present constitution. That procedure may be summarized as follows: A majority of the members of two separate General Assemblies must approve a resolution to take the sense of the people. If the people, by their vote, approve the calling of a convention, the General Assembly shall, at its next regular session, provide for the election of delegates of the same number as there are members of the House of Representatives. The delegates shall meet within ninety days after their election and proceed with their task. The result of their work will then be submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval.

You are not here today to revise or amend the constitution or even to anticipate such a result. You are not here today to approve or disapprove the calling of a constitutional convention. You are here today only for the purpose of considering the advisability of taking a preliminary step — a preliminary step which will permit the next General Assembly to consider whether to take the sense of the people on the calling of a convention for a limited revision of the constitution. The action you take at this session will in no sense be final. But, if you do take this preliminary step, you will make it possible to reduce the timetable for constitutional change from six years to four years. You will confer upon the next legislature the discretionary authority to permit the people of Kentucky to vote on the question of constitutional change in the fall of 1960 rather than in the fall of 1963.

We hear much talk about three coordinate branches of government, each operating within its own sphere, free from domination or coercion. We should never forget, however, that each branch of government and every member thereof should be responsive to the will of the people of Kentucky. By calling you here today, I, as head of the executive department, have demonstrated my confidence in you as members of the legislative branch. I submit that you should demonstrate your confidence in the people of Kentucky by taking this preliminary step which will permit the people to decide whether they desire constitutional change. Our constitution provides the method by which the instrument can be changed. The framers contemplated

that changes would be necessary. I am merely requesting that you permit the next legislature and then the people of Kentucky to determine whether they desire constitutional change.

In the interest of economy and frugality, permit me to urge that you deal with the subject of the proclamation with efficiency and dispatch. As you have only this one question before you and a limited time until your terms expire, a minimum of legislative employees will be required. I trust that every effort will be made to keep the cost of this session at a minimum.

I shall now read the resolution which I propose and recommend to you for your consideration. The resolution includes only those subjects covered in the present constitution which almost every thoughtful person agrees are in the greatest need of revision. It is my considered judgment that this resolution will accomplish the purpose for which you have convened and will merit the approval of the thoughtful and intelligent citizens of our Commonwealth.

An Act relating to the taking of the sense of the people of the state as to the necessity and expediency of calling a constitutional convention for the purpose of revising or amending the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, and such amendments as may have been made to the same, as provided by Section 258 of the present Constitution of Kentucky.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky:

Section 1. That the sense of the people of the state as to the necessity and expediency of calling a convention for the purpose of revising or amending the present constitution, and such amendments as may have been made to the same, shall be taken as herein provided and as provided in Section 258 of the Constitution of Kentucky.

Section 2. When this act is passed at the present session of the General Assembly by a majority of all members elected to each house of the present General Assembly, that is, when a majority of all the members of each house shall concur by a yea and nay vote, to be entered upon their respective journals of each house as a law.

Section 3. If the next General Assembly shall, in like manner, concur in this act after it becomes a law as herein provided, it shall provide for having a poll opened in each voting precinct in this state by the officers provided by law for holding general elections at the next ensuing regular election to be held for state officers which does not occur within ninety days from the final passage of such law, at which time and places the votes of the qualified voters shall be taken for and against calling the convention, in the manner provided by

law for taking votes in other state elections. The vote for and against said proposition shall be certified to the secretary of state by the same officers and in the same manner as in state elections. If it shall appear that a majority voting on the proposition was in favor of calling a convention, and if the total number of votes for the calling of the convention is equal to one-fourth of the number of qualified voters who voted in the last preceding general election in this state, the secretary of state shall certify the same to the General Assembly at its next regular session, at which session a law shall be enacted calling a convention to revise or amend the present constitution of this state, and such amendments as may have been made thereto, only with respect to the subjects set out in Section 4 of this act, and no others. Nothing in this act shall be construed to permit any change in the bill of rights.

Section 4. The convention provided to be called by this act shall be limited in its consideration to the following subjects and shall consider no others:

- (1) the organization and powers of municipal, county, and other local governments;
- (2) the judicial department and courts;
- (3) compensation of public officers and employees;
- (4) the order of succession of persons entitled to act as governor and the circumstances under which the governor is disqualified to act;
- (5) misfeasance, malfeasance, and nonfeasance of public officers;
- (6) official oaths;
- (7) the Railroad Commission;
- (8) the legislative department;
- (9) the mode of revision or amendment of the constitution;
- (10) incompatibility of offices;
- (11) terms and tenure of state officers other than governor and lieutenant governor; and
- (12) removal of limitations on the holding of real estate.

Section 5. Before any constitution agreed upon by a convention that may be called pursuant to this act and to Section 258 of the present constitution shall take effect and become operative, the same shall be submitted to the qualified voters of this Commonwealth, after at least ninety days' notice, and ratified by a majority of those voting.²

1. Combs called the first of five extraordinary sessions during his tenure as governor only ten days after his inauguration. The members of this legis-

lature were those elected in 1957 and they met for nine days. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, December 20, 1959.

2. The General Assembly approved the governor's proposal on December 30, 1959. The vote in the house was 80-5; in the senate, 35-1. Governor Combs signed the measure even though not required by law to do so. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, December 31, 1959.

STATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH ADDRESS Frankfort / January 5, 1960

WE are meeting here today to begin what in my opinion can become one of the most significant sessions of the General Assembly of Kentucky in history. It is not mere oratory to say that the opportunities that are presented to us are tremendous in scope.

I am confident, too, that we are met here in an atmosphere of mutual trust, candor, and confidence. It is my intention now, and will be my intention always while governor of Kentucky, to be frank with you concerning my plans for legislation. I trust that you will feel sufficient confidence in me and this administration to be equally frank and to call upon me and members of this administration for any legitimate help that we may render to you.

In keeping with the laws and traditions of our state, I shall present here today my views of legislation necessary and beneficial to the welfare of Kentucky during the coming years. Little of this, I dare say, will be new or startling to any of you. Wilson Wyatt and I have repeatedly made clear our views concerning a legislative program. Furthermore, I am pleased to say that this is an unusually well-informed assembly. I have found in personal conversation with you that you are not only aware of the problems that confront Kentucky but are as determined as I to do your utmost to correct them.

I have declared before, and I promise now, that it is not my intention to attempt in any manner to coerce or use undue pressure in dealing with this assembly. The legislature is and must be a coequal branch of democratic government and regarded with the dignity and respect befitting such coequality. This does not mean that I shall

ignore or abandon the obligation of the governor to provide leadership. I assure you that I shall make every conscientious effort to provide such desirable leadership, but I shall not endeavor to bully, buy, or browbeat any member of this legislative body. Instead, it is my hope and determination that we can, through mutual trust and respect, establish between us an intelligent and effective cooperation, cooperation that will not only make our duties more pleasant, but will produce results that will rebound to the benefit of all Kentuckians and strengthen the fiber of state government.

Because the bonus referendum and the Little RFC Act¹ are presently before the court for clarification, I am unable at this time to make final recommendations to you as regards specific appropriations. I hope I will have the privilege later in this session to make other and more specific recommendations to you in regard to these and other matters.

We have much to do between us. The decade that has just closed was a decade of definite and heartening progress for our Commonwealth. It saw the development of our great parks system, the beginning of a great highway program, and the improvement of our entire structure of education. During the fifties we achieved much in the fields of agriculture and conservation. Our mental hospital program is one of the best in the nation. Our laws governing trade and commerce have been improved. We have a splendid police force. We have extended the protection of the state to thousands of needy and unfortunate persons hitherto uncared for.

At the same time it is true that in population growth, in per-capita income, and in the creation of job opportunities, we are not keeping pace with our sister states. It is my hope and determination that acting together, with the welfare of Kentucky uppermost in our minds, we shall make a bold, progressive beginning on an era of record progress for our state and unprecedented prosperity for its citizens. It has been aptly said that the ten years ahead of us will be the decisive decade. What we do here within the next sixty days will largely determine how our state shall fare in these years of decision. If we establish a sound, courageous, forward-looking course of action, we will not only put our state on the path of progress but make it easier for those who come after us to continue toward the desired goal and to make the decisive decade a landmark in the long history of Kentucky.

1. As you know, the issue of the veterans' bonus is currently confused because of litigation concerning the validity of the bonus referendum. Until the courts have ruled concerning the validity, I can-

not recommend to you specific legislation. I am convinced, however, that this session of the assembly has a moral obligation to the people of Kentucky to enact legislation providing for the payment of a veterans' bonus and to provide necessary taxes to finance such payment. The bonus question has been fairly submitted to the people. The people have approved its payment by means of a general tax on retail sales. If the courts uphold the validity of the approving referendum, your task will be considerably simplified. If, on the other hand, the referendum is ruled invalid, it is my recommendation that you consider legislation providing for direct payment of the bonus and taxes sufficient to finance such payments.

However the bonus is enacted, it is clear that new taxation will be required for its financing, and I recommend to you the enactment of legislation levying a general tax of 3 percent on retail sales. After we have had opportunity to observe our revised tax program as it affects the revenues of Kentucky, I hope to be able to recommend favorable readjustments of income taxes to provide for greater equity for Kentucky citizens and for the further creation of a more attractive climate for new business. Simultaneously with my recommendation for these taxes, I state to you that I and every member of my administration are committed to a program of rigid economy and to promise you that every dollar of taxes spent during this administration will buy for Kentucky a full dollar's worth of goods or services.

2. In the field of education I recommend immediate and substantial increases in salaries for teachers. I also recommend the establishment of a central school-building authority to assist local school districts in construction of needed schools.

2-A. I further recommend that you approve an appropriation sufficient to establish an adequate agricultural research center at the University of Kentucky.

3. I strongly recommend that you enact a law providing for the establishment of a permanent, workable merit system of civil service for every department for state government.

4. I further suggest that you consider amending present laws to make it a severe penalty to coerce, assess, or propose political contributions of any state employee. The laws we now have are sufficient in scope but do not contain sufficient enforceable penalties.

5. I recommend to you a law requiring the installation of voting machines for every precinct of the state. These machines will make it impossible to tamper with ballot boxes, to falsify returns, or to delay unreasonably in the reporting of election results. No law that you can enact at this session will do more to insure fair and honest election.

6. I suggest that you direct the Legislative Research Commission to report on the deficiencies of our present laws governing purgation and registration, with the view to enactment of legislation at this session correcting the current registration abuses and providing for fair and efficient purgation of all voting lists.

7. I would recommend that you enact laws to close the glaring loopholes in our absentee voter laws. It should be our aim to assure every Kentuckian the right to cast a legal ballot and, at the same time, make it impossible for unscrupulous people to misuse absentee ballots and thus distort the expression of the electorate.

8. Wilson Wyatt and I have emphasized our determination to urge improvement in Kentucky statutes governing the relationship between the state and its political subdivisions and so to effect a greater degree of home rule for Kentucky cities and towns. Substantial improvement in this body of law can be effected by statute, and I would recommend to you the amendment of present laws governing that relationship so as to increase the power of cities and towns to govern their own affairs.

9. You are aware, however, that much of the difficulty in this field of legislation results from restrictions imposed by the state's constitution, making it necessary to amend the constitution in several respects in order to achieve the desired relationship.

As you know, I have proposed, and the recent special session of the prior General Assembly has approved, a resolution calling for a referendum on the question of a constitutional convention to effect a limited revision of the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

I suggest that you also consider this resolution. I am convinced that such a convention offers the best solution to such complex problems as home rule, judicial reforms, gubernatorial succession, terms and tenure of state officials, selection of officials charged with education, and the payment of public officers and employees.

10. In keeping with our determination to provide the most efficient government possible, at the least cost, I recommend that you abolish the Court of Claims. I recommend also that you abolish the offices of the Advisory Highway Commission. I am convinced that these offices serve no useful function that cannot be performed with equal efficiency and greater economy through other existing agencies of government.

11. I have been considering and I ask you to consider the beginning of a program designed to protect those Kentuckians who do not have and who cannot afford proper and adequate medical attention.

12. Few things have brought more criticism on the General As-

sembly, the legislative process, and the government of Kentucky than instances of conflict of interests. I recommend that you consider seriously laws to prevent such conflict of interests and provide the sternest penalties for those members of government who use their offices to unscrupulous advantage. This is, I know, a difficult field in which to legislate, and it is not my intention to make it impossible for legislators to engage in normal practice of their profession merely because they serve in the assembly for two months every two years. I am determined, however, that it shall be made impossible for a member of the assembly or administration to use the influence or authority of his office to gain unfair advantage or gain favor that would not ordinarily be available to him.

13. As Kentucky's major road system now under construction advances toward completion, the volume of heavy truck traffic is certain to increase. It thus becomes necessary for us to restudy our laws governing allowable size and weight of trucks with a view toward possible further revision as the condition of our highways will justify such revision. I would suggest also that you study closely the subject of motor vehicle taxation with a view toward a fair and equitable increase in the structure of taxation levied on trucks. It will be our purpose only to assure that each form of transportation pays its equitable share of our highway costs.

14. Our efforts to formulate a more efficient and productive system of economic development have been complicated by the fact that the state's so-called Little RFC Act, under which the state may provide assistance to those seeking new industry, is currently being challenged in the courts. In the event it is declared invalid, I would suggest that you consider legislation giving the state similar promotional authority, keeping in mind the provision of the courts' decision.

If the act is held to be constitutional, I will, at the appropriate time, recommend that you approve an adequate appropriation to accomplish the purpose of the act.

As you know, there are few matters of greater importance to Kentucky than that of economic development. Lieutenant Governor Wyatt has proposed to devote a major portion of his time and efforts to this vital task, and I am confident that you will assist by enacting legislation when the needs of this undertaking become clearer and specific requests are made to you.

15. As one step in our efforts to improve the basic economic foundation of our state, I recommend legislation providing for a broadened and improved forestry program, with emphasis on better

fire fighting and control facilities, and a large nursery program, with a view to bringing wood-using industries into the state.

16. I would also recommend to you a study of the possibilities of a broadened soil conservation and small watershed program, considering especially the creation of small lakes throughout the watersheds of Kentucky for purposes of recreation, conservation, new industry, and as flood-control impoundments.

17. I recommend that you enact reasonable regulations governing the regulation of mineral production, especially as regards oil and gas wells, so as to protect the interests of the state, its farmers, and sportsmen, while at the same time giving assistance and encouragement to this industry.

18. I recommend that you raise the Division of Parks to departmental status. This will provide needed independence and authority and cabinet status to a department whose functions are becoming increasingly important in the coming years.

With the enactment of the program here recommended, we can make more adequate provision for higher education, mental health, an improved park system, our transportation facilities, allowances to our senior citizens, medical attention for those unable to pay for it, needy disabled citizens, and dependent children.

To some this will seem an ambitious program, but the time has come when we must be ambitious for Kentucky, its people, and its future. This is a program geared to the ambitious possibilities of the decisive decade that lies ahead. Perhaps it does not offer a solution to all the complex and difficult problems facing our state, but if wisely enacted into law by this assembly, it will aid materially in clearing the deficiencies in our laws, in providing for the revitalization of state services to the people, and in reshaping our constitutional obligations to the benefits of ourselves and future generations. It is vital that we now make a sound and dynamic start in this new decade. We cannot, with jolt-wagon methods, keep pace with the discoveries of the hydrogen age. I am confident that what I have presented to you today will set us on a course of progress in governmental services which history may judge and approve.

I submit these recommendations to you with full confidence that you will judge and consider them in keeping with your status as able and conscientious members of a great legislative body.²

1. The question of legislators who were also veterans voting for the bonus referendum had caused the Associated Industries of Kentucky to challenge

its validity. The Court of Appeals approved the referendum in time for the General Assembly to authorize payment of the bonus.

The Little RFC Act, passed in 1958, created a Kentucky Industrial Development Finance Authority to promote industry by investing public funds in private projects. Invalidated by Judge William B. Ardery in December 1959, it was upheld by the Court of Appeals in February 1960. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, 1958, Chapter 152 (S.B. 315), pp. 627-34. See J. O. Van Hook, "The Combs Years," unpublished manuscript in Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, chapter 10, pp. 9-10.

2. The address lasted twenty-five minutes and was delivered before a "solemn and unresponsive joint session that applauded only at the beginning and end of the speech." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, January 6, 1960.

BUDGET MESSAGE

Frankfort / February 17, 1960

It is my gratifying privilege today to present for your consideration a budget for the operation of Kentucky's government for the coming two years. Some of you, I know, have awaited this budget with impatience. So, to tell the truth, have I. Indeed, in a very real sense, this is the budget which Kentucky has needed for the past half-century. Today, with this budget, Kentucky leaves her old depressing place at the bottom of the ladder. As of today, Kentucky will go forward.

This, of course, is not solely my budget. Your courage in enacting tax legislation, your wisdom in keeping expenditures within bounds have made this budget possible. I am fully aware that you have been under tremendous pressures during recent weeks. The nature of these pressures and the sources from which they came have made your conduct all the more admirable. I think that this is the hardest working and lightest drinking General Assembly in many years. It has been an honor to work with a General Assembly such as this one. I am confident that you will bring to your consideration of this budget the same wisdom, courage, and determination.

Since you will consider each item of this budget, I will not impose upon you today a detailed discussion of all it contains. Instead I

would like to review with you the highlights, with special attention to those activities for which I propose new or greatly increased appropriations. It is proper, I think, that we should start with education, for it is here that we make one of our greatest and most satisfying steps forward.

During our campaign, Mr. Wyatt and I promised an immediate and substantial increase in teachers' salaries. This budget will mean raises of \$900 this year, and an additional \$200 more next year, for most teachers with college degrees and somewhat smaller increases for other teachers. It provides an increase of \$5.6 million during the next two years to put the teachers' retirement system fund in sound financial shape and to give retired teachers with thirty years of service a minimum of \$1,200 a year.

As you know, I have proposed a central school-building authority to help finance classroom-building programs. As a second part of this program to correct the classroom shortage, the budget contains funds to increase the present capital outlay from \$400 to \$600 per classroom unit. It also includes an increase each year of \$900,000 for transportation and an additional \$3 million which will finance fully a free textbook program for the first eight grades and the beginning of a similar program for high school.

The fields of higher education have not been neglected. The university and the state colleges this year enrolled 17,962 students. This number will grow to 21,850 by 1962. This means that we must employ an additional 160 professors, keep those we have, and provide housing and classrooms for four thousand new students within the next two years. To accomplish these purposes, I propose an increase of \$16 million to grant pay raises, to employ new professors, and, with capital construction funds, to finance the following:

The University of Kentucky will receive a \$6 million science building, a \$2 million expansion of the library, and a \$1.5 million commerce building. A number of dormitories will be added, the student union building will be enlarged, and the utilities system will be renovated. Eastern will receive a maintenance building and a new training school. Western will receive a new science building. Morehead will get a new classroom building and a maintenance building, and Murray and Kentucky State will receive new classroom buildings. New dormitories are planned at all of these colleges.

To take advantage of special educational facilities of the Southern Regional Education Board,¹ I recommend five scholarships in public health, four for teachers of the handicapped, and twenty scholarships in forestry.

At a later date I will ask you to make the Kentucky School for the Deaf a part of the Department of Education, with its own independent advisory board. I recommend an increase of \$192,000 in the school budget to raise the salaries of teachers and to finance a major improvement of the school's plant.

I propose that funds for the Library Extension Service be increased by \$522,000. Many of the bookmobiles donated by private sources are wearing out, and \$180,000 will be needed to replace them. Another \$40,000 is needed for the purchase of new books. Grants to local libraries are increased from \$50,000 to \$100,000 under this budget, and funds are included to develop two new regional libraries each year.

This program of growth, expansion, modernization, and improvement is one we have long waited for, and I am confident it will meet your approval.

Next, I would like to outline our program for bringing modern highways to Kentucky. The budget provides \$139,825,000 for the road program during the next two years. With this amount, and through good management and our program of economy, we can continue and expand Kentucky's present highway program. We are determined to give Kentucky more roads for each dollar than ever before. We have \$30 million of road bonds which have not been sold. If they cannot be sold, other sources of financing must be found and will be submitted to you in due course.

I should also mention that we are making progress on the Eastern Kentucky Turnpike and hope to have it well under way before this biennium is over. It is our hope that we will soon complete plans for a similar project in western Kentucky, and perhaps one similar project in another section of the state.

For the Department of Economic Security I am recommending \$38.9 million, an increase of \$9,167,000 over the current budget. Of this amount, \$1,636,000 will be used to begin a program of medical aid to the indigent, and about \$5.4 million will be used to increase public assistance payments. To offset possible regressive effects of the sales tax on low income groups, let me point out that the \$2.7 million that we are adding to public assistance each year will bring in an additional \$5 million in federal funds. The total amount of benefits to these people will be more than \$63.5 million a year, and if those who receive it spend it all and pay the maximum sales tax on it, they will pay around \$2 million. Compare this with the increase of \$7.7 million that they will be getting each year as a result of the sales tax.

While on this subject, you will note that the budget makes no specific appropriation for financing the bonus. This is because it is impossible to say how much the bonus is going to cost, and I am asking that the budget act appropriate only the "amount necessary." The bonus legislation carries an appropriation of \$1 million for administration of the act, and I am told it can be administered for that amount. If so, Kentucky will be setting a record for economical administration.

The proposed budget for the Department of Health is \$2,527,000 greater than at present. Most of this will go toward raising the level of our county health programs from 45 percent to 75 percent of the standards set by the American Public Health Association. Most important, it will provide the services of a health officer to thirty-six counties which presently do not have such services. An increase of \$1,820,000 is recommended for operating funds for the Tuberculosis Hospital Commission. These funds will permit the commission to continue present programs and to transfer patients in the Waverly Hills Hospital to the state hospital in Louisville and will provide funds for patients already transferred from the sanatorium in Lexington to the state hospital in Paris.

I am recommending an increase of \$3,397,000 for the Department of Mental Health. This will raise the average daily expenditure per patient from \$3.63 to \$4.30 and raise the patient diet expenditure from fifty-two to sixty-eight cents a day. It will make possible an increase in the out-patient and follow-up program and will establish units to help patients in the transition from hospital to society. The budget will make possible construction at Central State Hospital of a 204-bed admission and treatment building, a sixty-six-bed maximum security unit, and a fifty-bed children's unit. It will also add a new storage and refrigeration building.

Because alcoholism is becoming one of our major social problems, I am recommending an increase of \$39,000 in the budget of the Kentucky Commission on Alcoholism. As a result of cutbacks in federal programs and private funds, we have 378 new patients who must be cared for by the Kentucky Commission for Handicapped Children, formerly the Kentucky Crippled Children's Commission. To provide for these children and to clear the commission's waiting list, the commission's budget has been increased by \$925,000.

As we enter a new industrial age in Kentucky, we must not neglect health problems arising from technological progress. Because of insufficient funds, the Department of Health has not been able to comply fully with the law requiring periodic inspection of water

supplies. These funds are included in this budget, as are funds for a Division of Radiological Health and for expanded programs of air pollution control, industrial health services, and TB control.

The budget for the Department of Welfare shows an increase of almost \$1 million for improved maintenance and expansion of staff at the Kentucky Training Home, Kentucky Children's Home, and the state reception center. I also recommend that teachers' salaries at these institutions be raised in line with those of public school teachers.

As we build a greater Kentucky, we must not forget the importance of agriculture to our economy. Therefore, I recommend \$1 million to commence construction of an agricultural research center at the University of Kentucky and \$350,000 to repair, replace, and construct facilities on the university's farms. For the Department of Agriculture, I propose an increase of \$447,000. This will enable the commissioner to expand needed services to Kentucky's farm people.

Thirty counties have now been certified as free of brucellosis, one of the greatest threats to our dairy industry. The budget will make it possible for the entire state to be certified as free of brucellosis by 1963. An additional \$50,000 has been included to combat mosquitoes in western Kentucky. Other funds are included to increase support of the State Fair and Exposition Center, which is proving a tremendous asset to agriculture and to the state in general.

The growing competition for new industry demands that we make an increased effort. Therefore, the budget for the Department of Economic Development has been increased by \$635,000 to provide for a new Division of Industrial Development, an urban development program, and an industrial research fund. The Department of Public Relations has been reorganized to include divisions of tourist and industrial promotion.

Because Kentucky's forests represent one of her great resources, I am recommending an increase of nearly \$1 million in the budget of the Division of Forestry. This will enable the division to extend fire protection to twenty additional counties each year, which means that by the end of this biennium, 9,886,000 acres of timberland in ninety counties will be protected. Funds are also provided to give greater assistance to the more than 200,000 timberland owners in Kentucky, to improve state forests, expand the small watershed program, operate the East Kentucky Tree Nursery, and improve the pest control program.

Increased appropriations are recommended to permit the Division of Soil and Water Resources to broaden services to all of the 121 Soil

Conservation districts. An additional \$200,000 is included for the equipment revolving fund, from which low-interest loans are made to Soil Conservation districts for waterways and farm reservoirs. Funds are also recommended to continue for another year the services of a small watershed planning committee so that we may take advantage of federal grants for watersheds as they become available.

Later in this session I shall ask your permission to reorganize the Division of Parks into a separate department. I will have more to say about our parks program at that time. The budget includes a half million dollars each year for the creation of small lakes and parks and \$134,500 to match two-year expenditures by the state of Virginia for the Breaks Interstate Park.

You have before you a bill which combines the functions of the Personnel Department with that of the merit system. This budget provides for the operation of the reorganized department which will bring for the first time statutory merit system coverage to all departments.

Most of the \$350,000 increase recommended for the Department of Military Affairs will be used to repair armories and to meet the costs incurred in bringing four hundred technicians of the department into the state retirement system.

The budget includes \$500,000 each year for airport development and greater services for industrial promotion.

The increased appropriation for the Department of Public Safety will provide additional troopers and funds for equipment to handle the increased work load resulting from the central issuance of drivers' licenses. The accident control program will also be expanded to include a training program for operators of state equipment.

Increased funds for the office of attorney general will enable him to expand his legal staff to handle many legal matters previously handled by contract attorneys. This, I am confident, will result in savings greater than the increased appropriation.

Most of the increase in the budget for the Finance Department is a result of its taking over the operation of the health building, the state police training building, and the training home-heating plant. The department has been given responsibility for reorganizing the state farm system, and funds have been included for this purpose.

To supply information which is needed to determine insurance rates and to furnish information to congressional committees, I recommend funds to establish a data section in the Department of Insurance.

I am recommending an increase of \$29,000 to enable the Kentucky

Historical Society to catalog its museum pieces and to establish a revolving fund to encourage publication of Kentucky historical material. The sum of \$30,400 is recommended for a records and archives program which will enable us to begin microfilming departmental records.

While recommending these increased expenditures, it is my pleasure to report on two departments for which we will spend less money. In 1959–1960, it cost \$79,600 to administer the Board of Claims. The new budget for the Department of Industrial Relations includes only \$5,000 for the reorganized board. The budget for the Department of Motor Transportation, as a result of internal reorganization and reduction in the department's field forces, has been reduced by \$66,000.

In all, it is estimated that the general fund revenues will total \$212 million for 1960–1961 and \$221 million for 1961–1962. General fund expenditures, as outlined here, will total \$200,882,144 for 1960–1961 and \$213,016,584 for 1961–1962. We should have available a surplus of about \$3 million at the beginning of this biennium. So, unless bonus costs exceed current estimates, expenditures recommended here are within the revenues expected. Let me say that I am sincerely happy and grateful to be able to present to you a budget that meets so many of Kentucky's old and heavy needs, a budget made possible by your cooperation.

The budget boys have devoted a lot of time and energy and careful attention to the preparation of this budget, and I think they deserve to be commended. The recommended appropriations have been made, in most cases, after detailed consultation with the personnel of those agencies which will spend the money. Most, if not all, of the groups which are affected by this budget have had an opportunity to be heard in regard to their respective appropriations. I have been working with Dr. Martin² and his associates in the preparation of the budget since about June of last year. I think it is the best possible budget for Kentucky's needs at this time.

I know that you will examine it, and I would not have you do otherwise. In my opinion, however, you will have to do a lot of nit-picking in order to improve on this budget. I submit it to you for your consideration. I deeply believe that this is a day Kentucky will have reason to applaud. With this budget and the program of improvement and progress that it makes possible, Kentucky makes a drastic break with the depressing patterns of the past and embarks on a new and better day.

The hopes, the trust, the welfare, and future of generations of

Kentuckians rest with us here today. Keeping our duty uppermost in mind and trusting in the help of the Almighty, let us herewith dedicate ourselves to this great task.

1. Created in 1948 at the direction of the Southern Governors' Conference, the Southern Regional Education Board was the nation's first interstate compact for higher education, educators, government officials, and others. Its purpose was to plan effective multistate use of higher educational resources by working directly with state governments, academic institutions, and other concerned agencies. A fact-finding body, the board could recommend, but not coerce. *Annual Report, 1974-1975*.

2. Robert Richard Martin (1910-), auditor, director of finance, head, Bureau of Administration and Finance, Kentucky Department of Education (1948-1955); superintendent of public instruction (1955-1959); commissioner of finance (1959-1960); president, Eastern Kentucky University (1960-1976); state senator (1977-); born in McKinney, Kentucky, and resident of Richmond, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1978-1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2100.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE
KENTUCKY GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Amending the Veterans' Bonus Law
Frankfort / September 19, 1960

You have been asked to convene here today for the purpose of considering an amendment to the veterans' bonus law removing the residency requirement and extending rights and benefits to Kentucky veterans now residing outside of the state.

This has not been a sudden decision on my part. It was made after careful study of facts that experience has made available concerning the bonus, its predictable cost, and the ability of the state to meet that cost. I am aware, of course, that I have been accused, and will be accused again, of having political motives in calling you into session during an election year. But every year in Kentucky is a year for elections of some kind. Moreover, political accusations and considerations are of less concern to me than the moral and administrative

factors that justify this session and the amendment which I will ask you to enact.

I have become convinced, and I believe that most of you are convinced, that bonus benefits should be extended to out-of-state veterans now. This can be done without jeopardizing our fiscal stability or endangering the legislative program enacted by you last spring. The bonus can be more efficiently and economically administered if the law is amended now rather than after the machinery to make bonus payments has begun operation.

In retrospect, it may appear an error to have included the residency requirement in the law when it was originally passed. But if I erred in recommending this restriction, I think it is fair to say that I erred on the side of caution and fiscal responsibility in keeping with my obligation to the taxpayers of Kentucky.

Moreover, I have thought that we veterans owe our greatest obligation to the children of our comrades who did not return. So I have thought it was of great importance that we make suitable provision for the education of the children of Kentucky, including those of our deceased comrades.

Also, it has seemed to me that if sufficient money was not available at this time to pay a bonus to all veterans, then those who reside in Kentucky, many of whom are unemployed, were entitled to first priority. You will recall, too, it has never been my position that out-of-state veterans should not be paid a bonus. I have consistently said it was merely a matter of priority, and that if and when it could be determined that sufficient funds were available, I would recommend payment of a bonus to every Kentucky veteran.

I have believed from the start that it would be wiser to extend the law if experience proved it advisable than to plunge headlong into an area of fiscal uncertainty. Above all, I have been determined to avoid any step that might endanger the financial basis of the legislative program enacted last spring through your wise, progressive, bipartisan efforts — a program that is making vast and desirable changes in the economy and political life of Kentucky.

- Under this program, all state employees, with the exception of unskilled labor and a few categories consisting mainly of part-time employees, are now under the protection of the merit system.

- Our teachers have been given substantial and long-overdue pay increases.

- We are beginning to relieve our overcrowded classrooms. The extensive construction program for higher education is under way. This week, the Education Commission is beginning the most thor-

ough survey of Kentucky schools and school methods ever undertaken.

- The Kentucky Human Rights Commission is receiving plaudits from across the country.

- New facilities are under contract for construction in fifteen of our state parks. Plans for the expansion of existing parks and the creation of new parks have been completed pending approval of the \$100 million bond issue this fall.

- A broad expansion program for airports and airport facilities is under way.

- Voting machines are being installed in every county.

- The proposal for a limited constitutional convention will be on the ballot this fall.

- Our interstate highway and toll road programs are going full steam ahead.

- An increased appropriation will permit us to go forward with modern, progressive programs in forestry, soil conservation, and flood control.

- By using fills as dams, we are on schedule with a program to construct a chain of lakes across Kentucky.

- The salaries of county agents in the University Extension Program have been substantially raised and their morale improved.

- Money has been allocated for the construction of an agricultural research center at the University of Kentucky.

- A substantial increase for the Department of Health will enable us to employ a health officer for every county in the state.

- The appropriation for tuberculosis control has been increased by 38 percent.

- Funds have been provided for the Kentucky Industrial Finance Authority and to finance a vast program to obtain new industry for Kentucky.

- You might like to know that 65 percent of the revenue from the new tax program has gone into education.

- Payments to dependent children, senior citizens, the needy blind, and the totally disabled have been increased by more than 18 percent.

- A 17 percent increase in funds for mental health is bringing better care and medical treatment for patients in our mental hospitals. The diet allowance is being increased approximately 30 percent — from fifty-two to sixty-eight cents per day.

- The appropriation for handicapped children has been increased by \$925,000.

These things have been made possible by the sound tax program enacted by you at your last session, and because of that program we find ourselves now able to extend bonus benefits to out-of-state veterans.

I say this because I am, for the first time, in possession of sufficient information on which to base a reliable estimate of the cost of paying the bonus to out-of-state veterans. The information that I am about to give you is the balance between estimates of the Legislative Research Commission and the Kentucky Veterans Division. While the figures are only estimates, they are the latest and most reliable available. In case of doubt, we have used the higher figure.

Total Kentucky veterans — 502,000
Out-of-state veterans — 153,185
Average bonus payment — \$332
Out-of-state veterans who would receive bonus by liberal interpretation of present law — 45,900 (30 percent)
Cost of paying bonus to all out-of-state veterans — \$52 million
Cost of paying bonus to veterans who could not qualify under present law — \$36 million

In other words, removing the residency restriction so as to include all veterans will mean principal costs of \$36 million.

I had hoped that a majority of out-of-state veterans would receive bonus benefits through a liberal interpretation of the law, and you will recall that I promised when the law was passed to ask for changes in the law if they were found to be desirable and possible on the basis of experience. I now find, as shown by the foregoing figures, that some one hundred thousand veterans would be denied bonus benefits under the present law.

No bonus law can possibly please everyone, just as the present law has not pleased everyone. There are those who question the fairness of asking Kentucky taxpayers to pay bonus benefits to men who, because they live outside the state, will not help finance the bonus. Other factors, however, override these considerations.

There are human factors that must not be overlooked if government is to be properly responsive to the needs and emotions of the individual. The fact is that Kentucky's obligation to her veterans is more than financial. The pecuniary reward is merely a symbol of our gratitude to those who served in time of crisis, and if by withholding the symbol we create the impression of ingratitude, then we have broken faith with these men. We should never permit a Kentucky veteran to conclude that his service was not appreciated or that he

has been forgotten or disinherited by his state merely because circumstances have forced him to reside elsewhere temporarily.

These are the considerations which have persuaded me to call you into extraordinary session to remove the residency requirement from the bonus law.

Additional expenditures required under this amendment will be possible within our present tax structure. Preliminary reports indicate that revenue from the tax program will be in line with previous estimates. There is, however, no basis for undue optimism. The experts have expressed some concern about the estimate for 1961-1962. Business growth expected in 1960 has not materialized. Some important industries have had a decrease in employment and in corporate profits. These and other factors have a direct influence on the prospective revenue trend. There is no possibility of modifying the sales and use tax at this time.

Congress has recently passed legislation to provide medical care for indigent people sixty-five and over. The medical assistance program enacted at your last session provides for medical aid only to those on public assistance lists. The federal act will become effective October 1, and federal funds will be available at the ratio of 76 percent federal and 24 percent state funds. Federal money cannot be obtained until matching state funds are available. I have amended the call in order that you might consider legislation which will permit Kentucky to participate in the broad federal program.

I recommend, therefore, that you allocate \$600,000 so that Kentucky may participate in the joint federal-state medical care program. You will, by this means, provide assistance to people sixty-five or over on fixed income who otherwise would not benefit by any state or federal program. It is becoming more evident all the time that people in this category are entitled to more consideration from their state and federal governments. This \$600,000 can be taken out of nonrecurring revenue which will be received this year by reason of the corporate tax advance and which otherwise would go into capital construction for 1961-1962.

In conclusion, let me express my thanks, and through me the thanks of the people of Kentucky, for your spirit of cooperation and devotion to duty. When I once before called you into special session, you performed your duties with efficiency and dispatch. I am confident that you will transact the business of this session as quickly as possible and at the least expense to the people of Kentucky.

It is my hope that partisan political considerations can be avoided. Payment of the veterans' bonus should be kept strictly on a nonparti-

san basis. Neither this administration nor any other group or faction should claim credit for carrying out the plain mandate of the people.

It is my fervent hope, and I know it is yours, that the bonus can be paid to all Kentucky veterans without further delay and without further controversy. We, in the executive department, stand ready to assist you and cooperate in every way in order that you may perform your constitutional duties.

Combs called for this special session on September 8, 1960, to provide the legislature with an opportunity to broaden the scope of the bonus law by making former residents currently living out of state eligible for payments. The governor's call marked a shift from his earlier stand against any changes in the original act, and the legislature complied with his new position. While the *Louisville Courier-Journal* (September 8, 1960) lamented the change, its editors stated that, since the emotions aroused by the issue jeopardized the entire Combs program, out-of-state veterans should therefore be paid. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Extra Session, 1960, Chapter 1 (H.B. 1)*, pp. 1-5. For provisions of original measure, see *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1960, Chapter 15 (H.B. 85)*, pp. 71-88.

STATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH ADDRESS Frankfort / January 2, 1962

SINCE I spoke to you in 1960, the face of Kentucky, the mood of Kentuckians, and the spirit of the people have all been deeply and significantly affected. In a pressingly brief space of time, we had to prepare Kentucky for its place in the space age. We can be encouraged by our accomplishments so far. At this point I would ask your patience with and considered judgment of those programs which are still in the development stage.

Your lieutenant governor and I were elected on a platform which had been submitted to and approved by the people. We have undertaken to carry out the programs pledged in that platform. More time is needed to complete some of the measures and to test others. The sales tax, for example, has been in operation only eighteen months.

Its beneficial results are impressive, but we need more time to determine its long-range effects on the economy and social community of Kentucky.

It is tradition, as you know, that a Kentucky governor approaches the second legislative session of his term with some concern — perhaps apprehension. But I come with confidence today to report on the state of the Commonwealth and to join with you in officially opening what I believe will be a productive and historically significant session of the Kentucky General Assembly.

I feel that you and I can be justly proud of the report I make to you. It contains a two-year record of progress and accomplishment which in some respects has exceeded our expectations. I, like every other citizen of the state, owe a debt of gratitude to you, the members of the 1960 General Assembly, who helped shape and implement this program. I am confident that when the present session ends, the people of Kentucky will have cause to be grateful to you, the members of the 1962 General Assembly, because I am convinced that you will keep Kentucky on the progressive course charted two years ago.

Two years ago the problems we faced were the heavy accumulation of lingering needs, old wants, and long neglect. We had become accustomed to looking backward because the way ahead seemed too fraught with difficulties. We had become accustomed to hearing Kentucky spoken of as a problem state. We had become accustomed to the departure of Kentuckians for other states. Over the past quarter of a century we had lost four seats in Congress because of our failure to keep pace in population with the rest of the nation.

We stood forty-eighth among the states in school support. Our teachers were leaving Kentucky, along with the children they taught, and for the same reason — more opportunity elsewhere. Our school buildings were old, poorly equipped, overcrowded, and staffed with underpaid teachers in charge of oversized classes.

In rate of income growth we lagged behind forty-three states. Our highways discouraged the tourists we so desperately sought. Actual human want stalked counties in the coalfields throughout Kentucky. Our mental hospitals and social agencies were in desperate need of funds. Our parks lacked the housing and recreational facilities to accommodate our citizens and visitors. Our industrial development efforts were badly lagging. For too long we had depended on a hodgepodge tax system capable of producing revenue sufficient to finance only the meager essentials of government. We were resigned to being last in most of those endeavors usually associated with the word progress.

Today there is a new spirit in Kentucky. I believe people are beginning to see that we do not have to be a problem state. As was said by a conservative newspaper editor¹ recently, "Kentucky's star is shining a bit brighter day by day, and to the other forty-nine states we are accepted as a community which looks to the future with optimism and confidence." For the first time in this century, Kentucky has received more national publicity for her progress than for her problems. Neighboring states are beginning to regard us with respect. We no longer live in the past. And if we do what we can and should do here now, Kentucky need never again be classed as a problem state. We have taken the offensive, and we can keep it. We are advertising Kentucky's business and tourist attractions to the world. Our rate of growth in personal income is double the national average. In highway construction, school building and support, rate of salary increases to teachers, and health and welfare programs, we are among the leading states of the nation. Kentucky is the first state to qualify for regulation of atomic materials for peaceful uses by private industry. The attorney general of Kentucky² has done an excellent job in that respect.

The new industrial research center at Lexington is attracting national interest. The new agricultural research center taking shape at the University of Kentucky will be one of the best in the nation. We are accelerating our geographic mapping program and expanding our vocational training. Through laws passed in 1960, we have controlled strip mining without crippling this industry or destroying the jobs it provides.

We still need to expand our crafts program and to retrain and find employment for unemployed workers in distressed areas. Quite frankly, this is one of the problems which remain unsolved. I direct your careful attention to it.

We have stepped up our agricultural and conservation programs. The output of our tree nurseries has been doubled and will double again this year. New soil control projects are under way. Forest-fire control and prevention programs have been extended to forty more counties, and the program is going forward.

Kentucky tourist and recreation programs have progressed at a rate never before equaled in Kentucky or perhaps in the nation. Kentucky is first among the states in turnpike construction. All contracts have been let and work is well in progress on the Eastern Kentucky Turnpike, contracts have been let on 40 percent of the Western Kentucky Turnpike, and we are currently studying plans for a Central Kentucky Turnpike from the vicinity of Elizabethtown to the Lex-

ington area. This past year we opened seventy-five miles of interstate highway, double the number of miles opened in all of the past. Highway construction contracts for \$123 million have been let in the year 1961 — the greatest amount ever spent in Kentucky in a single year and the third largest amount spent by any state.

While achieving this record on major highways, we have not neglected rural highways. In the last two years the Rural Highway Division has spent \$34,738,000 in constructing, repairing, and maintaining 17,196 miles of rural highways, bridges, and culverts. This is the greatest rural highway program ever accomplished in a two-year period. It is dwarfed only by the magnitude of the interstate and turnpike systems. I know, as most of you know, the great importance of farm-to-market roads, and this program will receive special emphasis during the next two years.

Throughout state government, more work has been accomplished with smaller staffs. This is due primarily to the increased morale and efficiency that have resulted from the merit system established by law by the 1960 legislature. The merit system is paying dividends to the taxpayers. The competence of state employees has been raised to the highest level in history because of improved methods and higher performance requirements. The merit system is a good investment for the people of Kentucky.

Perhaps our most significant advancement in the last two years has been in the field of social progress. In education we have done more in less time than ever before in the history of the state. We made a greater proportionate increase in teachers' pay in 1960 than any state in the nation. One hundred forty-two one-room schools were replaced by modern buildings. Bus service has been improved throughout the state. New classrooms, dormitories, laboratories, and libraries have been added at the University of Kentucky and the state colleges. The new medical school at the university has been adequately financed.

Typical of the new programs in education is this: Twenty-four new and larger bookmobiles last year delivered twenty thousand more books to ninety-six of our counties. This activity has aroused the deepest interest among Kentuckians. Throughout the state people are showing a new interest and new pride in their schools and new concern for the quality of education for their children. They are demanding, and they have a right to demand, of course, that this increased school spending should produce the best possible education for the children of Kentucky.

You are aware of the recommendations of the Commission on Public Education³ created by the 1960 legislature and perhaps of the

commission appointed by the superintendent of public instruction.⁴ Later, I will suggest to you specific action on these recommendations.

Progress in social services has kept pace with that in education. Kentucky was the first state in the nation to establish a Department of Child Welfare. We have begun a program for the care and training of our mentally retarded children. Perhaps no other problem more desperately needs your attention. The Kentucky Training Home, which is almost within sight of where you sit, has had no substantial repairs for 150 long years. It is completely obsolete and completely inadequate to the needs of these unfortunate children. The institution is terribly overcrowded, with no possibility of providing assistance to some two thousand other children throughout Kentucky similarly handicapped. I hope it will be possible for every member of this assembly to visit and observe for himself the conditions which now exist in that facility.

We have started a program of medical assistance to the aged. We have increased assistance to the blind, the aged, the dependent children, and the permanently and totally disabled. We have used state funds so as to obtain maximum use of federal money.

The new Human Rights Commission⁵ has helped to maintain Kentucky's excellent reputation for progressive race relations.

In mental health, Kentucky has continued to make progress. In the field of public health, six new community hospitals were completed in 1961 at a cost of almost \$8 million. One nursing home and nine new health centers were dedicated. Ten hospitals, ten health centers, and two nursing homes are now under construction. All of these projects have utilized federal funds.

Twelve million dollars have been committed to the expansion of our state park system. Eight parks have been completely made over. Three new parks have been added. Negotiations are in progress for the addition of three more. This program will give Kentucky the finest parks system in the world. It will not only be of tremendous value in building our tourist industry but will place high quality, moderately priced vacation and recreation facilities within easy driving distance of practically every Kentuckian. Our roadside parks have never been in finer condition or more popular with travelers. More emphasis will be put on this program in January. Our engineers have adopted a revolutionary technique of using highway fills as dams for lakes. This has attracted national interest. Ten new lakes have been added to our small lakes program, providing new recreational opportunities at minimum additional cost.

You probably know that some projects of our Kentucky beautification program have aroused considerable talk. Not everyone was entirely in accord about the floral clock⁶ when it was being built. But those critics who tossed slugs into the clock pool showed that they didn't know what time it was as regards Kentucky's tourist and recreational program. The clock, thanks to the publicity and the wishing well, is paying its way. More important, it has become an attraction of real pride to people throughout Kentucky and is a component part of the program that is making ours the most impressive state capitol in the nation.

And here I would like to offer a suggestion. We have a program to beautify the capitol grounds, but one spot remains something of a problem, blocking traffic and the front view of the Capitol. I am talking about the statue of Governor Goebel.⁷ It has been suggested that the statue really belongs to the Old Capitol where Goebel met his death. And it would give added historical interest to the old building. The Old Capitol has been repainted. Needed repairs are being made to it and the grounds are being landscaped and beautified. There is a no more interesting historical museum in mid-America, and increasing numbers of visitors are coming to view it every month.

Our progress in airport construction is bringing modern transportation to every corner of the state. In the year 1960, twenty-eight airport projects were undertaken and fifteen new airports were opened. More progress was made in this field than in the preceding twelve years.

The Veterans Bonus Division has certified for payment more than 305,000 claims. The last date for filing claims was December 31, and we anticipate that all valid claims will be paid before the end of this year.

These programs have not been advanced without protest. There have been criticisms. "Pennies for Bertie" is a phrase common to Kentucky children. Although my family received more Christmas cards this year than ever before, we received one card with three pennies in it. I don't know what that proves, but I feel this way about it. Some small sacrifice is required if Kentucky is to maintain its place as a progressive state in this great nation. All of us must be prepared to take some punishment in order that our children may have the opportunities to which they are entitled. As for me, I take some comfort in the words of Lincoln to this effect: "If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know

how — the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

Kentucky is a state of which we can be proud and for which no one need apologize, but we have got to recognize that we stand on the threshold of this terrifying, fascinating, and awesome age of space. We Kentuckians cannot evade our appointment with history. Neither can we here today evade our responsibility to shape the future course of Kentucky.

Thanks to the sales tax, Kentucky has for the first time in this century enough money to make a brave advance in progressive government. As the tax becomes stabilized and the economy of Kentucky grows, there should be further reductions in the personal income tax. Without the sales tax, we would fall back into the old and desperate pattern of failure and neglect. Even with the tax, we have not a dollar to spare as we try to forge a pattern of government sufficient to meet the minimum requirements of our people. Those who would alter our tax structure should, for the sake of Kentucky's welfare, propose an alternate source of equal revenue.

I will submit to you proposed legislation to permit the reorganization of certain departments of state government. The main purpose is to improve the quality of service by grouping kindred activities. The effective date of any legislation in this field should, I think, be fixed at such time in the future as will permit an orderly transition of the functions of those departments affected.

It is probable that I will also recommend to you legislation in the field of education. I expect to propose a system of two-year community colleges, to be activated when revenues will permit. You will be asked to clarify the strip-mine control law, especially in regard to the bonding provisions of the present law. The need for more vocational training schools requires enabling legislation to permit the sale of bonds for vocational school construction. I will recommend to you legislation to provide stricter regulation of industrial loan firms.

You probably will want to give your attention to the problem of automobile graveyards. These are legitimate business operations, and we have no desire to injure them; but until we protect our state's natural beauty from such desecration, we cannot reap the maximum benefits from our efforts to beautify Kentucky.

Our election laws in regard to absentee voting are still inadequate, and I will recommend to you legislation in this field.

In my judgment, the office of Speaker of the House should be

given more recognition. At the federal level and in most states, the Speaker of the House of Representatives is third in succession to the office of chief executive. I believe that your Speaker should be provided a permanent office and paid on a per diem basis for time spent on state business between legislative sessions. If the members of the house agree, I suggest that a resolution to this effect would be in order.

In a subsequent message, I will present to you a budget to cover the needs of government for the next two years. It will be a balanced budget, but there will be no fat in it. It will not require new taxes or increase in present taxes.

If necessary legislation is handled expeditiously, it is my opinion that congressional redistricting can be handled during this regular session. My hope is that it can be.

Legislative sessions, I know, are never completely devoid of political implications. Let me urge you, however, to join with me in declaring, so far as is possible, a moratorium on politics during this session of the legislature. If you will so cooperate, I assure you that this policy will be applied up and down and across the board to everybody. I promise that I will not let politics influence my conduct during this session. I have no further political aspirations, and I would suggest to you who do that you can best advance those aspirations by voting for those programs and issues which are in the best interests of the people of Kentucky.

A contest of the Eighteenth Senatorial District seat has been filed in the senate.⁸ I understand there is some concern that this contest might be decided on a political basis. If there is such concern, let's put it to rest here and now. I am certain that I speak the sentiments of every Democrat in the General Assembly when I say to you that this contest ought to be and will be decided on its merits, fairly and impartially, with the members of the senate sitting as presiding judges under sacred oath.

Section 38 of the Constitution of Kentucky provides that each house of the General Assembly shall judge of the qualifications and election of its members. Our highest court has held that a contest of a seat in this assembly can be tried only by that branch of the assembly in which the seat is contested. The courts of Kentucky have no jurisdiction. Any candidate for the General Assembly who considers himself aggrieved has the constitutional right to file a contest. On the other hand, no person is entitled to any preference by reason of political affiliation, personal friendship, or otherwise. Any member of this assembly who would permit any such consideration to influ-

ence his vote in any manner is unworthy of his office. I have assured the holder of the seat being contested that I will do what I can to see that this contest is decided fairly and impartially on the law and the evidence. I now repeat the statement to all of the members of this assembly.

Let me say, too, that in my opinion it is impossible to give lip service to a program and then undermine it without the knowledge of the voters back home. Kentucky people insist on knowing the full details of their government. My program of taking government to the people has convinced me that you cannot conceal the acts of government from them. I have tried to the best of my ability to keep the people informed. In addition to our program of taking the government to the people, I have appeared on broadcasts and televised press and interview programs as frequently as possible. I believe and I think you believe with Thomas Jefferson that the government that operates in the pitiless glare of full publicity serves best the interests of the people.

No act of government, no deal or contract or decision should be kept from the people. To further this goal of full and honest disclosure, I recommend that you appoint a committee on state government operations, including members of both houses of the legislature, which will be charged during this session with conducting a thorough study of past and present governmental conduct and operations and of reporting directly to the people.

You and I have been invested by the people with the very grave responsibility of administering the affairs of their government for the next two years. By very large majorities, the General Assembly 1960 launched a brave and far-reaching program for progress in Kentucky. I submit to you and to my critics throughout Kentucky that we are entitled to a fair chance during the next two years to show that these programs will be good for the people of Kentucky.

The people under the constitution are supreme. If they do not like the handiwork of this administration, they can elect public officials in 1963 who will turn their backs on what we have done and chart a different course for the ship of state. In the meantime, I think and I believe the average person in Kentucky thinks that I am entitled to the benefit of the doubt. I think I am entitled to your cooperation wherever your conscience permits. I'll say to you in the words of Abraham Lincoln: "While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years."

I suggest to you that these affairs of government should be conducted by those of us who have been elected by the people for that purpose. To those who are tempted by the blandishments of back-room manipulations and self-appointed coordinators, I would remind you that these individuals have no responsibility to the people of Kentucky, whereas you and I are under sacred oath to conduct the affairs of the people to the best of our ability.

Of course, I am not blind and you are not blind to the facts of political life. You and I know that there are those who want to make this General Assembly a testing ground for missiles designed to be launched in the gubernatorial campaign of 1963. But you and I were not elected to be manipulated and controlled for the personal advantage of ambitious candidates. We were elected to do something constructive for the people of Kentucky and those who will follow us. But if the schemers insist on injecting the politics of 1962 and 1963 into the deliberations of this assembly, we will have no choice except to meet the challenge. I for one am willing to fight in every legitimate way — anytime, anywhere — to prevent the destruction of those programs which I know are good for the people. And I have supreme confidence that when the issue is drawn, the people of Kentucky will reject those who would plunge Kentucky into the dark abyss of political plunder. I am confident the people will reject the schemes and manipulations of those who have and would give aid and comfort to corruptionists and to the underworld in parts of our state.

There is a vacant chair in this chamber. It has been left vacant by agreement of the leadership of the two houses out of respect to a deceased member, whose funeral will be held day after tomorrow. Senator Spencer Cobb⁹ was a newly elected member of this body. He suffered a heart attack December 23 and was taken to a hospital in Lexington. Over the weekend it was suggested that perhaps I could come to the hospital on Monday to administer to him the oath of office. We had intended to do that, perhaps in the presence of the press and photographers. But he took a turn for the worse Sunday night, and early yesterday morning he insisted that I be asked to come immediately to administer the oath of office. I went straightway to the hospital and was taken to his room. When I told him I had come to officially swear him in as a member of this assembly, his face was transformed like a child's, his eyes lighted up, and he said in almost an inaudible voice, "Thank God you are in time." He raised his right hand and I did administer to him the constitutional oath. He then lowered his hand, leaned back in his bed, and with a smile said, "Now I am a senator."

Here was a man looking into eternity, whose greatest wish — perhaps his last wish — was to die as an official member of this body. To Spencer Cobb, being a member of this assembly was more than an opportunity to exercise a temporary use of authority. Spencer Cobb had a sense of dedication, a willingness to sacrifice, and almost a reverence for the position of state senator. To me his words, "Thank God, I am now a senator," have a symbolic significance which all of us could well keep in mind during the trying days ahead. Anyone who is tempted to introduce a turkey bill ought to remember the dedication and the reverence for the office of state senator which Spencer Cobb took to his death.

In conclusion let me remind you that Kentucky has now embarked on a decent, constructive, progressive program — a program which will enable us to leave to our children the heritage of a great state. There are those who say we have set for ourselves too high a goal; that we cannot reach these ideals. But I would remind you, in the words of the poet, that "Ideals are like stars; you will not succeed in touching them with your hands. But like the seafaring man on the desert of waters, you choose them as your guides, and following them you will reach your destiny."

I say to you that by charting our course on the lodestars of decency and honesty and constructive thinking and by following that course to the best of our ability, we will make it possible, not perhaps for ourselves to reach that destiny, but for our children to reach their destiny.

1. W. C. Caywood, Jr., *Winchester (Ky.) Sun*, December 26, 1961.

2. John Bayne Breckinridge (1913–1979), member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1956–1959); attorney general, Kentucky (1960–1964, 1968–1972); member, United States House of Representatives (1973–1979); born in Washington, D.C., and resided in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1978-1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 389.

3. See pages 195-96 for recommendations and membership of Commission on Public Education.

4. Wendell Pace Butler (1912–), member, Kentucky state senate (1948–1952); superintendent of public instruction (1952–1956, 1960–1964, 1968–1972); commissioner of agriculture (1964–1968, 1972–1976); born in Sulphur Well, Kentucky, and resident of Frankfort, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1975-1976*, 14th ed. (Chicago, 1975), p. 99. Butler appointed his own committee to study the Kentucky school system and it eventually submitted its own report.

5. See page 155 for further explanation of Human Rights Commission.

6. Reportedly inspired by the Niagara Falls floral clock, Combs decided in

1961 to duplicate it on the Capitol grounds at Frankfort. The project was part of a statewide beautification effort backed by the Garden Club of Kentucky and regarded by Combs as a good investment because he believed that it would attract tourists to the Commonwealth. See J. O. Van Hook, "The Combs Years," chapter 8, unpublished manuscript, Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University library, Richmond.

7. William Goebel (1856–1900), state senator (1887–1899); governor of Kentucky (1900); born in Carbondale, Pennsylvania, and resided in Covington, Kentucky. G. G. Clift, *Governors of Kentucky, 1792–1942* (Cynthiana, Ky., 1942), pp. 108-9.

8. Veteran legislator Cabell Francis had lost by two votes to John W. Swope, and the former planned to challenge the results. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, January 2, 1962.

9. Spencer Cobb (1917–1962), state senator (1962), died on January 1, 1962; born in Nicholasville, Kentucky, and resident of that town. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, January 2, 1962.

BUDGET MESSAGE

Frankfort / January 9, 1962

I AM grateful for another opportunity to discuss with you briefly some of the problems of the Commonwealth. I, like other citizens of Frankfort and of Kentucky, have a feeling of inferiority to be around the Capitol during a session of the legislature, not being a member thereof. And I am always grateful for the opportunity to stay within the walls of these assembly rooms, even for a brief time, to think about and discuss our problems.

It has been suggested that I have no other political ambitions, and actually I have said that, and for the most part that is true. But, if I would make a full confession I would have to admit to you that my real ambition is some day to sit as a member of this General Assembly.

I understand it was said of John Quincy Adams that he made a darn poor president but later a good member of Congress after the congressional leaders had told him a few of the political facts of life. Not that the comparison is accurate, but I do think we have this in common. We do have a number of members of this assembly who are perfectly willing to teach me the political facts of life.

This budget, in my opinion, is the most important one presented to any legislature in the last quarter of a century. If you approve this budget, you will have gone a long way in demonstrating that it is your desire to continue the ambitious and far-reaching programs initiated by the 1960 legislature.

The appropriations I recommend to you will, for the most part, constitute only a logical continuation of present programs. It is, however, a continuation budget which will require additional money. That is particularly true in the field of education.

I think you agree with me that the average Kentuckian feels that education still is perhaps our most critical problem. I think you will agree with me that education is even more important now than ever before. I think it is even more true now than ever before that civilization itself is a race between education and catastrophe. And the words of Thomas Jefferson were never more true, that if you expect a nation to be ignorant and free, you expect something that never was and never will be.

The Minimum Foundation Program, higher education, the Medical Center at the university, the Agricultural Research Center at the university, and the Library Extension Program have all been given particular attention. All of these programs need additional funds if we are to meet even a minimum number of the growing needs in these fields. Moreover, I think you will agree with me that a start must be made in educational television.

I think you will agree that it is the desire of the people that the Minimum Foundation Program for education be fully financed. Appropriations to the program in the 1960-1962 budget were \$199.1 million. Increases within the legal framework of this program during the 1962-1964 biennium will require \$221 million, an increase of almost \$22 million. During the last biennium the average school teacher in Kentucky received for the first year an increase in salary of \$900 per year; and for this present year, an additional \$200 per year. But, even so, our schoolteachers are still underpaid. And I say that not for the benefit of the schoolteachers but for the benefit of the children of Kentucky. It is my desire — and I know yours — that salaries for Kentucky schoolteachers shall reach the national average as soon as possible. This budget makes as much progress in that direction as anticipated revenues will permit.

Even though Kentucky in the year 1960 had the greatest increase in teachers' salaries throughout the nation, it is still a fact that we ought to remember that schoolteachers in Kentucky are still thirty-eighth in the nation in amount of pay. And, although we had, I think, the

second greatest increase per capita in the nation, it is still a fact that Kentucky is forty-first from the top in the amount of money that you and I pay for training and education of our children.

We must also face up to the problem of providing college training for those young Kentuckians who are capable and willing to attend college. Enrollment in our five state colleges and the university increased more than five thousand in the two-year period from September 1959 to September 1961. It is estimated that by the fall of 1963 there will be an additional increase of 5,800 students. This is an increase of nearly eleven thousand students in a four-year period. But that is not only true in Kentucky, that is true throughout America. I heard President Kennedy say in Columbus, Ohio, over the weekend that by 1970 it is estimated there will be in America twice as many college students as there were in 1960. It is estimated that it costs \$1,650 per year to put the average Kentuckian in college and keep him there. And, of course, you know that the average income in Kentucky is less than \$5,000 per year — considerably less. And so the average American, and particularly the average Kentuckian, is not able without some benefit to give his child a college education.

President Kennedy also said at Columbus that he would recommend to the national Congress legislation which would make it possible for every American capable and willing to attend college to have that opportunity. And so we in Kentucky must stay in position to take advantage of any federal programs in that field.

The presidents of our colleges and the president of our university, and those others responsible for the administrations of our state colleges and the university, are doing a tremendous job to make it possible for these young Kentuckians to enter college. I make no bones about saying our college presidents are doing a good job in Kentucky but they are entitled to more help from state government if they are going to really do the job.

The appropriation to the five state colleges and the university for the present biennium is \$36.6 million. I am recommending an appropriation for the next biennium of \$47 million, an increase of \$10.4 million. You might think that this is a substantial increase, and it is a lot of money, of course. But even so, in fairness to these gentlemen responsible for providing college training to our Kentucky youth, I think I ought to say to you that this is barely sufficient to provide the same standard of instruction presently offered and to give very modest salary increases to members of the faculty. Buildings and equipment are important and necessary but, in my judgment, it is even

more necessary to provide something akin to appropriate salaries for the members of the teaching staffs in the institutions of higher learning in Kentucky.

Those are the people who determine the quality of the education our children are going to receive and those are the people who, even despite a modest salary increase, will have to make personal and financial sacrifices in order to stay in Kentucky. I think I ought to say that this increase will not permit the construction of any new buildings or facilities at any of the colleges or universities. But, I would add that unless I misjudge the ability and ingenuity of our college presidents, this increase will permit the development of plans and programs for other buildings and facilities. Certainly I for one, and I think you will agree, would not want the heads of the colleges and the head of the university to stop the great building programs which have gone forward in the last two years.

All of you are interested in the University of Kentucky Medical Center. The building program for the center was started in 1956 and is now nearing completion. The facilities, which have cost approximately \$27 million, will rank among the finest in the nation. There are those who think the medical center assumed an unusually heavy burden in the form of a name. But, even so, it is a great medical center. And in that connection let me say that, in my judgment, it ought to be against the law to name a public facility in Kentucky for any politician unless he has become noncontroversial. And that applies to Combs as well as to anybody else. And if you wait until we become noncontroversial, you will probably wait until we are dead and then it won't be done at all.

I had the high privilege recently of being asked if I would want an important facility to be named for me in the state of Kentucky. Of course, I have as much ego as anybody else — probably more so — and I would like to see the name Combs over the stone of the doors of some of the public facilities of Kentucky. But if I really want that building to succeed, I know that I ought not to have it named for me. I know it will do better if it has the name of somebody who has made progress in Kentucky and has left footprints on the sands of time and now become a figure in history rather than a figure in controversy.

It is absolutely necessary, I think, that we provide adequate support to the medical center. The appropriation for the present biennium is \$5.5 million. I am recommending to you an appropriation for the 1962–1964 biennium in the amount of \$13.2 million. Most of this increase will go for equipping and staffing a new hospital, which is a necessary part of the center.

Kentucky is still an agricultural state, and we must finance adequate research as to new and expanded uses of the products of our farms. Two million dollars are being recommended to complete construction of the main facility of the Agricultural Research Center at the University of Kentucky. It is our hope that sufficient funds will be made available by future sessions of the assembly to complete construction of the entire center as rapidly as is reasonably possible.

A basic educational program which started late in Kentucky, but which has become very important, is the bookmobile and library project. Through this program library services are now available to the people of ninety-eight of our 120 counties. We are recommending \$1,186,700 for the Library Extension program, which includes the bookmobiles. This is an increase of \$242,000 over the present biennium. This amount will make it possible to activate one new regional library in each year and to purchase a limited number of additional books.

It is not a spectacular program, perhaps, and hasn't received as much publicity as it should have received, but the fact remains that the cheapest and best way to educate the people of Kentucky, particularly those of us who did not receive as much formal education as we would have liked, is to get us to read books — books that contain the learning of the great men of the ages.

I believe it was Carlyle who said: "All that mankind has done, thought, gained or been: it is lying as in magic preservation in the pages of books." Thomas Jefferson said this: "Books constitute capital. A book lasts as long as a house, for hundreds of years. It is not, then, an article of mere consumption but fairly of capital, and often in the case of professional men, setting out in life, it is their only capital."

If we can cause Kentuckians to read more good books, we will have gone a long way toward improving the standards of our state. This library program will be expanded to include at least seven more counties during this biennium. Miss Margaret Willis¹ is doing an excellent job in administering this program. She deserves your support and the support of every Kentuckian.

While educational television will never be a substitute for a dedicated schoolteacher, it can be used to improve the quality of teaching, especially in the field of adult education. The 1960 legislature by resolution provided for a committee to make a study of this subject. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Lowman, and Mr. Thomas Ray, a member in the last session, are chairmen of that committee.² The committee in its report has made strong recommen-

dation that immediate steps be taken to provide for educational television in Kentucky and to contract for those channels necessary to carry out the program. A request has already been made for a network of eight channels considered necessary to establish an adequate program in Kentucky. Pioneer work in this field already has been done by some of our educators. This is especially true on the part of Superintendent Van Hoose³ in Jefferson County. It is probable that legislation will be enacted by the national Congress making available federal funds for those states which are able to qualify under this program. This is merely another instance of the importance of looking ahead in order that we may take advantage of federal programs.

A statewide program for educational television can be financed by the issuance of revenue bonds, should you enact very minor enabling legislation. Fifty thousand dollars is recommended in this budget for the Department of Education for preliminary planning. It is estimated that a revenue bond issue in the amount of \$6 – \$8 million will be sufficient to implement this program in our state.

Of increasing concern throughout the state and the nation is the problem of providing adequate housing and allied services for our needy senior citizens. In my judgment this is one of the responsibilities of government. The federal government, through a number of programs, has made available low-interest loans to local nonprofit agencies for the purpose of constructing or improving facilities for the aged. I suggest to you that the state of Kentucky should accept its share of the responsibility for housing our senior citizens and should, of course, take full advantage of available federal funds. The recommended appropriation to the Department of Economic Security contains nearly \$700,000 to be used principally for payments to those public assistance recipients who seek care in privately operated homes. We have recommended \$150,000 for the establishment of a revolving fund from which loans can be made to those agencies which require such loans in order to qualify under federal programs. In my opinion the state of Kentucky should provide active leadership and technical assistance in the construction of sufficient adequate facilities for our senior citizens.

In the field of mental retardation, the 1960 General Assembly made the first effort in a hundred years to cope with the total problem. A Division of Mental Retardation was created and assigned the task of developing an extensive program. As a result of the work of the division and of the findings of a special committee, including the majority leader of the senate and the Speaker of the House, which I appointed to study the problem, I am convinced that two things are

required if we are to move ahead in this field. First, additional funds are absolutely necessary. Accordingly, I am recommending \$4,405,000 for the biennium. That is more than double the amount we are now spending on this program. Second, a modern, progressive program must be developed. It is my recommendation that the Division of Mental Retardation and the Kentucky Training Home be placed within a new department, which shall include both mental health and mental retardation. Other departments having responsibilities for major phases of this program will be directed to continue and to increase their efforts. For instance, provision has been made for additional emphasis on the establishment of special classes for exceptional children within the elementary and secondary school system. That is a subject in which a great many people are interested. The superintendent of public instruction has agreed to cooperate as fully as he possibly can in order that we may have classes throughout Kentucky for this type of child.

I again urge every member of this assembly to visit the Kentucky Training Home and observe for yourselves, and I direct your very careful attention to this very serious social problem in Kentucky.

Again, this is not a spectacular program. These unfortunate children are even unable to tell you how great their need is. Most of them will be unable to thank you for what you have done for them. But it is a program which, if you direct your attention to it, will I think give you a great deal of satisfaction for having done it. It is written in the book of Matthew: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

The overall industrial and economic development effort of state government must be continued, and this budget provides for that. Four areas in particular need shoring up. They are expansion of the arts and crafts industry, an inventory of our forest resources, further airport development, and new emphasis on vocational training.

I said to you in my first message, and I am willing to admit now, that we have not yet found the answer to the unemployment problem in Kentucky, particularly the coalfields. Especially in the coalfields the number of unemployed has reached alarming proportions. Most of those people are unemployed merely because no jobs are available for them.

It is a responsibility of the national government and state government, I think, to provide leadership in this field. Lieutenant Governor Wyatt and his department have done an excellent job in bringing industry into Kentucky. But it is an unfortunate fact that industry from out of state, when it comes to Kentucky, wants to come to those

areas where living conditions are better, where the schools are better, and recreational facilities are superior. And so it has been an unusually difficult job to get industry into these areas where unemployment is so great and where basic community facilities are still underdeveloped.

A ray of hope has appeared in the form of the arts and crafts industry. Hundreds of people otherwise unemployed are now engaged at home in making baskets, rugs, candlesticks, chairs, and dozens of other products for which there is an unusual demand. I propose in this budget the establishment of a revolving loan fund in the amount of \$250,000 to be used for the purpose of providing capital for the further development of the arts and crafts industry in Kentucky.

We have here, I suggest to you, an industry in the beginning stage which can, if properly developed, bring substantial income in sections of the state where income is so very desperately needed. The major problem today is the inability to secure sufficient capital through the usual financial channels. Centers for display and sale of these products cannot ordinarily be constructed by the individual craftsman without financial assistance. The fund recommended in this budget would be used for loans for such purposes. I know of no other use of a like amount of money which could offer as significant a boost in the development of a new industry in Kentucky.

A number of industrial firms have expressed interest, it is true, in locating wood-using industries in Kentucky, particularly in those areas where we have forest resources. But they have been deterred from coming to these areas by the lack of information concerning the quantity, quality, and accessibility of our timber resources. The federal government is now prepared to spend more than \$250,000 for an inventory of our forest resources. In order to obtain maximum benefits from the federal funds, it is necessary for Kentucky to provide an additional \$120,000. This is included in my recommendations.

It might seem strange to you, as it does to me, that throughout all these years we have never really got an inventory of the forest resources in Kentucky. But that is absolutely true and we must, I think, at least know what we have in order to be able to say to industry: "We have this to offer in Kentucky."

It is absolutely necessary, as I see it, that we continue to build airports in Kentucky. Whether we like them or whether we don't, or whether we ride them or whether we don't, the airplane is here to stay. And, although we have modern highways, we still cannot have a progressive state unless we make provision for travel by airplane.

Eight hundred thousand dollars is recommended in this budget to continue this program which has made Kentucky a leader in this field throughout America.

Kentucky is also leader among all the states in vocational training. And at this point I would like to commend those in charge of vocational training in Kentucky for an excellent job. Provision is being made to establish new vocational schools for Ashland, Harlan County, Hazard, Jefferson County, Madisonville, and Somerset. That is where the people who know say they ought to be located.

We must, of course, honor the Commonwealth's debts. The debt service on general obligation bonds approved by vote of the people of Kentucky will amount to \$17.2 million during the 1962-1964 biennium. The funds allocated for debt service are shown as separate items in the budget, along with a detailed listing of all bonds outstanding. The indebtedness of our state, in comparison to our wealth and income, is comparatively small. The Commonwealth's credit was never better and I know that you want to keep it that way, and that we intend to do. The percentage of our general fund budget required to retire bonded indebtedness is one of the very lowest in the entire nation. It amounts to only 3.7 percent in the first year and 3.5 percent in the second year of the coming biennium.

General fund revenues are expected to fall within the range of \$228 million to \$232 million in the first year of the biennium and between \$240 million and \$244 million in the second year. In biennial terms this is a range from \$468 million to \$476 million. This budget is based on the maximum figure plus the use of a surplus of \$6 million anticipated at the end of this present fiscal year. The general fund budget total is \$482 million.

The preparation of this budget, as is always the case, was a complicated and difficult task. Kentucky is, as you know, a poor state in comparison to our neighbors. As our economy grows — and there has been a steady growth — the existing tax base will yield more revenue. But this is a gradual process, and we must proceed meanwhile in light of the funds which our present tax structure will provide.

To illustrate the limitations under which we operate, I would remind you that the budget requests submitted from departments of state government aggregated \$530 million. Nearly all these requests — probably all of them — were very worthy requests and would be desirable if we had the money. But, looking at the revenue which we could justifiably anticipate, it was necessary to eliminate \$46.7 million in departmental requests.

I would like to say that those department heads who made these requests, and who were denied, accepted the decisions in good grace and in a spirit of cooperation. But they were disappointed, of course, and I was disappointed, and I know you are disappointed that we cannot adequately finance all the needs of our people.

The budget staff, under the capable direction of Bob Matthews and Budget Director Cornett, has worked long and hard to provide you with the information on which your decisions must be based.⁴ They have worked closely, as have I, with the various department, institution, and agency heads. All have cooperated in presenting to you the best budget possible. Hearings have been complete and open, and the decisions have been made on information placed on top of the table.

This is a conservative budget. It is a balanced budget, of course, and it is adequate to meet only the very minimum needs of Kentucky and its people. In it we have tried to put first things first, to give priority to those programs and those needs which have first claim upon the limited resources of the Commonwealth. It is not a completely inflexible budget because it would not have been wise to make it so. It contains a small contingency fund to meet unforeseen emergencies — a very minimum fund, I would say, for that purpose.

The Kentucky constitution, as you know, requires that our budget be balanced — that expenditures be kept in line with revenues. And I believe, as I think you believe, in a strict construction of that section of the constitution. In the event that unforeseen reverses in the national economy should make reductions in this budget necessary, then the budget will have to be brought into balance by appropriate executive action. We trust and pray that will not be necessary. If it does become necessary, then I say to you that the reductions will be made fairly and equitable and after fair hearings to those concerned.

If there are those who have visions of a substantial surplus from one source or another, I must disillusion them. Funds derived from the sale of Veterans' bonus bonds not actually needed to pay the bonus will have to be used only for retirement of that particular bonded indebtedness. I understand that a bill was introduced last evening to extend the deadline for filing bonus applications. If it is the consensus of this body that such extension should be granted, I am glad to join with you in sponsoring such legislation.

In drafting and recommending to you this budget we have tried to combine progress with prudence and humanity with solvency. I submit it to you as the best handiwork of which we are capable. It is your constitutional right to change it if you so desire. But, before you

listen to those who would urge you to tinker and tamper with this item or that, let me implore you to keep in the foreground the standard of intellectual and political honesty required by the oath which you and I have taken. You must face, as honest and straight-thinking representatives of the people, this fact: if you increase any item in this budget, it is your obligation either to decrease some other item or to provide for additional revenues. Otherwise, you will be pushing our Commonwealth along the road toward fiscal irresponsibility. I should also remind you that any reduction in the present tax structure is absolutely impossible if we are to maintain the total expenditures at the level recommended in this budget.

It is true that this is the biggest budget in Kentucky's history. But every budget, I think, that has ever been submitted has been bigger than the preceding one, and no doubt the one submitted to the next legislature will be bigger than this one. That's just the way it is; we cannot change the course of history. But this budget is one which the people have in effect requested. It will be my objective to explain this budget and the program which it represents to the people of Kentucky during the next two years of my term. And I would suggest that you do likewise.

My observation is that the people of this state know more about the fiscal affairs of their government than ever before, and I think they want to know even more. Teachers, farmers, labor, management, and all other groups look for a reflection of their interests in the state's fiscal plan. They have a right to look there, and we should be able to assist them in identification of their interests. We should recognize that we will be judged on the informed evaluation of our fellow citizens.

Let me also urge you to act on this budget promptly since it establishes the framework for much of your remaining legislative business. I suggest that you consider it carefully and thoroughly — without indecent haste, yet with all diligent speed. My staff, myself, the personnel of the Department of Finance — especially of the Budget Division — and all other personnel of state government are available to answer your questions and provide any other assistance which you might desire.

The budget and revenue measures enacted by the General Assembly in 1960, it is said, constituted a historic turning point in Kentucky's progress. I ask you — in the name of our children and those who will come after them — to continue resolutely along that course.

The ship cannot lie at anchor. We either sail into the wind or the tide will push us backward. The dogmas of the past are not sufficient

compass points to chart a future course. As our case is new, so must we think anew and act anew to the end that we might build a greater Commonwealth and do our part toward the building of a greater America.

1. Margaret Fristoe Willis (1906–), coordinator, Kentucky Library Extension Division (1955–1957); director, Library Extension Division (1957–1962); state librarian, Kentucky Department of Libraries (1962–1976); born in Saint Louis, Missouri, and resident of Frankfort, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 1007.

2. Harry King Lowman (1913–1977), member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1942–1944, 1946–1964); Speaker of the House (1960–1963); born in Boyd County, Kentucky, and resident of Ashland, Kentucky. Telephone interview, June 14, 1976.

Thomas L. Ray (1925–), member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1956–1962), majority leader (1960–1962); unsuccessful candidate for county judge of Jefferson County in 1962; born in Lawrence County, Tennessee, and resident of Louisville. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, January 24, 1960.

3. Richard Van Hoose (1910–), superintendent of Jefferson County school system (1950–1975); chairman, Kentucky Educational Television Authority (1960–1976); born in Alton, Kentucky and resident of Louisville. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3315.

4. Robert F. Matthews (1923–), assistant attorney general (1955–1959); chief administrative assistant to the governor (1959–1960); commissioner of finance (1960–1963); attorney general (1963–1967); born in Shelbyville, Kentucky, and resident of Shelbyville. Telephone interview, September 21, 1978.

Robert M. Cornett (1929–), budget director (1959–1966); director of special projects, Council on State Government, Lexington, Kentucky (1976–1978); born in Hazard, Kentucky, and resident of Georgetown, Kentucky. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

CONGRESSIONAL REDISTRICTING

Frankfort / February 20, 1962

THIS marks the third time in the last four decades that the Kentucky General Assembly has had to face the problem of redistricting. It is an unpleasant and politically painful assignment — but it is no less a duty.

The federal statutes require redistricting but they do not dictate how it should be accomplished. The General Assembly, according to the statutes and the judicial decisions, has broad latitude in determining the composition of congressional districts.

There are those who would have us shirk this duty and permit Kentucky's members of the United States House of Representatives to be selected from the state at large. This is the counsel of temporary expediency, because the next General Assembly and the next governor would have to face the responsibilities which we are by law obliged to assume.

In recommending to you legislation with which, in all probability, Kentuckians must live for the next decade, I have not sought primarily to achieve either my own personal preferences or those of any particular individual or group. It would be impossible to draft a redistricting law pleasing to everyone. The very idea of eliminating congressional districts is displeasing.

The overriding purpose which, I think, should guide us is the achievement of the most equal distribution of population consistent with the traditional ties of cultural, economic, and emotional sympathy. These ties cannot be broken too abruptly without impairing the harmony and tranquillity of the Commonwealth.

Let me give an easy example. The Third Congressional District contains only the county of Jefferson which, under the 1960 census, had a population of 610,947. There is no possible way in which Kentucky's population can be equally distributed among seven congressional districts without dividing Jefferson County. The alternatives, therefore, would be either to divide Jefferson into more than a single congressional district or perhaps even more than two, or to leave in existence a district with a population substantially in excess of the average Kentucky district. It is apparent to all that the people of Jefferson County, in both parties, with virtual unanimity, would prefer to remain as they are rather than to be divided. What is more important, it is also apparent that Jefferson County cannot be divided without impairing the economy of that metropolitan area.

It is thus obvious that area and population cannot, as a practical matter, be accepted as the sole, overriding, conclusive consideration in the drawing of district lines. There are many communities, many counties, whose people prefer to be associated with their neighbors of similar background, similar economic interest, and long historic ties — even if this results in their being included in a district with greater than average population.

The problem of grouping together people with common interests

is especially difficult in Kentucky because our Commonwealth perhaps has more kinds of people than any other state with the exception of Maryland. In geographical areas we have the mountains of eastern Kentucky, the Bluegrass region of central Kentucky, the Mississippi plains of western Kentucky, and the river towns along the Ohio River. In economic interests we have agriculture, horse breeding, manufacturing, mining, timbering, and the tourist industry. Culturally, we have a Bible belt with its fundamentalists and we have communities with more liberal beliefs.

All these elements had to be considered in preparing a redistricting bill. And there was still another important aspect: We needed to consider Kentucky's prestige and influence in Congress. Our congressmen, through years of service in Washington, have acquired seniority and risen to positions of prominence in the Congress. Their positions are important not only to Kentucky but to the nation. It was desirable that we arrange the districts in such manner that none of our congressmen would be arbitrarily eliminated.

With all these factors in mind, I come to the actual distribution of counties among the seven proposed districts. The First, Second, Sixth, and Seventh districts would, under our recommendations, retain for the most part their present identities with some counties added and some subtracted. In general, the present Fourth and Fifth Districts would be combined into a new Fourth District while the present Eighth District would become the new Fifth, although retaining a substantial identity with the old Eighth.

Under the legislation which I propose to you today, the old First District would lose no counties from its present boundaries but would acquire Allen, Butler, and Simpson from the old Second. The old Second, minus the three counties which I have just mentioned, would retain all others within its present boundaries; and to those would be added Barren, Hart, Meade, and Metcalfe from the present Fourth. The Third District remains unchanged. The new Fourth District would contain the following counties: Anderson, Boone, Bullitt, Campbell, Carroll, Gallatin, Green, Hardin, Kenton, Larue, Marion, Mercer, Nelson, Oldham, Shelby, Spencer, Taylor, Trimble, and Washington. All these counties are drawn either from the present Fourth or present Fifth. I recommend that the new Fifth District consist of all the counties now in the Eighth, together with Adair from the present Fourth and Casey and Estill from the present Sixth.

The new Sixth District would contain all the counties in the present Sixth except Casey and Estill on the south and on its northern border would acquire Bracken, Grant, and Pendleton from the old

Fifth. Lastly, the new Seventh would consist of all the counties in the present Seventh District, with the addition of Fleming, Lewis, and Mason from the old Fifth.

The proposed arrangement of counties would not increase, and indeed would diminish, any disproportion of population which exists among the present congressional districts. Though we have not achieved perfection, and can never expect to do so, we shall be moving toward a more fair distribution of population within district boundaries.

I think it can be said that only one district other than the Third fails to fall into a pattern based upon area, economic, social, and cultural aspects. In that district we have attempted to strike a balance between the north-central industrial region along the Ohio River and the south-central agricultural counties in such a way that neither region would necessarily be predominant.

These recommendations, I believe, present the best and most practical arrangements which could be achieved under the conditions which confront us. These recommendations do not represent the whim or caprice of a single individual. Before making them, I carefully consulted with the members of our congressional delegation, with many of you, and with interested citizens from all parts of the Commonwealth. The result represents the best consensus which, in my opinion, can be achieved at the present time.

If succeeding administrations and legislatures carry on with this progress, we can reasonably expect that ten years from now another governor and another General Assembly will be confronted with the pleasant duty of increasing the number of our congressional districts. I am grateful that the thorny subject of redistricting has not been injected into the General Assembly's session prior to the present.

The manner in which you have dealt with the issues which have thus far come to your attention gives me cause for confidence that you will deal with the subject on which I speak today with the same promptness and public spirit that you have so fully demonstrated, in your deliberations, in the earlier days of the session.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION
OF THE KENTUCKY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Legislative Reapportionment
Frankfort / January 28, 1963

SECTION 79 of the Constitution of Kentucky provides that the governor shall "give to the General Assembly information of the state of the Commonwealth and recommend their consideration of such measures as he may deem expedient."

This is the fifth time that I have met with you pursuant to this provision, and I must confess that I come here with feelings of both satisfaction and gratitude. The programs initiated by you in 1960 and expanded by you in 1962 have planted seed corn in the fields of education, highway construction, parks expansion, economic development, health, and welfare. If these programs initiated by this assembly are carried forward, Kentucky need never again be embarrassed by her standing among her sister states. You are making it possible for Kentucky to go first class. Let us review briefly some of these larger accomplishments. In education, for example, Kentucky during the past two years has enjoyed the somewhat novel experience of being at the top rather than at the bottom of the list. In 1961 we led the nation in the rate of increase of financial support of public schools. We have added 3,595 classrooms to our public schools. We now have a classroom for every 26.3 pupils, which is very near the national average of 25.7 pupils per classroom. Our university and state colleges have \$38 million worth of new classrooms, laboratories, and dormitories completed or under construction. The establishment of a community-college system is a recognized step forward in making higher education available to the youth of Kentucky. New vocational school buildings in six Kentucky communities will train more Kentuckians for better jobs. The educational television program authorized by this assembly will soon supplement classroom instruction and give more modern educational methods to our boys and girls. Because of funds made available under your full financing of the minimum foundation program, many schools, especially those in our larger cities, have been able to avoid the double sessions to which so many other states have had to resort.

Kentucky's highway program is without parallel in the history of

the state. Last year Kentucky improved more miles of highway than any other state except Texas, and Texas has an area six times that of the Commonwealth. Kentucky has opened 217 miles of four-lane highways to traffic, and we have 250 miles under construction and approaching completion. When the program is complete — and we are considerably ahead of schedule — we will have more than 1,035 miles of four-lane highways crisscrossing Kentucky, east to west and north to south. Kentucky's toll roads are an integral part of the overall system.

New, modern lodges, lakes, and facilities connected thereto are attracting more tourists to Kentucky than ever before. Last year eight million persons visited our parks in Kentucky, an increase of 28 percent over the previous year. The value of our tourist trade has increased by more than 25 percent during the past two years. Millions of out-of-state visitors not only spend money in Kentucky, but they help support improvement of our state by paying the sales tax, even as we pay the sales tax of the other states we visit. We have improved the scenic beauty of our parks and highways so dramatically that last year Kentucky became the first state to receive the "Keep America Beautiful" national award.

The development of our private economy, industrial and agricultural, has kept pace with our government services. In 1961 Kentucky's rate of increase in personal income was first in the nation, and in 1962 it increased about 5 percent over 1961. The Society of Industrial Realtors last year cited the economic development programs of Kentucky and New York as being the best in the nation. This was the second consecutive year that Kentucky was so recognized; and Lieutenant Governor Wyatt has very recently returned from New Orleans where he received that award on behalf of the Commonwealth. The multimillion dollar Agricultural Research Center at the University of Kentucky will further boost Kentucky's rising farm income. In 1961 the state's gross farm income increased by \$50 million. Net farm income increased 18 percent, compared to the national average of 12 percent. We expect 1962 to show a substantial increase over even this gratifying figure.

In the field of health and welfare Kentucky's progress has been equally impressive. Acquisition and operation of Outwood Veteran's Hospital is relieving overcrowded conditions at the Kentucky Training Home. This is the institution which you visited during the last session and which you so magnanimously provided with sufficient funds with which to make it possible to effect almost revolutionary changes for the benefit of our children. I hope some of you

have an opportunity to go back to the Kentucky Training Home and see just what a little money, comparatively speaking, has done for these unfortunate citizens of Kentucky. Converted facilities at Waverly Hills Sanatorium in Louisville are being used as a much-needed center to house and treat the aged. We have plans — some progressive plans — for further housing the aged people of Kentucky. Ninety-nine counties now have health officers, where only seventy-eight counties had them three years ago. Nineteen new county health centers have been built, and sixty-six counties now are served by such facilities.

The balanced tax program enacted in 1960 and preserved in 1962 has enabled the Commonwealth to contribute \$3,394,000 in medical aid to the indigent and aged people of Kentucky during the past fiscal year. Grants to needy citizens overall totaled \$63.9 million, an increase of \$2.3 million over the previous year.

These accomplishments, I submit, are a tribute to the judgment, foresight, and dedication of you, the members of this General Assembly. I think the people of Kentucky appreciate both the significance and the opportunity which these achievements represent, and I believe they will join with you and your fellow legislators to protect this progress as well as the tax program which makes it possible.

All of our problems have not been solved, of course. Indeed, a most pressing problem now confronts us. Section 33 of the Kentucky Constitution directs the General Assembly to reapportion the legislative districts of the state every ten years. Actually, this mandate has been obeyed only three times under the present constitution — in 1906, 1918, and 1942. But this does not make the mandate less binding on us here today. On the contrary, events have left us neither legal nor moral alternative to prompt and conscientious obedience to this constitutional mandate.

In March of last year, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the federal courts have jurisdiction to review allocation of state legislative seats.¹ This, they said, was necessary in order to protect the people of America and Kentucky against the "invidious discrimination" forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. On the next day I requested my staff to study the reapportionment problem. In June I invited all interested persons to meet with me here in Frankfort to discuss the situation. A great many people did come — people representing a cross section of the economic and political life of Kentucky. Four days later I appointed a thirteen-man commission on reapportionment, representing a cross section of political life from every geographic region of Kentucky.

The commission designated Mr. Richard P. Moloney,² a member of this assembly, as its chairman. It did a great deal of work, and the commission in its report urged me to call a special session of the General Assembly for the purpose of redistricting the legislative seats of Kentucky. Following this, I appeared before the Federal District Court in Louisville, in which the suit to compel immediate reapportionment was pending, and assured the presiding judges that I would call a special session. On December 22 I issued the appropriate proclamation.

The commission on reapportionment concluded that representation in Kentucky, though by no means as inequitable as in many other states, is unequal in both the house and the senate. Under ideal conditions each senator would represent 79,951 people, each representative, 30,380. As it is, nine senate and fifty-one house districts vary from the average by at least 25 percent. These conditions exist, as you know, because in Kentucky, as elsewhere in America, people have been moving from farm and small town to the city. Between 1950 and 1960, eighty-seven of the state's 120 counties lost population. Ten counties diminished by more than 20 percent. Ten others grew by more than 20 percent. At present, 62.5 percent of the population elect only 47 percent of the representatives and 55.2 percent of the senators. A senator in Kentucky's largest district represents six times as many people as his fellow legislator from the smallest district. In the house the ratio is seventeen to one.

Under our state constitution, population is the only yardstick for measuring the fairness of districts. It is also, I might add, the main standard on which the federal courts base their judgments. This, of course, does not mean that reapportionment is a simple matter, or that you will not encounter serious difficulties in the accomplishment of this task which is your constitutional duty.

It may not always be possible to divide districts precisely. Under the constitution, if it is not possible to draw districts with equal population, the advantage goes to the district having the largest area. And this is the only concession made in the constitution to territory as distinguished from population. It is also provided in the constitution that no part of a county shall be divided and added to another county to make a district; and the counties forming a district must be contiguous.

One of the most difficult problems is that the population of several larger counties, such as Jefferson or Fayette, is big enough to entitle the county to more than one representative or senator. In these counties, the assembly must draw the district lines so as to accomplish

equality of representation within the county. Another problem is presented by the fact that senators from even-numbered districts were elected in 1960 for constitutional terms of four years. And I take it that everybody will agree that all these senators are entitled to serve out their term. If two or more such senators should be placed in one new district, then we would have, temporarily, more than the constitutional number of thirty-eight senators, which I presume is prohibited by the constitution.

From any viewpoint, yours is not an easy task. Numerous policy decisions must be made before a plan can be drawn. But as the commission's report points out, it is your constitutional duty to make these necessary decisions, so that a fair and equitable redistricting bill may be enacted.

The commission also recommended that a statistician be employed to determine the population of precincts and local government boundaries in those counties that will have more than one legislative district. Dr. Virgil Christian, Jr.,³ associate professor of economics at the University of Kentucky, has been employed for this service. He has been assembling data for several weeks and will be available to assist you. I and my staff also stand ready to give any assistance possible.

Let me urge you to turn quickly and seriously to the task at hand. There are some who say that the job of reapportioning is too fraught with political danger and that you would be better advised to leave the job to the federal courts. This in my opinion is not the counsel of responsible or thoughtful men. And certainly it is not the counsel of men who are under a constitutional duty, as are you and I, to follow the plain mandates of the instrument which we have sworn to uphold. It is highly likely, of course, that the courts will be asked to review any plan enacted by this assembly. Indeed, let me caution you to remember that unless the plan you produce here can meet the court test of fairness, it is quite probably — more than probable, I should say — that the courts will be called on to do the job we do not do. It is also true that any plan designed by the courts in my opinion would be less to our liking than a plan designed by this assembly.

It is essential, too, that redistricting be achieved without undue delay so that candidates for office may have ample time to file declaration papers and to campaign before the May 28 primary. I do not believe that it is to the best interests of Kentucky, the voters, or this assembly to postpone the date of these primary elections, and I hope you will avoid doing so if possible.

Further than this, there is a burden of responsibility that rests on

us here today as representatives of our democratic form of government. Equal representation is the bedrock — the foundation — of democracy and of the blessings it bring to us.

We have heard a lot of talk here — I have engaged in it and so have you — about self-sacrifice for the good of the Commonwealth and our willingness to put the good of the people above our personal advantage. It just so happens that this occasion gives all of us an opportunity to do more than just pay lip service to this cherished principle of democratic government.

The commission developed three possible plans for each house of the assembly. Maps, tables, and appendices outlining each of these plans are contained in the commission report, a copy of which has been furnished to each of you, and additional copies are available.

Professor Jack Reeves, Professor Malcolm Jewell, and Professor Max Milam of the University of Kentucky have submitted plans.⁴ Professor Reeves has one for the house; Professor Milam, one for the senate; and Professor Jewell, one for each house. These proposals disturb existing districts as little as possible so long as they fall within a uniform population range — the range, as I understand it, being approximately 25 percent. Mayor William Cowger⁵ of Louisville has submitted a proposal for both senate and house which would divide the state almost equally into average districts based on population. The commission recommended that the governor cause each of these plans to be drafted into legislative bill form. This has been done by the Legislative Research Commission staff, and copies are available.

In conclusion, because we all cherish the institution of self-government, let me again remind you that this right carries with it an obligation. If we are to demand the power to govern ourselves, we must be willing to shoulder the responsibilities of self-government. This is not a very pleasant task. Kentucky is not the worst offender in the nation. We could, I think, have an efficient and progressive form of government without redistricting this month or next month. But the point is that the constitution says it shall be done. And then if we are to comply with our constitutional duties, we have got to face up to a compliance with the provisions of that constitution. This, I think you will agree with me, is a job for Kentucky. It should be done by Kentuckians. I know, too, that you are equal to this task, if you set your shoulders to the wheel.

In your previous sessions you have shown yourself willing to face your obligations and to pay the price that progress demands. A majority of you have risked political oblivion several times to my

knowledge in order to stand up and be counted for something you thought was good for Kentucky. You have shown the courage to initiate bold new programs that have elevated Kentucky to the top positions in many progressive endeavors. I feel a deep conviction that you are also equal to the task of resolving our redistricting problems in a fair and equitable manner.

I submit this message to you. I leave the task in your hands. I am firmly of the opinion that once again the General Assembly of Kentucky will arise to the occasion and make us the first state in the nation — and we would be the first — to produce a redistricting act which is not subject to criticism by a federal court.

You have produced many firsts in the last three years. If you could do this — if you could be the first to actually comply with the constitution and formulate and pass a redistricting act — the message would go out across America that Kentucky again has produced a first — a first in one of the progressive steps of a democratic government.

1. *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186-349 (1962).

2. Richard P. Moloney (1902–1963), member, Kentucky Senate (1946–1956); member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1960–1963), majority leader (1962–1963); born in Lexington, Kentucky, and resided in Lexington. Telephone interview with Mike Moloney, Lexington, June 28, 1976.

3. Virgil Christian, Jr. (1922–), professor of economics at the University of Kentucky (1957–). *American Men of Science: The Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 11th ed. (New York, 1968), p. 269.

4. John Estill Reeves (1902–1978), research associate, Kentucky Legislative Council (1937–1938); administrative analyst, United States Department of War (1943–1944); executive assistant, Kentucky Department of Revenue (1944–1945); precinct committeeman, Fayette County Democratic party (1948–1956, 1960–1968); member, state Committee on Legislative Reapportionment (1962–1963); assistant professor of political science, University of Kentucky (1941–1960), associate professor (1960–1969); born in Owenton, Kentucky, and resided in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in American Politics*, 3d ed. (New York, 1972), p. 846.

Malcolm Edwin Jewell (1928–), professor of political science, University of Kentucky (1958–), chairman (1966–); born in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1976–1977*, 39th ed. (Chicago, 1976), p. 1601.

Max Milam (1930–), assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky (1962–1966); born in Ozark, Arkansas, and resident of Reno, Nevada. *Leaders in Education*, 5th ed. (New York, 1974), p. 749.

5. William Owen Cowger (1922–1971), mayor of Louisville (1961–1965);

member of United States House of Representatives (1967–1971); born in Hastings, Nebraska, and resided in Louisville. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 209.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION
OF THE KENTUCKY
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
United Mine Workers' Hospitals
Frankfort / June 17, 1963

It is a significant commentary on our times that you have been called into special session for the fourth time within three and a half years. I have never believed that the power to convene the General Assembly in extraordinary session should be abused or that demands should be made on your time and the funds of the treasury without clear and pressing reason. But I have always believed that when the people elect a man to a four-year term, they are due four years of service, regardless of whether he be a member of the executive department, a member of the legislative or judiciary. The problems that confront Kentucky are too great to afford any governor the luxury of coasting through the final year of his term or leaving for his successor tasks that require immediate attention. You, too, have a duty to cope with these problems; and you have done admirably in discharging that obligation. I have called you here today only because the Commonwealth faces a situation too serious to permit delay.

We have reason for some satisfaction with the general state of our Commonwealth. Thanks largely to programs which you have helped to launch, Kentucky is enjoying progress and is in general sharing in the national prosperity. We have more people at work than ever before. In most sections of Kentucky, unemployment has ceased to be a major problem. We have conquered some of the more drastic deficiencies in our schools and colleges. New highways are thrusting into all regions of the state at record pace. Our parks are affording pleasure and recreation to an unprecedented number of Kentuckians. The new lodges and park facilities are filled to capacity at the beginning of the vacation season, and privately owned tourist ac-

commodations are receiving what appears to be a record flow of out-of-state tourists. Our elderly citizens are better cared for, as are our mentally ill and our other disabled citizens. And I hope we are about to make a start toward correcting the evident shortcomings of our penal system. State finances are sound. The credit of the Commonwealth was never better. We have cause for confidence in the future.

But one section of Kentucky has not shared this level of prosperity. The eastern part of the state is still a region of persistent depression. The coal market has changed and machines have replaced men in the mines. New industry has failed to make up the slack caused by the decline in the coal industry. The long lines of unemployed looking for work reflect the necessity for more action.

And now this region, blighted by depression, torn by floods, and weary with human misery, is threatened with the closing of the hospitals on which almost half of the people depend for medical care. Most of you are familiar with the events that produced this crisis. In 1954 the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund began a chain of ten hospitals — six in Kentucky, three in West Virginia, and one in Virginia — and completed them in 1956 at a cost of more than \$27.5 million. These hospitals quickly became a vital part of the health services of a region that has historically suffered a shortage of doctors, dentists, nurses, and hospital beds. They became a special blessing to the miners and pensioners and others to whom they provided needed care. But because of the decrease in union miners in the coalfields and an unexpected load of indigent patients, the hospitals began to accumulate operating deficits larger than had originally been anticipated.

On October 12 of last year, officials of the Welfare and Retirement Fund announced that four of its hospitals — those being at Hazard, McDowell, Whitesburg, and Middlesboro — would be transferred to the communities in which they were located or closed on July 1 of this year. Since then the hospital at Harlan has been added to the list.

To appreciate what this closing would mean, consider that the four hospitals originally scheduled for closing in July serve an eleven-county area having a population of more than 356,000. If we include the Pikeville Hospital, then we are talking about an eighteen-county region containing more than 600,000 Kentuckians. In the eleven-county area, the miners' hospitals contain 40 percent of all hospital beds and 29 percent of all physicians, while employing 52 percent of the region's specialists.

Even with these hospitals, the region offers only 60 percent of the

medical services considered a safe minimum by the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Without them, the situation would be desperate, for since the coming of the miners' hospitals many of the small medical facilities that formerly helped to serve the region have closed.

Following this announcement by the Welfare Fund, I requested the Kentucky Departments of Health and Economic Security and the University of Kentucky Medical Center to study the problem and to report to a public meeting in Harlan on January 10 and 11 of this year. I also asked each of the affected communities to form local committees to explore the possibility of local or regional remedial action. From the meeting at Harlan and from subsequent study, it became very obvious that the communities could not hope to purchase or operate these hospitals. All of these communities were, and are, financially hard pressed. Unemployment in eight of the eleven counties exceeds 25 percent. Underemployment is even more severe.

Not only was purchase of the hospitals by these counties out of the question; efforts to persuade the Welfare and Retirement Fund to reconsider its decision were unsuccessful. And it was the opinion of our best legal advisers that acquisition or operation by the state would violate the state's constitution and would be inadvisable for many other reasons.

It was at this point that the National Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church offered to help retain the services of the entire chain of hospitals. And I want here and now to make entirely clear the role of the church in this matter, a role that has been widely misinterpreted. The church has at no time proposed to buy, staff, supervise, or operate these hospitals; nor does it propose to do so now. It has offered, in Christian charity toward a needy people, to use its good offices in an effort to find an acceptable, financially feasible way to keep these hospitals open.

A grant of \$3.9 million has been made available by the Area Redevelopment Administration¹ for the acquisition of the five Kentucky hospitals at Hazard, Harlan, McDowell, Whitesburg, and Middlesboro. All of these were originally scheduled for closing on July 1. The church Board of Missions now offers, provided certain conditions are met by the Commonwealth, to assist — may I repeat to assist — in creating a nonsectarian, nonprofit, regional hospital authority which would acquire and operate these hospitals. It offers to help organize the authority and to help the authority to develop a practical, long-range policy, if the state of Kentucky will provide support payments

to indigent patients sufficient to give reasonable assurance of a financially sound operation.

I believe, and believe firmly, in the traditional concept of the separation of church and state and I know that you believe in that concept. And I can assure you now that the proposal to be submitted to you, to provide assistance for these hospitals, will by no stretch of the imagination infringe upon this concept.

I will not tell you that the legislation which I will propose offers a perfect solution to this complex problem. All of the parties involved have been obliged to pick their way through difficult, unfamiliar territory. We have had no precedents to guide us. We have threaded our way around conflicts of church and state. We have lived for months with legitimate doubts and despair from the communities. We have had to find ways to make aid available without violating the provisions of the constitution regarding special legislation and also without imposing too great a burden on the state treasury.

All of these obstacles, I am gratified to say, have been in my judgment overcome. I am particularly gratified that the executive committee of the Kentucky Medical Association, dubious at first, it's true, has recently endorsed our proposed plan and our proposed legislation. The leaders of the Catholic Church in Kentucky have expressed their approval by telegram received by me today. Many of Kentucky's leading newspapers have endorsed in principle the proposed plan to keep these hospitals open. On behalf of all the people I would like to express my appreciation to these groups who have expressed their concern for the problems and their cooperation. The road is now clear, I think, for the transfer and continued operation of the hospitals as soon as we meet the obligation for which you have been called into session.

I know you share my desire and determination to help relieve this crisis. Kentucky's other problems, although many and serious, are not as urgent as those confronting these counties. We have done, on the state level, as much as limited resources and lack of adequate federal assistance would permit with a series of programs aimed at strengthening the region's economy to the end that future progress may be soundly based and more easily achieved. We have built highways into the area and accelerated three new state parks and expanded existing ones in an effort to enrich the quality of living and to offer an initial stimulus to a tourist industry. We have launched an arts and crafts program that has created hundreds of jobs and brought badly needed incomes to the region. We have, in coopera-

tion with broadened federal programs, increased medical assistance and welfare payments, built clinics and extended eligibility periods for medical care of indigent patients. We have made an unprecedented effort to control forest fires and to replant cutover hillsides, so as to check floods and create future tree crops. Most important of all, we have undertaken a vast program of elevating education especially needed in the mountains, improving transportation, building consolidated schools, increasing libraries and bookmobiles, expanding vocational training, and raising teachers' pay. These efforts are designed to give the coming generation a better chance to help themselves and their region.

Yet we know and I would be the first to know that we have not yet solved the economic problems of this region. Certainly we cannot be accused of extravagance, and the sum called for in the plan to save the hospitals is small indeed when viewed in the context of what it will do.

The bill which you will be asked to consider may not be the best or only solution to this problem. But it is the only workable solution that we have found after months of work and study and consultations with everyone we could find in this field — on the state, county, regional, and national level. Briefly, it does two things. First, it permits establishment of a nonsectarian, nonprofit, regional hospital authority and sets out the legal definition, composition, function, powers, and limitations of the authority. Second, it appropriates funds for medical support payments to indigent patients served by such an authority.

This, we think, will satisfy the minimum requirements of all parties involved, as well as the state constitution. As you know, the constitution forbids state funds to special nonpublic institutions. In order to satisfy this provision, the same support must be made available to any and all such hospital authorities that qualify according to the definition and judgment of the state Department of Health. It is possible, though not anticipated, that future development of similar authorities might pose demands on the state treasury that would alter the nature of the problem and require subsequent review by this body.

For the immediate future, however, only this regional authority meets the requirements set forth in the bill. It is partially for this reason that the effect of the bill is limited to the fiscal year 1963–1964. And it is my hope that the knowledge gained in this year of experience with the program will enable the next regular session of the

General Assembly to appraise carefully the legislation enacted at this session.

I have tried to be completely frank with you concerning all phases of this problem and our efforts to meet it. As many of you know, in recent years there has been considerable opposition among private physicians to certain aspects of the operation and management of these hospitals. For this reason, some doctors were reluctant at first to lend their support. Physicians have been and are rightly concerned, I think, that the hospitals be available to all qualified practitioners in the area, that patients have free choice of physicians, and that provision of office space in the hospitals not create a competitive advantage for some physicians over others.

The proposed plan will contain the structure for working out the various concerns and complicated details that must be resolved. This structure will embrace a nongovernmental regional authority coordinating the operation of the hospitals, full community representation on the board of each hospital, and bylaws and articles of incorporation based on the model developed by the American Hospital Association for nonprofit community hospitals. Few people, I think, would feel that you should attempt to legislate these matters. Most persons will agree, I believe, that leaving these matters to be worked out outside of government is the soundest approach and the one most conducive to satisfactory and successful operation of these hospitals in the future.

It is the belief of the state Medical Association, as it is ours, that the complex problems involved in hospital operation can be worked out best without legislative intervention. They recognize, as we do, that such intervention by the state would be unwise and would establish undesirable precedents.

Some may say that this bill is a short-range remedy rather than a long-range cure. I admit this. But the newness of the area in which we are operating, the limited time given us to act, and a cautious and proper regard for the state's fiscal security affords in my judgment no other responsible course.

What we are attempting to do is not to revive a region but to prevent its collapse, and it is my judgment that the economy of the region would collapse if these hospitals are closed. We are in effect buying time, hoping to keep the people and the economy and even the hope of this region alive until more permanent correctives can be undertaken. The willingness of the ARA to make a grant for this purpose represents, I believe, a significant breakthrough in federal

attitude. Several proposals presently before Congress indicate a growing awareness, I believe, of our problems in this region. An emissary of President Kennedy is coming to Kentucky on June 20 to study the needs of this region at first hand. And there is a reason to hope that the federal government will soon begin the massive programs of land and water control, reforestation, community development, education, and retraining of the jobless, as well as highway and dam construction that will enable this region to escape the dispiriting economic rut into which it has fallen.

I have faith that you will take up this task promptly and in your best conscience, aware of the critical need for efficient and intelligent action. It has been said that the test of a people's greatness is their willingness to help their unfortunate neighbors in times of distress. May I say one final word. I hope that neither party nor any candidate will attempt to make political capital of what we do here or try to convert the misfortune of this region into a political issue, and I would like to say also that I have every reason to believe this will not happen. I hope too that any other matters which might be submitted to this assembly will be considered on a nonpartisan basis.

In preparing for this session, I have had the support and cooperation of the leaders among you of both parties, and I am confident that this bipartisan support will continue. They have agreed with me, as I hope you will, that this is not a Democratic problem; it is not a Republican problem. It is a Kentucky problem, to be solved by Kentuckians for the sake of Kentuckians and for no other reason.

Before action on this proposal is concluded, I intend to amend the original call to include a request that will make it possible for you to consider ratification of the amendment to the federal constitution eliminating payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting. As you know, thirty-five states have already ratified this amendment, and thirty-eight are needed to complete ratification. It is only fitting and proper, I think, that this assembly, with its outstanding record in the field of civil rights and progressive legislation should help make this important constitutional change a reality.

It is possible, too, that the call will be further amended in order to enable you to consider certain other important and pressing matters. In conclusion, may I thank you for your intelligent and unselfish cooperation during the last three years. I consider myself a very fortunate man in having had the opportunity to work with you in our joint efforts to build a progressive and modern Kentucky.

1. See p. 182.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE
KENTUCKY GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Judicial Salaries and Vehicle Inspection
Frankfort / November 18, 1963

PERMIT me to explain why I have called you into extraordinary session. The Constitution of Kentucky limits your regular deliberations to a period of sixty days each two years. Such a limitation makes it obvious, when we consider the many and varied problems facing Kentucky, that the framers of our basic charter contemplated frequent use of the power given the governor to call the General Assembly into special session. I feel that this power should be used with care, but I do not feel that a statewide emergency is necessary to justify your consideration of pressing legislative matters.

Some may question the value of a session such as this, but as I look back on the special sessions that have been convened during the past four years, I am convinced that each of those special sessions was justified by the results which were achieved. The people were given an opportunity to vote promptly on the issue of constitutional revision. You faced up to your responsibility for legislative reapportionment. And may I say that we are one of few states in the nation which has a legislative reapportionment act which has not been seriously challenged. Vital medical facilities were saved for the people of eastern Kentucky by reason of your prompt action. No one, I am confident, will say that the cost was not justified in each of these instances.

The matters which I ask you to consider at this session are of comparable importance. Those who suggest that we are engaged in a conspiracy to offer trifling financial rewards to lame-duck legislators fail to understand, in my judgment, the personal and financial sacrifices that many of you must make for a special session. As a lame duck myself — and I am the lamest duck here because you do hold office until January 1, and my term expires on December 10 — I think I can speak to you objectively on this matter. I can have no possible personal stake in this session and neither can you. I have no powers of patronage with which to reward or influence you. The only rewards here for you and for me must be the benefits which will accrue to our state through your deliberations in this session. And perhaps we lame ducks can deliberate on these matters with less political

intrusion than anyone else since we have no political consequences to assess.

And on the matter of lame ducks — and there are many of us here — let me just say that in my judgment the fact that a person gets defeated in a political contest is no indication that he shouldn't have been elected or reelected and certainly is no reflection on him as a person. Our democratic system is not a very efficient system. It is the best system devised so far, but certainly it permits mistakes. I am convinced — and I believe you are — that over the long haul the people do equalize the score. And if I may quote from a somewhat overworked poem, let me remind you that "When the last Great Scorer comes to mark against your name, He doesn't record whether you won or lost, but how you played the game."

As for me, I have found that the General Assembly of this state has, and, I think, deserves, the people's confidence. Whenever I have appealed to you for cooperation in solving the problems of Kentucky, you have responded in a spirit of service and dedication. In that spirit, I appeal to you once more and for the last time, I promise, during my service as chief executive.

Our constitutional system divides the powers of government among three independent and coordinate branches. It is the duty and the responsibility of each branch to support and sustain the other branches so that all may function as the constitution intends. When we neglect this responsibility, our constitutional system becomes weakened and the individual liberties of our people are endangered.

The judicial branch of government is equal to the other branches — not superior, but equal and coordinate — equal in dignity, equal in importance, and equal in its claims upon our consideration. The strength of our courts and judges is the hallmark of the American system of free government. To our courts even the humblest citizen may turn for protection. History shows that in those countries that have gone totalitarian the courts have been the last bulwark of democracy. We cannot have a totalitarian form of government so long as the courts are free and independent. But we cannot preserve a strong and independent judiciary unless we have strong and independent judges. And we cannot keep strong and independent judges unless we offer them adequate compensation. The Constitution of Kentucky recognizes this principle and it imposes upon the other coordinate branches of government the specific duty of providing adequate compensation for circuit judges and judges of the Court of Appeals.

Just as we have the right to expect from the judiciary efficient, fair, and impartial administration of justice, so must the judiciary be able to expect fair consideration of the problems they must face. Our judges are at the mercy of the legislature for the salaries they receive and the conditions under which they work. And the inescapable fact is that the compensation of our trial and appellate judges today is grossly inadequate. Kentucky today ranks either last or next to last among the fifty states in compensation of her judges. The Kentucky Court of Appeals is the only state court of last resort in the nation whose justices have not received an increase in salary in the past ten years. Our circuit judges, even after their last increase, are still the lowest paid in the nation along with those of Arkansas. We have made considerable progress during recent years in improving salary scales of members of both the legislative and executive branches of government. I think we owe similar attention to the third branch of government where the inequities are now even more pronounced.

We have been blessed with a high quality of judicial service despite the inadequate level of compensation, but this cannot continue indefinitely. As our judges reach retirement, it becomes increasingly difficult to find other judges willing to serve at current salaries. Nor is it fair just to ask these men to serve their state at a sacrifice of their living standards and financial security.

There is compelling reason why this matter of judicial compensation must be considered now. The circuit judges, as you know, will enter upon their new terms on January 1 of next year. If their compensation is not adjusted prior to that date, they can expect no relief for the next six-year duration of their terms since Section 235 of the constitution provides: "The salaries of public officers shall not be changed during the terms for which they were elected."

Nor is it true that we are attempting here to negate the wishes of the electorate as expressed by their vote on the recent constitutional amendment. You are being asked to act here only in a specific and limited field which is permitted by the constitution as it now stands. Assuming that people, by their vote, do not wish to remove all limitations on salary raises, it can also be assumed that they realize that cases similar to those here presented can be handled under existing constitutional provisions. And, of course, whatever is done here — if any affirmative action is taken — will be subject to examination and scrutiny by a fair and impartial court upon objection of any citizen of the Commonwealth.

At the same time, we can strengthen the security and independence of our judiciary by providing a nonpartisan system of electing

our judges. Party politics has no place in the administration of justice. Yet, under our present system of electing judges under a party emblem, qualified, experienced, and dedicated judges often find themselves turned out of office simply because of a shift in party strength — a shift which has no relation to their individual capacities as judges. I can recall two of our ablest appellate judges, Justice Willis and Judge Dietzman, both Republicans, who suffered defeat in this manner.¹ Years ago a complete overturn of political parties in Jefferson County swept a whole body of experienced and able judges out of office. The same thing happened in the recent elections. These statements do not reflect on the quality of the judges who are elected. They simply point to the waste of talent involved in the wholesale ouster of experienced judges for reasons that have no bearing on the quality of their judicial service.

It has been and no doubt will be suggested that this is a poor time to start, but let me remind you it is always a poor time to start doing a difficult job. And in the words of the old parable, "You will never complete a one-thousand-mile journey until you have taken the first step." This is as good a time as any. There would always be some reason to suggest why any particular time was not the appropriate time.

I commend one more matter to your consideration — a law providing for periodic inspection of motor vehicles. The increasing toll of highway accidents has reached shocking proportions. This year will be one of the worst on record. We need twentieth-century tools to handle a twentieth-century problem and to make the lives of our people safer as they drive upon modern highways. If, through your action here, you can save the life of a single Kentuckian, you will have justified the effort and expense involved in this special session. Just yesterday the lives of five young Kentuckians were snuffed out in a traffic accident. Just last week the life of a deputy United States marshal, known to many of you, was snuffed out in another traffic accident.

And there are compelling reasons to believe that many Kentucky lives will be saved through a proper vehicle inspection law. Figures compiled by the National Safety Council show that mechanical difficulties or failures cause or contribute to 10 to 13 percent of all traffic accidents. The toll as of now in Kentucky for this year is 722 lives lost in traffic accidents across the state. Ten percent of 722 would be seventy-two. Assuming that the law would not do nearly all the things that its proponents say it will, if it would save a few of those

lives, then I suggest to you that it's time to start. And if a law enacted by this session proves to need correction, there will always be another legislature to make the necessary changes. The only reason we would be subject to criticism, as I see it, is that we do nothing.

In twenty other states and in the District of Columbia the safety inspection program has reduced both accidents and death rates. I therefore urge you to enact a law requiring an annual safety inspection of each motor vehicle in Kentucky. According to the proposed draft, these inspections would be performed by private garages — the garages to be examined, certified, and supervised by the state Department of Public Safety. But I am not wedded to any particular phraseology, and I am sure none of you are. The important thing is that we get a law, that we make a start to save the lives of many innocent Kentuckians.

Perhaps many of the objectives of such a law could be achieved through executive order. The Department of Public Safety could no doubt by executive order increase inspections by state police or by other personnel and could make a start of a sort toward requiring closer inspection of vehicles. Indeed some persons who recently criticized use of executive orders are now foremost among those who criticize the submission of these matters to you. There ought to be a way to do it. If it can't be by executive order, then it ought to be by legislative action. I am convinced, however, that each of these subjects is more properly a matter for legislative consideration.

I can see no political advantage to be gained or political disadvantage to be suffered by this special session, and I would earnestly hope that the subjects submitted for your consideration will be considered by you in a nonpartisan manner. I can say that you members of the General Assembly have always responded to the needs of our people, and you have extended to me the very highest degree of unselfish cooperation in dealing with the matters which I have laid before you in the past. I cannot permit this occasion to pass without expressing my personal gratitude and, I think, the gratitude of the people of this Commonwealth for both your specific accomplishments in the past and for the spirit in which you have met your responsibilities.

And in a very real sense the members of this assembly are on trial in this special session. There can be nobody who would say that the governor's office would have any domination. There are those who would say that you shouldn't have been called here. There are those who will be looking for the slightest misstep in order to say that this

proves the session should not have been called and that it proves the legislature, particularly a lame-duck legislature, cannot face up to its responsibilities.

I think the objectives to be gained outweigh the risks that might be taken. The questions you will be asked to vote on are basic and uncomplicated. Figures will be readily available in a public hearing, I hope, which will not delay the legislative process and which will give you all the information there is on these two subjects. After you get that information, it seems to me you ought to be able to say I am either for or against. I don't see how an extended time would make it easier to vote on either of these two issues. And again I say that this is a responsibility which is yours and yours alone under our system of government. I have taken the chance of calling you here. I am willing to stake what little prestige I have that you will face up to your responsibilities as you have in the past. I can truthfully say, and I think any impartial observer will say it, that the legislature of Kentucky in the last four years has brought credit to itself and prestige to our great Commonwealth.

And so, I hope you don't have an extended session. I hope you get the figures which are available. I hope you make up your minds. I hope, of course, that you pass this legislation. But, in any event, I hope you express your willingness or your unwillingness to do so as soon as possible.

I shall always treasure my associations with the legislative branch of Kentucky's government. In these concluding days of our service, let us work together in the same spirit which has marked our cooperation during the past to assure that our handiwork will merit the approval of Kentucky's people.

1. Simeon S. Willis (1879–1965), city solicitor, Ashland, Kentucky (1918–1922); associate justice, Kentucky Court of Appeals (1927–1933); governor of Kentucky (1943–1947); born in Lawrence County, Ohio, and resided in Ashland, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, 1st ed. (Chicago, 1947), p. 1049.

Richard P. Dietzman (1883–1943), city attorney, Louisville, Kentucky (1922–1924); judge, Kentucky Court of Appeals (1924–1931), chief justice (1931–1935); born in Louisville and resided in Louisville. G. Clift, *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Louisville, Ky., 1936), p. 112.

PUBLIC ADDRESSES,
STATEMENTS, &
EXECUTIVE ORDERS

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EXECUTIVE ORDER:
THE STATE MERIT SYSTEM
Frankfort / December 9, 1959

WHEREAS, it is desirable, fitting and necessary for a civil service system to be based upon law; and

WHEREAS, the present "merit system" is without legal foundation and subject to the whim and caprice of arbitrary action; and

WHEREAS, civil service status, bedded in statutory authorization, is necessary for certain employees of the Commonwealth in order to qualify for federal funds; and

WHEREAS, the Kentucky Personnel Council has done valuable work in the field of screening and testing, the benefits of which should not be lost or neglected; and

WHEREAS, I am firmly committed to a merit system created, authorized and established by statute enacted by legislation, so as to give permanence, stability, legality, and continuity to a civil service program for employees of the Commonwealth; and

WHEREAS, a lawful and sound civil service program in certain departments has been jeopardized by the repeal of regulations lawfully promulgated, and substitution of regulations which appear to have been unlawfully promulgated;

NOW THEREFORE, in order to pave the way to a legal and enduring merit system, by virtue of the authority vested in me under the constitution and statutes, as chief executive officer of the state of Kentucky, I, Bert Combs, do hereby direct the continuation of merit system status for the Department of Economic Security, Department of Fish and Wildlife Resources, Department of Health, the Division of State Police and all departments of state government required or authorized by statute to give civil service status to employees thereof. The commissioner of economic security is directed to take immediate steps to adopt regulations, authorized by KRS 195.010, necessary to qualify for federal funds.

Having no basis in law or regulations legally enacted, all other alleged merit systems and civil service status for certain state personnel are declared inoperative and they are abolished.

The commissioner of economic security and the Personnel Council are directed to repeal all alleged regulations inconsistent with this executive order.

Recognizing the valuable testing program conducted by the Ken-

tucky Personnel Council and wishing to preserve for the benefit of the Commonwealth any benefits accruing from this program, the Personnel Council and the director thereof shall complete the testing program in job classifications already completed in part, suspending all others. The Kentucky Personnel Council and the director thereof may perform such testing functions as requested by the commissioner of the Department of Personnel. The commissioner of personnel shall perform his duties pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 18 of the Kentucky Revised Statutes.

The commissioner of economic security shall forthwith initiate steps carrying out the provisions of this executive order applicable to him and the Department of Economic Security.

Nothing in this order is intended to affect or jeopardize the receipt of federal funds by the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

This executive order shall become effective immediately.

On his first full day in office as governor, Bert Combs abolished that part of the state's merit system which Governor A. B. Chandler had extended by executive order to cover nearly all state employees. Governor Combs believed that the merit system should be enlarged but should be based on statutory not executive foundations.

SEPARATE JUDICIAL DISTRICT
FOR FRANKLIN COUNTY
Frankfort / January 4, 1960

I WANT to clarify the matter of a separate judicial district for Franklin County. Ever since I came to the Court of Appeals in 1951, there has been talk about the great need that Franklin County be a separate judicial district. On December 11, 1959, the Judicial Council of Kentucky, in a "Report of the Judicial Council to the 1960 General Assembly," recommended the creation of a new judicial district composed of Franklin County alone. The reason, as stated by the council, being that "there is an abnormal amount of important litigation and the volume of court business therein is such that when combined with the business of any other county, it is impossible for the judge

to transact the business and hear the cases without a long period of delay, inconvenience, and prejudice to the litigants.”

The Judicial Council is composed of Judge Morris Montgomery, Grant Knuckles, Robert L. Gullette, John M. Hennessy, Earl S. Wilson, Judge James B. Stephenson, Judge J. Paul Keith, Judge J. W. Hodges, Joe B. Orr, Senator George Overbey, Judge Thomas J. Hennessy.¹ The resolution of December 11, 1959, was introduced by Judge Keith, of Louisville, and seconded by Senator Overbey, of Murray. The vote of the council was unanimous.

When I was a member of the court, I served on the Judicial Council. As I recall, the average work load of a circuit judge in Kentucky was approximately three hundred cases per year. It is my information that there was pending as of July 1, 1959, on the docket of the Franklin Circuit Court 579 cases.

My friends have not requested that the administration sponsor a bill for a separate district in Franklin County, and I have no opinion on the question. To my knowledge, Astor Hogg² is not an applicant to be judge of any such district, and certainly I have not made any promise to him. It might be of interest — although certainly not important — that in the last Democratic primary Judge Hogg was supposedly aligned with the Chandler-Waterfield forces, and I supported his opponent, the present attorney general of Kentucky.

I have no political or personal obligation or desire to interfere in any manner whatsoever with legislation which might be introduced on this subject if any such is introduced. I have a high respect and warm personal regards for Judge Ardery.³ He has served as a circuit judge long and well. I was in college with his son Phil Ardery,⁴ and our relationship since that time has been cordial and pleasant, and I now regard him as a personal friend.

There is no basis, in truth or in fact, for any implication or innuendo that the present administration or anyone connected therewith, so far as I know, has any obligation or desire to sponsor or support any ripper legislation. My only desire will be that if legislation regarding a separate district for Franklin County is introduced, that it is considered and decided by the legislature on its merits and on that basis alone. Questions like this should be decided solely on the basis of efficiency and economy in government. Emotionalism, prejudice, or partisanship has no place in such matters.

Press release. When the Judicial Council of Kentucky proposed creation of a separate judicial district for Franklin County shortly after Combs's inaugura-

tion, charges were leveled that it was intended solely to remove Judge William B. Ardery from Frankfort because of his political support for former Governor Chandler.

1. Grant Knuckles (1919–), Board of Editors, *Kentucky Law Journal* (1941–1942); Board of Governors (1963–1970); Kentucky Law Enforcement Council (1971–); born in Beverly Hills, Kentucky, and resides in Pineville, Kentucky. *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, 106th ed. (Summit, N.J., 1974), 2: 1604.

Robert L. Gullette, member of Judicial Council (1959–1960); no vita available.

John M. Hennessy (1886–1971), clerk of Jefferson County Circuit Court (1951–1963); born in Louisville, Kentucky, and resided in Louisville. Telephone interview with William Hennessy, Louisville, June 14, 1977.

Earl S. Wilson (1906–), lawyer, law firm of Kincaid, Wilson, Schaeffer, and Hembree (1963–); chairman of the board, Kentucky Central Life Insurance Company, Lexington, Kentucky (1975–); formerly member of several law firms in Louisville, Kentucky; born in Jackson County, Kentucky, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. Telephone interview with Earl S. Wilson, June 14, 1977.

James Bennett Stephenson (1916–), circuit judge, Division 1, Thirty-fifth Judicial District, Pike County (1957–1973); justice, Kentucky Court of Appeals, Frankfort (1973–1975); justice, Supreme Court of Kentucky (1975–); born in Greenup, Kentucky, and resides in Pikeville, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3113.

J. Paul Keith (1911–), circuit judge for Kentucky Thirtieth District, Jefferson County (1958–1976); resident of Louisville, Kentucky. Telephone interview with Division of Judicial Retirement, Frankfort, Kentucky, June 14, 1977.

J. W. Hodges (1906–1967), circuit judge for Kentucky Ninth District, Elizabethtown (1954–1967); resided in Elizabethtown. Telephone interview with Division of Judicial Retirement, Frankfort, Kentucky, June 14, 1977.

Joe B. Orr (1914–), attorney, law firm of Bell, Orr, Ayers, and Moore, P.S.C., Bowling Green, Kentucky; born in Allensville, Kentucky, and resides in Bowling Green. *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory*, 2: 1604B.

George Edward Overbey (1913–), county attorney of Calloway County (1943); state senator (1948–1952, 1956–1964); born in Murray, Kentucky, and resides in Murray. Hambleton Tapp, ed., *Kentucky Lives: The Blue Grass State Who's Who* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1966), pp. 399-400.

Thomas J. Hennessy (1917–1968), circuit judge for Kentucky Sixth District, Owensboro (1958–1968); resided in Owensboro. Telephone interview with Division of Judicial Retirement, Frankfort, Kentucky, June 14, 1977.

2. Astor Hogg (1901–1971), special assistant to attorney general of United States (1934–1939); commonwealth attorney, Harlan-Bell County Judicial District (1942–1944); circuit judge, Twenty-fifth Judicial District (1951–1960); born in Harlan, Kentucky, and resided in Frankfort, Kentucky. *Who's Who in*

Kentucky (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1955), p. 162. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 17, 1976.

3. William B. Ardery (1887–1967), representative to General Assembly from Bourbon County (1923–1931); commonwealth attorney, Fiscal Court of Kentucky, Fourteenth Judicial District (1931–1935); Kentucky circuit judge (1936–1967); born in Paris, Kentucky, and resided in Paris. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 40. Larry Brannon, Paris, Kentucky, to editor, June 16, 1976.

4. Philip Pendleton Ardery (1914–), lawyer, born in Lexington, Kentucky, and resides in Louisville, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1976–1977*, 39th ed. (Chicago, 1976), p. 91.

VETERANS' BONUS AND SALES TAX

Frankfort / January 27, 1960

THE people of Kentucky on November 3, 1959, directed the General Assembly to pay the war veterans of Kentucky a bonus. They also voted for a retail sales tax to pay for the bonus. That is the reason I have recommended to you the enactment of a bonus bill and the required tax to finance it. I had no choice.

Some people have criticized this bill because it will raise more money than it may take to pay the bonus. They would have us believe that the people of Kentucky are willing to shoulder a sales tax for paying war veterans for past services, but are not willing to pay a sales tax to relieve the present plight of some of our citizens or to insure the future of our children and our state. I don't believe that, and I don't think you do either.

The veterans' bonus tax will raise additional money. But it will not go to place or keep sleepers on the payroll; it will not go to enrich individuals under lush contracts at the expense of the treasury.

It will go to raise teachers' salaries and otherwise improve education. It will go to raise payments to needy children, old folks, and the blind. It will go for indigent medical care. It will go to develop agriculture, improve conservation practices, and to attract new and expanded industries to Kentucky. It will be spent wisely and frugally to improve our state and its citizens.

I realize that I am repeating things I have said before, but I believe

it is important that we consider this revenue measure in the context of the purposes that it will serve.

The "Veterans' Bonus Sales and Use Tax" bill does two principal things: 1) It decreases income taxes 40 percent by increasing the amount of income that is exempt and by abolishing the 1956 surtax. 2) It levies a retail sales and use tax in place of the selected sales and gross receipts already in the law.

I might point out that we already have sales taxes on gasoline, cigarettes, whiskey, beer, gas, water, electricity, telephone services, and telegrams. Under this bill you won't pay any more taxes than you are now paying on gasoline, cigarettes, gas, water, electricity, telephone services, and telegrams.

There are no special exemptions in this bill. However, gasoline (which is already taxed at seven cents per gallon and no state levies a higher rate) and new motor vehicles (already subject to 3 percent usage tax) are not subjected to any additional levies.

No exemptions are specifically provided for in the bill because of several reasons: 1) The bonus referendum permits no exemptions other than food, medicine, and clothing. I have been advised that food, medicine, and clothing probably have to be all taxed or all exempted; that, if you exempt groceries, you have to exempt restaurant meals. 2) Since food and medicines are not exempt, there is no merit for any other specific exemptions. We can't in good conscience tax food and medicines and allow a number of specific exemptions that various groups are interested in. Nor can we allow a number of special exemptions and also afford to abolish the income surtax. 3) The tax experts have advised me that the more exemptions you have the more difficult it is for the retailer to account for, and the department to enforce, the tax. And difficulty in enforcement adds up to more evasion and less revenue, thereby penalizing the honest taxpayer and rewarding the neglectful taxpayer. It also would make enforcement of our use tax a problem along Kentucky's borders.

It is the express understanding of the Department of Revenue and myself that raw materials for manufacture and feed, seed, and fertilizer for farming are not taxable by reason of the meaning of "retail sale." I hope you will accept this meaning and agree with us that "retail sale" is one for final use and consumption; that the manufacturer and the farmer are not required to pay any tax on the materials that go into the products they market.

This bill contains an emergency clause and will become a law upon its passage by you and approval by me. Although the taxes will not be levied until July 1, the Revenue Department will immediately

commence the preparation of the regulations to cover the hundreds of different situations that will be involved under this bill. I believe that the more significant regulations will be adopted prior to your adjournment.

I want the retailers along the borders of Kentucky to know that this bill contains every possible legal provision we could find, or think of, to prevent people from bringing tax-free purchases made in other states to Kentucky. This includes a reciprocity provision for a tax credit similar to that contained in Tennessee's sales and use tax law. I have urged the governor of Ohio and the governor of West Virginia¹ to obtain passage of similar reciprocity statutes in their respective states. The Revenue Department has already started gathering information that will enable us to enforce the use-tax law beginning July 1. We are not going to allow our border retailers to suffer any competitive disadvantage because of our failure to enforce the use tax. It will be enforced.

In closing, let me remind you of two things. First, a substantial part of this tax will be paid by people traveling through Kentucky, by tourists, by business expense accounts, by Ohio visitors dining in northern Kentucky, by Indiana neighbors visiting Louisville, by retail stores located at Fort Knox and Fort Campbell, and by our Derby visitors. And [second] the biggest part of the tax received will be paid to persons (schoolteachers) who will spend it in Kentucky.

A favorable referendum vote in the November 1959 election authorized the General Assembly to pay a bonus to Kentucky war veterans and to enact a sales tax to finance the venture. Building upon that authority, Combs requested that a 3 percent sales tax be levied despite the fact this would provide more money than necessary to pay the bonus. Critics suggested that the proposal was an unjustified expansion of the referendum's meaning. This explanation indicates how Governor Combs answered his critics not only in 1960 but frequently thereafter.

1. Michael Vincent DiSalle (1908–), governor of Ohio (1958–1963); born in New York City, and resident of Washington, D.C. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), pp. 850-51.

Cecil H. Underwood (1922–), governor of West Virginia (1957–1961); born in Joseph's Mill, West Virginia, and resident of Wheeling, West Virginia. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3298.

USE OF STATE-OWNED AUTOMOBILES

Frankfort / February 9, 1960

REGULATION of the use of state-owned automobiles has long posed a problem for state government, in Kentucky and elsewhere. The problem has been how to confine their use to strictly state business without impairing the efficiency of state officers and employees using such vehicles.

I recognize that despite the best of controls, it is difficult to prevent abuse. The best we can do is to take every precaution possible.

I am creating a Board of Transportation, composed of the commissioner of public safety, the commissioner of economic security, and the commissioner of highways. This board will have authority to consider applications for the use of state-owned vehicles by state personnel, to recommend approval or disapproval, to investigate the use of such vehicles, and to rescind approval in cases of abuse.

Consistent with his stated objectives while campaigning for the governorship, Combs from the beginning sought elimination of unnecessary waste. The misuse of state-owned automobiles was commonly thought to be one of the most glaring examples of such waste.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE CONFERENCE

Problem Areas in Kentucky Agriculture

Lexington / February 16, 1960

WE can invite disaster by neglecting the agricultural sector of our economy. The parity ratio for farmers now stands at seventy-seven. This is even six points lower than it was a year ago and places it near the 1939 level.

While the farmer's income has gone down, consumer prices have gone up. For illustration, it takes 12.41 cents now to buy what 10 cents would buy in the 1947-1949 period. Yet, the farmer's share of

the food dollar has declined to 39 cents, a drop of 18 cents from 1949. In 1947 the farmer got 2.7 cents for the wheat in a pound loaf of bread, and the consumer paid 13.5 cents for it. In 1958 the farmer got 2.4 cents, which is 10 percent less, while the consumer paid 19.3 cents, or 50 percent more.

Prices to farmers went down another 1 percent this past December and are 7 percent below what they were a year ago. But, believe it or not, prices paid by farmers are up 1 percent above a year ago. In the last quarter of this year, hogs averaged twelve dollars per hundred, the lowest price in many years. As a result of all this, we have had more people leave the farm in the last six years than in all the rest of the time since the turn of the century.

The situation is desperate but not hopeless. With proper study and preparation, with an adequate research program, and with courage and vision and energy, we can, with this decade, go forward with an agricultural program comparable to the progress we are making in other fields. This administration is launching a great program of industrial expansion and development. Lieutenant Governor Wyatt is giving that program his personal attention. I intend to give much of my attention to agricultural expansion and development. As we build in other fields, we must ever be conscious that one-third of our people in Kentucky live on the farm. Another one-third of our people make their living in occupations directly related to agriculture.

It is encouraging that this group places emphasis on study, planning, and cooperation. I note, too, that you will have a very able panel to discuss "significant changes and problem areas in Kentucky agriculture." There is a great need to transmit the knowledge of our best agricultural minds into usable and useful information for the people of Kentucky.

The state budget for the next biennium makes substantial provision for a progressive agricultural program. I am recommending to the legislature that a total of \$2,285,400 be appropriated for agricultural experiment work at the University of Kentucky. This represents an increase of \$626,400 over the last biennium — a 37.7 percent increase. I am recommending that \$513,145 be spent on the conservation of our soil and water resources, \$200,000 of this appropriation to be earmarked for a special equipment revolving fund. This \$513,145 represents an increase over the last biennium of \$303,745.

We are making provision for a great forestry program, including the establishment of tree nurseries to provide us with seedlings for reforestation.

I have recommended that \$3,540,000 be appropriated for the state

Department of Agriculture. This represents an increase of \$447,600 over the last biennium. This will represent by far the greatest expenditure on agriculture by the state in Kentucky's history.

In addition to improving the situation of Kentucky farmers, our other programs include: 1) a constitutional convention for a limited revision of our constitution; 2) an airtight, workable merit system for every department of state government; 3) improvement in our election laws, including voting machines in every precinct in the state; 4) a conflict of interest law which will make it illegal for a person with an official position in state government to use the influence of his position in order to enrich himself at the expense of the taxpayer; 5) a broader tax base which will provide for a more equitable distribution of the tax burden and at the same time produce more revenue to pay for the things which our people do desperately need; 6) an adequate educational program which will keep our teachers in Kentucky and provide training for our children comparable to that in other states; 7) a new and expanded industrial program to provide more jobs and a better standard of living for Kentucky people; 8) a progressive, nonpolitical highway program to build modern highways; 9) an expanded, forward-looking park program which will bring tourists into our state; and 10) a great health program, including proper attention to mental health, medical care for those of our people who cannot pay for it, and more emphasis on an overall public health program.

During the decade which has just closed, we made definite progress in Kentucky. We saw the beginning of a great park program, the commencement of a good highway program, and substantial improvement in the structure of public education. We saw the courage and vision of one governor justified by the success of a toll road and a great exposition center for agriculture in Louisville. We saw the development of one of the finest mental health programs in the country and the establishment of a great medical school here in Lexington.

We are now standing on the threshold of the decisive sixties. We hold the future in our hands. We must either go forward or slip backward. There is no such thing as standing still in government. We are living in the age of the missile. Man has proved to himself that the only limitation on the imagination, the grasp of the accomplishments of the human mind, is man's own timidity. It is clear, though, that we cannot go forward in this age of the missile with horse-and-buggy and jolt-wagon methods.

It is my hope and determination that during the next four years we shall draw the blueprint and make a bold, progressive beginning on

a program which will keep our people in the front ranks in the march of this country toward progress. It is my hope and desire that with the cooperation of all our people, we shall make the decisive decade a landmark in the history of Kentucky.

Governor Combs often stressed the importance of modernizing Kentucky to meet the demands of an industrial age, but he was not unmindful of the prominent role agriculture played and would continue to play in the Commonwealth.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
AUTHORIZING PAYMENT
OF THE VETERANS' BONUS
Frankfort / February 25, 1960

WHEREAS, the majority of the people of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, voting in the general election on November 3, 1959, were clearly in favor of financing and paying a bonus to Kentucky veterans of the Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean Conflict; and

WHEREAS, the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, during the 1960 regular session, did enact a law (House Bill 85) authorizing the financing and payment of a bonus to Kentucky veterans serving in the Spanish American War, World War I, World War II, and the Korean Conflict; and

WHEREAS, the law places the responsibility for paying said bonus within the Department of Military Affairs and designated the adjutant general as the administrator, and further provides that the bonus be paid as quickly and as free from administrative delay and expense as may be consistent with provident stewardship of public monies of the Commonwealth;

NOW, THEREFORE, I hereby direct that the administrator, Major General Arthur Y. Lloyd,¹ activate the Veterans Division of the Department of Military Affairs, as provided under KRS 36.010, staff the division, and do all things thereunto pertaining that are considered

necessary for full compliance with the intent of the Kentucky veterans' bonus law. I further direct all agencies and departments of state government to work in complete harmony with the administrator for the prompt and efficient payment of the Kentucky veterans' bonus.

1. Arthur Young Lloyd (1908–), director, public assistance, Kentucky Department of Welfare (1936–1942); commissioner, Department of Welfare of Kentucky (1947–1948); director, Legislative Research Commission (1948–1956); adjutant general of Kentucky (1959–1963); director, Kentucky Civil Defense (1959–1968); administrator, Kentucky Veterans Bonus (1960–1967); lecturer, Eastern Kentucky University Political Science Department (1973–); born in Lisman, Kentucky, and resident of Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3315.

ROAD FUND TAX

Frankfort / March 7, 1960

TONIGHT there is being introduced in the House of Representatives two bills that complete the administration's road-fund tax program. The provisions of these two bills, together with the road-fund tax provisions contained in House Bill 75, should increase road-fund tax revenues by a total of \$9,210,000 for the biennial period.

If no changes had been made or proposed in respect to road-fund taxes, the road-fund tax estimates for the two-year period would have been as follows: 1960–1961 — \$87,000,000; 1961–1962 — \$91,000,000.

As a result of the revisions contained in House Bill 75 and those proposed in the two bills to be submitted tonight, the road-fund tax estimate is revised as follows: 1960–1961 — \$91,110,000; 1961–1962 — \$96,100,000.

These increased revenues are attributable to the following changes contained in House Bill 75 and the two proposed bills: 1) repeal of exemptions of for-hire motor carriers from the motor vehicle usage tax; 2) repeal of the "urban limits" exemption of both private and for-hire motor carriers from the added weight fees; 3) application of the sales tax to the cash difference with respect to sales of used trucks

and used cars; 4) increase in added-weight fee applicable to present maximum weight bracket for trucks; and 5) establishment of an additional weight bracket for trucks having gross weights from 59,640 to 73,280 pounds. The total registration and weight fees for this bracket will be \$750.

It is also proposed that the commissioner of highways be given the authority to increase the maximum vehicle weight limits to 73,280 pounds. This maximum weight limit will be restricted to the interstate highways system and is within the limits for interstate highways as established by Congress. No change is made with respect to the maximum axle load limits.

Road-block surveys of truck registration and weight-fees compliance conducted by the Department of Revenue and the Department of Motor Transportation during the preceding administration have indicated that the present registration system consisting of sixteen different classes of gross weight are most difficult to enforce. It was my hope that I could present to the General Assembly a revised truck-registration system. However, time did not permit the completion of the study that must necessarily precede any substantial change in the existing registration system. And since the Department of Revenue has advised me that our truck-registration fees are well in line with those of neighboring states, I have deferred consideration of this subject. As a result of this decision, I have directed the Department of Revenue and the Department of Motor Transportation to continue their joint consideration of our motor-vehicle registration system with a view of recommending substantial changes to the legislature at a later date.

One of the proposed bills also gives a measure of tax relief to our city bus systems in providing for a refund of two cents of each seven cents of motor fuels tax paid with respect to motor fuels used in city bus operations.

Governor Combs believed deeply in the importance to the progress of Kentucky of significant road and highway improvements. This is an example of his efforts to promote this cause in line with sound fiscal support.

MODIFICATION OF REVENUE LAWS

Frankfort / March 8, 1960

I HAVE today presented to the General Assembly a proposed revenue and taxation bill containing some eighty typed pages. Although this bill contains several important provisions, its bulk is largely attributable to the necessity of reenacting at length various statutes that are subject to only minor revisions.

The additional revenues provided for in this bill will enable us to finance the Industrial Development Authority and the Research Center Plant at the University of Kentucky. It will also provide sufficient revenue for helping Children's Hospital in Louisville solve its immediate financial crisis. Any surplus will be used for capital construction, including improvements of our parks.

Probably the most important provision of this bill is the proposed revision in the statutes taxing franchise properties. This was done in order to help offset the future effects upon local property tax revenues that would otherwise have resulted from the recent Court of Appeals' decision that upset the Department of Revenue's formula for taxing franchise properties.¹

Another provision of the bill that will be of great public interest is the proposal to reduce the rate of taxation on bank deposits from ten cents per one hundred dollars deposited to one cent. This reduction will extend to all depositors and should further improve Kentucky's tax climate insofar as it affects our prospects for attracting new industry.

In order to offset the revenue loss from this reduction, the bill proposes to increase the tax rate on capital stock of building and loan associations from ten cents per one hundred dollars of capital stock to twenty-five cents. I believe this increase is justified, since building and loan associations have greatly improved their financial conditions and this phase of financing is now big business. Despite the proposed increase, the building and loan rate will remain substantially below the total bank shares rate of \$1.30 per one hundred dollars' valuation.

The Department of Revenue, by regulation, has recently abolished the use of tax stamps, crowns, and lids with respect to alcoholic beverage containers. However, under the present law, the distilled spirits' wholesalers and the brewers are still receiving a 3 percent commission for collecting these consumption taxes. The proposed

bill will abolish the discount allowances as well as the statutory authority for using stamps, crowns, and lids.

At the 1954 regular session of the General Assembly, there was adopted a "pay-as-you-go" income tax collection system with respect to individual taxpayers, both wage earners and the self-employed. In the same bill, the then-existing deferred installment payment provisions applicable to corporations were repealed and they were required to pay their Kentucky income tax within three and one-half months following the close of their taxable year. The proposed bill would subject corporations to the "pay-as-you-go" system applicable to individual taxpayers. This involves no increase in the rate of corporation income taxes. The change will affect a relatively small number of corporations, since provision has been made to exempt any corporation whose estimated Kentucky income tax liability is less than five thousand dollars.

The bill also contains a number of provisions relating to property taxes that generally are technical in nature and designed to improve assessment and collection procedures. They involve no new or increased taxes.

In summary, the proposed bill will affect general fund revenues as follows: 1) Lowering of bank deposit tax rate from ten cents per one hundred dollars to one cent per one hundred dollars will cause a revenue loss of approximately \$1.3 million for each year of the biennium. 2) Increasing the building and loan capital stock tax from ten cents per one hundred dollars to twenty-five cents per one hundred dollars will account for additional revenue in the amount of \$1,235,000 for 1960-1961 and \$1,125,000 for 1961-1962. 3) The adoption of a corporate "pay-as-you-go" income tax plan similar to that in effect for individual taxpayers will result in nonrecurring increases of \$4,060,000 for 1960-1961 and \$3,220,000 for 1961-1962. 4) The repeal of the discount allowance to distilled spirits and wine wholesalers and beer manufacturers will produce an additional \$215,000 for each year of the biennium and \$50,000 during the 1959-1960 fiscal year. In summary, the proposed bill results in an increase of \$4,210,000 for 1960-1961 and \$3,260,000 for 1961-1962.

1. In February 1960 the Kentucky Court of Appeals rejected Commissioner of Revenue James E. Lockett's appeal to overturn the Franklin Circuit Court decision. The Department of Revenue customarily had taxed property at less than its fair cash value, approximately 55 percent, but relied upon a more complicated formula to assess capital stock of foreign corporations. The

Court of Appeals upheld the circuit court decision which required equitable taxing formulas for all properties. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 9, 1960. *Luckett v. Tennessee Gas Transmission Company*, 331 Southwestern 2nd 879 (February 5, 1960). See also *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1960*, Chapter 186 (H.B. 505), pp. 859-914.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY Winchester / March 23, 1960

ALL of us can be proud of the 1960 General Assembly which completed its work this past Friday. In the opinion of most observers, it was the hardest-working and lightest-drinking legislature in Kentucky in many years.

Senator Alvin Kidwell¹ of Sparta, president pro tem of the senate — a man who has served continuously in that body for eighteen years — made the very candid remark that he had never worked so hard in any previous session. He is, as most of you know, one of the most dedicated and modest members of the General Assembly and not prone to exaggeration or overstatement. The *Louisville Times* has described this last legislature as "the most productive Kentucky Legislature in the twentieth century."

A tremendous program was undertaken by the legislature, and, frankly, I do not believe the full effect of this program will be known or felt for many years. The fruit of hard labor, noticeable after the past sixty legislative days, will be evident to the people of Kentucky in all sections as they gaze upon new highways, new schools, new industries, and new employment opportunities for the residents of this state. Some of you may say that the program is too progressive, too liberal, or that we are trying to move too rapidly.

I say to you, however, that we are only attempting to do some of the things which have needed to be done for these many years. This legislature has put into effect some of those things which the people have wanted and expected. The legislature, in enacting the program, was trying to do the job which it felt the people wanted done to lay the groundwork for the progress which the people felt Kentucky needed.

Kentucky no longer can afford to rest its case on its rich tradition. I think we already have done a pretty good job of selling the nation on these traditions — our southern hospitality, the beauty of our blue-grass section and our mountains, the superiority of our racehorses, the excellence of our whiskey, and our dominant position in the production of burley tobacco.

All these attractions have served to advertise Kentucky wonderfully. But more than good advertising and international fame is needed to sustain us, to help us achieve prosperity and well-being, the good schools, good highways, and other advantages which our people so well deserve.

Our children deserve the opportunity to live in a state which has not only the atmosphere of romance, tradition, and hospitality, but a state which has tackled some of the problems that have to be dealt with in achieving progress.

From a long-range standpoint, perhaps the most important single piece of legislation enacted was House Bill 62. This is the proposal calling for a referendum on the necessity and expediency of holding a constitutional convention for the purpose of a limited revision of our obsolete and perhaps archaic constitution. As you know, a special session of the 1958 General Assembly initiated this and the 1960 General Assembly took the second step for a referendum.

Without going into all the subjects proposed for study, let me mention two or three which need critical attention leading to necessary revision compatible with the modern-day mode of living.

First, the judicial department and courts need revision. In the furtherance of justice and speedy trials, our system of courts should be overhauled to provide for more avenues of appeal and to relieve the terrific workload of our present Court of Appeals; and secondly, the mode of revision or amendment of the constitution should be reviewed.

We all know that only two amendments can be on the ballot at any one time, and it is very difficult to change certain sections of the constitution, as evidenced by past experiences.

Or, again, I could mention the salary limitation for public officers, noticing the present limitations on professors at the university and the colleges, making it difficult, if not impossible, to secure teachers in the medical and engineering, and other, schools.

Finally, I might note that the legislative department of state government is one of the subjects which can be studied at a constitutional convention. There have been no changes to speak of since 1891, and the experience of the past seventy years has made evident

the needed improvements in this body's time of meeting, duties, and responsibilities.

Educationwise, this legislature did more than any previous one. Over the biennium, \$318 million is to be invested in education and its many facets, including substantial salary raises for teachers. There is an increase of \$109 million in this field alone.

The citizens of Clark County will benefit along with the residents of other sections of the state. For example, let us look at how you will benefit from the increased appropriations for education. Under the increased grants for the minimum foundation program, Winchester and Clark County, in the fiscal year beginning July 1, will receive a total of \$523,000 in state aid. This is an increase of \$193,021 over what you received in the current fiscal year.

The citizens of this area will benefit immeasurably from the 200-mile eastern Kentucky highway, which will be built at a cost of nearly \$80 million. As you perhaps know, the most important stretch will be a four-lane turnpike connecting with Interstate Highway 64 at Winchester and extending forty-three miles to Campton. At Campton the highway will fork off into modern two-lane highways; one running to Pikeville and the other to Whitesburg.

This new highway will connect the Bluegrass with the interior of eastern Kentucky and with the states east of our border. The number of motorists traveling in and out of your section will be increased greatly. Traffic engineers estimate that traffic on the Winchester-Pikeville road will increase 214 percent during the first year of the new highway's operation. Incidentally, we hope to begin construction on the Winchester-Campton turnpike this summer.

Let me mention briefly the enactment of the merit system for state employees. People think this is, primarily, job protection for state workers. It is this, but is it much more, in that it represents a substantial saving of tax dollars in reducing the costly turnover of personnel — noticeable in the past when administrations changed. The cost of training new people is an expensive one, and the experience discarded when competent, trained employees are discharged is a needless waste of governmental talent.

The new strip-mine act is a very important cog in our efforts to conserve natural resources and to preserve the beauty of our state.

We are launching the greatest industrial development program in our Commonwealth's history. Two public agencies have been set up to provide private and public funds for the construction of new plants and the expansion of existing plants.

The bonus, approved by the voters this past November, made

mandatory a sales tax. As a result of the 3 percent sales tax enacted by the legislature, approximately \$62 million will be raised yearly to finance the program of improvement for our state. At the same time, the legislature provided for the greatest income tax reduction in Kentucky's history. Personal income taxes were reduced by 40 percent and the surtax was removed completely. It is evident that tax relief of a very substantial nature was provided for by this past General Assembly.

We are entering the sixties with a program which Kentucky has needed for the past half-century. With this program our state can leave her shameful place at the bottom of the ladder and can begin the rapid ascent to our rightful place in these United States.

1. Alvin Kidwell (1893–1974), state senator (1941–1965); president pro tem of the state senate (1960); born in Bedford, Kentucky, and resided in Sparta, Kentucky. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 25, 1976.

CANCELLATION OF TRUCK TRANSACTION Frankfort / April 19, 1960

I AM directing cancellation of the state's contract with the Louisville Equipment Rental Company for the following reasons:

First, the air of mystery and secrecy surrounding the location, origin, and organization of the Louisville Equipment Rental Company. The state must know with whom it contracts.

Second, the vagueness surrounding the ownership of the trucks. It is necessary and desirable that the business of the state be conducted in the light of full publicity and without any atmosphere of secrecy or mystery. The people are entitled not only to get value received for every dollar spent, but are entitled to know all the details in order that they can assure themselves that they are getting value received.

Third, at least one truck was delivered in a wholly unacceptable condition and others with more than minor defects. While recondi-

tioning and repairs were offered by the seller, the state should not be required to do business in this fashion.

Fourth, the chattel mortgage executed by the equipment company after the contract was signed and without the permission of the Finance Department could have seriously impaired the state's exercise of the purchase option in the contract.

The attorney general has advised me that there is grave doubt whether the seller can transfer to the state good legal title to the trucks.

I am informed that there is need in the Highway Department for this type of equipment and I am convinced that the department would have rejected equipment not in first-class condition.

The state has received some unfortunate publicity in regard to this transaction, but it is my hope that some benefits also will accrue from this experience. This case points up the necessity for stricter requirements in regard to identity, solvency, and reliability of those who would do business with the state. It is important that we know fully with whom we are dealing so that we can be satisfied that all persons involved are capable of executing the contract to complete satisfaction.

Accordingly, on contracts involving substantial sums of money, I am directing the Department of Finance and the Department of Highways to require persons submitting bids under trade names or corporate names, with whom these departments are unfamiliar, to file a statement showing identity of the persons submitting the bid. I am also directing these departments to convince themselves of the reliability of bidders before an award is made.

I have informed Mr. Robert E. Grubbs¹ of my decision in this matter and he has agreed to a cancellation of the contract.

I want to emphasize that no money has been paid by the state under this contract and no equipment has been formally accepted.

See pp. 273-79 for further details.

1. Robert E. Grubbs (1903-), attorney for the Louisville Equipment Rental Company; born in Louisville, Kentucky, and resident of Louisville. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE
Federal Aid to Appalachia
Glacier National Park, Montana / June 28, 1960

KENTUCKIANS and Kentucky delegations in Congress have supported the theory and practice of foreign aid since it was first enunciated by the great George Marshall¹ and put into effect under President Truman. It makes sense, I think, to strengthen the economics of our allies, so that they may stand with us against the threat of communist aggression. It makes sense to build their economies so that they may buy from us and sell to us, developing in the process a strong free-world economy. It makes sense to help the neutral nations of the world become self-sufficient, able to stand against communist intrigue, able to buy the produce of America's fields and factories.

But if it makes sense to rebuild western Europe and uncommitted nations, surely it makes equally good sense to rebuild the underdeveloped areas of our own country, so that these people who are loyal Americans can also become economic factors in our way of life. If it makes sense to rebuild West Germany and France so that they may produce and trade with us, surely it makes sense to rebuild eastern Kentucky so that these Americans can also become producers and consumers of the American bounty.

One-fourth of Kentucky — that being the eastern section of the state — lies in the so-called Appalachian states. In that area there is an acute shortage of food and shelter. In the period between 1950 and 1960, 250,000 people left the thirty-two-county area of Kentucky. In the ten-state Appalachian area, over one million people have left during the same period. In this ten-state area the outmigration has been greater than in any other area of the country.

In the thirty-two-county depressed area of Kentucky, coal production has dropped one-third during the ten-year period. In the same area, 75 to 80 percent of the housing has become substandard. In the ten-state area, 16 percent of the housing is substandard. In the ten-state area, over 10 percent of the people are unemployed. In the thirty-two-county area of eastern Kentucky, 20 percent of the people are unemployed and many others are underemployed. In the thirty-two-county area, there is only one doctor per 2,000 to 3,000 people, and in certain places it ranges up to one doctor for 10,000 people.

In the manufacturing belt roughly cornered by Boston and New York and Chicago, over half of the nation's population is located.

This area has the biggest immigration. The people leaving the ten-state Appalachian area go largely to the "manufacturing belt." This leads to urban renewal difficulties and similar problems. Therefore, the problem is not local in nature but, on the contrary, is, and should be, a concern to the nation as a whole.

The problem is getting worse instead of better. Federal aid is needed for flood control, for highways, for soil conservation, and for public buildings and other facilities. These problems have been brought about mainly by automation in the two industries on which the regions have historically depended — coal mining and farming. Today in Kentucky, we have auger and strip mines in which production averages 100 tons per man per day. Yet Kentucky's coal economy was based on a production figure of four tons per man per day. The result, of course, is massive unemployment in mining communities. Small farmers have been obliged to mechanize in order to survive, and as a result, there are no longer the traditional jobs for farmhands and for farm sons. Kentucky has tried to help by building roads, parks, school buildings, and by trying to bring diversified industry into the area. But the problem is too great for us alone.

I intend no criticism of the sincere men who have framed our depressed areas legislation when I say that much of it has failed to recognize the basic problems that exist in the Appalachian regions. The main trouble with depressed areas legislation to date is that it has tried to apply to different areas having no common basis of distress. Trying to make one bill cover conditions in Nashua, New Hampshire, and eastern Kentucky is like trying to mix a salve that will kill a dog's fleas and cure his distemper at the same time.

Acutely aware of economic distress in his native eastern Kentucky, Combs pressed from the beginning for federal assistance. At his first governors' conference, he joined with a minority of other state executives in this plea for aid to Appalachia.

1. George Cattlet Marshall (1880–1959), chief of staff with rank of general (1939–1945); United States secretary of state (1947–1949); United States secretary of defense (1950–1951); born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and resided in Leesburg, Virginia. *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago, 1960), 3: 555.

MAYO STATE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT

Paintsville / July 28, 1960

WE are here today to honor these graduates of Mayo Vocational School, but our presence here also signifies something deeper. It signifies our intention to furnish new industry shortly to be coming into your area with the trained manpower it needs. And, make no mistake, ladies and gentlemen, eastern Kentucky is to get more industry under our plans for a brighter day in Kentucky and the program of economic expansion which will bring that day about.

I hope you graduates realize what a highly regarded school you are graduated from. Mayo's record for placing its graduates is 98 percent. In other words, those who complete their training here go to work in their fields shortly after graduation.

Mr. Ramey¹ and others here have found that this startling percentage is brought about largely by the performance record of others who have preceded you here. They go out to work, and their employers ask them to "Send us more Mayo graduates." That, I hope you realize, is strong testimony to the high caliber training you receive here. You graduates have been trained in everything from communications to cosmetology, which, incidentally, gives prospective industrialists a pretty broad field of trained manpower to select from.

Last month Wilson Wyatt was here and told the people of the Big Sandy Valley of the actual progress being made toward bringing in new industry. He spoke of the Kentucky Power Company's \$39 million steam generating plant near Louisa, the Pittsburgh Coke and Chemical Company's \$4 million chemical plant near Catlettsburg, the Ashland Oil Company's \$5 million chemical plant also near Catlettsburg, the Silica Corporation of America's \$2.5 million silica mining and processing plant near Elkhorn City, and Southern Bell Telephone's new dial system installation in Paintsville.

Let me remind you, ladies and gentlemen, these employers just didn't settle in this area arbitrarily. They came here through efforts of men like Harry LaViers, a Paintsville member of the Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission, and James Cox, president of your Chamber of Commerce here in Paintsville.²

We're all working together in the industrial expansion of Kentucky — not just eastern Kentucky. One of the biggest problems facing the

present state government when it took office last December 8 was the lack of jobs for Kentuckians.

During the decade 1950 to 1960 Kentucky's population went up but 3 percent, while the average state's population was rising 14 percent, and some states increased by as much as 50 percent. Some counties in Kentucky actually lost population during the ten years of expansion in the country. Bell County lost half its population during this decade of expansion.

The decline was due to one simple fact — there were not enough jobs to employ Kentuckians in Kentucky. I don't think I need to go into the ills of the coal business, but to say that we're doing what we can to correct that situation too. Meanwhile we're encouraging new industry — all kinds of industry — to come into Kentucky.

This was the challenge facing us on December 8. And this was the situation we set about to correct. Our program of economic development was tailored to the situation with aggressive leadership and adequately financed by the new revenue program, of which the sales tax is the base.

As I've mentioned, the program is aggressive and broad and is not content just to sit around and wait for industry to come to us. Instead our industrial team goes out and brings the industry into Kentucky.

In the meantime we've laid out highway, flood-control, and airport programs to make many areas of Kentucky eligible for consideration as industrial sites. In many cases these programs have actually been accomplished, or are in the final state of development. The state has assisted thirteen communities to develop airports, with three of the airport dedications taking place in the month of June alone.

Final legal arrangements have been made for the eastern Kentucky highways system, and the federal government has recommended four flood-control projects on tributaries of the Kentucky River in eastern Kentucky. The easternmost project would be Carr Fork in Knott County, another would be in Walkers Creek in Lee, Wolfe, and Breathitt counties, a third would be the Red River project in Powell, Wolfe, and Menifee counties, and the fourth would be on the Red River at the Clark-Estill County line.

Agriculture and conservation too are taking an important position in the economic development of our state. Besides the traditional money crop, tobacco, the improvements seem mostly to be in the area of livestock raising. And coupled with this is the small watershed program of the Department of Conservation which will control rain runoff which has proved so damaging this season.

Conservation also is taking a renewed interest in forests and wood

usage. Forest fire protection is being extended to forty additional counties in the next two years, and the new seedling nursery in Morgan County will boost Kentucky's crop of seedling trees to forty million a year by 1962. Meanwhile, the Division of Wood Utilization is busy urging wood-using industries to locate in Kentucky.

I hope I've been able to sketch a picture of the plans we have for Kentucky and the opportunities you will have to join us in our plans with your new training. Certainly it's only a sketch. The many phases of our activities for a better day in Kentucky cover every conceivable business, profession, and trade.

Though a consistent advocate of federal assistance to distressed areas, Combs promoted the need for as much state and local responsibility as possible.

1. George L. Ramey, Sr. (1905–), director, Mayo Vocational School until retirement in 1973; born in East Point, Kentucky, and resides in East Point. Telephone interview with George L. Ramey, Jr., Paintsville, Kentucky, June 2, 1977.

2. Harry LaViers (1900–), member of the Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission; engineer, general manager, vice-president, South East Coal Company. *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1955), p. 195.

James David Cox (1932–), member, Paintsville City Council (1953–1963); member, advisory board of Kentucky Board of Aeronautics (1959–1963); president, Paintsville Chamber of Commerce (1960); born in Paintsville, Kentucky, and resides in Paintsville. Telephone interview, June 23, 1977.

ROTARY CLUB LUNCHEON: CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION Danville / July 29, 1960

GENTLEMEN, it's real good to be here with you today. I enjoyed my lunch and I thank you for inviting me. When I'm in the Capitol, you know, I have to pay for my lunch. A lot of people think the governor can just walk through the line and eat whatever he wants for free. That's what I thought until I tried it. Why you'd have thought I was trying to steal the cafeteria, all the fuss they made.

There's a lot of aspects to my job that aren't as easy as they look and I don't have anything like the authority I thought I was going to have. I can't give myself a raise or pay myself a bonus or sell any of that stuff out of the mansion. They won't even let me charge a fee for Kentucky Colonel commissions. And I even offered to give stamps to boot.

I guess life is full of disappointments, though. Things are frequently different from what they seem. In fact, lots of times a man can't even believe his own eyes.

Take old Horace Turnbull, for instance, who used to farm a nice wide gully in the northeastern corner of Floyd County. He's never been out of the mountains in his life and he wasn't what you'd call well read. The plain fact is he was a mighty ignorant man.

Anyway, one time there was a rockfall on the C & O and a circus train was derailed a few miles from Horace's place. A lot of the animals got loose and when Horace looked out the cabin window next morning there was an elephant in his garden.

Horace grabbed a stone jug out of the cupboard and he took what is known in scientific circles as a skullbuster. And when the stars stopped exploding in his head and his eyes stopped watering he looked out again and it was still there.

Horace started cranking that old fashioned telephone like mad and yelling for th sheriff.

"Come out here quick," he hollered. "And bring one of them high-power rifles you got. There's a monster come around the big mountain during the night and he ain't like nothing I ever seen or heard of. Right now he's out in my garden patch a-tearing up the cabbages with his tail."

The sheriff got real curious then. "You say he's tearing the cabbages with his tail?" he said. "What's he doing with them, Horace?"

Mr. Turnbull was staring out that cabin window at the elephant and he kind of swallowed and stammered and finally he said: "Listen, Sheriff, you just get on over here quick as you can and see for yourself. Even if I told you what he's doing you wouldn't believe me."

That's why I say, things are not always what they seem to be. You take our state constitution, for example. Everybody figures it's the basic law of the land. But the truth of the matter is we couldn't keep the state running if we didn't keep breaking the law. In the strictly legal sense, of course, we do not cynically flout the law every day. It's just that the terms of the constitution have had to be so warped and twisted that sometimes they seem to reverse themselves. Did you

know that Kentucky's constitution is five times as long as the constitution of the United States?

It looks like the simple thing would be not to pay any attention to it, but in about thirty days every cent in the treasury would be tied up by lawsuits and state workers would have to be paid in scrip. Contracts would be invalidated right and left and the resulting mess would probably take a generation to straighten out.

And we can't get around it like that fellow we ran into out west on the Democratic convention trip. He ran a restaurant that was the worst place you ever saw. He didn't have any air conditioning, he was surly and lazy, and the food was awful. The only thing was, he had the only place for two hundred miles. If you didn't like it you know what you could do.

We settled for some hard-boiled eggs with the shells still on and some soft drinks with the caps still on. I pointed to the filthy roller towel he had hanging over the washbasin and I said: "Mister, that's the dirtiest towel I ever saw in my life. Don't you know it's unsanitary? And it's against the law."

He rared back in a cane bottom chair and all he did was shift his toothpick from one side of his mouth to the other. He said: "Don't let it fret you, stranger. That towel was hanging there before they passed that law. That makes it OK."

Well, we don't have towels like that in the Capitol but we do have some legal quirks that are almost as ridiculous. The constitution, for instance, says there shall be one doorman for the House of Representatives. It doesn't say what to do about the other three doors. It says I can't fight duels and I can't hold your coat while you fight a duel. That certainly cramps my activities in state government. I get a terrible hankering to fight duels.

In all seriousness, though, I do want to talk to you a little bit about the constitution. And I am talking to you as fellow Kentuckians, not as political allies or adversaries.

In November we'll all be asked to vote on the calling of a constitutional convention. The purpose of the convention will be to effect certain changes in the state's constitution. These changes are limited and clearly set forth.

What I'm trying to emphasize is that there is no proposal to junk our constitution forthwith and start out afresh. If the voters approve the referendum in November, then 100 delegates to the convention will be elected from the House of Representatives in November 1962.

These men will spell out the changes they decide are necessary in order to bring our constitution into line with the facts of modern life.

The voters will then have the choice of approving or disapproving the proposed changes. This is an orderly, thoughtful, democratic process, entirely free from any stampeding.

This referendum is extremely important. I'll go further and say that it is absolutely essential to the welfare of Kentucky. The referendum on the November ballot will not, of course, change the constitution in any way. It simply sets up the enabling process. It makes revision possible. The actual changes on whose terms the 100 legislators finally agree must then be submitted to the voters. And if the voters then turn down the changes there just won't be any changes.

The only other way Kentucky's constitution can be changed is by amendment. This process has proved so cumbersome that it is virtually unworkable. For example, nobody questions the advisability of our minimum foundation, the law equalizing state aid to schools. In fact you can't imagine getting along without it. But do you know how long it took to get that amendment on the books? It took thirty-two years! In that time a whole generation entered the first grade, went on through the entire school system, married, and had their children through high school.

There are other, equally pointed examples that I could quote for you. The absentee voting amendment was first presented in 1927. That's a law, by the way, that badly needs updating. It was first rejected in 1927 and was finally passed in 1945. A lot of Kentuckians were deprived of their franchise during those eighteen years.

As I see this thing, we Kentuckians must first make up our minds that the time has come when we have to update our constitution. The symptoms are very real and very serious. Are we now ready to effect the cure?

We don't want to be like Amos Featherfield who used to live by himself on a little farm twenty miles from anywhere. About every six months Doc Metcalf used to come riding around the mountain on his mule. He kept his money and his papers in one saddlebag and his medicines in the other.

People didn't inquire too closely in those days as to what kind of a doctor Doc Metcalf really was. He could treat man or beast for whatever ailed them. Big beasts got the big pill, about the size of a golf ball. Hogs and humans and the like got the small pill, about the size of a marble.

They used to say Doc Metcalf would make a man get down on all fours before he'd diagnose a case. But I don't believe malicious gossip like that and I shouldn't repeat it.

Anyway, Amos Featherfield was, as he put it, "solid ready" when Doc Metcalf came ambling in one hot evening.

"My," he said, "I'm glad to see you, Doc. I'm having a terrible time! You remember when I took sick two years ago? Lumps back of my ears, shooting pains in my chest, a bad rattle in my head and gas on my stomach and dizzy spells and. . . ."

"Yeah," Doc said. "I remember." He started opening his saddlebag while Amos went on with his symptoms.

"First time it hit me I was fourteen," Amos said. "Then it commenced hitting me every five years regular till the last time. And nobody's ever been able to tell me the trouble. Seems like you ought to be able to tell me what ails me, Doc."

Doc Metcalf squinted at him and hefted a pill. He stepped around him real thoughtful, like he was buying a cow.

"You say there's gas on your stomach and lumps behind the ears?" he said.

"Yes sir, Doc. And don't forget them shooting pains and the dizzy spells," Amos said.

Doc nodded his head very solemnly. He said, "Mmmm HMMMMM! And a bad skull rattle to boot. Here, Amos, take this pill. Wash it down with a dipper of corn likker and you'll be good as new come next full moon."

Amos took the pill in his hand and stared at Doc respectfully. He said, "I'll sure do it, Doc. You must be the smartest doctor in the state of Kentucky. Er . . . you think maybe you've figured out what's ailing me, huh?"

"Ain't no maybe to it," Doc said. "All the symptoms check, my friend. You've got it again, that's what."

Friends, we are a lot like Amos Featherfield in a way. Hardly a day goes by in Frankfort but what one or two of our symptoms show up. Only we haven't "got it again." We've got it still. And there's no old Doc Metcalf to cure us with a pill.

As I said before, Kentucky must decide whether the time has come to bring our constitution up to date. There is no question but what revision is needed. What we must decide is *when*, not whether.

Just what is the constitution, anyway? To hear some people talk, it is something sacred that was handed down to us by men of inspired wisdom whose edicts should be immortal.

It's no such thing, of course. It is simply a group of ground rules for running the state government. And it was written in 1891 by normal men whose wisdom was most certainly not inspired or im-

mortal, men like you and me, subject to all the ills and urges to which our human flesh is heir.

No doubt they did their conscientious best to guide Kentucky's destinies. But in some instances they were overzealous. We all know of cases where some rich man with a despotic nature tried to rule his offsprings' lives through his last will and testament. Sure, tell them when they should marry and who and where they should live and how they should name their children.

By and large, however, Kentuckians of 1960 are not complaining over the bulk of the constitution. It is only the hard-to-live-with parts that are up for change. The proposed changes will allow the constitutional shoe to fit the Commonwealth foot. We have been desperately twisting and tormenting the foot to make it go into the shoe.

Incidentally, your wife may not know it but she can't vote according to Kentucky's constitution. She votes now only by the prior blessing of the U.S. Constitution.

No, fellow Kentuckians, we should not expect the provisions of the 1891 wise men to suffice for the needs of today. Our mode of life has changed more since 1891 than it did in the previous thousand years. How could those legislators possibly imagine the complexity of today's traffic problems? How could they envisage a threat so monstrous that whole cities must plan for evacuation?

No doubt they meant well when they set a limit on the amount of debt the state could incur. But, again, they could have no conception of the financial picture of 1960.

In the year our state constitution was written the entire expenditures of the United States federal government amounted to less than \$360 million. Total federal receipts that year were \$392,612,447.

Kentucky, good friends, is waking up from an overlong sleep. We are awakening to a brave new world and we must not be left behind. The 1960s can be our decade of destiny, a giant stride into the bright and joyous sunshine of a prosperous, progressive tomorrow. Or it could be our decade of defeat.

We have voted a tax to finance our giant stride into tomorrow. That tax, it seems to me, is our way of betting on our children's future. It is our way of giving them the chance we never had. I have no fears as to their good sense and judgment. They need no dead man's hand to guide them through problems we cannot know, you and I.

But when we turn the controls over to them let's be sure they have good, workable controls. Let us not pass along a ball and chain for

heritage. And for heaven's sake, don't let them take over the throttle like an engineer I heard about some years back.

This man had the toughest run with the steepest incline in the whole railroad. He had a very nasty turn that he had to take pretty slow. Then he would yell at the fireman who had been set and ready. The fireman would start shoveling like mad and the pressure in the boiler would shoot up. By the time they hit the big grade the train was flying and they usually made it without too much trouble.

This particular time, though, things didn't go smoothly at all. Three parts of the way up the grade the train was laboring and groaning. The drive wheels spun once in awhile and the engineer almost lost his mind. The fireman heaved so much coal into the firebox that he was afraid the boiler would explode.

Finally they crept up to the top and the big engine shuddered and snorted and the battle was won. The fireman flopped to the floor, drenched with sweat, and the engineer mopped his face and tried to breathe normally again.

Just then the brakeman swung down into the cab and shook his head solemnly. He was new to the run — his first trip in fact. He said, "Boys, I got to admit I was scared there for awhile."

"We were, too," the engineer told him. "I never had such a time in my life. For a while there I didn't think we were going to make it."

"No sir," the brakeman said. "I didn't either. And I don't believe we would have, either, if I hadn't throwed the brakes on to keep her from slipping backwards."

Friends, I hope you will look at this question of the constitutional convention as a matter above and beyond party politics. It's something that has to be done sooner or later if we ever hope to reach that bright tomorrow. Let's take the brakes off and give this train a chance. She'll make the grade all right. You'd better believe it.

The 1960 election in Kentucky focused on ideas as well as personalities. Combs had called a special session in December 1959 so that the necessary two legislative sessions could call for a referendum on the November 1960 ballot requesting a constitutional convention to revise the Commonwealth's basic document. The governor stumped for a favorable response to the referendum as much as he campaigned for John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. Examples of his arguments and variable speech techniques are included in this speech and the one that follows, both delivered on the same day to two different groups.

MAGISTRATES' AND COMMISSIONERS'
CONVENTION:
CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION
Somerset / July 29, 1960

WE must bring the Kentucky Constitution up to date. This administration is working to show people of Kentucky how revising the constitution in only twelve limited areas can help them on their road to progress. We hope to encourage the people of Kentucky to want to make the necessary changes.

Kentucky's population has increased since 1891, but not enough. Business and commerce in Kentucky have expanded, but not enough. We have progressed, but we could have progressed more. In our progress so far we have outstripped our outdated constitution until now it is hampering us from progressing further.

Entirely new fields of law and litigation, for example, have emerged since 1890 when the present Kentucky Constitution was written. Auto traffic, now a common cause of legal action, was nonexistent in 1890, for instance. One of the twelve major shortcomings in the present constitution is the inadequate system of courts. The constitution limits Kentucky to six types of courts — the Court of Appeals, circuit courts, county courts, justices' courts, police courts, and fiscal courts.

This court system was adequate in 1891, but it is not adequate today. Our Court of Appeals is limited to five to seven justices. The constitutional ban against new types of courts has been a handicap. Those courts needed in 1890 could not be expected to meet today's demands. Specialized courts are needed to supplement the antiquated system today.

Our inadequate court system is a good illustration, though, of how the present constitution restricts further progress in Kentucky. Litigation is held up virtually for years in judicial backlogs.

Other archaic sections of the constitution make a mockery of the basic law of our Commonwealth. Most Kentuckians never realize it but one section of the Kentucky Constitution gets into such legislative detail as to prescribe that the Kentucky House of Representatives and the Kentucky Senate shall have one doorkeeper each. But the senate chamber has three doors, and the house chamber, five. This

means that every day the General Assembly is in session the constitution is flouted.

More importantly though, this example points up the vast amount of legislative detail that is incorporated in our constitution. Under the present constitution our lawmakers and public officials are not entrusted to make even the routine decisions — not to mention the profound policy decision of good leadership.

These fundamental mistakes of the 1890–91 convention came about more as an overcompensation for mistakes of the 1848 convention than anything else. The convention that met in 1848 to write Kentucky's third constitution distrusted the legislature so that it incorporated much legislative detail into the chapter.

But none of the twelve areas in which the constitution is to be revised under the proposal before the voters in November threaten our historic system of checks and balances. And the one section which specifically safeguards our personal liberties as Kentuckians — the bill of rights — is specifically exempt from revision under that proposal on the November ballot.

Furthermore, Kentucky voters will be called upon three times to approve the steps in revision. First, on November 8 of this year, they will vote to call the constitutional convention. Next, they will elect delegates to the convention, and finally, the people must approve changes the delegates recommend before those changes take effect.

These safeguards are good. They protect the people of the Commonwealth from rash, harmful changes and protect the fine, enduring things in our constitution.

The real danger in revision lies in the other direction; that is, that the people of the Commonwealth will not take sufficient interest in the issue to familiarize themselves with the proposal confronting them and, by this neglect, pass up the chance to bring their state up to date along with their constitution.

It's a fact, ladies and gentlemen, that Kentucky's sixty-nine-year-old constitution stands in the way of our progress as a state. By the terms of history, sixty-nine years is not a long time. But a thousand times more has happened in the last sixty-nine years than in any similar period of history.

Have you stopped to think that in 1890 and 1891 when our present constitution was written, we were not yet out of the age of gas lights? But sixty-nine years later we find ourselves beyond the age of aeronautics, the atomic age, and well into the space age.

Few persons could foresee such rapid developments in technology

and the concomitant sociological changes. But A. J. Auxier, the delegate from Pike, Martin, and Johnson counties in the 1890 constitutional convention, took the floor to remind delegates that they were not assembled to form a constitution "for generations yet unborn" and then predicted that "before another constitutional convention shall be assembled in this hall, men will be navigating the air, instead of traveling in railroad coaches; that instead of going thirty or forty miles an hour, they will go 200 miles an hour."

We are living in a new world, ladies and gentlemen, and we are striving for a new Kentucky with enough jobs for her people, adequate roads and flood control, and all the things good government should provide. But we cannot have a new Kentucky as long as the Commonwealth is rooted to the archaic sections of our basic law.

GROUND BREAKING FOR KENTUCKY POWER COMPANY PLANT Louisa / August 2, 1960

I HAVE had a hand in numerous ground breakings and ribbon cuttings, but never before have I approached one with the eagerness and enthusiasm that I possess for today's ceremony.

We are gathered to launch formally the construction of a huge electric generating plant for the Kentucky Power Company, but more than that is involved. This is an event of special significance not only to eastern Kentucky but to the three million citizens throughout all of Kentucky. This power plant will become a monument representing a vastly important milestone in the economic progress of Kentucky. It will stand as proof that Kentucky is a land of great industrial opportunity and that it is recognized as such by leaders of industry.

It was not through happenstance that this site was selected for the investment of \$39 million by Kentucky Power and its parent organization, American Electric Power Company. Mr. Philip Sporn and Mr. F. M. Baker and their associates don't depend upon a divining rod in investing their stockholders' funds.¹ They must of necessity depend upon realities to make certain that their investment will pay dividends. They found that this area offered many advantages. Those advantages included an economical, long-range fuel supply,

an adequate water supply, a definite improvement in the area's future outlook, and the steady growth of the electric power load in eastern Kentucky.

I was happy to learn that they were influenced, too, by the aggressive program of Kentucky's state government to improve the industrial climate of our Commonwealth. Mr. Sporn has said, and I thank him for these words: "The industrial development of this region is vital and our decision to locate here is a good example of how, with such encouragement as we received, other industries can be convinced to do the same."

Other industries already are coming in. They say, in effect, that what is good enough for AEP and Kentucky Power is good enough for us. And many others have their eye on Kentucky. Lieutenant Governor Wyatt reports that the number of companies actively seeking industrial sites in Kentucky this year is double that of any previous year.

The breaking of ground today for this new power plant is a significant breakthrough in the development of eastern Kentucky in particular. It represents a vote of confidence in the future of this area. It also represents, I feel, a vote of confidence in Kentucky's efforts to make itself more attractive to industry through development of a sound tax program, reforms in government, improvement of the welfare of its citizens with better schools and better highways, and the encouragement of local communities to welcome new industry. All these efforts add up to one objective: more jobs for Kentuckians. This, in turn, means more prosperity for Kentucky in general.

Again, gentlemen of Kentucky Power and American Electric Power, we thank you and congratulate you for your vote of confidence in Kentucky. I am convinced that your decision to invest in our future will be well justified.

Industrial development was a key part in Combs's plan for reinvigorating eastern Kentucky. This is a sample of many speeches made by the governor on the same subject.

1. Philip Sporn (1896–), American Electric Power Company (1920–1971), successively protection engineer, communication engineer, transmission and distribution engineer, chief electrical engineer, chief engineer, vice president in charge of engineering activities, vice president and chief engineer; born in Austria and resides in New York. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3079.

F. M. Baker, vice president and general manager of Kentucky Power Company; no vita available.

NEWS REPORTING

Frankfort / August 15, 1960

A WEEK ago today I met with you in order to clarify a situation which had become muddled through mistake on our part and sloppy reporting by some of you. We admitted our mistake and are trying to correct it. An erroneous story on that subject by the Associated Press still stands uncorrected. I refer to the AP story of August 5 in which it was stated that the Department of Rural Highways was encouraging county officials to omit competitive bids on the purchase of equipment. That story not only reflected on the rural highway commissioner's integrity, which in my opinion is not subject to question, but also raised doubts about the merits of a program by which more rural highways could be built in Kentucky.

Now as to the case of Dr. Bell.¹ Last December Dr. Bell came to see me, and we discussed the question of his remaining as director of purchases. He told me he would like to remain but that if I decided otherwise he would like to leave before the beginning of the second college semester. I agreed that he should remain as director of purchases on a trial basis. As the weeks have passed, it has become apparent that, due to circumstances beyond his control and mine, it would be extremely difficult for him to remain as director of purchases. Because Dr. Bell has remained with this administration, some of those identified with the previous one have looked askance at him. At the same time, some of those identified with this administration have been suspicious because he stayed. Dr. Bell, recognizing this situation, has been planning for some time to secure another position. He agrees now, I think, that due to these circumstances he could not do justice to himself or to this administration. For these reasons I concurred in Commissioner Matthews's request for his resignation. I have no evidence of any misconduct or irregularities amounting to preferred treatment of bidders by Dr. Bell or by his division.

On August 13 a story appeared in the *Courier-Journal* to the effect that certain facts had been reported to me in connection with the purchase of office desks. The story was not accurate. When the facts were called to the reporter's attention, he failed to correct the previous story but wrote another story on the theory that he had discovered another irregularity. The story of August 13 thus remains uncorrected.

I want to talk with you today about the ground rules by which news of state government can be brought in a factual manner to the people of Kentucky. You have free access to every department of state government. All official records are made available to you. To my knowledge no pertinent information has been withheld from any of you. I realize that the business of state government must be transacted in a goldfish bowl, and I would not have it otherwise. The people are entitled to know all the facts. On the other hand, they are entitled to have the facts without their being twisted or distorted.

I would like to have the opinion of this group on at least three points.

1. Do you want us to furnish you from time to time with information about what we are doing in state government or would you prefer to dig it out yourselves?

2. Since reporters are also subject to the frailties of human nature, what do we do when by mistake or oversight you present a false picture of some transaction? Specifically, do you consider it proper for us to call the mistake to your attention, and if the mistake is apparent, do you consider it your duty to make correction?

3. Do you consider it within the bounds of ethics for a reporter to read written material left lying temporarily on the desk of officials or their secretaries? I ask this question for information only. If this is proper practice, then we need to know it. Many of these instruments are in unfinished form. Many of them have not been approved by the proper person, and in many instances a process of government is made more difficult because information appears in print before it has been cleared with the person involved.

The 1959 Combs campaign had placed great emphasis on the need for a high level of morality in government combined with open and clearly elaborated policies and procedures. Stunned by what appeared to be incomplete and misleading reports in the newspapers, the governor reacted forcefully.

1. Lewis C. Bell (1928–), director of purchases, Kentucky Highway Department, was a holdover from the administration of Governor Chandler. He resigned in 1960 to accept a professorship at the University of Mississippi. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 21, 1960.

EARLE CLEMENTS'S RESIGNATION

Frankfort / August 18, 1960

EARLE CLEMENTS¹ notified me more than a week ago that he intended to resign as highway commissioner effective September 1, 1960, in order to go to the Washington Kennedy-Johnson headquarters and work in the national campaign. No written resignation has been received, and I have withheld an announcement pending decision on Clements's successor. I consider it appropriate now to make the announcement of his resignation. For the past several days, I have been quietly looking for Clements's successor, but I have no announcement to make on that subject at this time.

We have now in the making the greatest road-building program in the history of Kentucky. This includes completion of the interstate system, construction of the east-west toll road system, and, if the bond issue is approved by the people at the November election, participation in a vast federal-aid highway program. It is important, therefore, that we get the best available man to run the Highway Department. This I intend to do, and I will expect him to take over on September 1.

Clements has done an excellent job in reorganizing the Highway Department, in eliminating excess personnel, and in projecting a constructive road program. Since the Los Angeles convention, there has been a lot of speculation in the press and otherwise that Clements would be requested to participate actively in the Kennedy-Johnson campaign on the national level. He and I have both realized that this was a definite possibility, and since the L.A. convention, I have been giving thought to a possible successor.

Earle Clements was a prominent promoter of Combs for governor not only in 1959 but also in 1955. Widely regarded as a skilled political manipulator, Clements seemed to some observers to be too strong a man for the comparably inexperienced Combs to control. Clements's appointment as highway commissioner caused suspicions to mount that the vast sums available for highway construction would make the former governor an even stronger force. Then newspaper revelations that a fleet of nearly worn-out trucks was about to be purchased by the state led to an apparent confrontation between Combs and Clements. Though neither spoke unkindly of the other at the time, Combs did order cancellation of the deal and a former Combs political backer in Louisville was convicted of fraud as a result of information stem-

ming from the revelations. Not until the following year did each man state his position openly during a special legislative investigation (see pp. 273-79), but the coolness between them was inherent in this statement at the time of Clements's resignation.

1. Earle C. Clements (1896–), sheriff, county clerk, county judge of Union County (1921–1941); state senator (1941–1944); member United States House of Representatives (1944–1947); governor of Kentucky (1947–1950); Senator (1950–1957); highway commissioner of Kentucky (1959–1960); born in Morganfield, Kentucky, and resident of Washington, D.C. Robert Sobel and John Raimo, eds., *Biographical Directory of the Governors of the United States, 1789–1978* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 2:545-46.

AID TO EDUCATION

Caney Creek / September 18, 1960

THE legislature, at its last session, made the greatest appropriation to education in the history of Kentucky — almost \$100 million. To obtain the money, the legislature enacted a new tax program. For that I make no apology. It was absolutely necessary that we do something about education in Kentucky.

The people of America during the past decade have neglected the education of their children, and Kentucky has been one of the worst offenders. We have overcrowded our schoolrooms. We have underpaid our teachers. We have cut back our research. We have harassed our scientists. We have let brilliant students drop out after high school.

Russia spends approximately 10 percent of its national income for education. America spends only 3 percent, and until very recently, Kentucky spent even less. Is it any wonder then that Russia has beat us into outer space, has beat us to the moon, and has beat us around the sun? The new Soviet budget puts its biggest increase in science and education. It is estimated that they will soon have three times as many scientists, technicians, and engineers as we do. They are already graduating more.

Winston Churchill said, in a bitter debate in the House of Commons some twenty-four years ago, in discussing the indifference of British people toward preparedness, that the preceding years were

"the years the locusts have eaten." The same can be said about the last twenty years in Kentucky with reference to education. Too many of our more talented teachers have had to leave the state in order to make a decent, honorable living after they were educated at the expense of the people of Kentucky.

On a flyleaf of a new book recently there appeared this inscription: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew." That quotation is not from Norman Thomas, nor Woodrow Wilson, nor Franklin Roosevelt, nor even Nelson Rockefeller. That quotation is from Abraham Lincoln — a man nobody would ever accuse of being an extremist. He probably would not even be considered a liberal, according to the standards of today, but his statement of 1860 is just as true in 1960. "As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

When Khrushchev said that Russia would bury the democracies of this world, he didn't mean they would bury us in a shooting war. He meant they would bury us in the field of scientific development, in military preparedness, in education, and in the production of food and shelter and the other things which the people of the world now demand. Whether we face up to it or not, it is a fact that the American people are now engaged in a titanic struggle with Russia, not in the military field, but primarily in the field of education. Never before has there been so much competition for the minds of men, and never before has such premium been placed on the minds of trained men.

It was said once that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the struggle in which we are now engaged with Russia may well be won or lost in the classrooms of America. Civilization, according to an old adage, "is a race between education and catastrophe." That is perhaps more true now than ever before.

It has been said that you can trust the wisdom of the American people. I am not certain about that. I doubt if most of us have a great deal of wisdom, but I do think that the American people — and that means the people of Kentucky — have an intuition or instinct which gives them a sense of timing, a sense of realizing when a crisis is at hand.

During the past two years, a great many polls or surveys have been taken in Kentucky to determine the sense of the people in regard to political races, as well as their thinking on other pertinent subjects.

On every occasion, the polls have revealed that the people are not as interested in who was going to be their governor or senator or congressman, but that they were vitally interested in what was to be done about the education of the children of Kentucky. That is why I make no apology for the substantial appropriation to education, nor the revenue program which it was necessary to enact in order to permit the appropriation. In the words of Lincoln, "As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew."

Combs often supported the significant increases in state financial aid to education. In this sample he stressed a common argument — the unfavorable condition present in American education contrasted to policies practiced in the Soviet Union.

APPALACHIA

Huntington, West Virginia / September 19, 1960

UNEMPLOYMENT in Kentucky is not simply a state problem. It is a symptom of conditions that are regional and national, as well as local in character, and our efforts at the state level cannot be effective unless they are part of a regional and national program. For that reason, we are greatly encouraged by the significance of this conference called by Senator [John] Kennedy to consider the problem of new jobs and economic growth.

The present administration in Washington has shown no understanding of our problems and no desire to deal with them. It seems to regard federal aid as a type of charity and something that self-respecting people shouldn't want. The president and officials of his administration speak scornfully in terms of "handouts," "giveaway," and "something for nothing." But catchwords are of no help where people are hungry and children need clothing and families need homes. Let me say now that we in Kentucky do not want handouts. We are not looking for gifts or giveaways. What we do want is to take part and to do our part in a program of constructive action by federal, state, and local governments.

We believe that it is only common sense that the national govern-

ment take the lead in programs to develop our depressed and underdeveloped areas, because the economic weaknesses that plague such areas are national as well as regional and local in character. Automation, technological change, resource depletion, the difficulties of the small farmer and the small businessmen in competing with giant corporations are problems that are nationwide in scope and significant, though they have had special impact in areas such as the Appalachian region.

We have prosperous areas in Kentucky, we have areas that are holding their own, and we have areas in the grip of outright and serious depression; and we have noticed with concern that unemployment is growing in all of these areas. At present our unemployment rate in Kentucky is 7.7 percent. This means that 74,400 men are out of work — and this is not the whole picture. We have counties where 20 percent or more of our people are unemployed, and in almost one-half of our counties, underemployment is a more serious problem than unemployment.

The per capita income in Kentucky is \$1,425. But there are many counties where it remains less than \$400 a year. The Labor Department has described a 6 percent rate of unemployment as acute. Our level of unemployment has been higher than this for the past six years, and in 1954 and 1958 we had twice the national average of unemployment. This indicates that during recessions unemployment grows at a faster rate in areas where the problem is already great. As an example of our problem, I might mention that in eastern Kentucky we have lost 31.2 percent of our mining jobs over the past fifteen years. This means a loss of \$57 million annually in wages — and this is in a region where incomes run from one-half to one-sixth of the national average.

But I am not here just to complain about our problems. I believe that with the kind of leadership Senator Kennedy offers, we can and will correct these problems. We in Kentucky are making a special effort to do our part and to pull as hard on our own boot straps as we can. This year we have enacted a 3 percent sales tax, reduced personal income taxes 40 percent, granted \$100 million more to education, increased our forestry budget by 50 percent, established a new agricultural research center, created an industrial research park, proposed a \$100 million bond issue for new highways and state parks, started a statewide geological mapping program, established a business development corporation, privately financed and privately managed, to make loans to new businesses, authorized the industrial development finance authority to make loans for industrial buildings

and industrial subdivisions, and have doubled the budget of our Department of Economic Development. We are pushing forward rapidly with our watershed control and soil conservation programs and our program to develop a chain of small lakes throughout the state. We have established a new Division of Community Development to get technical help to citizens who want to help themselves. We are trying to meet the problem of isolated communities by a program of major trunk-line highways, some of them toll financed, into these areas. The point I want to make is that we are doing our best to help ourselves, but we can't do the job that needs to be done without federal help and federal aid.

The fact is that these problem areas are actually underdeveloped areas, rather than simply depressed areas, and what we need is a program that will realize the potential of these regions and their people rather than a program aimed primarily at relief. We need an entirely new attitude — new vision — a new sense of purpose on the part of our national administration. The present administration has not only failed to produce a program for such development, but its president has twice vetoed bills that, while well intentioned, were too limited in scope or proposed action to be truly effective.

We need someone in Washington like Senator Kennedy, who will not only seek a rate of national economic growth of 5 percent, but will have the courage and foresight to support programs that will produce such a rate of growth. We also need programs that are specifically designed for the underdeveloped areas, such as our own Appalachian region.

Underdeveloped areas — and I prefer to call them underdeveloped areas rather than depressed areas — have a special need for roads, schools, water control, soil conservation, and public works on a community level. Ironically enough, under existing conditions and laws, the greater the need of a region, the harder it is to get funds for its development. A prosperous area has little trouble in obtaining federal funds for highways, bridges, dams, reclamation, and municipal utility projects. But in eastern Kentucky, for example, where we have such heavy need for roads and dams and soil control projects, it is almost impossible to obtain federal aid. For in this hardship area, there is not enough traffic to justify federal construction of highways and dams and community improvements that would do so much to relieve the suffering of these people through an improvement of their economy.

We need to restore the timber to our hillsides, fertilize the depleted soil of our slopes and valleys, impound our streams into lakes and

parks, and thus stop the floods that are bankrupting our farms and mountain towns. We must educate our people, and especially must we pay attention to the vocational training of our young people and the unemployed whose trained skills would constitute an attraction to the type of small industry that is so badly needed in eastern Kentucky.

All of these projects and all of these programs will require federal aid and are good reasons why the federal government should be eager to provide such aid. The economic weakness that plagues our underdeveloped areas threatens also to lessen the strength of America in its worldwide economic battle.

New jobs, new vision, and new economic growth are parts of the new frontier program offered by Senator Kennedy and the Democratic party. We in Kentucky are eager to take part in this program. We have had enough of complacency, of inaction, and of pretense that all is well. We need imagination, intelligence, and vision in our leadership. Most of all, we need action. The key to all of these is the election of a Democratic administration this fall. There is no alternative.

Unemployment was one of the major concerns of the Kennedy presidential campaign, an aspect of which was the distress apparent in Appalachia. At this conference attended by the leaders of Appalachian states, Combs elaborated upon a theme he had voiced earlier and supported his party's presidential candidate at the same time.

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL
CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN
PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION

Welcoming Remarks

Lexington / September 21, 1960

It is with great pleasure that in behalf of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, I welcome the visitors from West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Missis-

sippi, Florida, and our own state of Kentucky, who will be with us for the next three days to participate in the Southeastern Regional Conference of the American Public Welfare Association. I also understand that there are some visitors here from north of the Mason-Dixon line. You too are likewise most welcome.

Kentucky is honored to serve as host state for this conference. The American Public Welfare Association has always been known for its concern for those needy people who are unable to help themselves. We in Kentucky are glad to be a part of this noble effort.

We as a young nation have been thrust into a position of world leadership. We have accumulated great wealth and achieved miracles in almost every field of endeavor. We have failed, however, in eliminating poverty and human suffering. In this failure we all must share. But, with the combined effort and cooperation of the workers as are gathered here today, along with proper governmental leadership and an interested public, much can be done in helping to solve many of these social problems that confront us. It is my understanding that the primary purpose of this conference is an effort to achieve this objective.

I do not profess to be an expert in the field of public welfare, but I am sure that we have many such experts attending this conference. However, the general problems of public welfare are not new to me. I have lived and traveled through communities of the great Appalachians for many years and do know of the needs of underdeveloped areas. Many of you here today likewise know these needs from firsthand working experience.

I also know that Kentucky is granting public assistance to over 140,000 needy persons every month that will cost over \$63 million in state and federal funds during this fiscal year. Adding to that effort, there is a new medical care program on its way. Also, we have established within the last three months a new Department of Child Welfare to give concentrated services to troubled children and families. During the same period, a new Division of Mental Retardation has been established in the Department of Welfare.

These are just a few areas of public welfare activities, but I am sure that there are similar problems being faced by every governor of each state represented here today. Thus, you begin this conference with common problems and common goals and aspirations.

Although Kentucky is serving as your host, we want you to feel that this is your conference. Every state in this region has participated in planning the program that will be presented. Therefore, all should share in its success.

I am told that this is the first conference of its kind ever held in Kentucky. I hope that it will not be the last. We want you to feel that Kentucky has the hospitality, the scenic beauties, and the recreational facilities that will attract you so that you will want to return, whether it is to another conference, as a tourist, or otherwise. We want you to feel free to come and visit us at any time and you will always find the door open. It will not be necessary for you to knock.

DEDICATION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
MEDICAL CENTER
Lexington / September 23, 1960

It has been said that Kentucky can't afford this center. I say we can afford it. Actually Kentucky cannot afford to be without this center. While I had nothing to do with starting the project, and claim no credit for it, I approve of it 100 percent and will do everything in my power to make it a complete success.

Many people are entitled to credit for the inception and building of this great monument to medical progress in Kentucky. Among them are Lawrence W. Wetherby, Dr. H.L. Donovan, and the members of the university's board of trustees in 1954.¹ Also on the list are Dr. John S. Chambers and Russell White.² Probably highest on the list is former Governor Albert B. Chandler, whose vision and perseverance constituted the driving force for transforming a wonderful dream into a wonderful reality. You, Governor Chandler, ought to be proud, and certainly the people of Kentucky are grateful to you.

There are others who deserve great credit: the members of the General Assembly who recognized the need for a medical center and appropriated the necessary funds, the members of medical, dental, and nursing professions who campaigned for the project, the university's trustees, and certainly President Dickey, Dean Willard, and their associates, who wrought wonders with the tools placed in their hands.³ To all of them I express the appreciation of the people of Kentucky. This center is an expression of faith in Kentucky's future.

This branch of the university starts out with a ready-made tradi-

tion. No one here needs to be reminded of this state's prestige in the field of medicine. Doctor McDowell⁴ has been followed by many other brilliant Kentucky stars in the medical sky. The University of Louisville's medical school ranks very near the top in the nation.

This new medical center has a vast potential for long-range contribution to total health services for all Kentuckians. Although it has the primary responsibility to train professional workers, it also has the opportunity and, I believe, the responsibility to improve health services throughout the Commonwealth. Realizing this potential of better health for every citizen requires much more than simply providing more doctors, dentists, and nurses. In keeping with one of the functions of a university, this realization demands anticipation of the future development of new ideas and methods and challenging the status quo when necessary.

Because research is a highly important phase of medical education, adequate space and equipment for research is being provided for in the medical center. I am happy to learn that more than \$500,000 in research grants already have been awarded to faculty members.

The center must study not only health needs of Kentucky people; it must determine the kind of medical environment necessary to attract medical personnel and must study the difficulties incidental to providing high quality medical treatment to sparse populations. When one realizes that this year's class can begin practice in 1966 at the earliest — some who obtain specialty training and go on into military service, not until later — and when it is considered that these young people are being prepared for a professional life of thirty to forty years, it can be seen why the medical center must prepare for tomorrow as well as today.

In a few years though, the center will be in full operation. Approximately 300 medical, 200 dental, and a minimum of 250 nursing students will be on campus. In addition, interns, residents, and students enrolled in technical training such as dental hygiene, laboratory technology, and the like will bring the student total to between 1,100 and 1,300. These figures do not include the physicians, nurses, dentists, and other health workers who will attend postgraduate courses, institutes, and conferences. Thus, the long-range potential of the University of Kentucky Medical Center is truly great. It will make its contribution to the future of Kentucky in increased numbers of doctors, nurses, dentists, and other health personnel which are so vitally needed.

This new medical center also is an important adjunct to the expanded programs which the state government has undertaken to

improve the health and welfare of Kentuckians. You are aware, of course, of the substantial increases which the General Assembly has made in appropriations for the Department of Public Health, Mental Health, the Tuberculosis Commission, Crippled Children's Commission, and for similar programs. All these programs stand to benefit from the research and the knowledge imparted by the medical center.

The medical center also will provide educational opportunity for Kentucky youth in many health fields. This, however, means a quality of student, which is in turn dependent upon improved public school education. In order to provide more students with the intelligence and incentive to qualify for these opportunities, we must make overall improvements in education. The people of Kentucky are willing, I believe, to provide salaries, environment, and program monies which will allow the center to engage the best in personnel and to provide the best in service.

Most of the students who attend this school will be from Kentucky. I hope that most of them will practice their profession here in Kentucky. We need them badly. I also hope that the rural medical scholarship fund will be utilized to the utmost so that our more sparsely settled sections will benefit. If things work out as we hope, rural medical practice will be radically different from what it has been in the past. Kentucky people will have higher incomes. They will be better able to afford good medical care. Many of those who cannot afford it will be cared for under the medical aid plan recently enacted by the federal Congress and the legislature of Kentucky.

Fit this wonderful center into Kentucky's overall educational picture and you begin to see the sparkle of things to come. Our public and private schools and colleges are expanding and upgrading all over the state. New branches of the university are planned.

The years ahead of us can be years of enlightenment and progress. From mediocrity in many fields, we are rising toward the heights of achievement. Kentucky has geared its thinking to the age of space. If each of its stages of progress is as beautifully conceived and as competently put together as this medical center, our place in the sun is assured.

Though his political opponent A. B. Chandler was the most important public figure identified with the new hospital at the University of Kentucky, Combs lent his full support to its completion and to its potential importance to the Commonwealth.

1. Lawrence Winchester Wetherby (1908–), judge, juvenile court, Jefferson County (1943–1947); lieutenant governor of Kentucky (1947–1950); governor (1950–1955); born in Middletown, Kentucky, and a resident of Frankfort, Kentucky. *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1955), p. 360.

Herman Lee Donovan (1887–1964), superintendent of public schools (1910–1921); dean, Eastern Kentucky State Normal School (1921–1923); professor of education, George Peabody College for Teachers (1925–1928); president, Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College (1928–1941); president, University of Kentucky (1941–1956); born in Maysville, Kentucky. *Who's Who in South and Southwest*, 1st ed. (Chicago, 1947), p. 792.

2. John S. Chambers (1906–), member, Board of the Council of Southern Mountains; born in Greencastle, Indiana, and resident of Lexington, Kentucky. J. Winston Coleman, Jr., *Life in the Bluegrass* (Lexington, 1974), p. 62.

Russell White (1923–1973), managing director of Kentucky Medical Foundation, the forerunner of the UK Medical Center (1955–1958); controller, Transylvania University (1958–1967); vice chancellor, University of Wisconsin at Green Bay (1967–1968); vice chancellor, University of Chattanooga (1968–1973); born in Hima, Kentucky, and resided in Lookout Mountain, Tennessee. While traveling about the state with Governor Chandler soliciting support for the UK Medical Center, White, a Republican, explained his association with Chandler by describing himself as a "Happy Republican." Telephone interview with Mrs. Addie White, Lexington, Kentucky, June 6, 1977.

3. Frank Graves Dickey (1917–), dean, College of Education, University of Kentucky (1949–1956); president, University of Kentucky (1956–1963); dean of academic studies, North Carolina School of Arts (1977–); born in Wagoner, Oklahoma, and resides in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. *Who's Who in America, 1978-1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 837.

William Robert Willard (1908–), deputy state health officer, Maryland Health Department (1937–1940); dean of the College of Medicine, University of Kentucky Medical Center (1956–1966); dean of the College of Community Health Sciences, University of Alabama (1972–); born in Seattle, Washington, and resides in University, Alabama. *Who's Who in America, 1978-1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3480.

4. Ephraim McDowell (1771–1830), most noted surgeon west of Philadelphia; a founder, first trustee, Centre College, Danville, Kentucky; born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, and resided in Danville. *Who Was Who in America, 1607-1896*, Historical Volume (Chicago, 1963), p. 346.

KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION
OF MENTAL HEALTH
State Government and Mental Health
Louisville / October 4, 1960

THANK you for inviting me to be with you tonight. I have watched the progress — and the problems — of the Department of Mental Health since its beginning eight years ago when I sat on the Court of Appeals. In the last two or three years, however, I have followed the course of the program more carefully. I have met with Commissioner McPheeters¹ several times; I have visited with representatives of your association; and I have toured Lexington's Eastern State Hospital twice within the last year. I hope to visit the other three hospitals and some of the mental health centers in the near future.

I would like to discuss the goals we in the state government have established for Kentucky's mental health program. Under the professional leadership of first, Dr. Frank Gaines,² and now, Dr. McPheeters, the Kentucky Department of Mental Health has repeatedly been recognized by national authorities and organizations for its accomplishments. Because those of us who are responsible for the daily operation of state government — and those of you who support our programs — are plagued by the daily problems which are inherent in such work, it is sometimes easy to forget that there have been notable and lasting achievements in Kentucky. Let me mention a few.

In addition to finding professional staff who would direct and participate in a new, untried agency which had and always has had too low a budget, the pioneers in Kentucky's mental health program — and I refer to members of your organization as well as to the employees of the Department of Mental Health — have been responsible for increasing the total operating budget of the department from slightly over \$4 million in 1953 to over \$10.5 million this year. They have increased the number of departmental employees from 1,350 in 1953 to 2,110 in 1960. And let me add here that this had been no mere empire building. The additional employees were acutely needed. Their services to the mentally ill have been remarkable. They — and you — have not only raised the daily amount of money spent on each hospitalized patient from \$1.61 in 1953 to around \$4.25 this year, but have raised the caliber of treatment.

But figures, as all of you know, tell only part of the story. What has

happened as the result of a 64 percent increase in personnel? As the result of more money allocated for each patient? As the result of trained personnel directing the program?

All results are interwoven; none can be examined separately. I doubt, however, that anyone can dispute that the greatest benefit — and the one which will continue to be most far-reaching — is that Kentuckians now receive treatment and help, rather than custody and disrepute, for their mental illness. Instead of shame — or perhaps being locked in the proverbial attic — or at best, being sent to a state mental hospital for the rest of their lives, Kentuckians now receive help with their emotional problems. They can go to one of the network of mental health centers stretching across the state. They can participate in various kinds of educational programs offered by the department. They can go to a mental hospital for intensive treatment, treatment considered the best according to modern psychiatric knowledge, treatment which enables most persons to be rehabilitated and to leave the hospitals within a year of entering them.

In personnel, the department has qualified specialists in all areas, though it would be false to imply that we have or will ever be likely to have enough trained mental health workers. Even though there is a tremendous shortage of psychiatrists — not only in Kentucky but throughout the country — nevertheless, psychiatrists, and dedicated ones, are directing the hospitals' and the mental health centers' programs. In 1954 there was only one trained psychiatric social worker in the four hospitals in Kentucky. There are now eighteen, and incidentally, I understand it was the Kentucky Association of Mental Health which sponsored the first scholarships to train these important professionals. Psychologists, nurses, physicians, occupational therapists, chaplains — I could continue at length listing the additional qualified personnel who have made the department's record impressive. And for the large number of departmental employees with no specialized training for their positions, we have tried to correct the situation by originating numerous programs of in-service education.

Where, eight years ago, there were only six mental health centers, run by fourteen part-time and full-time staff members, there are now forty-three members of the department's Division of Community Services who operate, or partially operate, seventeen centers with the assistance of organizations such as yours.

Where, in the past, the laws affecting the mentally ill were outdated and, in some instances, inhumane, mental health legislation passed by the 1960 General Assembly will facilitate court-ordered

admission and release procedures to treat sick persons merely as sick persons. As a result, much of the feeling of disgrace in a person's getting help for his mental problems has been alleviated.

Where, in the past, there were hardly any adequate buildings on any of the hospitals' campuses, we now have some buildings which would be the pride of any state, and, more important, we are planning others.

Where, in the past, it was felt that research could only be conducted in expensively equipped laboratories, we now have and will continue to have results of research projects conducted right in our mental hospitals which will enable us to do a better job.

Where, in the past, there were no treatment facilities for disturbed children or for persons diagnosed as alcoholics or for those with the double problem of mental illness and tuberculosis, we now have specialized units for all of them.

Where, in the past, there were no facilities for screening patients before admission to ascertain whether they actually needed hospitalization, our hospitals have been moving steadily to establish these facilities and have eliminated many unnecessary admissions.

Where, in the past, patients had nothing to do all day every day but to sit on the floor or in endless rows of rocking chairs, the 1960 General Assembly appropriated funds for ward activities programs which are beginning to offer all patients at the ward level recreational and constructive activities to prepare them for life outside the hospital.

Where, in the past, patients were forced to work in many hospital areas merely because they were needed to operate the hospitals, the assignment of patients to hospital industries is now planned so that the work will be helpful to their rehabilitation.

Where, in the past, persons with neurological problems often lived their lives without getting help because of a shortage of specialists and equipment, the most recent General Assembly made an appropriation to the department to set up a neurological consultation program which will bring these needed services to persons in all parts of the Commonwealth.

Where, in the past, the department and its hospitals were beset by many administrative problems, reorganization of the hospitals has not only added to their efficiency but has released medical personnel for the duties for which they were trained. As a result of this and other changes, for almost the first time, professional personnel are now able to devote the major part of their time to improving existing clinical programs and to planning those for the future.

I hope you are aware, too, that the number of patients in the four hospitals has decreased for the past few years in spite of a spiraling number of admissions. In one five-year period, for example, there was a 50 percent increase. Census decrease for the sake of census decrease is not significant; the story lies in the persons who have left the hospitals able to participate in and enjoy a life in the midst of their family, their friends, their community. I am in no way implying that our work in these areas is more than just begun. What I am trying to say is that we have made progress, and substantial progress it is. But what are the principles which guide us in developing our problems?

A discussion of specific, technical treatment for persons with emotional problems or for hospitalized mental patients is not for a lawyer — even for a lawyer who happens to be a governor. It is for psychiatrists and others trained in this specialty. But any citizen — lawyer, banker, housewife, governor — has the right, indeed, a moral obligation, to insist that there be clearly defined principles for conducting a mental health program.

I heartily endorse the following principles which must be the basis of our mental health work:

1. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources to finding more proper facilities for persons who need care but who do not need mental hospitalization.

2. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources to encourage patient dignity. I feel it is almost superfluous to say that the idea of personal dignity and the age-old philosophy of paternalism rampant in so many institutions today can neither peacefully nor successfully coexist! Specific techniques for making patients aware of their intrinsic worth, I'll leave to Dr. McPheeters.

This brings me to my third principle:

3. We must devote emphasis, our time, and resources to providing the personnel and facilities which will help our hospitals become true therapeutic communities. I am referring to the concept that a therapeutic community is one in which the whole organization is directed toward giving patients an opportunity for assuming responsibility and initiative. A therapeutic community is also one in which staff members are trained to be aware of the needs of individual patients and, as a result, plan their programs accordingly. And a therapeutic community excludes the use of locked doors and barred windows in a hospital and the practice of custody and paternalism we spoke of earlier. There has been a great deal of publicity recently about the open hospital. Although our hospitals have been moving

to open their wards for a number of years, Kentucky's mental hospitals still have had altogether too many vestiges of the asylums of old.

Dr. McPheeters came to Frankfort a few months ago to discuss with me his and his superintendents' desire to give their patients more freedom, more opportunities to assume responsibility. At that time he also suggested that some of the department's staff members might visit Saint Lawrence Hospital in Ogdensburg, New York, the hospital which has won fame since it has been completely open for two or three years. I heartily approved the idea of opening the hospitals, for I believed then — and have even more reason to believe today — in the benefits all Kentuckians might realize from this progressive step. I know you'll be interested in hearing more about this subject from the commissioner.

4. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources to rehabilitating patients so that they may function at their maximum capacity in their communities.

5. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources in improving the hospitals' physical plants so that they reflect, wherever possible, the concept of a therapeutic community. On the drawing boards now are three new buildings for Central State Hospital: an admission and intensive treatment unit, a children's unit which will accommodate more emotionally disturbed youngsters, whom we can treat apart from adults, and a maximum security building. Also planned is the remodeling of patient cafeterias at three of the hospitals (the fourth was remodeled two years ago) and several other changes to update the older structures. Again, let me point out that we will not have sufficient funds to make all the changes which should be made, but with the revenue from the state sales tax we should be able to plan other improvements. I hope you will agree that we are making progress.

6. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources to assure that patients who have not yet been sufficiently rehabilitated to return to their communities receive the highest possible level of total care. Part of this principle would fall under the discussion of patient dignity and a therapeutic community. But there are additional matters to consider. The department received a \$397,000 increase in its dietary budget beginning July 1. Back to statistics, this means that instead of serving the 6,700 patients on fifty-one cents a day as was the case last year, or on thirty-eight cents a day as was the case seven years ago, the department will have approximately sixty-two cents a day to spend this year. I am well aware that no one will live luxuriously on this amount, but at least we have seen to it that patients will

have additional servings of whole meat and that they will have some fresh fruits and vegetables all year round.

In addition to a dietary program, we are attempting to relieve the wards of their completely institutional look. We are adding, wherever possible, such simple things as bedside tables for storage purposes, dressing tables and mirrors for the women, curtains, and pictures. We have made only a beginning, but it is one which will provide tremendous benefits to everyone in the hospitals.

7. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources to the educating of persons about mental illness. Consider these facts: All the best equipment and the most modern facilities would remain idle if citizens did not know what the equipment and facilities could offer them. Rehabilitation units might function efficiently, but if communities are not educated to accept the returning patients who might have a partial disability, won't rehabilitation lead merely to frustration? Doors of a hospital can be unlocked, patients can be taught responsibility, but if jobs are not available or if the returning patient is shunned by his family and neighbors, have we accomplished much? The department's Division of Community Services has a broad variety of programs in the promotion of positive mental health and in the prevention of mental illness, but if community leaders either do not know of these services or misunderstand their usefulness or function, are we any better off than we were before we had them?

8. We must devote emphasis, our time, and our resources to educating persons about positive mental health principles and practices. I have learned that there are three kinds of mental health education and consultation services that the department's Division of Community Services personnel now offer Kentuckians. They work in the area of positive mental health, in the area of prevention, and in the area of treatment. Doctor McPheeters will discuss the division's services in more detail.

From these few examples and from your knowledge, I am sure you are aware of the enormous task of education about mental health and about mental illness which confronts all of us. It is in these areas where strong local chapters and a potent state chapter of the Association for Mental Health could provide valuable assistance.

By nature of my job, I am isolated to a degree; by nature of his job, Dr. McPheeters cannot have personal contact with persons in each community throughout the state; neither can the personnel in the hospitals or in the mental health centers. But you represent and live in communities all over the state; you know the mental health needs,

programs, and problems. I need this information, and so does Dr. McPheeters and his staff. You are the persons who are enlightened in this area and we need your help in educating other persons throughout Kentucky.

I should like to see chapters of this organization in every county of the state. I should like to know your reactions to our program and your suggestions for bettering them. I should even hope that you as a group might cooperate with the department in initiating new services when needs become apparent to you. I should like — and the people of Kentucky desperately need — your assistance and your hard work.

Combs's interest in medical programs was always broadly based, and his concern for mental, as well as physical, health remained consistent throughout his administration.

1. Harold L. McPheeters (1923–), commissioner of Kentucky Department of Mental Health (1956–1963); born in New York City, and resident of Delmar, New York. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

2. Frank Macfarland Gaines (1916–), state commissioner of mental health (1952–1956); chairman, Council on Mental Health Training and Research of the Southern Regional Board (1955–1957); chairman of five-member citizens advisory committee on personnel administration (1960–1964); born in Carrollton, Kentucky, and resides in Louisville, Kentucky. Hambleton Tapp, ed., *Kentucky Lives: The Blue Grass State Who's Who* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1966), pp. 189-90.

KENTUCKY BANKERS ASSOCIATION

Kentucky's Economic Progress

Louisville / October 18, 1960

THE economic progress of Kentucky can be viewed in two lights: what has gone before, and what can be expected in the future. Let us examine first the changes of the past ten years.

During the fifties, the economic profile of Kentucky underwent great changes. Mining dropped off, at least in terms of employment, by about half. Farming also declined as a supplier of jobs and also

relatively as a producer of income. On the other hand, farm methods showed great improvement, and farm output showed a significant trend toward greater diversification with dairying making important strides. Although these segments of our state's economy were somewhat sluggish, overall gains were impressive. Personal income payments to individuals, which is perhaps the best indicator of economic well-being, increased by 60 percent from 1950 to 1959 to a total of \$4.5 billion.

You may well ask why this sharp upward movement in income in the face of the soft spots previously mentioned. The answer seems quite clear. An increase of 22 percent in manufacturing jobs offset the slack in other industries. Increased manufacturing is in large part responsible for important increases in trade and services and for a gain of 15 percent in all nonfarm industries, or 23 percent if mining is excluded.

Kentucky industrial growth has not been an accident but the result of basic economic advantage, such as: 1) a geographical location which places over 124 million persons, or 71 percent of the nation's population, within 500 miles of Kentucky's borders; 2) good transportation by road, rail, and water; 3) more than adequate supplies of electrical power, natural gas, and coal — the energy suppliers of industry; 4) abundant supplies of industrial water from our streams and from underground pools; and 5) the availability of thousands of Kentuckians who are eager to work, who are quick learners of industrial processes, and who produce at high levels of efficiency.

Our economic progress of the last ten years, while encouraging, has not been enough. The number of new jobs created did not absorb a constantly growing labor force. As a result thousands of Kentuckians continued to migrate to the more industrial states to the north. This represents an irreplaceable loss in brain power and also in public investment in education. This trend must be halted if Kentucky is to continue to prosper, and the only solution is even more jobs.

The task in the years ahead is to create a much greater number of new jobs which will also produce more adequate incomes for our citizens. It seems evident that the key to more employment is to increase the number of manufacturing jobs. Improved farming will improve income but probably offer few new job opportunities. Mining output may well rise, but mechanization, not men, will provide this increased production. Manufacturing — new and expansions — on the other hand will create jobs in the plants and indirectly in trade, service, and other supporting industries.

Kentucky's industrial future is bright. We enjoy basic economic advantages of location, transportation, energy, water, and labor, which were the foundation of the growth spiral of the past several years. In many instances these resources have been improved, notably in the production of electric power.

We are growth-conscious in this administration. We realize that our resources, both natural and human, must be more fully developed if we are to reach our maximum economic potential. Lieutenant Governor Wyatt, Commissioner E.B. Kennedy,¹ and I have attempted to convert dreams of a better, more bountiful Kentucky into concrete plans and action for future growth. These plans are designed to exploit Kentucky's advantages immediately in addition to "seeding" for long-run growth.

The Department of Economic Development has been substantially expanded to provide the know-how and services required to promote Kentucky right now as well as to lay the foundation for the growth of the future. The Kentucky Industrial Development Finance Authority provides an immediate source of additional industrial financing. This is also true of the Business Development Corporation, which will be successful due to your cooperation.

A nationwide advertising program was launched earlier this year and is already bearing fruit. However, the full impact of this program will not be felt until later. Our advertising is designed to create a new image of Kentucky — one of progress mingled with good government and abundant resources. This, in my mind, will pay big future dividends.

Accelerated airport development is a large plus in our growth efforts as industry switches more and more to travel by air.

Kentucky Spindletop Research Center is one of our entirely new projects with tremendous impact for the future. This development reflects forward-looking Kentucky gearing for the scientific age.

Kentucky's ability to forge forward depends to a great degree on adequate financing of state government. This has been achieved through the enactment of a sales tax which, in my opinion, will make Kentucky more attractive to industry. Industry is interested in an equitable tax system with all segments of the economy carrying their fair share. The sales tax has helped us to approach this.

In my opinion, a key to faster growth is improved education throughout the state. We are providing this through greatly increased appropriations for education. This additional support was made possible by sales tax revenues. Industry of tomorrow will rely more heavily on the technician and the skilled worker. Our im-

proved education system will turn out Kentuckians equipped to meet this need of industry. This is a real positive factor for growth.

The economic growth of many of the state's smaller cities in recent years has been most gratifying. Great strides forward have been made by communities such as Franklin, Glasgow, Scottsville, Georgetown, and Eminence. We must, however, face the fact that the numerical bulk of growth has taken place in the larger areas, particularly Louisville and Lexington.

Our development program is aimed at growth in all sections of Kentucky. We are particularly interested in the location of industry in the smaller areas and the better industry-agricultural balance which results. At the same time we are cognizant of the fact that most past growth has been in larger areas. If we are to continue to progress, our major cities must be kept healthy and furnish an overall economic base upon which to build throughout the state.

Kentucky population growth during the past ten years was almost entirely in urban counties. This, of course, led to larger cities and a host of municipal problems. These problems must be solved if our cities are to continue to grow economically. This is imperative. Under present legal frameworks this is difficult and at times nigh impossible. Changes in the Kentucky Constitution are necessary if cities are to be granted powers to enable them to work out these problems. The amendment route is entirely too slow — the ox is already in the ditch. The only sensible approach is a revised constitution. The economic future of our cities as well as of the entire state may well depend on the vote on the limited constitutional convention on November 8. A "no" may well signal a stagnant Kentucky; a "yes" will mean another step up the economic ladder.

The proposed constitutional convention is a nonpartisan issue. Leaders in both political parties are advocating the convention. Seldom before have we seen both Republicans and Democrats team up and work in double-harness so hard for a project. The convention itself, if it is called, will be nonpartisan, composed of delegates dedicated to Kentucky's welfare rather than to the interests of any political party. I have no desire or plan to nominate those delegates. I will recommend to the legislature that the 100 delegates be elected on a nonpartisan basis, completely free of any political entanglements.

Our state is one of great contrasts. We have pockets of prosperity as well as pockets of depression. A disproportionate number of our economically underdeveloped areas are in eastern and western Kentucky; large portions of these sections are almost economically isolated from the major business centers of this state. More and better

highways will open up these sections economically, and this will benefit all Kentucky.

Expansion of our state parks, which we already have planned, will bring in more tourists with dollars to bolster the economy of Kentucky. We will be able to accomplish much in highway building and parks improvements with the \$100 million highways-parks bond issue on the November ballot. A "yes" vote on the bond issue is of vital importance to the future growth of our state.

Kentucky has a great economic future. We have many problems which must and can be solved if we are to go forward. With the cooperation of all Kentuckians we will be successful.

Reiterating many arguments presented elsewhere, Combs urged bankers to support an expanded state economy and constitutional revision. The voters rejected the proposal for a constitutional convention in early November, although they did accept the bond issue necessary for highway and parks construction. The constitutional convention failed by 17,724 votes while the bond issue passed by a 103,391 margin. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 24, 1960.

1. E. Bruce Kennedy (1912–), chief industrial agent for Agricultural and Development Board (1951–1956); director of industrial development for Department of Economic Development (1956–1957); commissioner of economic development, changed to Department of Commerce in 1962 (1959–1962); born in Frankfort, Kentucky, and resident of Frankfort. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 3, 1976.

DEMOCRATIC RALLY

Frankfort / October 27, 1960

We are now making great progress in education in Kentucky, but if we are to do the job which must be done and meet the challenge of the space age, we must have the sympathetic cooperation of the federal government. This cooperation should be in the form of federal grants — without federal control — for construction of school buildings and for teachers' salaries, as recommended by the National Education Association and the Kentucky Education Association.

Both Senator John F. Kennedy and Senator Lyndon Johnson have demonstrated that they favor federal aid for both construction and teachers' salaries. They voted for such a program in the last session of Congress. The Republican candidate for president broke a tie in the Senate, voted "NO" and caused defeat of the program. And Mr. Nixon continues to oppose the use of federal funds for teachers' salaries.

The National Education Association has made a thorough study of the educational platforms of both parties. The analysis shows that the Democratic educational platform is more in line with the program of the National Education Association than that of the Republican party.

The position of the Democratic party and its standard-bearers on federal aid to education represents the wishes of the vast majority of Kentucky's school people. It is only logical that Kentucky's school people — its teachers and parents — should support the Democratic candidates, since their platform is the platform of the school people.

A vote for Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Lyndon Johnson, Mr. Keen Johnson,¹ and the Democratic candidates for Congress is a vote for leadership dedicated to provide the additional aid which Kentucky so urgently needs for its public schools.

For eight years a Republican national administration has had opportunity to set up a sound program of federal aid to education. During those eight years it has failed to do the job. Our Democratic candidates in the November 8 election are committed to do what the Republicans failed to do. It is obvious that Kentucky's best interests are represented by Mr. Kennedy and the other members of the Democratic ticket.

Delivered at the Franklin County High School grounds, this speech demonstrated that even in a highly partisan political setting Combs managed to reemphasize the need for federal assistance to the states, this time in the form of federal aid to education.

1. Keen Johnson (1896–1970), lieutenant governor of Kentucky (1935–1939); governor of Kentucky (1939–1943); unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate in 1960; born in Lyon County, Kentucky, and resided in Richmond, Kentucky; publisher, *Richmond Daily Register* (1925–1970). G. G. Clift, *Governors of Kentucky, 1792–1942* (Cynthiana, Ky., 1942), pp. 131–32.

KENTUCKY WELFARE ASSOCIATION
Child Welfare in Kentucky
Louisville / November 2, 1960

PERHAPS the most crucial and perplexing welfare problem is the youth problem. We must face the fact that there is a group — a growing group — among our young people who need special help to attain normal development. Some of these children are homeless. We don't have many orphans anymore, but we do have many children from broken families, children born out of wedlock, children who can't grow up as a part of a family unless we make special provision for them.

We also have children with special handicaps who are unable to compete and adjust normally. We have children who, out of neglect and abuse, are filled with hate and fear which is expressed in social maladjustment. The problem of juvenile delinquency has become a major one to our society. Annually since 1948 the rate of crime and delinquency among our children and youth has steadily increased. Nationally, between 1948 and 1960, juvenile delinquency increased an amazing 175 percent.

These figures point up the fact something is wrong. We live in a complex world in which it is easier and easier for less privileged children to lose their ways. New and imaginative attacks upon the problems of child neglect and delinquency must be found, for obviously present efforts and methods fall short of meeting the need.

During the last session of our legislature, Kentucky took a long and perhaps big step by creating a Department of Child Welfare. Highways, agriculture, conservation as well as many other matters of concern are represented in most states by a special department. But, until July 1 of this year when Kentucky's Department of Child Welfare came into being, no state — I repeat, no state in the union — had a department whose sole concern was the protection and promotion of the welfare of its underprivileged children. Kentucky now cares enough about its less fortunate children to devote a major state department's full attention to protecting and providing for their welfare.

The Department of Child Welfare has accomplished much in the relatively short time since it was established last July 1. Under the direction of a nationally recognized authority in child welfare, it took

the scattered child welfare resources of two departments and welded them together into a well-organized, integrated child welfare program. Slowly, but methodically, the department has recruited trained professional people to fill the key positions. It redistricted the state to get more efficient and more effective use of our district supervisors and staff and to strengthen services to Kentucky children.

Adoptions and foster care programs have been brought under one highly competent supervisor. We have increased foster care payments from \$1.50 per day to \$1.75 per day. This will enable the department to recruit more and better foster homes for our children in need of temporary homes.

Due to the revenue from the sales tax, the department has been able to upgrade salaries of its professional staff. This will enable the department to recruit and retain better qualified employees. The department has begun an in-service training program headed by a highly trained social worker. It is the only one of its kind in the United States and has already attracted national attention. This will enable Kentucky to have a highly trained professional staff.

In the past, the child welfare institutions have suffered from neglect. Therefore, the department is planning a million-dollar construction program to correct the inequities of the past and provide the kind of setting which will enable the children to be served in a better way.

A ten-year plan is being formulated to provide for the orderly growth and development of the child welfare program. Eleven advisers have been appointed to the Kentucky Children's Advisory Committee. These advisers represent the major groups interested in child welfare. Through this committee, the Department of Child Welfare will receive the benefit of advice from most groups interested in child welfare.

In keeping with the general upgrading of education in Kentucky, the salaries of teachers in our institutions have been increased and, for the first time, we have a staff of teachers certified by the Department of Education. This certification brings the qualifications of teachers to a level equal to those in our public schools. The merit system has been extended throughout the entire department, including all institutional personnel.

We still have some "soft" spots in our child welfare program. Right here in Jefferson County, for instance, we do not have a staff member specifically selected for supervising returnees from our reception

center and the Kentucky Village. There is need for a statewide juvenile parole program. We need to give help to local courts which cannot provide probation services of their own.

You may ask "can we afford to do these things? Can we afford a better and more effective child welfare program?" Let me answer this way: It is estimated that this nation's annual crime bill is \$15 billion. An alarming proportion of our major crimes are committed by juveniles. For example, 64 percent of all persons arrested for auto theft in 1959 were juveniles. Fifty-two percent of persons arrested for burglary were juveniles, as were 26 percent of those arrested for robberies. The cost of juvenile crime would buy a lot of child welfare. We can't afford not to have the program.

The individual is the cornerstone of our society. His right to develop and live his own life in his own way, provided he doesn't interfere with the rights of others, is a fundamental American concept. Ultimately, it seems to me, the fate of our way of life will depend a great deal more on how well we are able to provide for our less privileged people than upon the honors we confer upon our more fortunate citizens.

Combs's concern for the care of children with environmental handicaps and his acceptance of the state's responsibility to assist remained a constant theme throughout his administration.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
STATE LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS
The Relationship between a Governor
and His Legislature
Chicago / November 12, 1960

THE legislative body of a state has as its primary task the enactment of laws for the welfare of all the people, with each legislator reflecting the sentiments of the people of his area. The legislative branch also has an obligation to review the administration of the laws and, when

necessary, take remedial action helpful to the executive branch. In this the legislature and the executive branch must cooperate.

It is the duty of the chief executive of a state, in my opinion, to exercise decisive leadership, to formulate programs for the welfare of the citizens, and to provide the organizational means for putting the programs into effect.

In order that the people may achieve the maximum benefit from the performance of the legislative and executive branches, there must be teamwork. While we are concerned here today with state governments, this necessity for teamwork exists at all levels of government. Evidence of the need for teamwork is all around us. Sometimes, though, it gets pushed into the background and then the governmental processes fail.

Policy decisions are the primary responsibility of the executive and the secondary responsibility of the legislative branch. Such decisions are properly subject to review by the legislative, and if the executive fails in formulating progressive and effective policies, then the secondary responsibility of the legislative becomes primary.

Policy is reflected strongly in the executive budget. The budget proposed to the legislature is the end result of extensive work in interpreting the various needs of the state and coordinating and adjusting those needs into budgetary allowances to the different departments within the revenue available.

In reviewing the executive budget, the legislature should not substitute its judgment or policy for the executive judgment unless there are matters so flagrant as to leave little room for question in the minds of reasonable men. In this respect, department heads should never be permitted to compete with one another before the legislature for appropriations.

Once the legislative and executive reach substantial agreement on their respective duties, the end result of good, efficient, smooth-working government can be greatly aided by cooperation and close liaison between the legislative and executive. In order to achieve cooperation, there first must be a desire to cooperate. Attitudes of suspicion, distrust, and animosity between legislative and executive branches greatly impair the effectiveness of good government.

Secondly, there must be close liaison between the legislative and executive. This is best accomplished through legislative leaders and the chief executive or his designee. Each should be completely and currently informed as to all matters before or coming before the legislature.

Before the introduction of any administration measure, that mea-

sure should be discussed in a meeting of the executive and legislative leaders for final policy decisions. After the measure is agreed upon by the executive and legislative leaders, the primary responsibility for passage rests in the hands of legislative leadership.

We in Kentucky were able to formulate and pass, in the last short sixty-day session of the legislature, what has been referred to as the most extensive program ever to confront a Kentucky legislature. We feel that our success was due to the recognition of respective duties, the desire to cooperate, and the close liaison between the governor's office and the legislative leadership.

We held daily meetings in which the house and senate leaders and I and my aides discussed legislation before the General Assembly and legislation to be introduced. On complex measures, arrangements were made for legislative briefings of house or senate membership by department heads.

Change is the order of the day. This constantly accelerating change cannot be met in the face of continuing stalemate — either within one branch of a state government or between branches.

The increasing interaction between federal and state governments frequently demands rapid, unified action. This demands teamwork. We have examples in Kentucky of the value of fast teamwork between the executive and the legislative branches. We became the first state to be prepared to take on responsibility for regulation of radioactive materials. We were among the first to develop enabling legislation for participation in the Medical Assistance Act of 1960¹

Positive action gives the electorate issues upon which they can evaluate the worth of elected officers. In a continuing fight, neither side — the legislative or the executive — can look good.

Obstacles to teamwork are many. Some are fleeting; others more persistent. Let me cite two specifics. First, the executive and the legislature are elected by contrasting constituencies. In my judgment, there is greater attention to policy and programs in the campaigns for governor than there is in the races for legislative seats. Second, once in office, a governor is the focus of information and pressures different from those to which the average legislator is exposed. The facilities of the administration are, more or less, at the disposal of the governor. The legislator has no comparable mechanism for information-gathering and advice.

Factors do exist that aid in the development of teamwork. Tradition is one. In Kentucky, the General Assembly listens to the governor even when they do not agree. Communication is the keystone of teamwork. Communication is becoming institutionalized in the

states through organized, continuous systems of liaison. The development of such a system, I feel, is primarily the responsibility of the governor. Few legislators operate continuously. The governor is generally the program initiator. The governor has access to the most comprehensive information.

Continuity is especially important because of the shifting makeup of the legislature. The executive is in the best position to provide that continuity.

Teamwork can only be developed if there is a clear understanding of respective duties and functions. I suppose that my theory of a proper executive-legislative relationship coincides closely with that British dictum of antiquity, "The executive proposes; the legislative disposes."

I do not mean to imply that the legislatures no longer should be watchdogs. Those in the executive branch should be advised that nowhere have they been exempted from the doctrine of original sin. The legislature can hire watchdogs — auditors, investigators, analysts. But if it gives up its primary duty to weigh proposed policies in the light of existing conditions in their constituencies, the state, and the nation, the legislature can create a vacuum into which either the judiciary, the executive, or both will move and crowd them out.

The job of the legislature, then, is to look to the future and decide if the proposals of the executive are what are demanded by the future. The closeness of the individual legislators to the citizen gives them an especially close insight into what the electorate demands of the future. This insight then allows the legislature to react to the proposals of the executive in a manner consistent with the necessities of "government by and for the people."

Suggestion of policy must be primarily the job of the executive. No intelligent governor, however, formulates policies off the top of his head. He taps all available sources of information during their development. The administrative branch is the prime source of this information. To duplicate the information available to a governor, a legislature would have to duplicate important segments of the administration. Do we want legislatures to hire as many budget analysts as the executive budget office does? Should the legislature have a dozen experts on child welfare in its employ? I think we would all agree that it should not. It must, however, have people who can evaluate what the child welfare experts tell the governor.

What the legislature can best do is to organize itself for effective policy review; develop within itself approaches to problems by

which it can evaluate executive proposals; and then decide whether the governor's program is in the best interests of the state as a whole.

You are probably saying that this is all very fine, but how do we make it work? And anyway, how does this relate to the theme of teamwork?

I believe we make it work by developing within the legislature a leadership mechanism. Perhaps the word mechanism is an unfortunate one where we are dealing with competent, dedicated men who are legislative leaders. It is through the leadership of the legislature that the policy-making function of the legislature must be focused. It is always easier to communicate to a few than to the many. Through close association, the governor and the leadership can overcome many of the communicative barriers that bedevil those in occasional contact.

What I envision is not a system that works only one way. While I consider interpretation to the rank-and-file legislators a vital function of legislative leadership, I consider it only partial leadership. Communication must be a two-way proposition. The executive needs to know the feelings, needs, and aspirations of the legislators. Practically, he can only know these through their being sifted and condensed for him by the legislative leadership.

When this mechanism or process is developed and working well, teamwork is possible. Where it is not, you are likely to find stalemate or dominance by one branch. Neither of these conditions is desirable. They have, in fact, become luxuries that we can no longer afford.

This explanation of the problems inherent in executive-legislative relationships indicates that Combs was neither naive nor uninformed about the practical aspects of democratic government.

1. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1960*, Chapter 68, Article VII (H.B. 439), pp. 271-78.

LOUISVILLE URBAN LEAGUE
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY
Louisville / November 19, 1960

It is appropriate, I feel, that for your equal opportunity day program you chose the anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. A guiding principle of the Louisville Urban League's personnel placement efforts can well be found in the first paragraph of Lincoln's immortal speech of ninety-seven years ago: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Equal opportunity day is an apt occasion for us to review just what we mean by the term. One of the fundamentals of our American philosophy of life is that all men are born free and equal. But you don't have to be a hairsplitter to ask "free from what? Equal in what way?"

Perhaps, with God's guidance and blessing, we may in our time be able to define that word *free* as meaning free from degrading poverty, free from fear, and free from discrimination. It doesn't take great imagination to identify those three freedoms with the idea that brings us together here; with what Abraham Lincoln called "an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." And it is my opinion that the founding fathers, when they used the word equal, meant just that.

We are concerned with the economic outlook of the average young Negro citizen of Kentucky. I say economic outlook because this is the barricade we must somehow cross. Men and women of average talents and abilities must have an assisting climate and soil to grow in. Otherwise we can never know whether the capabilities we seek to nourish will turn out to be great or small.

I don't think any reasonably thoughtful adult can doubt the wrongness of what is happening today. Aside from the moral question, it is an economic waste. I refer, of course, to discrimination against Negroes in employment and to the people who advocate only manual labor or domestic service for Negroes.

You prospective employers face a somewhat embarrassing challenge. Perhaps you have a department store or a factory where only white help has ever been employed. Or, perhaps in your store you do employ Negroes but only in restricted categories. How, you

might reasonably ask, can you be expected to suddenly start employing Negroes as sales clerks?

There are ways and there are reasons. First, it is economically desirable to elevate the earning power of our lowest-paid citizens, regardless of their color. If they do not earn adequate money, how can they carry their fair share of the tax burden? How can they buy the goods on your shelves or the products of your factory?

Does anybody believe that any fellow citizen actually wants to live in a slum? And doesn't everybody realize the enormous cost of slums to a community?

These things we know and agree upon, I think. The pall of ignorance no longer lies across our society. Negro children are now qualified to acquire all the background that other children receive, preparatory to entering this modern, technical world. But to what use can this training be put? If an intelligent young girl can take dictation and type perfectly, she should logically expect to use her accomplishment. But her talent won't do her one iota of good if she has to work in a laundry or tend a washing machine or a press.

Of course, it takes courage for an employer to depart from custom and take a chance. But, when the chance pays off, the employer becomes a winner, and this leaves aside all moral and ethical considerations.

Here is where Mr. Johnson's¹ efforts enter the picture. He is constantly screening young people for jobs. Oh sure, the big triumphs are when a true professional barrier is cracked and some fine person is placed where no Negro ever worked before. But those are the dramatic highlights of the play. The basic drama, the lesser lines and actions that unfold the story are what really count. It's the vast expanse of American opportunity that must be opened, not simply the high spots. I mean the fields of office work and sales work, engineering, accounting, printing, tile-setting — the whole vast panorama of human activities.

What we are looking at, obviously, is one aspect of the very complex problem of race relations. There is no one answer for all the problems in that catalog. When we see something work, we assume it will go on working. When we see one aspect of a problem solved, we normally accept it. Enough of those individual solutions will eventually cover the entire problem.

Friends, I don't know whether I have clarified anything here today or whether I have muddied the water. In state government we are trying to help the cause. Our new Commission on Human Rights² is one example. The door to the governor's office is open, and I shall

always welcome anyone who has an idea of how I can be more helpful.

Civil rights developments of the 1950s, highlighted by the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, expanded quickly to include concern for economic discrimination. Combs shared the sentiment of many thoughtful Americans when he endorsed the idea that equal economic opportunity was an essential factor if any kind of real equality were to be realized.

1. Earl C. Johnson was the industrial relations secretary of the Louisville Urban League in 1960.

2. Authorized by the General Assembly to appoint a Human Rights Commission, Governor Combs named its eleven members in September 1960. The legislature empowered the commission to conduct research and investigate complaints of racial discrimination in order to foster understanding and discourage discrimination. Under no circumstances, however, the legislative measure provided, could the commission promulgate regulations designed to enforce integration. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, September 13, 1960.

PRESENTATION OF
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PLAQUE
Monticello / December 2, 1960

MONTICELLO and its business and civic leaders are deserving of more than congratulations for winning third place in the five-year community development contest of the Kentucky Chamber of Commerce. You are deserving of the gratitude of the people of Kentucky for an important contribution to a program which affects the welfare of all the people. I refer to our efforts — the efforts of your state government, the Kentucky Chamber, the Monticello-Wayne County Community Development Board, and similar organizations — to obtain new industry for our Commonwealth. New industry means more jobs and more wealth.

Some business and industry leaders feel that community development is the key to Kentucky's progress. I think that is logical reasoning, because proper community development embraces all the

virtues to which we aspire — good schools, churches, good government, good streets and highways, adequate health facilities, adequate housing, proper care of the needy, and an enthusiastic, enterprising business community. Achieve those in your community development program and you have an enticing package to offer the manufacturer seeking a site for this new plant.

During the first ten months of this year, Kentucky obtained \$355 million worth of new and expanded industry. This means that our industry expanded at a rate of better than \$1,160,000 a day.

We could not have achieved such success without the help of communities such as Monticello. Although your state government has thrown tremendous resources into the drive to develop Kentucky's economic potential, in the final analysis the extent to which we will succeed depends largely on the efforts of local communities.

The importance of community development to Kentucky's future prosperity led us to establish a Division of Community Development in the state Department of Economic Development. This division's job is to help communities organize and do those things that will put them in a more favorable position to attract some of the many industries which will expand and relocate in this country.

The division will work closely with communities to help them achieve the goals they have set for themselves. In achieving these goals, communities throughout the state will reap great rewards, not only in economic growth, but in a better way of life for this generation and the ones to follow. It will not be an easy task. Much hard work lies ahead, but it is a job that can be done. Other states are doing it, and Kentucky is now demonstrating that it can do it.

As I have pointed out, your state government has a broad program for development of Kentucky. Every state agency that can make a contribution is participating in that program. However, we must recognize that no one agency or agencies can do this job for you. It is your effort at the community level that will apply the clincher.

Last night I participated in a celebration in Frankfort. The occasion was the inauguration of commercial airline service to your capital city. I mention the event because it was not through happenstance that a big airline started service to a community of less than twenty thousand residents. It came about because the businessmen and civic leaders of Frankfort, working with the state Department of Aeronautics, devoted years of effort to developing their airport and then to proving to federal aviation authorities that the city deserved commercial airline service.

What Frankfort did, other Kentucky communities can do. It is a

symbol of what all communities can do, in many lines of endeavor, if they tackle the job vigorously and intelligently, just as Monticello has done in achieving this honor today.

One of the methods by which Combs hoped to spur increased promotion of economic improvements was to encourage local community people to help.

GROUND BREAKING FOR
EASTERN KENTUCKY RESOURCES
DEVELOPMENT BUILDING
Quicksand / December 6, 1960

THIS is a significant and encouraging step forward in the development of a region rich in resources. When this headquarters building for the Eastern Kentucky Resource Development project is completed, we will have a splendid laboratory center in which to help science put to profitable use the agricultural and forestry assets awaiting our attention.

It is good to see here representatives of the thirty counties which stand to benefit from this program directed by the University of Kentucky. Many of you met with me and representatives from Washington on June 20. At that time I pledged the state government's support of this project, which will be developed cooperatively by state and federal agencies.

In order that effective impetus can be given to utilization of all the resources within this area, we are making available for this project \$127,400 in the current fiscal year, plus \$60,000 for the operation of the agricultural substation and the Robinson Forest Program. Next year we plan to make available an additional \$100,000.

We also have made available to the university increased funds for the cooperative extension service. Some of these funds can be used to strengthen this Eastern Kentucky Resource Development Program. We also are providing a more favorable framework within which such programs as this can operate. I cite the 200-mile new eastern Kentucky highway and other road projects for this area, the expan-

sion of parks, development of new airports, and a water impoundment program which will provide lakes for recreation, flood control, and industrial water supply.

I am delighted to see that President-elect Kennedy has set up a special committee to prepare a program for underdeveloped areas, some of which we have in eastern Kentucky due to the technological changes which have taken place in coal mining and agriculture. Your state government will work closely with this committee in order that we may achieve full advantage of any new resources provided by the federal government.

Any programs for the development of our resources and improvement of the income of our people will need full understanding, support, and cooperation of the citizens of every community. We are going to try to keep you informed.

We intend to move as fast as we can in improving and building roads, parks, airports, and in the development of our water conservation and utilization programs, soil survey, and geological work. These combined efforts, I think, will bear fruit faster than many people realize at this time. We must keep in mind, however, that all the region's economic problems cannot be solved overnight.

If the residents of these thirty counties are to obtain the fullest benefits from efforts to raise their level of economic well-being, we also must have better schools and more effective health programs. Your state government, working with the counties, is moving rapidly to achieve these other objectives.

The idea of bringing in teams of technicians to help solve problems of this area was included in the Eastern Kentucky Development Commission's Program 60, and the commission has endorsed and recommended this important activity. The commission has pledged itself to work closely with the university.

John Whisman,¹ the commission director, is in Washington today, conferring with federal authorities on means of helping this region. I am informed that Mr. B. F. Reed,² the commission's chairman, hoped to attend this ceremony, but asked to be excused because of pressing business elsewhere.

1. John Whisman (1921-), executive director of Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission (1960-1966); executive director, Appalachian Regional Commission, Washington, D.C. (1966-1976); born in Rochester, Indiana, and resident of Washington, D.C. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

2. Boyd Frederick Reed (1897–), chairman, Eastern Kentucky Development Commission (1960–1963); born in Shamokin, Pennsylvania, and resident of Drift, Kentucky. *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1955), p. 275.

PLANS FOR STATE PARK DEVELOPMENT

Frankfort / December 7, 1960

I WANT to welcome all of you here today. You have been asked to come here so that we could tell you of our plans for developing Kentucky into the recreational center of America and to ask your advice, your suggestions, and your assistance, without which even this sound program cannot succeed.

We think that what I am going to outline to you today constitutes the greatest parks expansion and construction program ever undertaken by any state at any time. It is a program which many people have worked diligently over many months to prepare, and we think it is a program in which every Kentuckian can take deep and sincere pride.

As you know, we have available for parks \$10 million from the \$100 million bond issue approved in the November election. We also hope to issue between \$3.5 million and \$5 million in revenue bonds.

Before going further, I would like right now to say that it is not the purpose of this administration in developing this unprecedented parks program to compete with the private businessmen who are also concerned with the tourist, vacation, and recreation industry. On the contrary, it is our purpose and my determination that in our plans and operation we shall cooperate with the private investors in every possible way.

This is a program that has been made with the people of Kentucky uppermost in mind. We are going to build not just Kentucky parks, but parks for Kentuckians.

Naturally we expect this program to accelerate the growth of the tourist industry in Kentucky. Experience has shown that parks development and tourist growth have always been parallel. And in promoting the parks' tourist and travel aspects of the program we are

going to work most closely with private interests throughout the state that are also involved in the tourist industry.

But it is also a great satisfaction to all of us who have worked on this program to know that when it is completed every citizen of Kentucky will be within easy driving distance of a state park where he can find modern, pleasant, healthful recreation and the finest in vacation facilities at prices he can afford.

Under this program five new parks will be developed: Rough River Dam in Grayson and Breckinridge counties; Buckhorn Lake on Buckhorn reservoir in Perry County; Greenbo Lake on Greenbo Lake in Greenup and Boyd counties; Falmouth Lake in Pendleton County; Big Bone Lick in Boone County. Two of these parks, Rough River and Buckhorn, will be developed primarily as vacation parks, and all parks in the system will include facilities for day-use recreation.

In addition, three existing parks will be so extensively expanded that they can almost be classified as new parks. I refer to Pine Mountain State Park at Pineville, Jennie Wiley State Park in Floyd County, and Lake Cumberland State Park near Jamestown. These parks, too, will have both vacation and day-use facilities when the program is completed. This program will not be in the distant future. We are starting now. Some of the construction is already under way, and we are writing contracts as fast as architectural and engineering details can be worked out.

I want to make it crystal clear that the program now being described is not the entire parks expansion program. These projects which I shall outline to you are those that have been given priority by the parks board on the basis of a long and careful survey which has been under way since last spring.

In addition, a modest reserve is being put aside not only of general obligation bonds but of revenue bonds that could be available to us, and we hope in the future to add new parks to the system and to develop further our existing parks beyond the program described here.

The many parks-minded Kentuckians who have proposed state development beyond this program should not assume that their proposals are not under consideration. Kentucky is a parks-minded state. In a remarkably few years the people of Kentucky have become intimately aware of the value of parks as an investment and as a valuable asset to our increased standard of living.

Considering the extensive parks system that we enjoy today, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that these fine parks are a relatively recent development. Actually, the modern system is only twelve

years old, and I am sure you appreciate that Kentucky has come a long way in the development of its parks since its modern system was begun by then Governor Earle Clements in 1948. However, we have only scratched the surface of the potential development of parks in our state. Upon completion of this immediate program, Kentucky will have the finest system of parks in the nation. But I foresee the day when the system will be greatly expanded and multiplied as our state prosperity grows and the financial ability of the state makes this hoped-for expansion feasible.

When the present program is completed every vacation park will have a safe, modern, attractive swimming facility, either swimming pool, dock, or beach area. Every major park having an accessible water front will have a boat dock, boat launching, and water skiing facilities. Every park will have extensive recreational facilities.

The identification of the Thoroughbred horse with the state of Kentucky is automatic throughout the nation, and we have not overlooked the value of this identification in our parks program. Fifteen parks will have a riding stable or access to saddle horses. Furthermore, eleven will have golf courses, fourteen will have modern tent camping areas for the growing number of people taking part in this popular form of outdoor recreation, and modern playground equipment will be installed in every park.

Eight new lodges and dining rooms will be built giving us eleven parks with hotel or lodge overnight facilities. In addition, nine parks will be given new vacation cottages, bringing to fourteen the number so equipped. Every cottage now in the parks will be completely remodeled and redecorated to modern standards. The new cottages will include one-, two-, and three-bedroom structures, complete with housekeeping facilities.

We have paid special attention to both the camping and picnic facilities that have grown so in popularity in recent years. Picnic areas will be enlarged and new picnic shelters will be built in sixteen parks, while additional tables, benches, and grills will be built throughout the picnic areas.

Tent camping areas will be established in every major park. They will have central service buildings, with rest rooms and showers. Water and electrical outlets will be available at every camping site, and new grills and other conveniences are being provided.

I would like to call attention to the program of reorganization and remodeling of all state shrines and monuments. For example: Visual interpretive programs that have proved so popular, as well as educational, in the best national parks are being installed in fifteen of our

parks. Our promotional program is going to place special emphasis on attracting the young people of Kentucky to our museums and shrines, as well as to the recreational facilities.

In our major parks we are extending the nature trails, the nature studies, the tours, and lectures. New recreation programs for all age groups are being prepared. We are trying to arrange it so that supervision for children can be provided, freeing parents for more hours of carefree recreation. Social group entertainment and activity are being studied for inauguration in the lodges and hotels. We are also studying ways to make our parks more useful to the people of Kentucky during the winter months.

Another aspect of our parks development that should be mentioned here is our program to expand the outdoor dramas that will be presented in our newly developing parks. I believe that a series of outdoor dramatic presentations, concerned with the regional history and folklore, will go far toward giving people a greater appreciation of their heritage, while providing a form of entertainment that will be attractive to out-of-state visitors. This is especially important because it exemplifies our determination to develop the state park system as an indigenous part of our entire state culture and economy.

Again, I wish to emphasize that our program is intended to complement, assist, and to be coordinated with the privately owned tourist industry of Kentucky. These outdoor dramas, like the other recreational attractions of the parks, will bring thousands of people to our state and keep them longer in the state, to the ultimate benefit of everyone who caters to the out-of-state visitor. In other words, we are developing a system that is going to make Kentucky the recreation center of America. It is going to prove a money-maker for the people of Kentucky, and at the same time it is going to improve the quality of living for the people of our state.

Before I discuss with you the parks program in detail, I would like to emphasize again that the parks program is not being planned as an isolated part of this administration's program. Tied to the parks program is our highway and roadside cleanup program, our recreation and vacation promotion program, our lakes and highway development programs. With these coordinated programs, and with your help, Kentucky can and will become the recreation center of America and a better and more pleasant state in which to live.

We are going to utilize every facility at the disposal of this administration to advertise, publicize, and promote this new and expanded park system and the facilities it makes available. We are going to coordinate these public facilities with the privately owned enter-

prises in what we are confident will become a vastly successful promotional undertaking. We are going to institute a program for educating all state police troopers about the recreation program, both public and private. They will also be trained to welcome and inform out-of-state visitors.

We hope to launch within the next few days a new tourist and travel promotion and an advertising campaign to assist in this undertaking. But our program can be of maximum benefit and meet with true success only if every Kentuckian serves as a goodwill emissary, a promoter of Kentucky, a publicist for his region, and a personal example of legendary Kentucky hospitality. It will be your function to act as emissaries, to carry back to all parts of the state the value and the opportunity of this program, and to win for it the broad, popular support that it must have to succeed. I know that I can depend on you for such cooperation and assistance.

Before the 225-member advisory committee of the Tourist and Travel Commission meeting in the House of Representatives chamber, Combs outlined specific details of his plan to enlarge the Kentucky park system — always a major objective of his administration.

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL Frankfort / December 8, 1960

I AM announcing the appointment of Paul Brannon¹ as executive coordinator of Kentucky's Civil War Centennial activities, effective today. He also will serve as the liaison between the National Civil War Centennial Commission, the Kentucky Civil War Centennial Commission, and the Commonwealth's communities participating in centennial activities. Mr. Brannon is resigning as commissioner of public relations to accept the appointment.

Throughout this section of the United States, major emphasis will be placed, from now through 1965, on the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the Civil War. Kentucky can and should play an important role in this observance. The centennial is impor-

tant, both historically and culturally, and it has a vast financial significance. Americans will travel thousands of miles and spend hundreds of thousands of dollars during the next five years visiting Civil War battlefields and landmarks where special memorial events are staged.

Kentucky played a prominent and dramatic role in the Civil War and in the events leading up to that struggle. Our state sent more draftees to the Union than Ohio did; we sent more volunteers to the South than Virginia did. The birthplaces of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis are both in Kentucky and are only a comparatively short drive apart. Our state was represented by a star in the flags of both the Union and the Confederacy and had representatives in both congresses. During the year which was ultimately to unite our country, splits between families and friends were more prevalent here than in any other state. Countless significant, historical, and colorful events of the Civil War happened on Kentucky soil.

History has provided an opportunity for our state. With the right direction and the right promotion, we can bring Kentucky's full share of the centennial tourist travel to our state.

Paul Brannon's background and experience make him peculiarly fitted for this work. He has a vast knowledge of the history and lore of Kentucky and the Civil War. He tells the adventures of the Civil War as vividly as if he had rushed fresh from the scene. A stickler for historical accuracy, Brannon is a storehouse of the human side of history — a raconteur whose anecdotes outclass fiction.

Brannon's rare talent, coupled with his proven ability as a newsman, will permit Kentucky to compete with states putting vast promotion funds behind their effort to draw centennial travelers. His work, coupled with the valuable work already being done by the Kentucky Civil War Centennial Commission, will have a dollar-and-cents value to Kentucky.

With the inception of the Civil War Centennial period close at hand, Combs took the opportunity to link Kentucky's role in these activities with his interest in tourism's value to the Commonwealth.

1. Paul Brannon (1894–1965), commissioner of public relations (1959–1960); executive coordinator of Kentucky Civil War Centennial (1961–1963); publisher of weekly *Paris Kentuckian-Citizen* and *Nicholas County Star*; born in Cincinnati and resided in Paris, Kentucky. Larry Brannon to editor, June 16, 1976.

ELIMINATION OF WASTE

Frankfort / December 12, 1960

TODAY begins the second year of our administration. I want at this point to express to you and to each of you my thanks for the good job you have done in this year and to talk with you concerning our aims for the coming year. Working together we have been able to initiate many programs desired by the people of Kentucky to improve conditions in our state. Our task for the coming year is to achieve the smooth operation of these new programs and to continue making every improvement possible in programs which were already in effect when we took office.

The second year's work is so important that unless it is done well, the first year's work will have been in vain. Most of my time will be spent working with you on making these programs work.

My first request to you at this time is that you intensify your vigilance in looking for places where savings, both large and small, can be made in the government's operation. Acknowledging the recognized value of coffee breaks, for instance, I want you to be sure the practice is not abused. Checking into this in your individual department may in a small way help you in your manpower problem. I ask also that you exercise careful controls of expense accounts, both in order that no employee shall be deprived of proper reimbursement and in order that there shall be no waste.

There are other opportunities, large and small, for savings. I want you to look for them. Because there are many state offices which use electricity, the state power rate may be so low that turning off lights at the end of the workday does not save a great deal. But it does save something, and I want to save that something. Both you and I know that a small economy practiced by a single employee can add into a great savings when translated into practice by the several thousand state workers.

At the conclusion of his first year as governor, Combs reemphasized the need for economy and elimination of waste by government employees during a meeting with the members of his cabinet.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Support of the Sales Tax
Louisville / January 2, 1961

It is customary on this day to wish everyone a happy and prosperous new year. This I do, but it is more than a wish. It is a prediction. I sincerely believe that 1961 will bring great progress and prosperity to Kentucky.

Some of this progress is brand new, starting with the new year. I refer to the income tax reduction which took effect at midnight Saturday. This week alone Kentuckians will save \$384,615 on their state income tax. The saving for the year will be at least \$20 million. The average reduction is about 40 percent. Starting at midnight last Saturday, 175,000 Kentuckians stopped paying a state income tax altogether. A couple with two children can make up to \$83 a week in 1961 and not have to pay any state income tax. And, of much interest to all of you, I'm sure, is the fact the surtax has been dropped.

Nineteen sixty-one will also see an acceleration and expansion of the broad program of progress which we undertook in 1960 in government, education, welfare, health, highway construction, parks expansion, and economic development.

Nineteen sixty was a good year for Kentucky in industrial development especially. During the first ten months of the year, Kentucky obtained \$355 million worth of new and expanded industry. This means that our industry grew at a rate of better than \$1,160,000 a day.

We are in effect offering a four-year plan in Kentucky. In many respects it is new. In some respects it is bold. But it is a sound and progressive program, and it will work and will move Kentucky up the ladder if the people who make public opinion in Kentucky want it to work.

I can't make it work. This administration can't make it work unless we have the cooperation of the people who formulate public opinion. And they are the type of people represented at this meeting. With your help, we can make 1961 a much brighter year for Kentucky.

Sensitive as always to the state's traditional resistance to a sales tax, Combs took every opportunity during the Commonwealth's legislative election year

to promote the beneficial consequences inherent in its enactment. This is but one example of his efforts.

STATE GOVERNMENT

Louisville / January 12, 1961

I'm glad to have the opportunity to talk to you, the business and professional leaders of the leading business community in Kentucky. And not only is Louisville the state's first seat of commerce, but in addition — at least for two days — it's the seat of state government. And if you've been under the impression that things are relatively normal with a minimum of human problems in the Louisville area, you need only sit with me through some of these sessions to learn that there are nothing but problems.

Seriously, January is a time for appraisals of the past and resolutions and plans for the future. Many of you business and professional men are now busy issuing "statements of condition" to your stockholders and to the public, setting forth the assets and liabilities of your enterprises. In much the same vein, I would like to talk to you today, giving you a "statement of condition" on the biggest business in Kentucky — your state government.

You will recall that Combs and Wyatt were elected in 1959 on an expressed platform dedicated to one central purpose: moving Kentucky ahead on all fronts. Since the election, this has been the pervading theme of our administration.

Let's look for a moment at education — the major point of emphasis in the program now under way. One year ago we found Kentucky occupying the lowest position among the states in the payment of teachers' salaries. With your tax dollars, our teachers' colleges were turning out highly qualified teachers who were leaving the state in droves to accept better-paying positions in our sister states. One of our superintendents of public instruction told me that he never attended a convention but what several state commissioners of education sought him out to thank him for the fine Kentucky-trained teachers we had furnished them. No wonder Kentucky children were being taught by hundreds of teachers on emergency certificates. In

many areas of the state, it was a case of taking the ill-equipped teacher or nothing at all. We were apparently satisfied for too long with minimum-quality education.

Today, with 110 million more educational dollars for 1960–1962 than for 1958–1960, Kentucky rises from the bottom to thirty-eighth in teachers' salaries, with a rise to thirty-sixth expected later in 1961. More Kentucky-trained teachers are seeking employment in Kentucky; more new schools are being constructed; more vocational schools are being established; more money is being made available for classroom expenses; and an improved teacher retirement program is in effect. But we're not out of the woods yet in education. Do you know that even today, after schoolteachers in Louisville's city schools have received average increases of better than \$700 per year, a teacher can still go right across the river and make about \$1,000 a year more than he can get here? Superintendent Sam Noe¹ is exceedingly happy that the across-river educational systems are relatively small, for if this were not so, teacher recruitment would be a much bigger problem for him today than is the relocating of the Atherton High School.

Before we leave this discussion on education, let me impress upon you the enormity of the budget set aside for education in relation to sales tax receipts as we now are able to gauge them. One-hundred and ten million additional dollars have been committed to education for a twenty-four-month period; \$26.5 million was the yield from the sales tax for the first five months of its operation. At the same rate of yield, this means that we would need the sales tax receipts of nearly twenty-one months out of the twenty-four-month period to meet our education commitments alone. But a strong educational program for Kentucky is fundamental to advancement in any other area. It will be worth every penny spent, and we pledge ourselves to see that it is worth it.

Let's leave education and take a reading on our industrial program for Kentucky. You know that Wilson Wyatt is spearheading a tremendous effort to bring new industry into the state. Two new financing systems created to attract new industry are now functioning — one helping local nonprofit groups to construct buildings and develop industrial sites, and the other lending private capital to industry. The first of these is financed by a \$2 million revolving fund appropriated by the 1960 legislature. The second is financed through the purchase of stock and the commitment of loan funds by financial institutions and other types of business in Kentucky. Additionally, the state has broken ground on a million dollar industrial research

center at Spindletop Farm, Lexington, where basic research in such important fields as coal and timber will be undertaken. This research project is designed to bring in new industry through resource development. A \$12-million, ten-year geological survey program is under way — half the cost being borne by the federal government — which will make Kentucky the best mapped state in the nation. This project will provide information of the utmost importance to the development of mineral resources, to industrial development, and to construction of highways and dams; and will induce exploration for gas, oil, coal, and other minerals. Intensive industrial promotion with movies, brochures, news stories, and other publicity for Kentucky's public resources is flagging the attention of national industrialists.

The goal for 1961? A minimum of fifty new plants in Kentucky during the year. Let's look for a few minutes at highway construction in Kentucky. With the help of \$90 million in bonds to match federal road funds which the public voted in November, a 641-mile interstate system is being developed. Already, contracts totaling more than \$80 million were let for highway work during 1960. Revenue bonds will finance four-lane turnpikes extending into eastern and western Kentucky. A two-lane freeway in southeastern Kentucky will connect the length of our Commonwealth and will give isolated sections ready access to the economic centers of the state. Work is continuing on the expressway system that already is moving traffic better here in Louisville.

The tourist travel and recreation business has become an important factor in the state's economy, and Kentucky is spending ten million voted bond dollars and other money on a parks expansion program to give Kentucky the best tourist facilities in the nation. And, speaking of recreation, a program is now under way in which highway fills are being used for dam sites to create lakes for recreation, conservation, industrial needs, municipal needs, and as flood control projects. The next time you drive to Frankfort, note the Guist Creek Lake just on the other side of Shelbyville and visualize the bass and crappie to be taken from this impounded stream in the months to come.

Our health program has been upgraded by an appropriation some 40 percent greater than that of 1958–1960. For the first time, Kentucky will have a health officer in each of its 120 counties. Did you know that we had thirty-six counties without a health officer one year ago? Progress is being made in the construction of health centers in fifty-four counties which totally lacked them a year ago, and \$1.2 million

is earmarked for this purpose. We are hiring additional psychiatrists and other staff members at mental hospitals and providing more nearly adequate menus and therapy programs. A \$3.5 million plant expansion at Central and Kentucky State hospitals is under way, and new dormitory space is being added at Kentucky Training Home. Seven and one-half million dollars has been allocated to the state Tuberculosis Commission for the operation, maintenance, and improvement of our six state TB hospitals and for the costs involved in the state's assuming the care and treatment of patients at the Waverly Hills Sanatorium, here, and at the Julius Marks Sanatorium at Lexington.

We haven't overlooked Kentucky's number one industry — agriculture — in our consideration of areas of progress for Kentucky. Kentucky farmers have invested \$2 billion in lands, and \$1 billion more in livestock and equipment, yet Kentucky's farm income averages less than 75 percent of the average farm income in the seven states bordering on Kentucky. Well, we're moving up here, too: from forty-third to twenty-fifth in the nation in county agents' salaries. Brucellosis, which produces undulant fever in humans, will be completely eradicated by 1963, at a cost of some \$600,000 annually. A new \$150,000 drive against harmful Johnson grass has been begun, and \$1 million has been set aside to start an agricultural research center at the University of Kentucky. Additionally, \$849,000 will be spent during these two years for the great Kentucky State Fair and Exposition Center.

Our forestry industry has received a 100 percent increase in financial support with the appropriation of a million dollars for this year. This increase, plus federal funds, is providing forest fire protection to forty more counties than before, with eighty more fire detection towers, twenty-three additional graduate foresters, and a new seedling nursery producing ten million forest tree seedlings this year. Annually, about 385,000 acres are lost to forest fires in Kentucky, at a total annual dollar loss of several million dollars. Our expanded forestry program will go a long way toward reducing this annual loss.

Some other advances provided by intensified state programs include increased rural library support, with four new regional libraries planned; state police to be enlarged by fifty new troopers a year until the total force reaches 525; and construction of new National Guard armories at Louisville and at eight other cities.

This is an ambitious program on which we have embarked. It is of a magnitude directly proportionate to the intense needs of the state

and its people. For too long Kentucky has languished in its old, dreary place at the bottom of too many lists. The resurgence could come only with Kentuckians, first, demanding the advances, and then, "paying the freight" to make the progress possible. A revamped, broader-based revenue program obviously was required. Such a program is the 3 percent sales tax coupled with a reduced personal income tax. (And, incidentally, the personal income tax henceforth will yield annually \$20 million less than before through increased exemptions and repeal of the surtax.)

That's my "Statement of Condition." As "assets" I have recited evidences of progress in education, industrial development, highways, tourist and recreational attractions, health, agriculture, and forestry and fire protection. If these are properly classified as "assets," then on the "liability" side might be found the 3 percent sales tax, a court-delayed effort to pay the veterans bonus, a couple of driveways in western Kentucky paved without official permission, and a clamoring army of job seekers.

We realize that the success of our program of advancement for Kentucky must, for the most part, be appraised on a long-term basis. Results cannot be immediate in many areas. But we are confident that the signs of progress will continue to be raised throughout the term of this administration and that they will be observed from the Big Sandy to the Mississippi and from the Ohio to the Tennessee line, and observed, too, here in Louisville.

To this we are dedicated. We must depend on your support.

During 1960 Combs had initiated the idea of transferring temporarily his executive offices from Frankfort to a local community so people would have "an opportunity to fuss directly" with him. On August 22-23, 1960, he set up his office in Mayfield followed by similar efforts in Maysville and Manchester later on. Satisfied with the results, he did the same thing at Sixth and Cedar streets in Louisville early in 1961. In the last instance he spoke to the business leaders of the city about his future plans.

1. Samuel Van Arsdale Noe (1901-1972), administrative assistant to superintendent of Louisville schools (1950-1960); superintendent (1960-1969); born in Springfield, Kentucky, and resided in Louisville. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965-1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 689; Kenneth S. Hays, personnel consultant, Jefferson County public schools, to editor, June 21, 1976.

BONUS PAYMENT LITIGATION

Frankfort / February 6, 1961

FOR nearly an entire year payment of the bonus has been delayed by litigation. News accounts have quoted Mr. Huddleston as indicating he and his clients, Doctors Grise and McCloy, will carry their attack against the bonus to the Supreme Court of the United States.¹ I am asking Doctor Grise, Doctor McCloy, and Mr. Huddleston, individually and collectively, to forgo that appeal and any other litigation they may contemplate against the bonus.

The following considerations justify both my request and the favorable response I ask of Doctors Grise and McCloy and their attorney.

For several decades prior to November 1959 the question of whether to pay a soldiers bonus to Kentucky veterans was active in the public mind. The 1958 legislature directed that the question of paying a veterans bonus be submitted to the people of Kentucky. Accordingly, the question was submitted directly to the people and voted upon at the November 1959 general election. Opponents and supporters of the bonus question campaigned openly and the question was widely aired before the people voted.

On November 3, 1959, the people of Kentucky voted to pay a bonus to Kentucky veterans. It was a clear-cut majority, with 321,462 yes votes and 283,902 no votes cast. At this point there no longer exists a question of whether a bonus should or should not be paid. The people of Kentucky had spoken. Through a direct mandate they had ordered that a veterans bonus be paid. The power of the people to make such a decision is inherent in the democratic form of government.

To carry out the expressed will of the people, I asked the 1960 General Assembly to enact legislation for payment of the bonus. The General Assembly did so. Last week the Kentucky Court of Appeals, the highest court in our state, ruled against Doctors Grise and McCloy. The court held that the bonus should be paid. The intention of the Kentucky state government to pay the bonus to Kentucky veterans is soundly based upon the mandate of the people, the direction of the legislature, and the approval of the Kentucky courts.

Another factor of paramount importance bears in far heavier proportion on this matter now than it did a year ago when Doctors Grise and McCloy began to question the bonus through the courts. During

the past year a dangerous sag in the nation's economy has made its mark in Kentucky. The serious, nationwide dip in employment has left Kentuckians hungry and in need who were not necessarily so a year ago when Doctor Grise and Doctor McCloy retained a lawyer and began their litigation.

The need of many citizens is so great that it has drawn the attention and compassion of the president of the United States.² Emergency measures by the president and the Congress will help to some extent. Kentucky, however, does not address the federal government from a favorable position so long as the veterans bonus remains unpaid. Payment of the bonus at this time can be a major shot in Kentucky's economic arm.

The question which Doctors Grise and McCloy may have viewed a year ago as perhaps a matter of legal exploration must now also be viewed as a question of meat and bread for hungry people. Doctors Grise and McCloy and Mr. Huddleston face now a question of supplying or withholding food, clothing, and shelter to needy Kentuckians.

Doctor Grise and Doctor McCloy and Mr. Huddleston have within their choice a major economic tool. A decision on their part to drop litigation against the bonus can help greatly to avert disaster for many Kentuckians who are buffeted by the unemployment problem. I ask Doctor Grise and Doctor McCloy to consider all of these things. I ask them to consider particularly how the complexion of the national economy, and thereby the state's economy, has been changed since they filed their initial suit against the bonus a year ago.

Money is available from the sales tax revenue for the progressive retirement of the bond issue which was authorized by the people. If the litigation is dropped, sale of the bonds can be advertised immediately, and payment of the bonus can be made.

The sales tax was enacted in part to pay the bonus bonds, and I am convinced a majority of Kentucky people want the bonds to be sold and the bonus paid now. This administration has set up and staffed a bonus division in state government, and some 250,000 applications have been received. All of these applications have been processed in part, and the division is in position to start mailing checks as soon as the money is made available from the sale of the bonds.

I ask Doctor Grise and Doctor McCloy, individually and together, to refrain from further delay through the courts and to permit the bonus to be quickly paid.

Following passage of the bonus payment plan in 1960, two Bowling Green physicians challenged its constitutional validity, thus making it impossible to issue any funds to veterans until court decisions had been rendered. Early in 1961 the Kentucky Court of Appeals rejected the opposing arguments, but the possibility of an appeal to the United States Supreme Court threatened further delay. Combs urged the plaintiffs to accept the state court decision for the good of the Commonwealth, which eventually they did. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 13, 1961.

1. Paul Huddleston (1916–1975), member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1958–1960); special assistant attorney general of Kentucky (1965–1968); born in Campbellsville, Kentucky, and resided in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 25, 1976.

Richard Finley Grise (1920–), surgeon, Bowling Green, Kentucky (1952–); born in Bowling Green, and resident of Bowling Green. *Who's Who in South and Southwest, 1969–1970*, 11th ed. (Chicago, 1969), p. 407.

Dixon McCloy (1925–), physician in Bowling Green, Kentucky (1958–1962); born in Monticello, Arkansas, and resides in Panama City, Florida. Telephone interview with Grace Gilbert Clinic, Bowling Green, Kentucky, June 3, 1977.

2. On February 1, 1961, President Kennedy announced that five pilot food-stamp projects would be set up in areas suffering from chronic unemployment and specified eastern Kentucky as one of the areas. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, February 2, 1961. Three weeks later Floyd County was one of seven counties in the nation designated for a one-year experimental food-stamp program. Food distribution was to begin June 1, 1961. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, April 22, 1961.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT BILL

Washington, D.C. / February 28, 1961

My purpose here is threefold: 1) to testify in favor of S 1; 2) to emphasize that an emergency exists in many parts of the country, and to urge that the entire program for economic recovery heretofore recommended by the president be expedited; 3) to discuss other measures necessary to meet the specific problems of the Appalachian states including Kentucky.

The Area Redevelopment bill is, in my opinion, a necessary and effective part of the solution to the nation's economic problem. The

general slowdown in the nation's economic processes seems to be concentrated in the so-called distressed areas. Action aimed directly at helping these hard-hit sectors of unemployed workers will be the most effective way to relieve the economic pressures.

There is no reason for me to repeat testimony this committee has already heard. I have endorsed the legislation, but let me go further than that. In Kentucky, we are trying to practice what this legislation preaches. We have established an industrial loan program similar in principle to that provided for in this bill. However, the loan funds made available in a federal program are desperately needed, even in those states which have already established such programs.

In Kentucky, we have a strong program of assistance to local communities, covering direct city planning assistance and technical assistance for community and industrial development programs. The loans and grants for public developmental facilities and the technical-assistance provisions of S 1 will be most helpful in our programs and will allow our communities to overcome impossible obstacles.

Special economic problems face many of the nation's communities, especially in distressed areas. We are proud of our Kentucky program in this field, but we are desperately in need of federal assistance.

If one feature of this bill should be singled out for highest praise by me, it would be the provisions for vocational training and retraining. I would strongly urge that the funds for this purpose be increased. In Kentucky we have expanded such programs but we have a long waiting list of able young people applying for vocational training. Virtually all of the graduates of these training schools are finding employment.

In regard to the president's overall program, I want to urge that the program in its entirety be pushed forward with all possible speed. In my opinion, the situation is daily becoming more critical. In Kentucky, for instance, we not only have more unemployment by reason of slowdown and layoffs in manufacturing plants in the urban centers, but unemployment in rural areas has increased by reason of those who have lost their jobs in urban industrial plants and have returned to their homes in rural Kentucky.

The present unemployment rate in Kentucky is 11.5 percent. This means 124,000 members of the labor force are unemployed. This fails to express the intensity of the problem in counties where unemployment persists at 20 percent and above. And this does not include underemployment which exists in large areas of Kentucky.

Distressed areas in this country fall into one of three categories. Some of all three are present in Kentucky, to wit: a) Those urban areas in which unemployment is high by reason of decreased industrial activities. b) Semi-rural and small town areas suffering from the slowdown in small industrial plants as well as the loss of income to the farm population. c) Those areas, both urban and rural, which lie in large underdeveloped regions suffering from the effects of automation, loss of markets, and other well-known factors resulting in a depressed economy — where the economy can only be restored by the construction of basic facilities which will permit the development of national resources.

I have received messages this week from our urban centers of increasing industrial layoffs; also from other parts of our state showing layoffs and shutdowns in mining and other operations; and reports of the steady return of unemployed persons to these underdeveloped areas already suffering from chronic unemployment.

It seems to me there has been sufficient discussion of the first two types of areas — which you classify in S 1 as major and small labor surplus areas. It is my feeling that the president's program, including S 1, will be effective in aiding these areas and should be put into action immediately.

However, it is my feeling that the third type of area — which is not even classified separately under any pending legislation — has not been properly considered. Therefore, I would like to outline very briefly certain measures that I feel are essential to recovery in underdeveloped regions.

The need for the separate and distinct designation of underdeveloped regions has been well conceived and understood in our foreign aid program. But there has been an unwillingness to recognize the simple fact that in our great and prosperous America we still have regions where the basic development upon which modern commerce and industry must depend has not been provided.

Kentuckians and Kentucky delegations in Congress have supported the theory and practice of foreign aid since it was first enunciated by George Marshall and put into effect under President Truman. It makes sense I think to strengthen the economies of our allies, so that they may stand with us against the threat of communist aggression. It makes sense to build their economies so that they may buy from us and sell to us, developing in the process a strong free-world economy. It makes sense to help the neutral nations of the world become self-sufficient, able to stand against communist intrigue.

But if it makes sense to rebuild western Europe and uncommitted nations, surely it makes equally good sense to develop the underdeveloped areas of our own country, so that these people who are loyal Americans can also become economic factors in our way of life. If it makes sense to rebuild West Germany and France so that they may produce and trade with us, surely it makes sense to build up eastern Kentucky and West Virginia so that these Americans can also become producers and consumers of the American bounty.

One-fourth of Kentucky — that being the eastern section of the state — lies in the so-called depressed Appalachian states. In that area there is an acute shortage of food and shelter. In the thirty-two-county depressed area of Kentucky, coal production has dropped one-third during the last ten-year period. In the same area, 75 to 80 percent of the housing has become substandard. In the ten-state area, 50 percent of the housing is substandard. In the ten-state area, over 10 percent of the people are unemployed. In the thirty-two-county area of eastern Kentucky, 20 percent of the people are unemployed and many others are underemployed.

In the period between 1950 and 1960, 250,000 people left the thirty-two-county area of Kentucky. In the ten-state Appalachian area, over one million people have left during the same period. In this ten-state area the migration out has been greater than in any other area of the country.

In the manufacturing belt roughly cornered by Boston and New York and Chicago, over half of the nation's population is located. This area has the biggest immigration. The people leaving the ten-state Appalachian area go largely to the "manufacturing belt." This leads to urban renewal difficulties and similar problems.

Therefore, the problem is not local in nature but on the contrary is and should be of concern to the nation as a whole. The problem is getting worse instead of better. Federal aid is needed — federal aid for flood control, for highways, for soil conservation, and for public buildings and other facilities.

These problems have been brought about mainly by automation in the two industries on which the regions have historically depended — coal mining and farming. Today in Kentucky, we have auger and strip mines in which production averages one hundred tons per man per day. Yet Kentucky's coal economy was based on a production figure of four tons per man per day. The result, of course, is massive unemployment in mining communities. Small farmers have been obliged to mechanize in order to survive, and as a result, there are no longer the traditional jobs for farmhands and for farm sons. Ken-

tucky has tried to help by building roads, parks, school buildings, and by trying to bring diversified industry into the area. But the problem is too great for us alone.

Our simple thesis with regard to these underdeveloped regions is that we cannot revitalize an economy to provide gainful employment for these people who have so long served free enterprise unless we help them "catch up" on the development of the basic facilities, such as roads, water-control projects, parks, soil conservation, reforestation, etc.

In the entire history of eastern Kentucky, public expenditures for development of water resources have totaled less than \$100 million. The total cost of all water projects authorized in this area but not yet started is less than \$250 million. Contrast this with the fact that in this thirty-two-county area the expenditure for public assistance programs alone in the last six years is \$166 million. In 1960 it was \$35 million and is steadily increasing.

Obviously, the question is whether we shall pay for welfare programs and direct relief to maintain people just short of suffering, or whether some reasonable proportion of this cost shall go for sound investments in area development. Only the latter approach will allow our people to become self-supporting taxpaying citizens.

I am not here to suggest the amendment of S 1. I think it is a good bill and I compliment its sponsors and urge its passage. But I think it is only a part of the program needed. Therefore, I would like to outline in the briefest terms some of the additional executive actions and legislation required to meet this need for basic development in certain areas.

I urge that, in addition to S 1 and the other facets of the president's recommendations for economic recovery, consideration be given to the following program for underdeveloped areas:

A. Essential Economic Facilities

1. Highways

A special interregional highway program is a top priority need. In many instances, federal aid funds are withheld from roads because of the existing justification formula. The interstate system tends to bypass, rather than serve, the underdeveloped areas. Even the current unusual efforts of some states to meet this need — such as Kentucky's new Kentucky Turnpike Authority program — is not adequate because of the state's limitations. The need for major highways in underdeveloped regions is so severe that a premium must be assigned to the benefits to be derived from such highways. Additional federal highway funds for catch-up development is im-

perative to tie the commerce of the underdeveloped regions to other areas of the country.

The 1958 Highway Act should be amended to provide specifically for roads to serve populous but isolated areas where economic depression is severe and where commercial access to interstate and other systems would be a major breakthrough in development. Additional funds should be appropriated specifically for this purpose, and both the justification and matching fund formula should be liberalized for distressed areas in underdeveloped regions.¹

I would strongly emphasize, too, that federal aid funds should be made available regardless of whether the road is constructed as a freeway or as a toll facility. If this is done, toll roads can be built into many of these distressed areas where sufficient state revenue is not available for freeways.

2. Water development

a. The president has indicated an acceleration of water-development projects including new starts, and this is especially urged for projects now authorized for distressed areas.

b. Because of the urgent need for control of water in underdeveloped areas, both in terms of flood protection and of the developmental uses of water, appropriate administrative action is urged to establish as a policy of the Bureau of the Budget, the Corps of Engineers, Small Watershed Program agencies, and other agencies the allowance of "developmental objectives and benefits" in criteria governing design and justification of projects located in populous regions characterized by severe underdevelopment and economic depression. Such benefits as stimulation to labor and business activity, development of industrial and tourist activities, land enhancement, and provision of municipal and industrial water supply are construed under present policies to be regional or local in benefit, rather than national. However, for a region of large and increasing public assistance costs, where human and other resources are greatly underemployed, demonstrable offsetting developmental benefits should be recognized as national in effect. Such a policy is essential for an effective program in areas that are distressed and underdeveloped.

3. Programs affecting community facilities, housing, stream pollution, and the like should be revised carefully to determine beneficial developmental effects of allowing lower local contributions in proportion to local level of living and tax base indices, some revision of criteria and objectives to meet unusual regional conditions, and increased technical and advisory services. The latter would apply espe-

cially to assistance in formulating new approaches to problems, such as a planning project to involve several communities working together to develop a common industrial park or other facility.

4. An emergency public work program, limited to areas of most severe distress and/or underdevelopment. Such a program is absolutely essential in these areas regardless of whether such programs should be considered generally as anti-recession measures. Both the provision of immediate employment and the development of local resources and facilities such as roads, schools, parks, libraries, and other community facilities are urgently needed and both objectives should guide the policies of such a program.

B. Human Resource Development

1. Pending legislation for federal aid to education, with provision for greater aid to extremely low income and tax base areas, is of equal, if not greater, importance with highway and water-development programs. The most immediate, direct, and lasting means to provide redevelopment for many individuals of distressed areas is to upgrade their opportunities for personal education and training.

2. In addition to federal aid to general education, a special program providing for increases in vocational and technical training, guidance, counseling, and placement is needed in distressed areas. While the overall vocational training program can be absorbed into the educational systems, the immediate need is of a semi-emergency nature to permit the training of those young people who are now unemployed. Vocational training has more effective capacity than any other program to place young people into productive employment.

C. Economic Resource Development

1. Forestry has greater potential for redevelopment as an economic base in many rural distressed areas than any other resource.

a. The ready-to-go projects of the National Forest Service should receive additional appropriation as a fast, but highly justifiable, means of creating jobs.

b. Additional funds should be allotted to cooperative federal-state programs, with greatest emphasis on development of state forest and park lands and of private lands.

c. A youth conservation corps program would be most useful, if provision were made for use of crews of local enrollees of higher age brackets (twenty-one to forty-five) in forested areas contiguous with areas of severe unemployment.

2. Coal, timber, and other resource utilization research projects should receive all possible stimulation.

3. In order to encourage new industrial plant location and expansion in distressed areas, strong consideration should be given tax amortization for such plants.

4. There is a unique need for creation of industrial sites in areas where terrain and other factors are not favorable to industrial plant location. In such areas, a special technical and financial assistance program should be provided to help area groups to develop such sites.

D. Recognition of Special Developmental Problems and Opportunities

1. A presidential order, directing all departments to review existing programs for distressed areas can result in beneficial action and recommendations for needed changes. Emphasis should be placed upon creation of employment opportunities, as well as basic developmental action. Examples could include:

a. Provision of surplus trucks for food distribution in extremely low budget counties.

b. Formulation of more realistic means of measurement of underdevelopment.

c. Acceleration of work projects under existing programs in forestry, national parks, soil conservation, and similar programs.

d. Regional readjustment of certain credit restrictions, governed by administrative regulations, in such programs as those of the Farmers Home Administration, to stimulate use of loan funds in low income areas.

2. An Appalachian regional commission should be established, either by presidential order or congressional action or both. Such a commission is an indispensable factor in finalizing the special nature of problems of this region in terms of national interest; in making beneficial short-term recommendations for many programs (federal, state, or local) within present program operations; and in formulating within 1961 a positive, reasonable, and effective development program for this region. Vast quantities of information are available about the region, but there is a final need to focus all this information and all action forces into action programming, on such a scale as only a federal commission could accomplish, working in close cooperation with the existing Conference of Appalachian Governors.

I know that these are strong recommendations. But I urge them without hesitation. The current flood of stories and pictures showing

severe hardship suffered in many areas do not exaggerate the problems we have to face up to.

In regard to the matter of state and local responsibility to meet the problems confronting us, I invite you to familiarize yourself with Kentucky's new program of overall development — including great increases in the financing of programs in education, industrial development, community development, natural resource development, construction of highways, airports, small lakes, and state parks. With what I hope is pardonable pride, I will say that our new Kentucky program may represent one of the strongest efforts among all the states to do for ourselves in proportion to the maximum reach of our tax base. But I know, as you do, that all the states are straining at the outer limits of their practical ability to carry out programs of their own. In simple reason, it should be clear to all that there are certain fundamental programs of education, welfare, and development that are essential to a balanced and growing national economy and that are possible only through the revenue and resources available to the federal government. Our necessary course is to select and plan the most essential of these programs and to provide appropriately and wisely for their administration. We need to do it now.

Testifying before the House Banking and Currency Committee, Combs enthusiastically endorsed the Area Redevelopment bill and called for even more federal assistance to Appalachia than provided in the measure. The resulting Area Redevelopment Act became law on May 1, 1961. 75 STAT 47.

1. This refers to the formula that determines how much federal money goes to a particular state for roads, based on population among other factors. Kentucky had lost part of its share because of the 1960 census in which Kentucky had not kept pace in population growth with the nation. States then matched federal money for roads. Press statement by Henry Ward, March 1, 1961, Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University Library, Richmond.

KENTUCKY TOURIST CONFERENCE
The Importance of Tourism to Kentucky
Louisville / March 1, 1961

If there is one thing we can agree on in Kentucky, it is the importance of tourists. Last year over 17.25 million tourists came from outside Kentucky and spent \$180 million in our state. I think the money tourists spend in Kentucky is the best money they spend anywhere, and the more they spend in Kentucky the smarter I think they are. And if we are half as smart as we ought to be, those people will go home happy and enthusiastic. They'll tell their friends about us and they'll come back the first chance they get.

I want to make it clear that the Commonwealth of Kentucky is not competing with private industry for the tourist's dollar. Your state administration wants only to help bring the tourists in here so they can spend their money with us. Wherever possible we want them to spend their money with you and the other businessmen throughout the Commonwealth.

We think we can help you in a number of ways and I hope you will work with us and help us to help you. Here's what your state government is doing this year to help you.

The Tourist Promotion Division is distributing your literature every day. When someone writes in inquiring about something in your area, they get pieces of your literature along with the answer. And we will soon have a much wider program under way. For those of you who make it available, we will place your literature on display at good places in Kentucky's cities. Twenty-four cities are lined up so far and others will be added. Regular checks will be made on the display racks or tables in the hotels, motels, and other suitable spots to make sure the literature is complete and fresh and well arranged. And, through a community welcoming organization, over a thousand newcomers will be contacted per month and given your promotion material.

The older school pupils, high school seniors, and college students are being encouraged to tour Kentucky and become familiar with its history, with its famous attractions, and countless points of interest.

Many of you have probably noticed that little roadside parks are being developed as widely and as advantageously as possible. A new mapping program will show these midget park locations on the highway.

A lot of new and valuable pioneering work is now being done in the compiling and listing of Kentucky's tourist attractions and facilities. All the attractions and facilities near the state parks, for example, are being listed and presented to state park visitors and prospective visitors.

A valuable addition along this line is the project now being developed jointly between Kentucky's newspaper editors and the Tourist and Travel Division. They plan to catalog all of Kentucky's tourist attractions. The division gets inquiries all the time about attractions in many counties. Some of them are little known and the division people need to have such information available.

Still another compilation concerns the shops and outlets that specialize in Kentucky handicraft items, antiques, textiles, and the like. Plenty of women tourists, as you well know, delight in shopping their way through a vacation and they need to be told where to find the things they want.

This spring there will be two excellent movies ready for showing. They are both in color, beautifully filmed and with splendid sound tracks. One depicts the state parks and the other dwells on Kentucky's history. They will be shown widely, inside as well as outside the state, wherever a good advantage offers.

The movies will dovetail with another interesting plan. A speakers bureau is being developed so that the services of a good speaker to promote Kentucky's tourist attractions will be available just about anytime and anywhere in the Ohio Valley where one can be used. There are innumerable PTAs, civic clubs, luncheon clubs, homemakers, and groups of all kinds constantly looking for an entertaining speaker. We plan to furnish these speakers, equipped with a movie and a talk that will kindle interest in the minds of their listeners and a desire to visit Kentucky and see these sights for themselves.

Now I am happy to announce that tourist information centers will be established at strategic points on or adjacent limited access highways throughout Kentucky. The first two will be set up this year. One will be on the Kentucky Turnpike, probably at the service area near Shepherdsville. The other probably will be in the northern Kentucky-Cincinnati area, perhaps on the Fort Mitchell-Florence stretch of Interstate Highway 75.

At these centers the tourist can be given specific information about the places he wants to see, and he will get directions to other interesting points in the region or en route. People appreciate this kind of thing. I guess every one of us has traveled within a few minutes of

something we would really want to see but didn't find out it was there until long after.

These two centers will, in a sense, serve as our laboratory. We will ascertain just how the center functions best. Then we can train information people there to man information centers on other limited access roads.

In addition, literature describing Kentucky's tourist attractions will be distributed from information booths at several district offices of the state Highway Department. They include, for the time being, the district offices in Bowling Green, Lexington, Covington, Paducah, and Somerset.

We must keep in mind that the more people know about what Kentucky has to offer, the more they will want to see our attractions and tell about them when they get home.

Governor Combs returned time and again to the theme that tourism was invaluable to Kentucky, thereby justifying the state's expanded investment in it. Here he emphasized the variety of tourist lures for which state taxes were being used.

KENTUCKY HIGHWAY CONFERENCE

Financing Kentucky's Highways

Lexington / March 2, 1961

HENRY WARD¹ has sketched for you our efforts — and problems — in undertaking to build a modern network of highways adequate for Kentucky's needs. Prominent among those problems, as always, is the need for adequate funds. I agree with Mr. Ward that we cannot further speed up the federal aid highway program unless additional federal funds are made available to us.

Right now we are running ahead of schedule — \$30 million ahead of schedule. We accomplished this, in planning for construction contracts, by using part of the \$90 million bond issue to finance temporarily both the state's and the federal government's share of projects.

Rather than wait for the fourth quarter allotment of federal funds, which normally would not have been available until April, we decided to speed up the road building program by advancing bond money funds to pay the full cost of projects. We, of course, will be reimbursed by the federal government for its share.

We were already ahead of the game when President Kennedy announced in February that he had authorized the states to advertise construction contracts in anticipation of the federal allotment due April 1. Somehow some people misconstrued the president's action to mean that Kentucky was getting additional federal funds. Let me reemphasize, as Mr. Ward has done, that Kentucky did not receive an extra cent.

As a matter of fact, Kentucky will lose \$740,000 in federal funds for highway building this year because our increase in population has not kept pace with that of the rest of the nation. Our population in the last decade increased 2.3 percent, while the nation's population increased more than 13 percent. I am hopeful that the very circumstances which handicapped our growth in population and which caused us to lose \$740,000 in federal highway funds this year will encourage the federal government to provide us with additional funds for road construction.

Last Tuesday I testified in Washington before the House Banking and Currency Committee, which is considering legislation proposed by the national administration to help depressed and underdeveloped areas. Eastern Kentucky is among those areas.

I stressed the need for liberalizing federal highway grants as a means of assisting those areas. A special highway program, with top priority, would be a major breakthrough for populous but isolated areas where economic depression is severe. Such a program could give these areas access to interstate highways and other important arteries. We are undertaking to do just that with the new eastern Kentucky highway, now under construction. It will open up to greater economic development a vast area of Kentucky which for centuries has been virtually isolated.

The construction of modern highways has an important relationship to just about everything the state government is now undertaking to improve the lot of all Kentuckians in fields such as industrial and agricultural development, education, health, and welfare. And we are making progress — good progress — in the improvement of our highways. While Commissioner Ward is blunt in calling attention to our problems and shortcomings — and that is how I want him

to be — he is rather modest when it comes to pointing out the accomplishments of his department.

For example, he has been successful in negotiating with the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads for modifications in requirements which will enable Kentucky to obtain more roads for its dollars. In one case, the requirements would have run the cost of one project to \$3.5 million. Mr. Ward in effect threw up his hands and said, "We just don't have that kind of money." By careful pruning of embellishments and by reducing details to the very essentials, his department is taking care of the public's needs in this particular case with an expenditure of \$600,000 rather than \$3.5 million.

He is proceeding on the theory that when a community needs relief from a traffic problem, such as congestion, it prefers to settle for basic relief without frills or luxuries rather than have no relief at all. The delegations who visit the Highway Department in quest of road improvements have agreed unanimously with this approach to their problems.

This is only common sense. A representative of the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads has agreed with Commissioner Ward that it is neither practical nor reasonable to apply broad and rigid specifications to every project. Standards must be flexible. While it may be necessary to have an extra-wide right-of-way, a wide median strip, sidewalks, curbs, and gutters for one project, that doesn't mean that every project should have these extras. The yardstick must be balanced between what is needed and what can be done within the reasonable limits of the department. We must recognize, too, that some of our major thoroughfares will not be major thoroughfares five or ten years hence when nearby expressways or interstate highways absorb much of their traffic. Again, our objective is to meet needs within the limit of available funds.

We cannot lower basic standards by building highways that will not stand up under the anticipated traffic. This would be foolish. We intend to build highways that will be adequate in 1970 and 1980, but do it in a realistic and commonsense program that will enable us to satisfy our needs within the limits of our resources.

Our interstate highway program is coming along well. A total of 616.2 miles of interstate highways have been approved for Kentucky. Here is how we stand today: 70.7 miles of interstate highways are now under traffic; 54 miles are under surfacing contracts, which is the final stage; 31.7 miles are under grade and drain contracts; 129.3 miles are under right-of-way acquisition and design. These add up

to 285.7 miles — almost half of the total approved mileage — now under way.

The U.S. Bureau of Public Roads only yesterday reported that at the end of 1960 Kentucky had more interstate mileage under actual construction than thirty-four other states. The bureau also reported that in interstate mileage on which engineering work and right-of-way acquisition is in progress, Kentucky's figure was higher than that of twenty-four other states. The bureau reported further that in total work in progress with interstate funds — in actual construction, engineering, and right-of-way acquisition — Kentucky had more mileage involved than twenty-four other states.

At the same time that it is getting more construction going, the Highway Department is undergoing a reorganization which is increasing its efficiency and saving the taxpayers dollars. For example, heretofore we have had eight district offices and six area offices. They are being consolidated into twelve district offices. The new arrangement, besides increasing efficiency and reducing expense, will put operations of the department in closer touch with the people.

Plans for the Western Kentucky Turnpike are moving steadily forward. Traffic studies are being made of alternative routes. As soon as the route is definitely established and the engineering is completed, we can begin finalizing plans for financing.

We must be patient in marketing the bonds for this new project. It will be necessary to wait until market conditions are good, so that we can obtain the best possible interest rate — just as we did in the case of the Eastern Kentucky Turnpike. But we will proceed with all deliberate speed.

1. Henry Thomas Ward (1909–), member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1933–1943), majority leader (1943); member, Kentucky Senate (1946–1948); commissioner of conservation (1948–1955); commissioner of highways (1960–1967); born in New Hope, Kentucky, and resides in Howey-in-the-Hills, Florida. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 28, 1960. Telephone interview, April 20, 1976.

GROUND BREAKING FOR
NORTHERN KENTUCKY
VOCATIONAL TRAINING
SCHOOL BUILDING
Covington / March 11, 1961

In Kentucky human resources are our most important product. How well we develop and utilize those resources will determine, in a vast degree, the extent of progress which our Commonwealth will achieve, in competition with other states, in the critical years ahead.

To develop and make the best use of these resources, we must train our people for profitable employment and teach them how to live a fuller and richer life. Those two obligations represent the basic idea of the subject with which we are happily concerned today — vocational education.

In breaking ground for a million-dollar installation, which will be the new home of the Northern Kentucky Vocational School, we are strengthening Kentucky's position in a field where, I am pleased to note, our state is outstanding. Kentucky is one of the leading states — if not the leading state — in development of the area concept of vocational education. This concept enables us to make greater and more efficient use of the vocational training tools which we possess.

These two new buildings and their equipment for training people in many occupations — such as electronics, auto mechanics, carpentry, printing, office management, nursing, and mining — will be available to nine counties. The nine counties embrace 276,404 people, including 60,000 pupils.

Before Kentucky developed the area concept, the benefits of a vocational training program of a school were confined to the immediate community in which the school was located. Now, we are providing to nine counties, from this one center in Covington, buildings, equipment, and instructional staff which a single county hardly could afford.

Kentucky has thirteen other state-supported vocational schools, serving groups of counties in the same manner as the Northern Kentucky Vocational School. They are at Ashland, Bowling Green, Lexington, Harlan, Hazard, in Jefferson County, Madisonville, Owensboro, Paducah, Paintsville, and Somerset. They are so placed

that a vocational school is to be found within fifty miles of every resident of Kentucky.

The fourteen vocational schools contain more than \$2 million worth of equipment and are staffed with 308 full-time instructors and 168 part-time teachers. This year we are spending \$4 million for new buildings for nine schools.

Is it any wonder, then, that other states have been studying our vocational education program and are setting up similar systems for themselves?

The new buildings, which we are starting today, will permit the Northern Kentucky Vocational School to triple its enrollment of high school students, out-of-school youths, and adults. I am informed it will accommodate a total of 600.

Kentucky's vocational education program is a vital part of our overall endeavor to improve the economic stature and raise the standard of living of all Kentuckians.

You are aware of what Kentucky is doing in the field of general education. The General Assembly has increased by \$110 million the appropriations for public schools and our institutions of higher learning in the current biennium.

We are in the midst of an intensive campaign to attract new industry to Kentucky. We have been successful. During 1960, commitments were made for the investment of more than \$377 million in new plants and plant expansions in our state. We are accelerating our agricultural research and seeking new uses and new markets for our farm products. We are building new highways and opening up heretofore remote areas to new commerce — industrial and agricultural. We are exploiting our boundless scenic and historical advantages by expanding our state parks and advertising public and privately owned resort facilities in order to attract more tourists to Kentucky. All these activities have the purpose of increasing Kentucky's wealth and providing employment opportunities for Kentuckians.

As these opportunities develop, we must have people educated and trained to take full advantage of them. And that is where our program of educational improvement — general and vocational — will pay off. We must be ready with scientists, engineers, technicians, craftsmen, and salesmen competent to handle the jobs which will be offered to them.

The U.S. Department of Labor estimates that the increase in the number of workers in the 1960s will be by far the largest for any ten-year period in our history. This increase will be 50 percent greater than during the 1950s. By the late 1960s, three million new

young workers will enter the labor force each year, as compared with two million at present.

The biggest increases in job opportunities will occur in occupations requiring the most education and training, such as professional and technical, 40 percent; clerical and sales, 25 percent; skilled workers, 22 percent; and semiskilled workers, 18 percent. The number of unskilled jobs is expected to stay about the same. Therefore, you readily can recognize the extreme importance of education — general and vocational — to every citizen, young and old, who cherishes a good income and a better way of life.

That is another reason why we are expanding the vocational education program in Kentucky. In addition to the \$4 million investment in new buildings this year, we are opening extension centers of the existing vocational schools. Such centers now are under construction or being planned in Pike, Floyd, Morgan, Knox, and Breathitt counties. Other centers will be developed as facilities and funds are available.

In these undertakings we are receiving excellent cooperation from local boards of education. These boards operate eleven of our vocational schools.

And now, in behalf of the Commonwealth, I wish to express gratitude for the vision and perseverance of those citizens who have helped Kentucky to achieve its position of eminence in the field of vocational education.

These new buildings, for which we are breaking ground today, are outstanding examples of that vision and perseverance. I am sorry that time does not permit me to list the full roll of honor of the men and women who have contributed to this new project. They would include Henry Pogue, Senator Ware, George Ankenbauer, Steve Marcum, and the far-sighted and generous officials and citizens of Covington, who donated the land for the new Northern Kentucky Vocational School.¹

The steady decline in Kentucky's population because of inadequate educational opportunities spurred the Combs administration to promote vocational as well as other forms of education throughout the Commonwealth. This is an example of the governor's thinking on the matter.

1. Henry E. (Bud) Pogue (1921–), realtor; director of Fort Thomas-Bellevue Bank; member, state Board of Education (1955–); president, Kentucky Association of Realtors (1958); president, Northern Kentucky Chamber of Commerce (1971); director-at-large for National Association of

State Boards of Education (1976); born in Fort Thomas, Kentucky, and resident of Fort Thomas. Linda Larson, reference librarian, Kenton County Public Library, to editor, May 16, 1977.

James Culbertson Ware (1913–), special agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation (1943–1946); city attorney, South Fort Mitchell, Kentucky (1946–1950, 1954–1957); state senator (1957–1965), majority leader (1960–1964); born in Covington, Kentucky, and resides in South Fort Mitchell. *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1955), p. 353. James C. Ware to editor, June 8, 1976.

George J. Ankenbauer (1897–), unsuccessful candidate for state senate in early 1950s; served on Devou Park Board (1950–1960); served on Kenton County Draft Board (1966–1970); born in Covington, Kentucky, and resides in Covington. Linda Larson, reference librarian, Kenton County Public Library, to editor, May 16, 1977.

Steve B. Marcum (1924–), director of Northern Kentucky Vocational School (1958–1967); director of Division of Buildings and Grounds for Kentucky Department of Education (1967–); born in Bar Creek, Kentucky, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. Linda Larson, reference librarian, Kenton County Public Library, to editor, May 16, 1977.

KENTUCKY SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION

The Importance of Local School Boards Lexington / March 14, 1961

THE job of school board member is one of the most important in our democratic system of government. I know of no position, so basic in our democracy, in which the citizen can better apply his talents with such far-reaching effect on the future of our civilization.

The school board member, through the system of education which he directs, influences if not controls the studies, the thinking, and the degree of knowledge of our future citizens in their most impressionable period of life. Indeed, he can wield awesome power for community good and community development.

The operation of schools is largely a local matter, and the people operate schools through local board members. Although the state has general control and supervision of education, it cannot assume the

responsibility for operating schools locally. That responsibility by necessity must be entrusted to the people, and they in turn delegate it to their school board members. When a local board fails to assume the full responsibility required under the law, its school system breaks down, democracy breaks down, and the consequences can be all sorts of harm, including dictatorship.

The quality of an educational program is closely related to the level of performance demanded by the community. An important question is: How do we get people in a community to assume responsibility and to demand that such responsibility be discharged faithfully by those in whose hands it is ultimately placed?

The idea behind the Commission on Public Education¹ is to get people in local communities concerned about their educational problems. The school board, representative of the people, reflects what the people expect in school performance and community standards of conduct.

The President's Commission on National Goals recently commented: "American education can be as good as the American people want it to be, and no better." The people of Kentucky, I feel, have demonstrated that they want good schools for their boys and girls. They have demonstrated it by providing to education the greatest outlay of money in our state's history. They are demonstrating it now by paying a sales tax with a minimum of complaint, because they know that a substantial portion of their sales tax money is being invested in their schools — an investment which will pay handsome dividends in the future.

They have clearly shown that they want — you might say, demand — the best system of education with their means. They have backed up their request with the money to finance the necessary improvements. With the cooperation of conscientious public officials such as yourselves, Kentucky is making progress in achieving those improvements.

A national authority on education has said that he knows of no state which made more progress in education than Kentucky in 1960. The Department of Education reports that Kentucky now has the best teachers in its history; that 75.2 percent of them have college degrees. Kentucky last year led the nation in the percentage increase of appropriations to education. The increase was 40.8 percent. Kentucky's public school instructional staff in 1960 received the highest average salary increase in the nation. The increase was 26 percent, which was double that of the second-ranking state. South Carolina was second with 10.8 percent.

All of us have a responsibility to see that this progress continues. It is a grave responsibility. The people have given us tools with which to do the job. Now they are expecting performance.

Never before have our schools, their administrators, and the state government's role in education been placed under closer scrutiny. And this is only the beginning. This spotlight on education will increase in intensity as the public looks for the promised improvements.

And this is as it should be. The people have a right to demand that their money be spent wisely and efficiently. And they are entitled to the facts. We all have a responsibility not only to establish a sound school program but to establish a sound system of auditing or accounting to the public for school funds. I feel that local boards of education feel as I do about this.

It will not suffice for us — the state government and the school administrators — to wait for the public to call faults to our attention before we act. We ourselves are obligated to maintain a close watch on our operations. Any fault — any suspicion or maladministration and inefficiency — should be tackled immediately, and prompt remedial action should follow. We just cannot tolerate any instances of misconduct, or lack of proper conduct, in trying to achieve the goal which the people have set for us.

I said earlier that a grave burden of responsibility is on our shoulders. This responsibility extends to every individual — every state official, every school administrator, every teacher — who is a cog in our educational machinery. The public is prone at times, as you know, to judge the whole by the part. We have too much at stake to permit any particular school board or superintendent to discredit or even to reflect suspicion on our entire program. When fraud, favoritism, or chicanery appear in the operation of a community's school system, it must be stamped out promptly and decisively. We must not — we cannot — tolerate any wrongdoing by any individual or group of individuals in any one community which will tend to tear down the accomplishments of the thousands of dedicated public school officials in all our other communities.

We will make mistakes, of course — but honest ones, I trust. They are to be expected in any organization or business. Let us strive conscientiously, however, to hold them to a reasonable minimum. And let us demonstrate to the public that we are sincerely striving always to operate in their best interests. In this way we can retain the public's confidence and merit its continuing support of a program to

elevate our school system to the level of excellence which Kentuckians deserve.

All of us have a responsibility, too, to safeguard the sources of our school revenue; to see that they continue adequate for our needs. We might well heed the caution expressed by Miss Grace Weller,² president of the Kentucky Education Association, who said recently: "Any reduction in sales tax revenues will result in a corresponding reduction in funds for public schools." She was warning us to be on guard against attempts to curtail the tax's earning power with exemptions when the General Assembly meets next year.

I repeat that there are many encouraging signs throughout Kentucky. As never before, our people are interested in education. School board members are assuming more responsibility for improving education. Your presence here today is proof of that. You are giving more attention to the appointment of good superintendents who will assume educational leadership. Great effort is being exerted at the local level to support education adequately. Approximately every school district in Kentucky is now levying the statutory maximum tax rate, and approximately one-half the school districts have voted special school building taxes.

Now that the people, the local boards, and the state government are making a maximum effort to improve education, we must look to the federal government to assume more of the burden. Education has become a national responsibility, because education has become important in the competition between nations. I have found sentiment throughout Kentucky in favor of substantial federal financing of public schools. The prospects for federal help appear good. With such help, Kentucky's parents, teachers, and school administrators will be able to keep up with the increased challenge of education.

The impressive increase in state financial support to education authorized by the 1960 General Assembly had caused legislators and administrators to be deeply concerned with educational methods and objectives. A state commission to evaluate the public schools was in the organizing state early in 1961 and reports of misused funds were already circulating. The state's role in public education policy was not yet clearly delineated, but that Combs did not plan to ignore the issue is revealed in this speech.

1. In mid-1960, Governor Combs named the nine members of the Commission on Public Education as authorized by the General Assembly. The commission held its first meeting in September 1960 and decided to set up subcommittees to evaluate curricula, administration, and higher education

separately. By December, a special curriculum committee to study course work in public schools had been established, and a private agency had been retained to deal with the other areas of interest. In February 1961 the curriculum committee announced its plan to visit fifty high schools and fifty elementary schools before the end of May and promised a report by year's end.

2. Grace Weller (1907–), president, Kentucky Education Association (1961); born in Canmer, Kentucky, and resides in Elizabethtown, Kentucky. Hambleton Tapp, ed., *Kentucky Lives: The Blue Grass State Who's Who* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1966), p. 502.

BEAVER VALLEY KIWANIS CLUB:
PROGRESS IN EDUCATION
Wheelwright / March 20, 1961

WE can proudly say that Kentucky is now making progress — substantial progress — in education. Dr. R.L. Johns¹ of the University of Florida, an authority on school finance and legislation, has said he knows of no state which made more progress than Kentucky in education in 1960. Because we have so far to go to make up for the years of neglect, it is a matter of absolute necessity that we continue to make substantial progress in education. In order to continue that progress, we must retain the sources of revenue which are financing improvement of our schools.

The sales tax is one of the major sources. Fifty-nine and one-half cents out of every sales tax dollar goes for education. It is significant that the states which have made great progress in improving their educational systems in recent years — especially in the area of increased financial support for public schools — are states which have a sales tax. For example, the greatest increase in teacher salaries, percentagewise, in the last ten years (1950 to 1960) was made by Mississippi. Its increase was 130.4 percent. Kentucky ranked second with 103 percent, and Maine was third with 101.8 percent. Mississippi and Maine, like Kentucky, have a sales tax.

In percentage of increase of appropriations for education in 1960, Kentucky was first with 40.8 percent. Rhode Island, which was second with 30.8 percent, is a sales tax state.

Kentucky also was first in the increase of average public school instructional salaries in 1960. Its increase was 26 percent. South Carolina was second with 10.8 percent, and Mississippi was third with 8.5 percent. South Carolina and Mississippi derive a big portion of their revenue from a sales tax.

Thirty-four states and the District of Columbia now have a sales tax. Three other states — Alaska, Hawaii, and Indiana — have what amounts to a sales tax, but under a different name. So we might say that thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia have found it necessary to resort to the same system of taxation in order to provide adequately for the needs of their people.

Efforts may be made in the next session of the legislature to curtail the sales tax revenue through exemptions of various items, now taxed. I need not point out to you that any reduction in our revenue must be followed by corresponding decreases in services rendered by the government. And, since education is benefiting most from the sales tax, it is natural that education would suffer the worst from a cut in revenue.

The overriding issue in the forthcoming legislative races is whether we will sabotage this tax program and let education and other programs collapse. We cannot afford to sabotage the tax structure and let our program in education collapse. The other states with a sales tax have recognized the necessity for holding exemptions to a minimum. Only nine of the states exempt food.

Those states which have extensive exemptions now are finding that those exemptions are a millstone around their neck and are preventing them from taking care of their needs. The governor of North Carolina,² for example, only this month called for the removal of all exceptions — including that on food — from his state's 3 percent sales tax.³

As the May primary election date drew closer in 1961, attacks upon the sales tax mounted. Combs correspondingly took every opportunity to underscore the importance of retaining the tax by explaining over and over again specific benefits provided by the resulting revenue.

1. Roe Lyell Johns (1900–), professor of school administration, Alabama Polytech Institute (1928–1935); director, administrator of administration and finance, Alabama Department of Education (1934–1943); professor of educational administration, director of national educational finance project, College of Education, University of Florida (1968–1972); born in Jefferson County, Missouri, and resides in Gainesville, Florida. *Who's Who in America, 1972–1973*, 37th ed. (Chicago, 1972), p. 1598.

2. Terry Sanford (1917–), governor of North Carolina (1961–1965); president, Duke University (1969–); born in Laurinburg, North Carolina, and resident of Durham, North Carolina. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2837.

3. Combs went on to list projects under way in Floyd County dealing with roads, parks, and fish reservoirs.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
MEMORANDUM OPINION ON
AUTHORITY OF GOVERNOR
TO REMOVE A CIRCUIT JUDGE,
A COUNTY JUDGE, OR A MAYOR
OF A CITY OF THE SECOND CLASS
Frankfort / April 12, 1961

WHEREAS, for ouster purposes, affidavits have been officially lodged in this office, charging certain local officials of the county of Campbell and the city of Newport with willful neglect of duty; and

WHEREAS, the governor has no authority to remove a circuit judge, a county judge, or a mayor of a city of the second class; and

WHEREAS, a memorandum opinion has been prepared to this effect;

NOW, THEREFORE, I hereby direct that said memorandum opinion, which is attached hereto, be entered in the Executive Journal and made a part of the public record.¹

Campbell County in northern Kentucky by April 1961 had become the scene of intense conflict between local government officials and a reform Committee of 500. The latter appealed to Combs to help clean up vice in the area and the governor pledged his support. Proceeding with characteristic caution, Combs directed the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board to investigate by sending in additional agents but refused for the moment to put the state police in charge or to remove local officials. When Dr. Jesse L. Murrell, executive secretary of the Northern Kentucky Association of Protestant Churches, charged that Combs had reneged on his promise to oust Newport officials, the governor explained that he would do this only when proper affidavits

had been filed and indicated that even then he did not have authority to act against certain officials. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, April 6, 11, 16, 1961.

1. Drawn up by Combs on March 31, 1961, the eight-page memorandum opinion explained that KRS 63.100 authorized the state's chief executive to remove from office only "peace officers" guilty of neglect of duty. County judges, circuit judges, and mayors, he explained, were not peace officers and therefore beyond his control. Those clearly subject to his authority included sheriffs, detectives, and chiefs of police. Memorandum Opinion, March 31, 1961. Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University Library, Richmond.

DESEGREGATION IN LOUISVILLE

Frankfort / April 27, 1961

It is important to Kentucky that the problem of desegregation in Louisville be settled peacefully and without delay. I have followed the activities in Louisville in the past weeks very closely. Some progress had been made, but the mayor's¹ proposal of Tuesday which sets up a timetable for complete integration of downtown eating facilities seems to me a sensible solution.

I heartily endorse the mayor's proposal and urge the restaurant operators and the Negro community to carry out the plan quietly and according to the timetable suggested by the mayor.

This problem is not only Louisville's, it is Kentucky's. It seems to me that the mayor's plan in regard to eating facilities should be extended, so far as it is applicable, to downtown theaters.

By 1961 inequitable service for blacks at department stores, restaurants, and theaters in Louisville led to a "Buy-Nothing-for-Easter" campaign and threats by black leaders to extend the boycott indefinitely. Urged by these leaders to intervene, Combs met with Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell's emergency integration committee. "It was a very informative discussion," Combs explained later, but for the moment he declined to indicate anything else but that he planned "to play it by ear." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 17, 1961. Later when the mayor proposed a plan for gradual desegregation of downtown eating facilities, however, Combs not only responded with a full endorsement but added a suggestion for additional changes as indicated here.

1. Bruce Hoblitzell (1887–1970), mayor of Louisville (1957–1961); formerly sheriff of Jefferson County and president of the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce; born in Louisville and resided in Louisville. *New York Times*, August 12, 1970.

PADUCAH JUNIOR COLLEGE
COMMENCEMENT
Paducah / May 31, 1961

My text is a short one. Commencement speeches ought to be abolished. I like to make commencement speeches. Everybody likes to give advice. However, after making a great many commencement speeches over the years, I have come to the conclusion that the whole subject of commencement speeches needs to be reappraised. And the agonizing of the seniors as they twist and squirm during the speech should be an important factor in the reappraisal.

You are here for one purpose: to get your diploma. You have earned your diploma. Through the years you have listened to a great deal of advice. You are not in the mood tonight to listen to more platitudes and generalities. If by now you don't know that "early to bed and early to rise makes you healthy, wealthy, and wise"; if you don't know that a "stitch in time saves nine"; if you don't know that "a penny saved is a penny earned"; if you don't know that "if at first you don't succeed, try, try again"; if you don't know that "even a blind hog will occasionally find an acorn," you are not going to absorb that advice tonight.

An informal poll has been taken recently. Two questions were asked: Do you remember the name of your commencement speaker? Do you remember what he said? Most of those polled didn't even remember the speaker's name, and almost nobody could remember a thing he said.

I realize you are thinking about the dance or the party which will follow this program, or about a date with your current flame, or about a vacation or other summer activity.

You parents came to see your sons and daughters get their diplo-

mas, just as I expect to see my daughter get her high school diploma tomorrow night. You are very proud of them but you, too, are anxious to get home, take off your shoes, and turn on the television set.

So I am going to put the very excellent speech which has been prepared for me back in my pocket and merely say to you: congratulations, best of luck, and Godspeed. We are all very proud of you and we want you to stay in Kentucky, the land of opportunity.

The most original commencement message of the many Combs presented during his administration came at Paducah Junior College where he revealed his sense of humor as well as a typical commonsense approach to all matters.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
HEARINGS ON CHARGES OF FAILURE
TO ENFORCE THE LAW
Frankfort / June 7, 1961

AFFIDAVITS of nine persons have been filed in my office to the effect that George Gugel,¹ chief of police, Newport, Kentucky, has been guilty of neglect of his official duties as chief of police. It is charged in the affidavits that George Gugel has failed to enforce the statutory laws of Kentucky prohibiting prostitution, the setting up and operation of games of chance, off-track wagering on horse races, and the illegal sale of alcoholic beverages. If the affidavits are true, such neglect of duty would authorize me to remove Mr. Gugel from his office under the provisions of Section 227 of the Kentucky Constitution and Section 63.100 et seq of Kentucky Revised Statutes.

In view of the affidavits on file and pursuant to the Kentucky Constitution and the applicable statutes, I hereby charge George Gugel, chief of police, Newport, Kentucky, with neglect of his official duty by reason of his failure to enforce the statutory laws of Kentucky covering prostitution, gambling, and the illegal sale of alcoholic beverages.

In support of the charge, I attach hereto the affidavits of Christian F. Seifried, J. W. Steinman, Cesare Bernardini, Kenneth R. Dillon,

Jack H. Lee, Dudley Thomas Pomeroy, Reverend D. J. Witzl, Ray Stormer, and Donald R. Baker.

You are directed to record these charges and the affidavits supporting same in the Executive Journal and to prepare attested copies of same and cause these copies to be served upon George Gugel, chief of police, Newport, Kentucky.

It appearing that hearing of these charges will require the taking of testimony, and since other duties of my office make it impracticable for me to hear the case in person, I have appointed Honorable John L. Davis,³ an attorney of Lexington, Kentucky, as special commissioner to preside in this case.

The commissioner shall commence the hearing of testimony as soon as practicable after Chief Gugel has been given twenty days notice of these charges and of the time and place of the hearing. The commissioner is hereby vested with all necessary authority to conduct a thorough and impartial hearing on the charges herein contained, including the power to subpoena witnesses and to administer oaths.

The commissioner is directed to request the services of the office of the attorney general of Kentucky and to designate other attorneys at his discretion to appear for the prosecution to the end that a fair and impartial judicial hearing of these charges may be accomplished. He shall employ a competent reporter to record the testimony of witnesses. The commissioner shall also make a part of the record all affidavits, depositions, and exhibits bearing upon these charges.

I specifically reserve the right to appear personally in the conduct of these hearings and to issue to the commissioner such other directions as may be appropriate and desirable. The hearing of testimony shall be expedited, and when the record has been compiled, the commissioner shall promptly make a written finding of fact and recommendations to me.

Convinced by early June 1961 that he had sufficient grounds to intervene, Combs ordered four Newport public officials to appear in Frankfort before a special commission empowered to remove them from office. The four officials were Sheriff Norbert Roll, Campbell County Police Chief Harry Stuart, former Newport Police Chief George Gugel, and former Detective Chief Leroy Fredericks. The governor named John L. Davis, Lexington, to be special commissioner before whom Attorney General John B. Breckinridge would conduct the prosecution. Explaining that it would be impractical for him to conduct the hearings personally, Combs did, however, reserve the

right to participate as often as necessary. Only one of four executive orders appears here because each is identical except for the name and position of the individual charged. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 8, 1961.

1. George Gugel, Sr. (1895–1972), chief of police, Newport (1946–1961); born in Newport, Kentucky, and resided in Newport. Bernice Block, librarian, Newport Public Library, to editor, May 3, 1977.

2. Christian F. Seifried (1930–), member of citizens group in Newport concerned with reform; born in Cincinnati and resides in Newport, Kentucky. Bernice Block, librarian, Newport Public Library, to editor, May 3, 1977.

J. W. Steinman (1930–), member of citizens group in Newport concerned with reform; born in Cincinnati and resides in Fort Thomas, Kentucky. Bernice Block, librarian, Newport Public Library, to editor, May 3, 1977.

Cesare Bernardini (1922–), member of citizens group in Newport concerned with reform; born in Cincinnati and resides in Fort Thomas, Kentucky. Bernice Block, librarian, Newport Public Library, to editor, May 3, 1977.

Kenneth R. Dillon, Jack H. Lee, Dudley Thomas Pomeroy, D. J. Witzl, and Ray Stormer are ministers who have relocated elsewhere as of May 4, 1977. Bernice Block, librarian, Newport Public Library, to editor, May 3, 1977.

Donald R. Baker, no vita available.

3. John Lockhart Davis (1913–1970), lawyer, appointed as special commissioner to preside over Newport hearings in 1961; member, Board of Bar Commissioners of Kentucky State Bar Association (1942–1951); born in Paris, Kentucky, and resided in Lexington, Kentucky. J. Winston Coleman, Jr., Ed., *Life in the Bluegrass* (Lexington, Ky., 1974), p. 82.

GOVERNOR'S SAFETY CONFERENCE

The Highway Death Toll

Lexington / June 13, 1961

You represent a true cross section of the responsible civic element, the citizens who actually influence Kentucky's way of life. I will not try to cover all the phases of safety education. The cost of what we group under the term *accidents* is a staggering total. It is running about \$250 million a year. The entire general fund of the Common-

wealth of Kentucky isn't that much. Not counting revenue for highways, Kentucky will take in only \$211 million in taxes of all kinds this year.

Fortunately progress is being made in accident prevention. Industry is doing a splendid job. Farm accidents, danger in the home, fire prevention, water safety — most of the modern life aspects that endanger life and property appear to be under control or at least showing real progress, with one exception. Crashes on our highways are far and away the biggest killer. So that's what I want to talk about here today.

First we must face the fact that we have a problem and that its urgency is certain to increase rather than diminish. We are doing our best to attract new industry and new tourists to Kentucky. One certain result of success in this line will be increased highway traffic. New industry and new tourists go hand in hand. The states with the most dynamic growth in industry have an equally dynamic growth in tourism and vice versa. But added traffic increases the possibility of accidents.

Let me give you some figures. In the first five months of this year 238 people lost their lives on Kentucky highways. Twenty-three more died in the first week of June. Does that horrify you? It does me! There were 765 highway deaths in our state in 1960, 750 the year before. Ten years ago the toll was 740 dead. Every year since has been higher. The years 1953 and 1955, in fact, racked up the gruesome score of 862 each. The ten-year total was 7,915, or 8,176 if you add this year's tally so far. This is more than all the Kentuckians killed in action in all the wars of our modern age. In the bloody combat of both world wars and the Korean conflict there were 5,715 Kentuckians killed in action.

Imagine that! Faced with fierce and determined enemies, attacked by the most efficient, devilish weapons that modern science could devise, exposed to artillery, machine gun fire, tanks, poison gas in World War I, bombs and bullets from airplanes and the bayonets of hand-to-hand combat, the death toll was still less than that claimed by our modern highways. Fifty-seven hundred Kentuckians died on the front lines. In a comparable time seventy-nine hundred died on the peaceful roads of home. We face greater perils on the highways of Kentucky, then, than we faced in no-man's-land with its flame and bullets and shrapnel.

Yes, we have a problem, all right! And its solution involves several different phases. First we must recognize that this is not an abstract

affair that involves vague masses of unidentified citizens. It's a personal problem that has to be solved by you and me first.

We've got to master our own personal safety challenge before we can advise others. Now when I say "we" I realize that I am involving two kinds of responsibility. Perhaps you and I had better begin with our special, added responsibility, before we get into the one we share with every other motorist. I am referring now to those in positions of responsibility in local or state government. Without any doubt there is more pressure to fix traffic violation charges than all other charges put together.

Perhaps it is more acute in smaller communities. This poor fellow can't make a living if he loses his driver's license. That old boy is a real nice guy who just got drunk that one time. It isn't fair to hit him with the book. This one is usually a very careful driver but just didn't think when he passed that truck in the no-passing zone. Give him a break! You've heard it all down the line, just as I have, and I think it is a matter we must solve.

What is the answer? The only one I know is to face up to it. Perhaps a foolproof way of numbering traffic tickets so they can't be filed away or torn up is what is needed to take the pressure off the judge or the magistrate or prosecutor. If we can help you, let us know. Commissioner Lovern¹ can, I am sure, give you good advice.

And I'll offer this suggestion. Often we read about some flinty character on the bench fining his wife or child for a traffic violation. It makes news and people commend him. Such judges, in my book, have come up with the perfect answer to would-be traffic fixers. You are not doing anyone a favor by going easy on a traffic violator. But for the grace of God he might now be gasping out his life in a mass of torn metal and shattered glass. You aren't giving him a break by being lenient. He's had his break. He's alive and sound, and he took the chance of not being so.

Law enforcement officers and the judiciary in general have more responsibility than other drivers. Almost everyone connected with government is called upon at some time or other to fix a traffic violation. My recommendation is: forget it! I'd just as soon help a convicted thief get off scot-free as a drunken driver. He's much less of a public danger. I think most of you here feel the same way. The punishment is not society's pound of flesh. It is the deterrent to wrongdoing; it is society's way of protecting itself.

Regardless of our position in society, every one of us who drives a car must shoulder a driver's responsibilities. Safety on the highway

requires constant alertness. Just knowing the rules isn't enough. We have to keep applying the rules all the time we are driving, remembering that death can be the alternative.

The Department of Public Safety assigns 338 state policemen to patrol Kentucky highways. They are carefully picked and intensively trained. Our Division of Accident Control cooperates with communities promoting their own safety. It is more concerned with preventing an accident than in pinning somebody's ears back.

Studies have shown that the hours of near-darkness are the most dangerous. Although there is much less traffic, there are more fatal accidents during night and twilight hours. Consequently Kentucky will issue reflectorized license plates in 1963. These plates will catch and reflect the headlights of an overtaking car, contributing much to the approaching driver's alertness.

There are plenty of other safety devices needed, as we all know. Maybe Commissioner Lovern could solicit and evaluate ideas on this subject. I would be very glad to give my support to some kind of competition for safety ideas. A lot of us have ideas that we probably ought to do something about. For example I have often thought how useful it would be if cars showed a different colored light when they came to a complete stop. In poor visibility it is difficult to tell if the taillights ahead mean the car has stopped or is slowing down. I urge that all of us should think of ways to lessen accidents, to somehow slow down the toll of death and destruction.

But I don't want to end on that note. The other side of the coin is the sheer pleasure in driving through Kentucky's outstanding beauties, in sharing family happiness and fun at the parks, the lakes, the mountains — sound and alive.

1. Glenn Lovern (1910-), city commissioner, Owensboro, Kentucky (1941-1945); mayor, Owensboro (1945-1949); city manager, Paducah, Kentucky (1953); Kentucky state welfare commissioner (1953-1955); city manager, Sidney, Ohio, Covington, Kentucky, and Lexington, Kentucky (1955-1959); commissioner of public safety (1959-1967); born in Morgan County, Georgia, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

UNITED STATES JUNIOR
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Participation in Politics
Atlanta, Georgia / June 20, 1961

CHARLES DICKENS had one of his characters say, "These are the best of times and the worst of times." Those words are just as true now as when Dickens said them almost a hundred years ago. It is true that a majority of Americans enjoy the highest per capita income the world has ever known. We have more of the luxuries and conveniences of life. Yet fifteen million American families live in substandard houses; five million urban homes still lack plumbing; seven million urban homes should be torn down and rebuilt. Many of our streets and highways are inadequate and dangerous for modern traffic. Our airports are not ready for the jet age. Our older cities are decaying, and new slum sections are being created. More than four million Americans are looking for work. Millions of workers have no federal protection against substandard wages. Millions of others are receiving little more than the dollar-per-hour minimum.

We have millions of bushels of surplus wheat and other grain in huge graneries throughout the midwest. Yet thousands of American children will go to bed tonight without sufficient nourishment, and many of them will get up tomorrow morning without shoes to wear to school. We face the most critical classroom shortage in our history.

Education is more important than ever before. Never before has it been so true that civilization itself is a race between education and catastrophe. The Russian people spend about 10 percent of their national income on education, but here in America, with all of our wealth and luxuries of life, we spend only about 3 percent of our income on education. So it is not too surprising that Russia beat us around the sun, beat us to the moon, and is ahead of us generally in experiments into outer space.

Even though we Americans through the years have accepted Jefferson's statement that "if you expect a nation to remain ignorant and free, you expect something that never was and never will be," we sit complacently on our hands and permit the Russians to take the lead in the field of education, especially scientific education. So, even though these are the best of times, they are also the worst of times.

To your right and to your left sits a leader. You yourself are a leader; otherwise you would not be here. I suggest that as leaders in your respective communities and states, you should take a more active interest in your government — and that means politics. You cannot be active in government unless you are active in politics.

Although we Americans believe in a political form of government, too many of our scholars and businessmen are unwilling to undergo the heat of politics and are thereby left on the sidelines when the machinery of government is shaped up. In the early history of this country, the great thinkers participated actively in the political life of their day. In the presidential campaign of 1856, three of the most brilliant orators were William Cullen Bryant, Henry W. Longfellow, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. (They happened to be on the wrong side because they were all Republicans, but at least they were willing to stand up and be counted.)

Jefferson was not only a great politician and statesman, he also had great ability in other fields. A contemporary described Jefferson as "a gentleman who could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a cause, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin." John Quincy Adams, after being defeated for the Senate, was a professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard. Daniel Webster was not only one of the great orators of the Senate, he could stroll a few steps down the corridor of the Capitol and dominate the Supreme Court as the foremost lawyer of his time.

In the early days there was a very close link between American scholarship and the American politician. Today, however, there is a tendency to downgrade and ridicule the politician. In the opinion of many cynics, no education is considered necessary for political success; only the ability to trade and traffic in a smoke-filled room.

Most of you are only a few years out of college. Upon graduating you were urged to take up a career, but I doubt if any of you were urged to become politicians. Mothers may still want their sons to grow up to be president, but according to a Gallup poll a few years ago, 73 percent of the mothers do not want their sons to become politicians.

Even so, I would urge that each of you, regardless of your chosen occupation, should enter the field of politics in some stage of your career. It is not necessary that you be famous. It is not even necessary that you be successful. But it is important, I think, that you offer to the political arena — the arena where many of the critical problems of our society are decided — the benefit of the talents which society has helped develop in you.

Somebody has got to run this country of ours, and unless the right people run it, then the wrong people will. Recorded in the book of Ezekiel is this passage: "And I sought for a man among them that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none."

I suggest to you that since the beginning of time God has looked for a man to make up the hedge and stand in the gap to save the land. Almost always that man has been found and the world has moved forward. Occasionally that man has not been found and on those occasions the world has been subjected to hardship and misery and suffering. God looked for a man to lead the children of Israel out of bondage, and he found Moses. God looked for a man to relieve the depression of the Midianites, and he found Gideon. God looked for a man to proclaim his name, and he found Joshua. God looked for a man to stand against the Philistines, and he found David. God looked for a man to herald the coming of Christ, and he found John the Baptist. In more recent history, God looked for a man to save the American colonies, and he found Abraham Lincoln. In more modern days, I think God looked for a man to stand against the tyranny of Hitler, and he found Winston Churchill.

On the other hand, I think God looked for a man in Germany to make up the hedge and stand in the gap after World War I. He did not find that man so the world was subjected to the oppression of that raving, ranting psychopath we came to know as Adolf Hitler. I think God looked for a man in Italy about the same time, and he found none. So the world was subjected to the buffoonery of Mussolini. I think God looked for a man in Russia at about the same time, but he failed to find that man. So the world has been subjected to the hardship and misery and suffering caused by the dictator Stalin, who, unfortunately, has been succeeded by another dictator who is just as dangerous.

I am sure you are thinking that we no longer have such great crises and that, therefore, the great martyrs of the past are no longer needed. Assuming that is so — and I am not sure that I agree to such an assumption — you will admit, I know, that there are a great many small crises which occur daily throughout America — crises which require that somebody make up the hedge and stand in the gap to save the land. I suggest to you that it is your duty as Americans and as Jaycees to help meet these crises.

Even though you are not prepared to run for public office, you can at least use your influence to prepare a better climate for political discussion. You can at least look beyond the veneer of the cotton

candy politician and use your influence to insure a fair hearing for those public officials and candidates who consider politics as the science of government and who think good government is good politics.

Too often we Americans are inclined to condemn the politician without a hearing. George Washington, for instance, was reviled and abused to the point where he considered resigning the presidency. Abraham Lincoln said something like this: "If I should try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made upon me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business."

It has been said that you can trust the wisdom of the American people. Regardless, I do think that the American people have an intuition — a sort of sixth sense, if you please — which tells them when to move and in what direction in order to survive. And so it is not surprising to me that the average American — and I base this largely on the assumption that the average Kentuckian is also an average American — feels that education is one of the most critical problems facing America today. Certainly you as Jaycees should endorse programs which will advance the cause of education in America.

The members of this organization are the young leaders of America. Jaycees and exhausted roosters practically run the state of Kentucky. My chief administrative assistant is your former national president. My special assistant on area development is a former president of the Kentucky Jaycees. Our commissioner of highways, deputy commissioner of highways, commissioner of revenue, commissioner of motor transportation, deputy commissioner of economic development, deputy commissioner of public information, and majority floor leader of the house of representatives all learned their politics in your organization.

It is not always easy to take a stand on controversial issues when you find your friends and neighbors and perhaps even your relatives aligned against you. And, of course, you will not always be successful. But I leave this thought: It is better to be an outstanding failure than a mediocre do-nothing. In large part it is the character of the effort, the trying itself, that determines the greatness of the individual. People who do not try anything difficult are the real failures. Life for them is a roll call of what might have been — a parade of untried opportunities. Such a life is an empty and unrewarding affair. The thrill of real accomplishment is worth a million expressions of regret. But if you are willing to stand up and be counted, if you are willing to take the heat on those issues which you know are good for

your community and your state, the question will inevitably be asked, "From whence cometh the wellsprings of this man's excellence?" I suggest that a sufficient answer is this: He loves his country. He loves his state. He loves his nation. He is an American. He is a Jaycee.

Reticent himself at one time to give up a profitable law practice for politics, Combs became convinced later that too many capable people remained outside the political arena because the job seemed beneath them. This, Combs believed, had become one of the major problems of democracy and he frequently urged people to become more involved in the political process.

EASTERN KENTUCKY
STATE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT
Public Educators Must Be Honest
Richmond / July 5, 1961

WHEN the electromagnetic telegraph was introduced in 1844, the first words transmitted were: "What hath God wrought?" Looking over the graceful, tree-shaded campus of Eastern Kentucky State College, I feel it is appropriate to observe: "What hath God wrought to Eastern?" When the Kentucky General Assembly in 1906, in the administration of Governor Beckham,¹ established the Eastern Kentucky Normal School, it provided \$20,000 for operation and maintenance and \$5,000 for building additions in that year.

Today, the buildings and other properties of Eastern Kentucky State College — once known as the Normal School — are valued at more than \$7.2 million. The operations budget totals \$3,350,000. In addition, you have under construction \$9.5 million worth of buildings, and construction will begin this summer or fall on an additional \$6 million worth of buildings.

The tangible material progress at Eastern has been great. Even more important has been that growth which cannot be measured by the yardstick of tangible progress. Through the years, Eastern has acquired the composite strength and character and personality of

those dedicated men who spent their energy, their talents, their very lives in making Eastern a vibrant, living educational force in Kentucky and in the nation. Men like John G. Crabbe, the pioneering H. L. Donovan, and our beloved W. F. O'Donnell² nurtured the founding of 1906 to the maturity of 1961 when a great vice president of the United States [Lyndon B. Johnson] considered it an honor to make the commencement address.

All this is symbolic of the recognition by the people of Kentucky that we must provide adequate training for our children. All this is evidence of the confidence which the people of Kentucky, speaking through our legislature, have held for past and present leadership of this institution. All this points to an even greater future under the aggressive and dynamic leadership of Robert R. Martin and a dedicated and capable faculty.

After this brief look at the academic side of the coin, let's turn it over and look at the practical side. America was founded on the premise of universal education. No one, I think, believed more profoundly in that premise than Thomas Jefferson. In one of his public statements he said this: "By far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness." Lincoln, in his genius for understatement, said it this way: "I desire to see the time when education shall become much more general than at present."

The people of America and of Kentucky have through the years unerringly followed the lodestar of adequate education for all those who are willing to assimilate it. But the advent of the so-called Age of Space — nuclear energy, guided missiles, and hydrogen bombs — have focused the spotlight on education more than ever before. It is almost a truism to say that the battle between communism and the democracies will be won or lost not on a conventional battlefield but in the laboratories and testing grounds of America.

The intuition of the people of Kentucky has alerted them to this fact. The last legislature appropriated to education the greatest budget in Kentucky's history and enacted a tax program to support the appropriation. The sales tax, which is the major source of revenue, will continue to be attacked by demagogic politicians and some well-meaning but uninformed citizens. You and I can make this tax acceptable to the people of Kentucky by proving to them that they are getting a full measure of educational service for every dollar spent. The people have a right to expect a better educational program than we have ever had in Kentucky. Whether we like it or not, public

education in Kentucky is on trial. It is up to us to demonstrate that the dividends are worth the increased investment.

Public education in Kentucky must also keep its administrative house in order. The stigma of favoritism and fraud must carefully, even painfully, be avoided. All those in public education must not only be absolutely honest, they must be above suspicion. The unfavorable publicity about one of our county superintendents is at least by indirection impairing the prestige of thousands of other dedicated and honest people and endangering the school program in Kentucky. We cannot permit this to continue. Mr. McGuire³ ought to resign and conduct his legal battle as a private citizen rather than as a representative of a \$100 million school program. The vast majority of those people in public education in Kentucky are honest, capable, and dedicated. It is not fair that their prestige be impaired and programs jeopardized by the deplorable situation which now exists in Carter County. Mr. McGuire has had ample opportunity to disprove the charges which have been leveled against him. Yet the mess which he has cooked up for himself becomes more odorous every day. His defenders might say he has not been convicted beyond a reasonable doubt, but I would point out his position is not comparable to a defendant in a criminal case. He is a representative of the people of Carter County and the state of Kentucky in the expenditure of thousands and thousands of dollars of public money. One in this position owes it to himself, to his colleagues, and to the people of his district promptly to refute any charge of misconduct in the performance of his official duties and to make a complete and public disclosure of all those facts and circumstances which have any bearing on the performance of his duties.

Mr. McGuire has not done this. He has not only concealed pertinent facts pertaining to the performance of his duties, but has resisted disclosure of these facts by others. The school program in Kentucky is much more important than any individual or any group of individuals. Mr. McGuire should resign for the good of the school program.

Speech excerpts. Discussing extensive improvements in education and at Eastern Kentucky State College, Combs took the opportunity to urge that Superintendent Heman McGuire of Carter County should resign because of his unwillingness to answer misconduct charges leveled against him. It was the first time the governor had spoken that positively on the Carter County problem. It would not be the last.

1. J. C. W. Beckham (1869–1940), member, Kentucky General Assembly (1894–1898), Speaker in 1898; lieutenant governor of Kentucky (1899); governor upon death of Governor Goebel in 1900; elected governor in November 1900 in a special election and reelected (1903–1907); United States Senator (1915–1921); unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1927; chairman, Public Service Division of Kentucky and commissioner, Department of Business and Regulations (1936–1940); born in Bardstown, Kentucky, and resided in Louisville. *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1936), p. 27.

2. John Grant Crabbe (1865–1924), superintendent of public instruction, Kentucky (1908–1910); president of Eastern Kentucky State Normal School (1910–1916). *Who Was Who in America, 1897–1942*, (Chicago, 1942), 1:269.

W.F. O'Donnell (1890–1974), president of Eastern Kentucky State College (1941–1960); born in Burnet, Texas, and resided in Richmond, Kentucky. Martin Papers, Eastern Kentucky University Archives. Resolution adopted by EKU Board of Regents on his death in the Public Affairs Office at Eastern Kentucky University.

3. Heman Hubert McGuire (1912–), superintendent of Carter County schools (1938–1961); born in Hitchins, Kentucky, and resides in Grayson, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965-1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 620.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Discouraging Discrimination

Frankfort / July 7, 1961

CANON ESTILL,¹ members of the commission, ladies, and gentlemen, I want to welcome all of you to this our first conference on human rights. We are pleased at the enthusiastic response to the call for the meeting. Our new Commission on Human Rights needs the benefit of your experience, advice, and support.

Several years ago, Robert Penn Warren,² a native of Guthrie, Kentucky, wrote a book called *Segregation: The Inner Conflict*. He told about his talks with people all over the South and included a conversation with a Kentucky school superintendent just before desegregation. The superintendent said, "The people here are good Christian people, trying to do right. When this thing first came up, the whole school board said they'd walk out. But the ministers got to preach-

ing, and the lawyers to talking on it, and they came around." I guess that is still somewhat our situation in Kentucky today. We have many good people that are trying to do right, and we need the preachers and the lawyers and many others to help them.

The Commonwealth of Kentucky has adopted a policy of encouraging fair treatment for all and of discouraging discrimination against any racial or ethnic group or its members. This is because we have a responsibility for all our citizens and because we want to do the right thing for the right reason.

We seek equal opportunity because we value human beings, and not just because we need trained and experienced workers for new industry. We support human rights because they are basic to our democracy, and not for political reasons. We favor fair treatment because it is morally right, and not just because it is necessary in our country's contest with international communism.

We have made much progress toward equal treatment for all our people and this may be our most valuable asset for the future. It is good that the commission will emphasize the positive accomplishments as a way of helping others adjust to change as it comes. At the same time the commission must examine practices and issue reports which will inform all the people about our problems and try to provide the leadership to solve them with the least difficulty possible.

The commission was not given power to force anyone to do anything, but it can have a significant influence on developments in Kentucky to the extent that you here at this meeting give it your support. It can help to form local interracial committees if you take the initiative. It can help persuade many people to follow fair practices, if you reinforce it. It can educate our people about discrimination, as you assist it. It can help our communities to meet change without conflict, as you involve it in local activities before a crisis develops.

It is to Kentucky's credit that we now have a state agency to encourage fair treatment toward all citizens of our Commonwealth, and we are one of the first states in the South to have such an agency. As this commission begins its work it should not be bound by the practices in states to the south, nor should it be handicapped by the failures of states to the north. Rather, we should do the very best that we can, as the statute says, "to encourage fair treatment for, to foster mutual understanding and respect among, and to discourage discrimination against, any racial or ethnic group or its members." With the help of you people in this meeting and other meetings to follow, we will do this.

Combs's cautious but sensitive concern for emerging civil rights problems during the 1960s is exemplified here.

1. Robert W. Estill (1927–), rector of Christ Church Episcopal, Lexington, Kentucky (1955–1964); chairman, Human Rights Commission (1960–1964); born in Lexington, Kentucky, and resides in Dallas, Texas. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

2. Robert Penn Warren (1905–), writer and retired educator; born in Guthrie, Kentucky, and resides in Fairfield, Connecticut. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3387.

LOUISVILLE ROTARY CLUB McGuire Should Resign Louisville / July 20, 1961

I AM reminded of two significant beginnings related to this occasion: the beginning of Louisville, and the beginning of Rotary International.

What a stretch of the imagination it would have been for George Rogers Clark, when he ordered the construction of a temporary stockade on Corn Island in 1778, to envision the Louisville of 1961. Probably it would have required an equally great stretch of the imagination for Paul Harris¹ at the birth of Rotary International in Chicago in 1905 to envision what his child would become by 1961. I understand that today there are 11,015 Rotary clubs in 123 countries and regions, with a total membership of over a half million. Although I myself am a Kiwanian, I am aware of the character and importance of your organization in American life and in the life of other nations.

The old adage, "Great oaks from tiny acorns grow," has been exemplified by the growth of Rotary International through a period of fifty-six years; and likewise, by Louisville's growth to a position of high rank among the metropolitan cities of the South. It would be very interesting to know the nature, scope, and variety of the contributions that your organization as a unit, and its members severally, have made to the growth of Louisville and to various aspects of the life of this city. Undoubtedly the list would be impressive. I like

the motto of Rotary International: "Service above self." I commend your objectives.

Since the spring of 1960 I have appealed to many civic clubs and other organizations throughout Kentucky to support our sales tax as our investment in Kentucky's tomorrow, that is, in the future welfare of all of us, and especially for the benefit of our children. Each of us realizes that there may not be a tomorrow for our civilization; that a bullheaded man in the Kremlin can give the command that could turn our beloved land into a blazing inferno. But we must live and act as if our civilization and our democratic society were destined to continue indefinitely.

You and I must have faith that free enterprise can and will survive and prosper, that our democratic way of life can and will triumph, that mankind will develop a stronger urge toward a sense of the brotherhood of all men, and that peace will eventually prevail.

I commend you Rotarians for your interest in public affairs at every level — local, state, national, and international. In facing the problems that are at hand and those that lie ahead of us, it seems to me that the hope of the free world is closely related to increasing the number of men and women who will take their places as informed, responsible, and civic-minded citizens, participating in the democratic processes of life.

Your organization, as such, does not take sides in partisan politics, I know. However, this does not imply that Rotary clubs are not interested in politics. Certainly they are interested in good government; and probably no other groups are more keenly aware that good government implies good politics. Your organization, without taking sides as between candidates or parties, can urge individual members to "stand up and be counted" when an important question, however controversial it may be, is before the voters.

Your votes and your influence are needed to combat the tactics of cotton candy politicians, who artfully dodge the issues, seductively lure the attention of voters away from the hard facts that need to be faced, and seek to undermine the support which conscientious public officials must have in order to render honest and efficient service.

The quality of a government program is determined by what the people will accept perhaps as much as by the quality of the leadership. From my experience and observation, I can say that most of the men and women in government would give the public a better performance if the public would demand and support a better performance. It is from this standpoint, and because your influence can be so far-reaching, that I express to you my appreciation of your

interest in your state government, and appeal to you to help us sell our program to your neighbors, your business and professional associates, and all of the people of Kentucky.

Now I wish to bring to your attention a need for remedial legislation to strengthen our public school administration. Recently I mentioned the mess which has stigmatized Carter County and embarrassed the administrators of public school funds throughout Kentucky. To my personal knowledge this bad publicity has spread as far as Hawaii. It has not helped Carter County or Kentucky.

Convinced that Heman McGuire's continued occupancy of the office of superintendent of Carter County schools would be prejudicial to the best interests of public education in Kentucky and would tend to impair the prestige of school administrators throughout the state, I recommended that he resign and face the charges against him as a private citizen rather than continue to use his office to thwart the disclosure of pertinent facts.

If Superintendent McGuire does not resign, the Carter County School Board should remove him. If the Carter County board fails to do this, I feel that our state Board of Education should remove the Carter County board and supplant it with one which will remove McGuire.

Regardless of what happens to Heman McGuire, we must direct our main concern to the future of Kentucky's public school system. That far transcends in importance the fate of any one man or group of men. And when I speak of the state's school system, I include the reputation of the legions of teachers and administrators who are striving honestly and conscientiously to do the best job possible with the resources at their command.

The situation in Carter County demonstrates very convincingly, I think, that corrective legislation is needed. I believe that the public demands this, and I intend to recommend to the next General Assembly that it take the necessary action.

To help school districts deal more effectively with superintendents and other school administrators who abuse their authority, the hand of the state government should be strengthened. This would be only just, because the welfare and money of all the people of the state are involved. The state government is contributing huge sums to local public school systems. In the school year just ended, the state contributed \$92,986,000 toward their support.

I feel that the governor should be empowered to act when local citizens find their hands tied. Upon recommendation of the attorney general, after proper investigation, the governor should have the

authority to remove a school superintendent and other administrators whose activities are obviously harmful to the school system under his supervision. This authority would not be unusual. The governor now is empowered to oust peace officers who are negligent or corrupt. However, such legislation, while needed, would be useful only for locking the barn door after the horse was stolen. We must go further than that. We must erect safeguards which will forever make it impossible for another Carter County situation to develop.

It has become apparent to all who have followed the situation in Carter County that we must have closer supervision of and tighter controls over the expenditures of our school money. Certainly, our present system of auditing public school accounts has been shown to be inadequate. There is a need for independent audits.

The state Department of Education is required to audit the local school districts. But our state superintendent of public instruction frankly admits that his department has neither the manpower nor financial resources to do the job which should be done. The superintendent has recommended that the school districts employ private firms to make audits. Several school districts, such as the three in Bell County, have adopted his suggestion. This is a step in the right direction, but I think we should go further. Pending further study of the matter, I would recommend that the solution be audits conducted by our state auditor of public accounts.

We could make it the responsibility of the state auditor to audit each school district every year. Or, we could make it possible for a school district to be audited, at any time, by the state auditor upon receipt of a petition signed by twenty-five citizens of the district. I understand that the state auditor could conduct these audits at an average estimate expense of \$1,000 per district. We have 211 districts, so the total cost — if every district were audited annually — would be \$211,000.

The auditing expense would represent about one-fourth of one percent of the \$92,986,000 contributed to our public schools by the state in the year just ended. This, it seems, would be a small price to pay for assurance that state funds — not to mention funds contributed by the district — were expended wisely. And, conceivably, the savings resulting from better administration of our schools might far exceed the cost of auditing. The second alternative — audits upon petition — would cost considerably less, and might be just as effective.

I would suggest that we go one step further. If it appeared that there was collusion between a school district and a state auditor, the

governor, upon recommendation of the attorney general, could employ a private auditor and pay him out of the governor's emergency fund.

The measures I have suggested for tighter control over the spending of our school funds are not drastic. They are in line with sound business practices. They should be welcomed by the honest school administrators. Besides, Kentuckians, who are spending the major portion of their state tax dollar for education, are entitled to these safeguards.

Governor Combs kept the pressure on Superintendent McGuire to resign his post. Otherwise, Combs told Louisville Rotarians, the state Board of Education should remove him for the good of Kentucky's total educational system. He went even further by arguing that the governor should be authorized to take action against school superintendents when local officials seemed unable to do so. This last point created a great stir among school officials throughout the state.

1. Paul Harris (1868-1947), founder of Rotary International in 1905; born in Racine, Wisconsin, and resided in Chicago. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement Four, 1946-1950 (New York, 1974), pp. 361-62.

KENTUCKY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Proper Safeguards for Educational Administration

Murray / August 9, 1961

EDUCATION in Kentucky is on the march. Evidence of that progress is all about us: a new spirit of optimism and progress; new school buildings and classrooms; more laboratories and gymnasiums; more free textbooks; more modern school bus transportation; and, what is even more important, better qualified and better paid teachers.

Generally speaking, we are fortunate, too, in the caliber of our public school administrators. Wendell Butler has done an excellent job as your state superintendent. For the most part, district superintendents and boards of education have performed their duties with the single-minded purpose of providing adequate education for the children of their districts.

I have had the opportunity in the past three years to talk with a great many Kentuckians about education. The average Kentuckian is convinced that Kentucky's school program is basically sound and progressive. He knows that the vast majority of people in that program are honest, conscientious, and dedicated to educating the children of Kentucky.

The job of protecting that program is a responsibility of all Kentuckians. In particular, however, it is a responsibility of the school people represented here and of the state government which I represent.

How can you and I best go about discharging this responsibility? The average Kentuckian feels he is part of the school program. He feels he is entitled to offer constructive criticism of the program with the same freedom he would criticize members of his family or his business associates. In the words of Henry Watterson,¹ "He feels that things would be in a hell of a mess if a man couldn't cudgel his own jackass."

Although the average Kentuckian knows there is nothing basically wrong with the school program, he knows, too, that there is room for improvement. He knows this because he knows that no person or system is perfect.

The average Kentuckian approves spending sixty-nine cents of the general revenue tax dollar for education. He knows that we must keep making progress because in education, more than in most fields, there is no such thing as standing still.

I have said before that, politically, I am in bed with you, the school people of Kentucky. I have made that bed intentionally, and I am willing to lie in it. I believe, as did DeWitt Clinton² that, "The first duty of government is the encouragement of education."

On the other hand, you are my political bedfellows whether you like it or not; you, too, must lie in the bed which you have helped to make.

In the final analysis, we can defend the Kentucky tax program — which is so vital to education — only to the extent that the people have confidence in the school program. The tax program and the school program are irrevocably tied together. For that reason, if for no other, I feel free to criticize any weakness in the education program. Conversely, you are entitled, perhaps more than others, to be critical of me and the programs of this administration.

I know and you know that at the next session of the legislature, you and I will have to stand together against those political saboteurs who will, for political advantage, try to destroy the existing tax pro-

gram and thereby downgrade education in Kentucky. We can hold the line only if we have the support of the average Kentuckian. And we can have that support only if he is convinced that we have our houses in order.

Therefore, it behooves you as leaders of education in Kentucky, as it behooves me as head of the executive branch of state government, to convince the average Kentuckian that we are expending his tax dollar honestly, wisely, and frugally. Above all, we must convince him that we are determined to stamp out any vestige of fraud or favoritism in the expenditure of his tax money.

Therefore, I say to you "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee"; and "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off and cast it from thee; for it is better for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell" (Matt. 5:29-30).

In more prosaic language, we cannot afford to let any one person, or any group of persons, jeopardize the educational program in Kentucky.

If you can convince the average Kentuckian that sixty-nine cents of his tax dollar is being spent wisely and honestly for education — and I can convince him that the other thirty-one cents is being spent wisely and honestly for other governmental functions — then, standing together, we can maintain the existing tax structure and thereby permit you to go forward with an educational program which will prepare the children of Kentucky to compete in this age of space.

I am glad to see that the Kentucky Education Association is moving to set standards for the teaching profession. I agree with Wendell Butler that the time has come when you should recognize yourselves as members of a profession. The time has also come for you to set definite standards of conduct and a code of ethics for members of your profession. Those who do not meet those standards nor measure up to the code of ethics should be expelled from the profession. If legislative approval is needed for your proposal on this subject, I am confident that the legislature will lend a sympathetic ear.

I think, too, that the public expects some method to be proposed at the next legislature by which the expenditure of school funds will be safeguarded by comprehensive audits made by an independent agency. My thinking on this subject has not crystallized and I suggest that all of us could give the matter serious thought between now and the next session of the General Assembly.

I also am of the opinion that there should be a more expeditious method by which a person who spends school funds could be re-

moved from his position for willful or flagrant misconduct. I think you will agree that it should not be necessary for the state Board of Education to remove a district school board as a prerequisite to removing a superintendent who is guilty of misconduct. I suggest that more thought should be given to this subject before January 1. I am sure the legislature would be much interested in having your recommendations on this subject.

Proper safeguards should be maintained to insure that public education in Kentucky shall remain free and untrammled. You should strenuously object to any device which would place the schools under domination of the executive branch of government. I suggest that the safest and best method to prevent this is to set up a rigid code of conduct for members of your profession and then make certain that every member lives up to that code.

In summary, I repeat that the average Kentuckian is convinced the school program in Kentucky is a sound and progressive one. At the same time, he thinks that faults in the system should be corrected as they are discovered and that isolated and localized instances of misconduct should be ferreted out and the guilty parties exposed.

I am on your side. I don't think you are insatiable. I don't think you are unreasonable. I don't even think you are ungrateful. I want to work with you for the best possible school program in Kentucky. I visualize great things for education in Kentucky.

Speech excerpts. A month after urging McGuire to resign and only two weeks following his suggestion that he be empowered by the General Assembly to remove superintendents under similar circumstances, Combs retreated somewhat. Speaking before 400 educators at a KEA leadership conference at Murray State College, the governor explained that he had "been thinking about it" and he no longer believed the governor needed that authority. "I don't think I want it," he revealed in an aside from his prepared remarks, "and I don't think anybody else ought to have it . . . maybe the next fellow wouldn't be as wise and tolerant as I am." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 10, 1961.

1. Henry Watterson (1840–1921), journalist; owner and publisher, *Louisville Courier-Journal* (1868–1919); born in Washington, D.C., and resided in Jeffersontown, Kentucky. *Who Was Who in America, 1897–1942* (Chicago, 1942), 1: 1309–10.

2. DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828), member, United States Senate from New York (1802–1803); mayor of New York City (1803–1807, 1809–1810, 1811–1815); lieutenant governor of New York (1811–1813); governor of New York (1817–1821, 1825–1828); born in Little Britain, New York, and resided in Al-

bany, New York. *Who Was Who in America, 1607-1896*, Historical Volume (Chicago, 1963), p. 111.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC
ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Public's Right to Know

White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia / August 17, 1961

THE vastness and complexity of modern-day government and of the laws regulating its conduct make it imperative that the fullest possible information be disseminated on all aspects of the public's business.

Although Kentucky is comparatively small in population, our state government is a \$500 million-a-year business. It touches virtually every facet of the lives of the more than three million Kentucky citizens. To operate this machinery, we have some thirty-five major departments and approximately 18,000 employees. If this machinery is to function smoothly, the right hand must know what the left hand is doing. By this, I mean that not only the citizens must be adequately informed; the public officials and the public employees must be kept informed.

This is a logical explanation for the practical necessity of full publicity for government operations. But there is a more basic reason, which all of you recognize. That is the public's right to know how its business is being conducted. That right is indisputable.

The public official who disputes that right, who would conduct public business in secrecy damns himself and eventually suffers the consequences of his foolish conduct. The public no longer will tolerate the public servant who undertakes the role of master. The average citizen is an important stockholder in the business of government, and he knows that he and his fellow citizens can kick out the executive who abuses his authority and abridges their rights.

Thomas Jefferson once said: "The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without govern-

ment, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter." Your organization's Freedom of Information campaign, which seeks to protect the right which Jefferson enunciated, is to be commended.

The government of the Commonwealth of Kentucky concurs in Voltaire's observation: "Give light, and the people will find their own way." Accordingly, it has a firm policy of open access to the news of state government.

We go further than that. We have set up a public information agency, responsible only to the governor, to lend every possible assistance to the press in gathering and disseminating news about state government. We believe that our Division of News Services equals in competence and performance the city room of the average metropolitan newspaper. Four of our major departments and several divisions are headed by former editors and publishers. Our Parks Board, now supervising a \$12 million expansion of our state parks, consists of three newspapermen. My press secretary is a former AP bureau chief who spent twenty-six years in your organization.

Our Division of News has a staff of fourteen men and women. All are college products with solid news backgrounds from wire services, dailies, weeklies, and magazines. They operate as a city room, with a news editor, assistant news editor, reporters, rewrite men, and photographers. Each reporter covers the news of several departments. The division provides spot news and photos for the dailies, and radio-TV stations, and a weekly package of news, mats, and engravings for both dailies and weeklies.

The Division of News serves all agencies of government. A few departments, because of the technical nature of their operations, have a special newsman attached to them. These include the departments of Health, Mental Health, Highways, and Fish and Wildlife.

In addition, we have a Division of Industrial Promotion, headed by a newspaper publisher on leave, which distributes news on a nationwide basis about Kentucky industrial activity.

And, as in most other states, our university and five state colleges have their own news bureaus. Meetings of the university trustees and college regents were opened to the press about two years ago. The university trustees' meetings are well attended by the press, but I am informed that few newspapermen cover the college regents' sessions. However, full reports of the regents' activities are provided promptly by the college news bureau. The university provides a similar service.

Because our Division of News and related agencies are staffed by seasoned newsmen who know what editors want and do not want,

they strive to produce copy which would pass the most meticulous city editor. Many of their stories are used, virtually intact, by the wire services and daily newspapers.

Our Kentucky state government newsmen realize they have a heavy responsibility to hold the respect and confidence of the newspapers, radio, and TV. They know that if they "slip," with an inaccurate or an intellectually dishonest story, the press's trust in them will be jeopardized. Therefore, our newsmen shy away from any practices which might make them suspect. Our Division of News style book (and incidentally it is patterned after the AP and UPI style books) contains these admonitions: "Prepare copy in a legitimate news style. Avoid 'brag' expressions, even when referring to progressive administration programs. Articles concerning such programs are to be presented in factual news style. News articles should not editorialize."

Our aim is to "write it straight" and tell the bad with the good. We figure that if we don't, the press is not going to use it. For example, in writing about the Kentucky Training Home and other state institutions that are seriously overcrowded, we just say that they are seriously overcrowded.

No story is ever cut on the basis of "Is it good for the administration?" The one test is: "Is it news?" The same test applies to the hot potatoes — the unfortunate incidents like scandals in an institution.

I trust that we know better than to try to cover up a story. Our commissioner of public information, Cattie Lou Miller,¹ tells her staff: "If there is a cat in the bag, let it out. If you don't, someone else will, and by then it will have kittens."

I constantly admonish our department heads: "If you have any troubles that might make news, tell our news people — and quickly."

Frankly, when we learn about an unfavorable event that is newsworthy, we rush the story into print. The reasons are twofold: a) We can do a wrap-up that touches all bases, and b) we avoid being accused of trying to hide something.

What are the advantages in our system of state government news coverage? For one, our Division of News can report government from the viewpoint of the experienced newspaperman. Also, no department head dictates what news shall be released or how because our reporters are responsible only to the commissioner of public information and the governor.

In cases involving two departments, the News Division staffer can

write a balanced story without favoring either department. This prevents competitive friction between departments.

The central system of news gathering keeps everybody reasonably well informed of important developments and up-to-date. Background is maintained in a morgue.

How about benefits to the press: Perhaps the most important benefit to the capitol correspondent, I would say, is that we cover the routine news and free him to handle the major stories. Occasionally, when the capitol press corps is real busy, we will cover major news for them — such as a meeting of the state Board of Education.

Generally, we provide the press with that news which is not spectacular enough to warrant the time of a busy capitol correspondent. We have the time for research which can lift stories from the commonplace to the semi-spectacular. Too, we send directly to newspapers stories of special local interest which their wire service man in Frankfort — if they have one there — couldn't possibly find time to handle.

Recently, we sent a reporter on a month's tour of our twenty-eight state parks and shrines. He turned out fifty stories about park developments, accompanied by photo engravings, for newspapers in the vicinity of the parks. Several statewide stories also resulted.

This year the News Division prepared 117 separate stories on annual state government expenditures in each of 117 counties. The stories received top play in newspapers of the counties.

The News Division is helpful to those weekly newspapers — and we have 150 in Kentucky — which do not have a Frankfort correspondent.

As for the public, we feel that our news service operation helps to keep Kentuckians informed of how their tax dollar is being spent; of the governmental services provided for them, their extent, methods of operation, and problems.

A year ago Kentucky adopted a 3 percent sales tax. It has been accepted generally with a minimum of complaint. A principal reason for this acceptance, I believe, was our informational campaign explaining why the additional revenue was needed and how it is being spent. In this we received splendid cooperation from the newspapers, radio, and TV.

We use other methods to assist the press in informing the public. We have launched two statewide press-government seminars, which will be held annually. To one we invite representatives of all the state's newspapers; to the other we invite representatives of all the

radio and TV stations. They meet in the House of Representatives chamber at Frankfort with the governor, the lieutenant governor, and members of the cabinet — all the heads of state government. Then they ask questions about all phases of state government operation and its relationship to their communities. On the same day the visiting newspapermen and broadcasters are taken on tours of state government offices.

Another project, with the help of the press, is contributing to greater public knowledge of state government operations. We are setting up temporary governor's offices of one- or two-day stands in cities distant from the capital. Citizens of the area talk with the governor about how the state government can better serve them. They ask about roads, jobs, pensions, pardons, and they voice complaints.

Reporters from the newspapers and radio stations sit beside the governor and record everything. These projects of taking state government to the people have been operated in twelve different sections of Kentucky.

When the governor goes out of the state on official business, he generally is accompanied by his press secretary, who telegraphs or telephones stories to the wire services in Kentucky. In this manner we covered the Kentucky angles of the Southern Governors' Conference in Hot Springs, Arkansas, and the national Governors' Conference in Honolulu.

In Frankfort, the governor's office is always open to the press. The governor is available for interviews, in person or by phone, at any hour of the day or night. Because of this, regularly scheduled press conferences are not necessary.

We feel that our efforts in Kentucky are helping you give the public an unbiased, impartial, accurate day-by-day account of what state government is doing. We think our efforts are a sound investment for the public's welfare.

I am convinced that the people will go along with needed reforms in government if they understand 1) why they are needed and 2) how they are being administered. I believe that the people of Kentucky have demonstrated that in approving some rather revolutionary changes designed for the improvement of our Commonwealth.

But more important, they are entitled to prompt, accurate, and full information about the conduct of their public affairs. The press is the best medium for transmission of this intelligence.

Anything that government can do to facilitate, stimulate, and expand the flow of this information is a valuable public service. With

the facts in hand our citizens can better judge the workings of our democracy and determine courses for its refinement.

Like most public figures, Combs did not always feel that newspapers were completely fair and objective in their assessment of him and his administration, but he nonetheless always endorsed the principle that maximum public exposure should apply to government operations.

1. Cattie Lou Miller (1923–), secretary to the governor (1947–1955); executive assistant to the governor (1959–1960); commissioner of Department of Public Information (1960–1967); born in Horse Cave, Kentucky, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. *Tompkinsville News*, December 17, 1959.

KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION
OF STUDENT COUNCILS
The Duties of Elected Officials
Frankfort / September 29, 1961

It is a special pleasure to be with you today. It is not often that a governor can enjoy being with so many people with whom he has so much in common. You are here because you were elected to office. I am here because I was elected to office. Despite the difference between your ages and mine, I feel a sort of kinship. Because we have traveled the same road of politics to get to where we are now, I think we are better able to understand each other.

There also is a similarity of the problems which confront you and me. You, as elected representatives of school government, have to wrestle with problems such as proper conduct of students, the planning and execution of programs for improvement of your schools, the encouragement of greater interest in studies, and the raising of funds for school projects.

I, as an elected official in state government, must be concerned with the conduct of public officials, as in the current case in Newport. I must deal with programs for the improvement of the state — programs such as better schools, attracting new industry and more tourists to Kentucky, and building the east Kentucky and west Ken-

tucky turnpikes. And, as for fund-raising, you know about the new 3 percent sales tax and why we had to levy it in order to finance many things which Kentucky needs.

You and I have other things in common, too. I can well imagine that in order to accomplish all that is expected of you as a student council member, you have to do a lot of work after school and at home. A governor has to do likewise. After leaving his office, he can't go home to relax in front of the television set. A governor has homework, too, like studying department budget requests, reading government reports and correspondence, and preparing speech notes. I even do some typing on a typewriter which I learned to use in my high school days. So, you can see that you in student government and we in state government have duties and responsibilities which are quite similar.

The big difference is in the number of persons affected by our actions. What you and your individual student council do can affect from 300 to 2,000 people. What we in state government do can affect three million people.

But your work is just as important to your school as ours is to the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Collectively, the student councils are a tremendous force for good among the 188,000 high school students of Kentucky. I know of no better laboratory for imparting democratic principles to our future leaders.

You have an opportunity to reach young men and young women at a still impressionable age. It is not unlikely that you can influence many of your fellow students more than their parents or their teachers.

Unless teenage habits have changed markedly since I was in high school — and I gather from my daughter, who graduated last spring, that they have not — students still are prone to copy the habits of students they admire and respect, in conduct as well as clothing, shoes, socks, hairdos, and haircuts.

In your department as student council members and through your organized efforts you can stimulate good citizenship, leadership, and scholarship in the young men and women with whom you associate. You and they are the material from which will be chosen the leadership to guide our Commonwealth. If you have good qualities, our leaders will be of good quality, and the three million citizens of Kentucky will benefit.

Never before in history has Kentucky had such urgent need for the talents of young men and women like you.

We are undertaking programs of considerable magnitude for the

improvement of Kentucky in many fields — education, health, social welfare, agricultural and industrial development, highway construction, and governmental reform.

STATE EMPLOYEES' PICNIC
Efficiency of the Merit System
Frankfort / October 9, 1961

As far back as I can remember, candidates for state office in Kentucky — both the “ins” and the “outs” — promised job security to state employees. Now we have it — not in a temporary administrative regulation but in a law voted by the General Assembly.

The new merit system is an important part of a program of progress for Kentucky. Three-fourths of the states have merit systems. The federal government has had a similar system for twenty years. The purpose of the merit system is not merely to protect the jobs of state workers. Just as important — and perhaps more important from the average citizen's viewpoint — is the necessity for more efficiency in state government.

Under the old system, efficiency suffered from two evils: 1) The ability of state workers to do a good job was hampered by their anxiety over the future. Would they have a job when the administration changed? 2) Skilled employees left state government service. They found more secure employment in private industry or in other state governments. Kentucky thereby lost the services of capable employees who had been trained at the expense of Kentucky taxpayers. This was not efficient government administration.

There are some — and we should not discount their strength — who wonder if the merit system can live side-by-side with our political form of government. To be more specific, there are some who are fearful that the merit system, with its restrictions on political activity, may weaken the two-party system. They point out that the two-party system was here long before the merit system, that it is provided for in our constitution.

Their concern is manifest, for example, in anticipation of the Democratic party's fund-raising dinner, scheduled next Saturday in Lexington. They ask: Will it equal the success of similar affairs held

before advent of the merit system? They wonder if the abolition of political assessments, under the merit system, will strangle the flow of funds for party operations. So, you can see that the merit system is on trial.

My role, as governor, is twofold. I am, by virtue of my office, both the chief administrator of state government and the titular head of my party. I want both good politics and a good merit system, and I am trying my best to have both. A good merit system and good politics do not clash. The merit system does not and should not eliminate party politics from government. The merit system law does restrict, but certainly does not abolish, the political activities of covered employees.

Your rights as responsible citizens in a political democracy are still yours and should be cherished and exercised. You can and should maintain your party membership. You can contribute funds to your party. You can express your opinions privately and freely to as many friends and enemies as you choose. You can exercise other rights as citizens in a two-party form of government.

The merit system is on trial. It will be tested in future legislatures and future elections. If the candidates and legislators become convinced that a merit system is not consistent with the political form of government provided for in our constitution, the merit system will be repealed.

I share what I hope is your conviction that the merit system should remain as a permanent part of our state government. Your conduct as public servants and as free, voting citizens can help determine whether it does.

Speech excerpts. Governor Combs believed deeply in the legislative-created merit system of 1960, because he felt it enabled state employees to do a better job and thereby provide improved service to the Commonwealth.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
REMOVAL OF
GEORGE GUGEL FROM OFFICE
Frankfort / October 10, 1961

GEORGE GUGEL, chief of police of the city of Newport, Kentucky, having been charged with neglect of duty pursuant to KRS 63.090 through 63.160, the Honorable John L. Davis, attorney of Lexington, was appointed as special commissioner to preside at hearings in the matter. Commissioner John L. Davis has filed his report with this office, finding the said George Gugel guilty of neglect of duty and recommending the penalties applicable under the above-cited statutes.

Having reviewed the report and recommendations of the commissioner, I find that the recommendations are supported by the record, specifically that the actions of George Gugel constitute willful neglect involving a failure of performance of duties required by law and further constitute careless or intentional failure to exercise due diligence in the performance of official duties. I find that this constitutes a neglect of duty within the meaning of KRS 63.090 through 63.160.

During these proceedings, the term of office of the said George Gugel, as chief of police of the city of Newport, expired. Since the finding of fact warrants his removal from office, I hereby direct that all the provisions and penalties of the statutes involved shall be applicable to the said George Gugel the same as though he had been removed from office.

Upon completion of hearings concerning George Gugel and Leroy Frederick of Newport, Combs directed that they be removed from office despite the fact one had resigned and the other's term had expired. Never before had a governor ever removed from office anyone below the rank of sheriff nor had any previous governor removed more than one in a case where several were jointly accused. Combs's order meant that neither man could be returned to office or hold any other public post in Kentucky for four years. Since the orders were similar in nature, only that removing Gugel is provided here. Completion of the hearings concerning Campbell County officials Norbert Roll and Harry Stuart lay in the future. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, October 11, 1961.

SEVENTH DISTRICT MEETING
OF CONGRESS OF
PARENTS AND TEACHERS
Findings of the Commission on Public Education
Versailles / October 12, 1961

A FRANKFORT newspaper editor — S. C. Van Curon¹ of the *State Journal* — in commenting on the study of our public schools now being conducted by the Commission on Public Education, asked an interesting question. He asked: "Whose responsibility is it to have good public education for the children of Kentucky?" Then he went on to answer his own question by saying it was the citizens' responsibility, and stated that they had abdicated it to the professional educators.

Editor Van Curon commented further: "Sanctimonious citizens decry the conditions of the public schools on their way to the courthouse to contest an honest property appraisal for school tax purposes. They scream about high taxes and condition of public schools, yet spend umpteen times as much money to send their children away to private schools that are even worse than Kentucky's public schools."

Personally, I feel the editor was too harsh. There are countless citizens dedicated to the schools and their improvement, as witness those in this audience. But he does cause us to do some soul-searching. Are all of us doing everything we can to help public education?

The 1960 General Assembly created the Commission on Public Education to study our public schools and recommend improvements. Those recommendations will be carefully considered by the legislature, which must decide what new laws, if any, are needed.

The commission is now engaged in the most comprehensive and intensive research into our methods of imparting knowledge to schoolchildren ever undertaken in any state.

The commission's committees already have come up with more than 700 pages of findings on curriculum and school administration. A third report will deal with the minimum foundation program. Then the commission, after studying these reports and conducting public hearings, will make its recommendations to the governor.

All of this is fine. We must have such research, and we must have

new laws when they are needed. But, and I would like to emphasize this point, research and new laws alone will not do the job. All of us — parents, school administrators, teachers, and public officials — must lend a hand if we are to provide the good quality of education which our children need to compete in the age of space.

I recommend for your reading the reports of the Commission on Public Education. I think they should be necessary homework for everybody conscientiously interested in better schools. The state will cooperate with the Kentucky Education Association in distributing these reports. They will show you that, while Kentucky's program of public education contains many important strengths, there also are opportunities for improvement.

In making our own study of the commission's studies, I suggest that all of us keep our powder dry and be judicious in our comment until the commission completes its work. We should do this in fairness both to the commission and to ourselves.

We are making progress in education. The commission's work is an example of that progress. The General Assembly's appropriation of an additional \$110 million for education was another example. Still another is the sales tax, which is helping provide these additional funds.

By late 1961 Kentucky's Commission on Public Education had begun to report its findings and make recommendations. Reactions were mixed. Some found further reason for condemning the schools; others felt threatened by what they regarded as an unjustified assault upon effective education. Governor Combs, as usual, urged cautious and careful evaluation of all the issues as he anticipated the coming legislative session in 1962.

1. Samuel Craig Van Curon (1911–), member, Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission (1958–1960); editor, *Frankfort Journal* (1960–1976); president, Kentucky Press Association (1967); born in Ada, Oklahoma, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. Martha Gregory, acting director of public services, to editor, *Frankfort*, Kentucky, May 10, 1977.

KENTUCKY STATE AFL-CIO
Progress in Kentucky Labor Legislation
Louisville / October 19, 1961

A YEAR ago on this platform I informed you that I had requested the commissioner of industrial relations to expedite revisions of the antiquated minimum wage rates being paid in Kentucky. Now the twenty-year-old Laundry and Drycleaning Order¹ which called for wages as low as twenty cents an hour has been abolished.

Starting September 1, it will be a violation of state law to pay any woman or child employed in this industry less than seventy-five cents an hour in the larger cities and less than sixty-five cents an hour in the remote, rural sections. Furthermore, beginning November 1, it will be a violation of state law to pay any woman or minor in any industry less than the rates I have enumerated.

This revision will mark the first change in the all-industries occupation category in fourteen years.

We have only one other mandatory order — that applying to the hotel and restaurant industry, and I expect to appoint a board for that within the next two weeks. Never before in the history of the Commonwealth has more than one mandatory order been revised during the administration of any one governor of Kentucky.

A little over two years ago in this hotel, Lieutenant Governor Wilson Wyatt and I met with your executive committee, and we revised and formulated a twelve-point labor program, and with the revision of the hotel and restaurant order, we will have carried out in full that pledge and promise made to you.

From time to time in Frankfort, we still hear the rattling of the old right-to-work bones with the connotation that that skeleton should be brought out to scare you, the working men and women of this state. I still feel the same today as I have always felt and can only reassure you that I am still in accord with the philosophy of and sentiments expressed by the late Alben Barkley² when he killed the right-to-work advocates with his cutting remarks that the people of this state will never be fooled by any phony, so-called right-to-work law. Most of you have heard the old cliché that "it takes one to know one." I speak to you not only as your governor, but as a former judge and representative of the Court of Appeals, and I must in all honesty say to you that some of their decisions and opinions are as confusing to me as they must be to you. I must further add that I am not

necessarily in agreement with those decisions and opinions. In fact, by the four-to-three vote on the prevailing wage law of the Court of Appeals, you can see that we lawyers don't always agree. While that decision applied only to Hopkins County, it has, I realize, pretty well crippled the law as a whole. I trust that something might be done at this session of the legislature to repair the inadequacies that the court cited in their four-to-three decision. Some thirty-eight states and the federal government of this nation for thirty years have found a public works law to be a necessity for the construction of public works projects.

In speaking of disagreement among judges sitting on the Court of Appeals, I can well recall in 1954 when the court as a whole was in agreement that the mandatory order under consideration was too high and the report and recommendation of the wage board was based on insufficient information to satisfy that court. There was only one judge on the Court of Appeals who felt that there was not only sufficiency of information, but that the wage rates, then recommended, were not too high, and I sat down and wrote my dissenting opinion accordingly. I think that this is the most compelling testimony and evidence that I could present to you that I am not a "Johnny come lately" when it comes to paying the men, women, and children of this state a decent and necessary minimum wage.

While there are many things that I could talk about to you today as to the activities of myself as governor and the Department of Industrial Relations and other departments that are working in your behalf, I feel that most of you already know or have been told by your own people what we are doing.

1. Kentucky Minimum Wage Mandatory Order Regulating the Employment of all Women and Minors in the Laundry, Drycleaning, and Dyeing Industry, August 25, 1942. The order was filed with the secretary of state on August 25, 1942, at 11:20 A.M. and at the time was immediately in effect.

2. Alben William Barkley (1877-1956), member United States House of Representatives (1913-1927); member, United States Senate (1927-1949, 1954-1956); vice president of the United States (1949-1953); born in Graves County, Kentucky, and resided in Paducah, Kentucky. *Who Was Who in America, 1951-1960*, (Chicago, 1960), 3:49-50.

FIFTH DISTRICT
EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
School People Must Maintain Unity
Louisville / November 3, 1961

THE vigorous reaction to the reports of the two state commissions which analyzed our public school system, our university, and the state colleges was not unexpected. Let us hope, however, that those who are critical of the reports will be considerate in their judgment and judicious in their statements. Hasty judgment and intemperate speech can produce a division in the forces of education which would be harmful to the progress we have achieved and handicap our efforts for the future. This is no time for our school people to become divided. Never before have we accomplished so much and never before have we had such bright prospects for accomplishing more.

There is another reason for maintaining unity. We are approaching the most critical session of the General Assembly in recent history. Next January the members of the legislature must decide whether the state's revenue program, which is underwriting all our progress in education and other fields of public service, shall be continued.

You and I know, of course, that any curtailment of that revenue would sabotage our advances in education and wreck our programs for other improvements. I believe that most of our citizens know that, too. But dissension among the friends of education could serve to shake the belief of the people in the soundness of our cause.

Officials of our public schools and of our colleges have indicated a fear that the legislature, in acting on the findings of the Commission on Public Education and the Commission on the Study of Higher Education, might enact laws which would seriously weaken local control over our schools and colleges.

Such fear is unfounded. It overlooks the historic tendency of legislatures to vest in the people at local levels maximum control over the functions of government.

The members of the two commissions, which were directed by the General Assembly to recommend improvements in our public schools and colleges, are conscientiously trying to do the best job possible. We wanted them to be frank and honest in their appraisals, and I believe they are trying to do just that.

It is significant that the committee which studied the curriculum of our public schools remarked: "We approached our task humbly. We conclude it with an even greater humility." Might I suggest that this attitude be an example for all of us. The magnitude of the problems which we face in education is sufficient to cause all of us to be humble.

To allay further any apprehensions about the ultimate results of the present studies of our schools and colleges, let me reiterate that the recommendations of the two commissions will be carefully considered by me and I am sure by the 138 members of the General Assembly. Our aim, just like yours, is to help — not hurt — our public schools and colleges.

As fears mounted among school people at the prospect that the legislature would respond to Kentucky's Commission on Public Education reports by enacting firmer state controls, Combs again counseled patience and promised to protect traditional local responsibility.

FAYETTE COUNTY
TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
Progress toward a Sound Educational System
Lexington / November 13, 1961

OF teachers, Henry Adams once said, "A teacher affects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops." This observation certainly applies to today's teachers. Never before in history have teachers performed such an important role in determining our nation's fate.

The victor in the struggle between communism and democracy will emerge, not from a fallout shelter, but from a classroom. The cold war is being fought, not on a nuclear battlefield, but in science, engineering, economics, political science, and even in art classes.

You, the teachers, are leaders in this conflict. As it is our duty as a nation and as individual states to provide our young people with the best and most capable teachers, it is our duty to provide our teachers with a sound and progressive educational system — an educational

program based on modern classrooms and the best in instructional facilities, the most advanced curriculum, and the maximum in salaries.

Just as one can talk about the weather but do nothing about it, for too many years Kentuckians could only talk about their problems in education. Too long our state sat at the back of the classroom.

In 1960, with the help of the General Assembly's appropriation of an additional \$110 million for education, Kentucky left its backseat and began to move forward. Equipped with extra revenue, mainly from the sales tax, it has been able to surpass many sister states and gain recognition and respect for its work and accomplishments. The sales tax has enabled us to give our teachers a long overdue and much deserved raise. The state Department of Education reports that Kentucky now has the "best teachers in our history," with 75.2 percent of its teachers holding college degrees.

It is imperative for Kentucky to have good teachers, not only to impart sound knowledge, curiosity, and useful skills to their pupils, but also to influence students, tempted to drop out, to finish their high school education.

A Louisville newspaper recently reported on their editorial page that "Kentucky lost a minimum of \$824,395,000 in earning capacity through students who dropped out of high school in a single class." This figure was based on the number of pupils enrolled in the ninth grade in 1954 and the number of them who graduated in 1959.

Our children deserve good teachers and you, the teachers, deserve good salaries. Because of the sales tax, teachers in Fayette County are receiving a total increase of approximately \$500,000 in salary raises from state aid only, and Lexington teachers, an increase of nearly \$300,000.

Last school year (1960-1961), Fayette County teachers received an average salary of \$4,613, an increase of \$632 over the year before (1959-1960), and Lexington teachers, an average of \$5,235, or a \$788 increase. Statewide, teachers are receiving a total increase of \$24,990,910 in salaries from state revenue alone.

Kentucky ranked first this year in percentage of average annual increase to teachers with a 26 percent increase from 1959-1960 to 1960-1961. This was a twenty-seven-step jump from twenty-eighth ranking and a 4 percent increase from the previous year.

In percentage of salary increase for the past ten years (1950-1951 to 1960-1961), Kentucky ranked second with 103 percent increase.

Kentucky's public elementary and secondary schools received 55.3 percent of their total revenue from the state during the last school

year to rank eleventh in the nation for state aid. The national average was 40.1 percent and of the twenty top ranking states, only two do not have a sales tax or similar tax.

The 1962 session of the General Assembly will be of critical importance to the future of Kentucky. It may be the most momentous in our lifetime. And I expect it to be explosive. It will be momentous because we must hold the gains we have made and assure continuation of our program of progress for Kentucky.

It will be explosive because of the powder-keg elements which will exist, if not on the floor of the House and Senate, certainly in the corridors and cloakrooms. These include the sales tax, congressional redistricting, the 1962 campaign for United States senator, and preliminary jockeying for the governor's race of 1963.

I would be foolish to ignore the political realities, just as I would be a weak governor if I should permit political expediency to divert me from a course which I feel is good for Kentucky. That course embraces the many programs, enacted by the 1960 General Assembly, to build a greater Kentucky. They include our projects for improvements in education, highways, health, welfare, state parks, agricultural research and development, and expansion of industry.

Speaking twice in one day before the Kentucky Farm Bureau Federation and the Fayette County Teachers Association, Combs warned that the next session of the General Assembly would be vital to state progress and urged the need to hold the line on already accomplished legislation. Two days later he addressed the County Attorneys Association on the same subject in Louisville.

COUNTY ATTORNEYS ASSOCIATION

Politics and the General Assembly

Louisville / November 15, 1961

It is my hope that, for the most part, we can avoid controversial issues during the 1962 session of the General Assembly. The programs of this administration were recommended to the 1960 legisla-

ture and enacted into law. It would be unwise, I feel, to embark upon other far-reaching, untried programs at a time when we have a job of carrying to completion the programs already initiated.

The session will be an explosive one at best. We live in a political form of government. It is as dangerous to ignore the political realities as it is unwise to bow to political expediency.

We cannot ignore the fact that Kentucky will elect a United States senator in 1962. We also must eliminate a congressional seat. And I am reminded by the press that Kentucky will elect a new governor in 1963. These political facts of life do not alarm me, but, on the other hand, I know that they cannot be ignored. My hope is that we will not permit politics to keep us from achieving our main objective and other programs necessary to keep Kentucky a progressive state.

We must concentrate our energy on preserving the gains we have made in fields such as education, health, welfare, highways, parks, and agricultural and industrial development.

I do expect an effort to sabotage our revenue program through repeal or reduction of the sales tax. Since the revenue program is financing all our needed improvements, I need not tell you that any curtailment of that revenue would be disastrous to Kentucky.

Aside from the sales tax and congressional redistricting, nobody knows now what will be the controversial issues in the next legislative session. I have reason to believe there will be a moderate approach to legislation to improve our schools. There probably will be bills on absentee voting, on old automobile graveyards, on further reorganization of state government. And political rumor has it that the egg law¹ might break into the news again.

Regardless, the people who want to see Kentucky continue to progress have their work cut out for them in protecting our accomplishments and keeping on a course which will enable us to reach still greater goals.

1. Speech excerpts. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1960*, Chapter 36 (H.B. 175), p. 113.

DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDING
OF NORTHERN KENTUCKY CENTER
Covington / November 19, 1961

DEDICATION of this new building of the Northern Kentucky Center climaxes years of efforts by public-spirited citizens in one of the state's most progressive sections. This area long has been noted for its elementary and secondary schools. They rank among the best in the state. This branch of our state's university, along with Villa Madonna College, headed by the able Monsignor Murphy,¹ will enhance northern Kentucky's reputation for educational advancement.

From the campus of the Northern Center we can look across the valley to the opposite hilltop, where the new vocational school building is under construction. There young men and women will be schooled in the arts and crafts so that they can make this section more attractive to new industry. From here we also can see the expanded Park Hills School building. Almost within sight is Covington Catholic High School. Nearby is another new building under construction for the Notre Dame Academy for girls.

Northern Kentucky is the scene also of exciting progress in other fields of endeavor. Under construction is Interstate Highway 75, a four-lane superhighway which will cross the state from north to south. Within two years we hope to have the new Ohio River bridge open for traffic.

Our Highway Department, in cooperation with the federal government and other agencies, is making plans for additional bridges and additional expressways to serve this growing area. Campbell County, for example, is scheduled to get two new bridges. Boone County is also scheduled for a new Ohio River bridge. And, of course, there will be a new bridge across the Licking River.

All these plans are in keeping with the progress being made by you on the local level. Your Industrial Park Foundation has purchased and developed land for factories. And your first new building will not be long in coming. Others will follow.

Briefly, then, the dedication of this new university building is symbolic of what you have done and what you are planning to do. My congratulations to Dr. Frank Dickey, president of the university, for making the extension center system work.

This center is an example, too, of Kentucky's rise to a position of leadership in education. It is the first of five off-campus centers

established by the state in an effort to satisfy the thirst of young Kentuckians for greater knowledge and intellectual achievement.

The enrollment in all Kentucky colleges had been expected to increase 68 percent between 1960 and 1970. However, so rapid is the increase of young men and women knocking at the doors of our colleges that those figures are now being revised sharply upward. The enrollment in one state college increased 33.3 percent during 1960.

To satisfy that thirst for knowledge, we have launched the greatest program of educational improvement in Kentucky's history. This program applies not only to our institutions of higher learning but to our public schools. We cannot afford to pay the price of ignorance. As we make progress in education, we make overall progress for Kentucky.

It is my pleasure now to dedicate the Northern Center of the University of Kentucky to the education of Kentucky youth, to the discovery, transmission, and application of new knowledge; to the youth with an inquiring mind.

1. John Francis Murphy (1923–), president, Thomas More College (formerly Villa Madonna) (1953–1971); born in Lexington, Kentucky, and resides in Covington, Kentucky. *Leaders in Education*, 5th ed. (New York, 1974), p. 785.

BAPTIST MINISTERS CONFERENCE
 The Ministry and State Government
 Covington / November 27, 1961

In appraising the results so far of the campaign for decency, honesty, and law enforcement in one of your counties and in charting a course for the future, I believe all of us might humbly observe these words from the book of Joshua: "Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the laws." Members of the clergy demonstrated great courage and leadership in the cam-

paign. Their followers and other citizens of the Commonwealth rightfully can be proud of them.

And let me digress to compliment you for the humility with which you accepted your victory. Such conduct, in my opinion, was not only Christianlike but good practical politics. Boasting could have jeopardized some of the support you have and some that you expect to receive. The attitude you have taken, I think, will pay dividends. More important, it conforms with Jesus' advice: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

Great courage will be required to continue the campaign. Strong forces of evil are aligned against you, because they have much at stake. But I feel you have on your side the vast majority of the citizens, and you will continue to receive full support of your state government.

Your state government has not yet resorted to all its resources in combating vice, lawlessness, and disrespect for the law. I feel you will be encouraged by some of the developments which are yet to unfold.

We can agree, I believe, that you of the ministry and we in state government have many common objectives besides the eradication of vice. Among those objectives are better education for our children, more considerate treatment of the unfortunates in our state hospitals and institutions, more assistance for the indigent and the underprivileged, more efficient government, stronger safeguards for our election system, and general improvements to lift the economic well-being of our citizens. All these objectives fit into a general program designed to build a greater Kentucky. The program is well under way, and we have achieved some successes. Our job now is to continue that program.

Whether we continue that program will be determined at the session of the General Assembly opening in January. We anticipate an attack on the very foundation of that program. That foundation is our revenue system, including the sales tax, which now is financing some of the improvements which Kentucky desperately needs. More specifically, we expect an effort to be made to curtail the sales tax income through exemptions.

Exemptions of any kind would be hazardous. The exemption of just one small item, you might say, could cost the state very little. But that one exemption could lead to demands for other exemptions, and soon the small hole in the financial dyke would grow into a large

break, resulting in a disastrous loss of income which the state sorely needs.

Do believe me. Kentucky's salvation and continued progress depend upon retention of all the income which we now derive from what I believe is a properly balanced revenue program.

Traditionally northern Kentucky proved to be an unpredictable political factor in Commonwealth elections, and A. B. Chandler had already made it known that he did not approve of Combs's intervention in Newport affairs. While applauding the victory over vice, Combs warned that continued vigilance by state government as well as by local reformers would be necessary to prohibit a return to old practices.

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS
CONFERENCE
Local Control of Schools
Louisville / November 27, 1961

LET us talk tonight about the problems, and especially about the pitfalls and dangers, which we face in working together to advance the cause of education in Kentucky. On this particular occasion I shall not take up your time in recounting the progress which we have made in Kentucky over the past two years. You know that story as well as I do. Each week — each month — the story is unfolded, in the paychecks of our teachers, in the new classrooms and new buildings which are springing up in our local communities, in better transportation for our pupils, and in improved standards of achievement in the schoolroom.

But we can never make progress without paying a price. The price of educational progress for Kentucky was the revenue program adopted by the courageous General Assembly of 1960. We cannot maintain or accelerate the forward movement of our school system unless we are ready to defend against all enemies of the revenue measures which were enacted in 1960 and which are now in effect.

On this score I want us to be vigilant, but not forceful. If the issue

is drawn openly, clearly, and forcibly, I do not believe that the elected representatives of the people of this Commonwealth will vote to blot out or to mutilate the things we have done over the past two years.

There is, however, a greater, even though a less obvious, danger. Our enemies — and indeed I shall not hesitate to call them our enemies of education in Kentucky — know that they cannot defeat us so long as we stick together. The hope which our enemies are nourishing is the ambition to divide and conquer. If the enemies of educational progress — and indeed of all progress in Kentucky — can sow the seed of discord, controversy, or distrust between the educational leadership of Kentucky and the governmental leadership of Kentucky, they may be able to win by stealth what they cannot win in a fair fight.

There is too much at stake to permit a rift of misunderstanding or distrust to create a gulf between you and me. For this reason I am here to proclaim to you tonight my strong convictions that the educational leaders of Kentucky — your state superintendent, your state Department of Education, and our local school administrators — are preponderantly, yes overwhelmingly, honorable, hard-working, intelligent men and women doing a good job under adverse conditions and devoted to Kentucky's children.

In view of some things which have been said or intimated in the past, I want to say especially that in my opinion the integrity of Wendell Butler is above reproach and that his actions as superintendent of public instruction have been motivated by the desire to do what is best for education in this Commonwealth.

Tonight I propose not to lay out or suggest a legislative program or an administrative program to cure all the ills of education in Kentucky. I do not possess the requisite knowledge or talent, and there will be other times when we can discuss in greater detail such of these problems as may properly come within the purview of legislative and executive oversight. Rather, it is my purpose to lay at rest some of the misapprehensions which may have served to create undue anxiety on your part as to the plans and purposes of your state administration and to appeal to you for that unity and mutual confidence which we shall so greatly need during the next two years if we are to work together effectively.

The General Assembly of 1960, which did more in behalf of education than any legislature which has ever sat in the history of Kentucky, created a commission on education to survey the needs and problems of our school system. Though some of you may differ with

me I think that this action on the part of the General Assembly was a wise and prudent action. These elected representatives of the people had voted large sums of public money for the benefit of education at the expense of their constituents. From many quarters there had arisen suggestions and criticisms as to the present operation of our educational system and its possible improvement. The commission, with broad terms of reference, might be in a position to investigate abuses, to evaluate suggested changes, and point the way toward improvement.

The commission has not yet completed its report, and until the commission's report is completed and published, we cannot properly evaluate its recommendations. Reports which have been submitted to the commission do not necessarily reflect the considered judgments of the commission. Furthermore, I believe that the members of the commission itself would agree that its reports and recommendations are designed to constitute a list of agenda for the consideration of the people and the General Assembly and not graven tablets on which are written immutable commands.

It is perhaps unfortunate that before the commission has even made its report certain particular recommendations made to the commission have become the subject of much discussion and controversy. For this reason — as well as for others — I should like to outline to you tonight a few problems which I believe ought to prevail in the consideration of these matters and to relieve anxieties — if you have any — about a few of the things which you may have been told that I propose to do to you.

Let me say first that I believe strongly — and particularly in the field of education — in the principles of home rule and local self-government. I should be the first to oppose any wholesale transfer of control over education administration away from local superintendents and local school boards to a highly centralized bureaucracy in Frankfort. So far as most of the problems in the field of education are concerned I do not think that this problem is affected except in one particular. It has been suggested that in actions brought by the attorney general or by individual taxpayers and dealing with the allegedly illegal or improper use of public funds, jurisdiction should be taken away from the local courts and conferred upon the Franklin Circuit Court. In my opinion, the same courts which have jurisdiction over the handling of public monies by local fiscal courts, local sheriffs, and other local officers ought to have jurisdiction over actions affecting the expenditure of school funds. We could not justify one law for the fiscal court and another for the school board, one law for the

sheriff or the county clerk and another for the county school superintendent. It may be that in all actions affecting the allegedly illegal expenditure of public funds on the local level there should be some change in the present statutes. For example, it might be possible for the action to be brought in the local circuit court but for a special judge to be designated by the Court of Appeals in this particular type of suit. Or again, it might be that the legislature would think it wise to permit such actions to be brought in the circuit court of an adjoining district, or for a judge from an adjoining district to hear such actions. But whatever changes in the present law should be considered they ought not to discriminate between education and other activities of local government, and I do not think it would be wise to create an additional concentration of power in the Franklin Circuit Court.

Let me say also that I should be unalterably opposed to any legislative proposal which would degrade schoolteachers into second-class citizenship and deprive them of the same rights and opportunities to express themselves on public questions as are enjoyed by all other citizens. I could not say otherwise in view of the fact that for the past two years I have been urging the school people of Kentucky to be more — and not less — active politically. I could think of no measure which would be more crippling to the influence of public education than to shut the lips of our schoolteachers with a legislative padlock.

I am sure that there are some changes which may prove necessary in our school laws to prevent abuses of power and to insure that our public monies are properly expended. Under legislation now on the statute books our local fiscal courts and other local officials are subject to periodic independent audits by the auditor of public accounts. I do not think that it is fundamentally important whether, as to local school boards, such an audit be made by the auditor of public accounts or by some other independent agency. But I do think — and I most sincerely hope you will agree with me — that there is nothing inherently objectionable or obnoxious in the principle of an independent audit of the books and records of any agency handling public money.

It has also been suggested that changes ought to be made in the methods by which members of local school boards are elected. At present county boards are elected by districts, and independent district boards are elected at large. I have not myself come to any firm or unalterable conclusion as to what is the best method of selection, but I am clear in my own mind as to county boards at least. There should be retained in the law some protection against the possibility that all

or a preponderance of the membership of a county board shall be selected from a single populous locality. In any event, I am sure that if any legislation is necessary it can be framed in accordance with principles which will satisfy all your legitimate concerns and protect the legitimate values which are embodied in the present election by district.

There is one final matter which has been much discussed and which will doubtless be involved in any legislative attempt to deal with the recommendations of the Commission on Education. I refer to the so-called decertification procedure. Under the present statutes, as you well know, the certificate of a local superintendent is subject to revocation by the state Board of Education for certain specified types of misconduct upon charges preferred by the superintendent of public instruction. It has been suggested that this power to revoke a certificate ought to be conferred upon the state Board of Education without any necessary previous action by the state superintendent. In view of the fact that the revocation of a certificate amounts, in effect, to an economic death sentence I am inclined to believe that the procedure for the revocation of such certificates be left in its present form. However, I suggest to you and urge you to consider seriously whether there ought not to be devised some procedure short of decertification by which either the state Board of Education or a prescribed majority of the board (such as two-thirds or three-fourths) could, in an extreme or aggravated situation, suspend or remove a local superintendent or a local board member for specified charges of misconduct and after hearing, without the absolute necessity or recommendation of charges being preferred by the state superintendent.

In dealing with these matters we must all remember — and I urge the people of Kentucky to remember — that we are talking about marginal situations not typical of educational administration in Kentucky. In those few cases where corruption or abuse of power has contaminated the processes of educational administration we must act and we must provide machinery for decisive action, but we must never forget that the overwhelming majority of our school boards and our school administrators in Kentucky are clean and honest, and that we owe you a great debt of gratitude for a multitude of tasks well done. In this connection, let me offer one additional suggestion. Our present school laws provide security of tenure for the teachers, but no security of tenure beyond his four-year contract for the superintendent. It has been my hope and belief that in most cases where politics has become enmeshed in a few of our local school systems

this has been due primarily to the desire of the local superintendent to retain in office a friendly board so that his job and his livelihood will not be placed in jeopardy every time a new board member is elected. I am inclined to believe that a greater degree of security of tenure for our local school superintendents might well be the greatest single step for the elimination of politics from our schools. We have a tenure law for teachers and a merit system for employees in state government. Could we not give to our devoted and hard-working local school superintendents something of this same protection?

The solution of these vexing problems will not be achieved at once nor in a single session of the legislature. Meanwhile, we must be patient with each other and with our critics. We must seek always to let reason and not emotion guide us in the consideration of issues. Above all, we must trust one another. In unity there is strength and in confidence there is unity.

Working together over the past two years we have moved ahead by decades. Working together over the next two years we can work even greater miracles. Let us proclaim to the next General Assembly and to the people of Kentucky that we are not divided; that we are all one body, united in purpose, united in mutual trust, and dedicated to those policies which will keep education on the march.

This is essentially the same speech delivered eight days later on December 5 to a conference of Kentucky school administrators in Louisville. It represented a very important elaboration of Combs's concern that an overzealous legislature might try to take over and run the schools. While making several suggestions for modification of the schools, the governor emphasized strongly that school administrators should be left free to do their jobs. The commission suggestion most frightening to school people was its recommendation that existing prohibitions against partisan political activity by state employees be made applicable to school personnel. *First Report of the Commission on Public Education* (Frankfort, Ky., December 22, 1961), p. 44.

LEXINGTON LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
What to Expect from the Next General Assembly
Lexington / December 6, 1961

I HAVE observed that the Lexington League of Women Voters is an aggressive organization, that its members are deeply interested in the working of democracy, and that you strive hard to obtain the maximum beneficial results from the system.

Bless your hearts, I am for you. You also are helping satisfy one of the greatest needs of that system — more active participation by our citizens in politics.

Last night, in a talk before the Kentucky School Administrators at Louisville, I expressed the hope that our Commission on Public Education would not recommend legislation to restrict the right of schoolteachers to express themselves on public questions. I could not say otherwise, because for the past two years I have been urging the school people of Kentucky to be more — and not less — active politically.

In my opinion, to still the voice of our schoolteachers would cripple the cause of education in Kentucky. Rather, we might well consider further bolstering their privilege to speak forthrightly on political matters.

I am aware of your special interest in education and in the Commission on Public Education, to which you have submitted some proposals. I expect to receive before Christmas the first recommendations for improvements which the commission feels can be made through administrative regulations.

Anyone familiar with the commission and its associates should be impressed by their diligence and dedication. They have neglected their private affairs to give generously of their time and talents to improving education in Kentucky. Their dedication is reflected in a comment of the Curriculum Study Committee. The committee observed: "Our task has been both arduous and complex, but the reward has been to acquire some insight into a great human enterprise and to be permitted to hope that we may in some measure have contributed to the future welfare of this Commonwealth."

The commission and its associates are striving conscientiously to find better means of educating our children within the limits of Kentucky's resources. They want to help us make the most efficient and productive use of those resources.

The current study of our public school system is unprecedented in magnitude, scope, and intensity. Never before in Kentucky's history have we assembled such a force of brains, manpower, and energy from such a wide variety of talents and concentrated it on the improvement of public education for our children. Kentucky can be right proud of this understanding. We are demonstrating leadership and providing an example for the other states in striving for the ultimate in public school education.

I understand that the commission is concerned over the sharply increasing enrollment in our schools and the need for adequate funds to house and teach the new pupils. Therefore, it has been studying methods to: a) guarantee more education per child per years, and b) guarantee the taxpayers that more education will be provided per dollar spent.

You may be interested in two recommendations in this direction being considered by the commission. They are:

1. Legislation to forbid extracurricular activities on any night followed by a school day. Excepted would be four days, in each school year, for field trips. This would limit to Friday and Saturday nights any events involving the participation, under school sponsorship or approval, of elementary and high school students. The purpose of this proposal is obvious. Pupils and teachers alike would be allowed more time for homework and rest. (Do I hear any cheers from the teachers among you who seldom enjoy the luxury of a night at home with your families?)

2. Legislation to provide that pupils, dismissed from class for any reason, shall not be counted as present that day for average daily attendance credit. This would prohibit the release of students from class for pep rallies, parades, athletic practice, or any other purpose.

I think you can expect some commission recommendations aimed at helping school districts obtain additional funds locally. Although contracts for public school construction and equipment in Kentucky reached a record high of \$37.7 million in the 1960-1961 school year, many districts including Fayette County still require additional facilities. And the problem, of course, is how to get the money for the new buildings.

Both the commission and our state Department of Revenue are studying the problem of assessment of real estate for school tax purposes. I am hopeful that they will come up with a solution which will not detract from the authority and responsibility of local government.

A contribution toward a solution might be to vest in the district

boards of education the privilege of requiring that property be assessed at a value commensurate with a district's needs. Such a step would be based on the premise that school board members constitute the agency most competent to judge what the schoolchildren of their district need, and further that as elected representatives of the people they should be empowered to take the necessary action to satisfy those needs.

It also has been suggested that changes ought to be made in the methods by which members of local school boards are elected. I understand your organization has made recommendations on this subject. As for myself, I can argue that question either way. You can be sure that the recommendations of the Commission on Public Education on this subject will receive the General Assembly's careful consideration.

Now, let me touch briefly on some other subjects likely to come before the session of the General Assembly which begins January 2. The office of Attorney General Breckinridge and the Legislative Research Commission already are processing some 200 ideas for legislation. They cover a wide variety of subjects besides education. They include automobile graveyards which mar our countryside, better care for mentally retarded children, absentee voting, reorganization of state government, and perhaps even the egg law.

Nobody yet knows what will be the major controversial issues. The sales tax and income tax are likely to figure, although I am hopeful that the vast majority of the people and their representatives in the legislature realize that any curtailment of our present revenue program would wreak havoc with the numerous progressive programs now under way in many fields.

Congressional redistricting may be necessary, but I hope not. I am encouraged by reports that Congress may save Kentucky from losing one of its eight seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Reorganization of state government is an important subject. I think we have a good overall program for Kentucky and we have reasonably adequate means for financing it. Now, our job is to equip ourselves to carry out that program in the most effective and economical way possible. To do that, our governmental agencies must be organized to perform with a maximum of efficiency.

Our state government structure has grown considerably since it last was reorganized some twenty-five years ago. In 1936 the basic functions of government were assigned to ten departments. Now we have twenty-eight, not including the elective offices. These twenty-eight plus the various boards and commissions add up to sixty-two

agencies responsible directly to the governor. I ask you: where in modern business can you find sixty-two executives reporting to one man in a half-billion dollar a year operation? They include even the state Board of Examiners in Watchmaking. You can imagine the terrific logjam caused by such a situation.

The problem is to reduce these sixty-two to somewhere between twelve and twenty. It can be accomplished, I am informed, by consolidating under one head those agencies with a common interest. For example, take the departments of Health, Mental Health, Child Welfare, and Economic Security plus the Commission for Handicapped Children, the Tuberculosis Hospital Commission, and the program dealing with mental retardation. It is reasonable to assume that, without disturbing the leadership of any one department or commission, all could be grouped in one agency. The head of that one agency could be responsible overall for the seven. And he, instead of seven persons, would deal directly with the governor.

I am hopeful that the Commission on Reorganization of State Government will suggest to the legislature a system which will give us more compact administration and eliminate overlapping of functions, so that we can provide more efficient service and obtain the maximum benefit from all our undertakings.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
REMOVAL OF
NORBERT ROLL FROM OFFICE
Frankfort / December 7, 1961

NORBERT ROLL,¹ sheriff of Campbell County, having been charged with neglect of duty, pursuant to KRS 63.090 through 63.160, the Honorable John L. Davis, attorney of Lexington, was appointed as special commissioner to preside at hearings on the charges.

Commissioner Davis held a number of hearings and has filed his report. The commissioner advises that Sheriff Roll "has at least been guilty of careless failure to exercise due diligence in the performance of his official duties as sheriff."

I have reviewed the report and considered the commissioner's conclusions. The report and conclusions are supported by the record. The applicable statutes provide that "careless . . . failure to exercise due diligence in the performance of official duties" constitutes neglect of duty within the meaning of the statutes. The commissioner's report being before me and the terms of the statutes being mandatory, my duty is clear. I therefore direct that Norbert Roll be removed from office as sheriff of Campbell County and that the provisions and penalties of the applicable statutes be invoked.

Late in the year Special Commissioner John L. Davis completed his investigation of Sheriff Norbert Roll of Campbell County and submitted his findings to the governor. Like the Newport officials before him (Gugel and Frederick), Sheriff Roll was removed from office by Combs. The investigation of County Police Chief Harry Stuart continued.

1. Norbert Roll, no vita available.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY CONVOCATION

Past Accomplishments and Future Hopes
Lexington / December 13, 1961

IN Kentucky, as elsewhere, human resources are our most important product. The extent of Kentucky's progress must depend, to a great degree, on how well we develop and utilize those resources.

By the yardstick of population increase, we have not fared well. In the decade of the 1950s, when the nation's population grew 19 percent, Kentucky's population increased only 3.2 percent. As you know, this may cost us one of our eight seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. The more serious cost, however, is to be found in the causes for this slow rate of growth.

Between 1950 and 1960, approximately 390,000 Kentuckians left their native state because they could find a better livelihood elsewhere. Among them were schoolteachers. For years, Kentucky has trained more teachers in proportion to population than any other state. We had to.

Kentucky has long been a happy hunting ground for out-of-state schools and colleges in need of teaching talent. In 1959, for example, 50 percent of our college graduates in education were lured away. Fortunately this trend has now been slowed, and I shall go into the reasons later. In 1960, 40 percent of the education graduates left. In 1961, it is estimated that only 30 percent departed.

We can find encouragement in the fact that, although the college-age population has declined during the last ten years, the percentage of this group in college has steadily increased. It was 9 percent in 1950, 12.7 percent in 1956, and 15.2 percent this year. The proportion of Kentucky college-age young men and women in college is expected to level off at 19.1 percent in 1970.

The Council on Public Higher Education reported just today that the present enrollment of all Kentucky colleges is 49,467 students, an increase of 10.9 percent over 1960. This compares with a national increase of 6.6 percent.

The number of students enrolled in Kentucky colleges in 1950 was 28,878, so we have experienced an increase of 20,589 students or 74.6 percent in eleven years. The projected enrollment for 1970 is 68,378 students. By then we can expect to have 18,911 additional students, or a further increase of 38 percent.

In our public schools, during the last ten years, the enrollment has increased by 102,839 pupils. (This exceeds the state's increase in population of 93,350 in the last decade.) Pupils enrolled in our public schools this fall totaled 666,237. This is an increase of 18 percent in ten years. (Recall that the population increase was just 3.2 percent from 1950 to 1960.)

I think the figures I have cited are significant. Those on population trend point up one of Kentucky's major problems. Those on college and public school enrollment are encouraging, but they call attention to a great need. Overall, they indicated the necessity for a program which would: 1) further develop Kentucky's economic resources to provide more opportunities for employment of its citizens, and 2) enlarge the educational opportunities of our youth. I consider Number 2 as the more important objective — as the foundation for any program to build a greater Kentucky.

The Harvard University Board of Overseers once remarked: "The primary concern of American education today . . . is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and are free." Better education will not only help us recognize our opportunities but will enable us better to

take advantage of them. So, we recommended to the 1960 General Assembly a program designed to achieve the objectives, and the General Assembly put it into effect. To finance the necessary improvements, the legislature came up with a balanced revenue program, including the sales tax, which represents the closest approach to satisfying Kentucky's needs.

The overall program enacted by the 1960 General Assembly has been in operation for a year and a half, and I think that we have reason to be proud of the progress we have achieved. On the economic front, we experienced an increase of \$377 million last year in new industrial plants and plant expansions, and our economic development has increased in tempo in 1961. On the educational front, the legislature increased by \$110 million the appropriation for public schools and colleges, with the result that teacher salaries were raised by \$1,100, the exodus of our teachers to other states was sharply curtailed, new classrooms were built, school bus transportation was improved, and free textbooks were provided for high school students.

Kentucky led the nation last year in increases, percentagewise, of financial support of public education. In addition, the legislature created a Commission on Public Education which conducted a searching analysis of our public school system and is coming up with extensive recommendations for improvement.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the improvements now under way which compose the program for a greater Kentucky, but they include:

- The stepped-up industrial development program which contributed to the \$377 million in expansions previously cited, plus the Spindletop Industrial Research Institute on the University of Kentucky campus.

- More and better highways, including 700 miles of interstate super-roads, the East Kentucky Turnpike and the West Kentucky Turnpike, and improved feeder and farm-to-market roads.

- A 40 percent reduction in the income tax.

- Expansion of agricultural research and development, including a multimillion-dollar research center at the University of Kentucky, a tree nursery for eastern Kentucky, extension of forest fire protection to forty more counties, and increases in the salaries of county agents.

- A program to bring new wealth to underdeveloped areas, including eastern Kentucky.

- A \$12 million expansion of the state park system, which ties in with an intensified campaign to attract more tourists to Kentucky.

- Increased appropriations for health, mental health, and the TB hospitals; a medical care program for the indigent aged; county health centers for those counties now without them.

- Greater benefits for public assistance recipients, including the aged, the dependent children, the needy blind, and the permanently and totally disabled.

- Reforms in government, including the nation's first child welfare department; a merit system established by law for the state's employees; abolition of political assessments of state employees; voting machines for every county; and a conflict-of-interest law which prohibits public officials from using their offices for personal advantage.

- A chain of lakes program in which eight new lakes, utilizing highway fills, will be completed in 1962 to provide more water for community, industrial, agricultural, and recreational purposes.

- General improvement of Kentucky's scenery, with emphasis on a clean-up drive to make our highways and communities more attractive.

The improvements achieved in Kentucky education can be called phenomenal. For example, contracts let for construction and equipment for the public schools in the fiscal year ended June 30 reached a record high of \$37.7 million. They include thirteen new senior and junior high school buildings and twenty-seven new elementary school buildings. Together, these will provide 1,243 additional classrooms. In our six state-supported institutions of higher learning, contracts for new construction in 1961 totaled \$30 million.

The Department of Education reports that 75.2 percent of Kentucky's teachers now have degrees and that the state now has the best teachers in our history. Twenty years ago only 46 percent of Kentucky teachers held college degrees.

The National Education Association reports that in 1960 the public school instructional staff in Kentucky received the highest salary increase of any state. It was 26 percent. And over the last ten years Kentucky teachers' salaries have been increased 103 percent, second highest increment in the nation.

In vocational education, the instructional services have increased 33.3 percent in the current biennium. Enrollment has increased 21 percent in the last two years. We are completing a new vocational school in Covington at a cost of \$900,000, we are preparing to let a contract for a \$398,000 expansion of the state vocational school at Paducah, and new buildings, costing \$300,000 each, are planned for six area vocational schools.

This speech represents a general summary of achievements plus the governor's hopes for the future. It includes handwritten notes and a written conclusion similar in nature to conclusions he would use frequently in the future.

**KIWANIS CLUB:
THE 1962 LEGISLATIVE SESSION
Louisville / January 17, 1962**

EVERY two years on the first of January the executive department of state government grinds to a halt and the legislature takes over. The constitution provides that the legislature shall meet for sixty legislative days every second year. It is said that by reason of limitation on time and lack of continuity between sessions, the legislature has historically been subject to domination by the executive department. This is true, but during the sixty legislative days, the legislature is supreme. The members walk the corridors of the state Capitol and huddle in Frankfort hotels, with the feeling that they are lords over Kentucky's domain and that for at least a brief period they hold almost arbitrary power.

The 1962 session is no exception. The house of representatives is composed of seventy-four Democrats and twenty-six Republicans. The senate is presently composed of twenty-eight Democrats and nine Republicans. A vacancy in one senate seat will soon be filled by another Democrat.

This is the second session of the legislature during my term of office. In the second session of the legislature during his term, a governor in Kentucky historically has trouble. A number of factors are now present which might be conducive to such trouble.

1. Lieutenant Governor Wyatt, the presiding officer of the senate, is an announced candidate for the U.S. Senate. This makes him suspect by those who will oppose him.

2. A two-time former governor of Kentucky is already running for a third term. Ordinarily, candidates for governor do not announce until after the second session of the legislature.

Administration forces have organized both houses, although the Chandler forces mustered a noisy — although not too strong — opposition in the senate. There remains in the senate a small group of willful men determined to create an issue during this session which will benefit them politically in the state.

The 1960 session of the General Assembly embarked on an ambitious program, including education, health, and welfare, construction of turnpikes and highways, obtaining new industry, and a broad-based tax program. The opposition has counterattacked, especially in the field of taxation, and the first major test in this question will come on the question of exemptions to the general sales tax.

In addition to holding the line, it will be our objective to enact supplemental and corollary programs to give tangible substance to the blueprint of 1960.

In addition to a \$1,104,000,000 budget, we will press for legislation on these subjects:

1. Recommendations of the Commission on Education.
2. Expansion of vocational school system.
3. Regulation of industrial loan firms.
4. Regulation of automobile graveyard.
5. Modernizing the state election laws.
6. Reorganization of state government.
7. Improvement of facilities for retarded and otherwise handicapped children.
8. Assistance to arts and crafts industries.
9. Realignment of congressional districts.

Through the years the legislature has been the butt of many jokes. Due to the low rate of pay, short tenure of office, and domination by the executive department, the position of a member of the Kentucky General Assembly has not carried much prestige. As a consequence, many members of the assembly have perhaps subconsciously lived up to their reputation of hard drinkers and light workers. You have all heard about the alleged remark of a former governor that he could take 100 jobs at the penitentiary and control any Kentucky legislature. You have probably also heard the facetious remark, supposedly made by a resident of Frankfort, that the average member of the legislature arrives for the session with a bottle of whiskey and a ten-dollar bill and never breaks either of them. In fairness, however, I think I should say that there has been a great improvement in the caliber of the Kentucky legislature in recent years. The 1960 session was above average and the present session is even better.

Included in the membership are typical, hard-working busi-

nessmen and lawyers across Kentucky. In the senate, for instance, is a former president of the state Bar Association, and several very successful businessmen. In the house are a number of unusually good young lawyers, respected members of the teaching profession, and the usual sprinkling of successful businessmen. There is no more drinking than you will find among similar groups of Kentuckians and most of them are surprisingly in earnest about their work.

EXECUTIVE ORDER: REMOVAL
OF HARRY STUART FROM OFFICE

Frankfort / January 20, 1962

HARRY STUART,¹ chief of police of Campbell County, has been charged with neglect of duty under KRS 63.090 through 63.161. The Honorable John L. Davis of Lexington was appointed by me as special commissioner to hear evidence and make recommendations. Mr. Davis has filed his report and has recommended that charges against Chief Stuart be dismissed. The commissioner's recommendation is based on an order of the Campbell County Court which directed that Chief Stuart limit his duties to the unincorporated areas of the county and assist in incorporated areas only when his services were requested.

The commissioner found no substantial evidence of law violations in Campbell County outside the incorporated areas and thus no collusion by Chief Stuart that law violations would be condoned. The evidence is overwhelming, however, that there was flagrant and notorious violation of the laws, especially the gambling laws in the incorporated towns. It is clear, too, that Chief Stuart knew, or by the exercise of the slightest diligence would have known, about these violations.

The commissioner found that the order of the Campbell County Court limiting Chief Stuart's duties was legally ineffective. I agree. The applicable statute (KRS 70.540) fixes Stuart's jurisdiction as "coextensive with the whole county."

It is difficult for me to believe that Chief Stuart in good faith relied on the order of the Campbell County Court. It is difficult for me to

believe that a man with his intelligence would not have ascertained whether the county court order was valid. Certainly the question was of sufficient importance to warrant determination of that question.

Since Stuart was chief of police of Campbell County, he could not blindly follow the directions of an invalid order that his jurisdiction covered only part of the county. It was incumbent upon him to determine the extent of his duties if he had any doubt about them. The general rule running throughout every branch of our jurisprudence is that "ignorance of the law is no excuse." Certainly this would apply where the person prefers to remain ignorant about his legal duties.

The applicable statutes provide that "careless . . . failure to exercise due diligence in the performance of official duties" constitutes neglect of duty. The commissioner's report and the record being before me and the terms of the statutes being mandatory, my duty is clear. I therefore direct that Harry Stuart be removed from office as chief of police of Campbell County and that the provisions and penalties of the applicable statutes be invoked.

Campbell County Police Chief Harry Stuart was the last of four northern Kentucky officials against whom charges had been filed. His defense centered on the point that the Campbell County Court had expressly prohibited him from functioning in the areas where vice prevailed. Combs rejected the point and justified Stuart's removal with a more detailed explanation than he had proffered for Roll, Gugel, and Frederick.

1. Harry Stuart, no vita available.

LINCOLN INSTITUTE:
EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES
IN STATE GOVERNMENT
Shelbyville / January 28, 1962

THE Department of Personnel is now completing a survey on the number of Negroes employed by state government, and tentative finds show an encouraging picture. Of the approximately 850 Ne-

groes employed by all agencies of state government, approximately 500 of them are in skilled or professional capacities. Commissioner Gattis¹ informs me there has been an increase of at least 25 percent in the employment of Negroes for skilled positions.

Ironically the Personnel Department's survey has been handicapped by its new policy aimed at abolishing discrimination. Under the new merit system law, the state's personnel forms and records do not show whether an applicant or employee is white or colored. Furthermore, photographs are no longer permitted with employment application forms.

Indicative of the progress we are making in placing Negroes in state jobs are figures for some individual departments. Of the 350 Negroes employed by the Department of Mental Health, 275 are skilled. They include 169 psychiatric aides, thirty senior nursing aides, fifteen licensed practical nurses, three registered nurses, two psychiatric social workers, and one dentist. The chief nurse at Eastern State Hospital is a Negro.

In the Department of Economic Security, there has been a 26 percent increase in the number of Negroes employed. The Department of Public Safety for the first time in its history has a Negro on the office staff of the commissioner. She is a senior clerk stenographer. Approximately 20 percent of the 500 employees of the TB Commission are Negroes. The Human Rights Commission has a Negro lawyer and stenographer on its staff. In the last two years there has been an increase of approximately 100 percent in the number of Negro clerks and stenographers employed by the state.

1. Walter Gattis (1918-), member, Danville city council (1953-1954); budget analyst in the Department of Finance of Kentucky (1954-1955); budget analyst for Ohio (1957-1958); commissioner of personnel (1961-1967); born in Durham, North Carolina, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. J. O. Van Hook, "The Combs Years," unpublished manuscript in Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University Library, Richmond, chapter 7, pp. 41-42.

FARM-CITY COMMITTEE:
ELIMINATION OF LITTER
Lexington / January 30, 1962

ONE program which is most important to the future progress of Kentucky, and one that both rural and urban groups should work together on, is our beautification and clean-up program. One of Kentucky's biggest and most expensive problems is litter. Not only does this needless littering look unsightly, but it is a great expense to Kentucky taxpayers. Money that could be so well spent on such things as education, better roads, and better facilities for retarded children must be spent to clean up our highways. More than one-half million dollars is spent each year by the Kentucky Highway Department to pick up the trash we throw on our highways.

Just as unsightly as the litter are the automobile graveyards located beside many of our main highways and which are increasing. I think we have come up with a solution to this problem — a solution which should not work undue hardship on the operators of these graveyards. After all, they are business enterprises, providing income for numerous Kentuckians, and we have no desire to put them out of business or curtail their income. Yet, corrective action is necessary, in my opinion, for two reasons: one, to remove a safety hazard created by the distraction to motorists; and two, to preserve and enhance the natural beauty of the countryside traversed by our highways.

Legislation is being prepared and will be submitted soon to the General Assembly. While all the details have not been perfected, here are the general provisions we now have under consideration.

- Anyone operating an auto, vehicle, or machinery graveyard within 2,000 feet of a state, federal, or limited-access highway or turnpike would be required to obtain a permit from the Department of Highways.

- An auto graveyard would be defined as one containing five or more junked or inoperative vehicles.

- Those graveyards within 2,000 feet of a highway would be granted a permit if, to the satisfaction of the Highway Department, they were hidden from the sight of motorists by artificial or natural screens, such as fences, shrubs or trees, or by the topography of the land. These graveyards would be allowed six months after effective date of the act to erect such screens.

- If compliance with the new law would cause peculiar or exceptional hardship to the operator of an automobile graveyard, he could be permitted to continue operation for two years after July 1, 1962, but could not expand or add to his establishment in any manner.

- The Highway Department could revoke or modify permits. The department could conduct public hearings on applications for permits.

- An auto graveyard operator could appeal to the courts from the Highway Department's decision.

- Violation of the proposed new law would be a misdemeanor, punishable by a reasonable fine for each day of violation.

There, in essence, is what we have in mind proposing to the legislature.

Every county in Kentucky is anxious to bring more tourists into their area and to acquire new industry. Every possible effort must be put forth to give our state an appearance of cleanliness and beauty. This can only be accomplished by everyone working together.

Tourism is fast becoming one of Kentucky's biggest businesses, and a clean and beautiful state will go a long way toward increasing this main source of income. In many of our small towns, this tourist business is most important to its economy, and the more attractive and clean a town and community is, the more travelers will stop to buy. When the towns in your county are prosperous, the rural areas will also prosper. Just as tourists will not stop in a dirty, unattractive town, neither will new industry come into a community or state whose streets and highways are dirty and filled with litter, whose business areas are shabby and ill-kept, and whose residential areas are crowded and unattractive.

It is my hope that every county will organize a clean-up and beautification committee, a committee made up of the same group of people who are working on the farm-city movement — all working together for the betterment of their county and state. All departments in state government will cooperate fully with any such projects. Just let us know what we can do to help you.

REORGANIZATION BILL

Frankfort / February 1, 1962

THE reorganization bill which is being introduced today contains two sets of proposals. First, several sections of the bill would simply confirm executive action taken since the last session of the General Assembly. The other provisions result from recommendations of my advisory committee on reorganization.

I asked the committee for two things — to suggest new patterns of organization which would meet the needs of a modern state government and for their recommendations as to the steps which could be taken at this session of the General Assembly toward implementing such a new plan.

The combination agency-department structure appears to me an answer to the problem of too many independent units answering individually to the chief executive. This legislation would establish the framework for the long-term development of an organizational plan of great potential.

This legislation provides for the establishment of one agency — Health and Welfare — and provides for grouping a number of related units within the structures of some other departments. The Health and Welfare Agency is the only agency created in this bill, and it is the only agency which the committee recommended be established now.

The committee's recommendations and my proposals are moderate. I think any reorganization action in the middle of a governor's term of office must be moderate. This administration has been in office for two years — long enough for administrative patterns to be pretty well set. To go further at this time would cause too much disruption. I feel that the major proposal — the creation of the Health and Welfare Agency — answers the most serious need we have right now, the coordination of functions in the broad and expanding field of public health and welfare. If we achieve nothing beyond that, we will have made a major contribution to efficiency in government.

There is a great distance yet to go. I have asked the Reorganization Committee to supplement its initial findings and to make a more detailed long-term recommendation. I think that their evaluation as to the necessity for a moderate initial step was right. It is a sound one and I obviously concur. A significant contribution to future adminis-

trations and to future legislatures, however, can be made by an elaboration and extension of their initial recommendations.

KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL MEETING New York / February 16, 1962

Two years ago I initiated the program to make Kentucky a cleaner, greener land because three great values lay in the grasp of such a campaign. The values are aid to the state's economic development, a savings in maintenance costs for highways and parks, and an additional source of pride for our citizens.

Kentucky, like many other states, has problems of unemployment which stemmed in large measure from national recession. We are currently engaged in an intensive, nationwide push to attract new industries and new jobs to our state.

The day has passed when an industrial prospect considers only the labor potential and "hard" resources of a community or area when selecting a plant site. He now considers, almost invariably, the attractiveness of the community and general way of living and thinking of its people. Industrialists looking at Kentucky are giving us a good rating on this, which, with our other advantages for industry, is bringing increased industrial growth.

The travel industry is second only to agriculture as an income producer for Kentucky. To increase their strength as magnets drawing travelers to our state, we are expanding our state park system at a cost of approximately \$15 million. When the job is completed, Kentucky's park system — already among the best — will be the finest in the nation. To gain full economic benefit from this park system and from Kentucky's all-out tourist promotion program, we found it urgent not only to make the parks outstanding but to see that attractive highways and communities connect them.

Tourists spent \$7 million more exploring Kentucky in 1960 than they did in 1959. Nineteen sixty was the first year of Kentucky's intensive clean-up and beautification campaign. I am convinced that cleaning up, carrying out intensified litter-prevention programs and general beautification projects are a vital phase of any state program for economic development or tourist attraction. The clean-up pro-

gram is also a program of thrift. It is freeing important highway maintenance dollars for other pressing needs.

Less tangible but equally gratifying has been the pride of our people in the improved litter-free appearance of our naturally beautiful countryside. The poets and philosophers have traced the skeins of pride, land, and beauty better than I can. It is sufficient to say that strong, busy men and women from every walk of life have taken a pleasure in locking hands with the energetic youth of our state to carry forward the undramatic labor that has emerged in the dramatic result of making Kentucky a cleaner, greener land.

Kentucky is not through with the job. Comes now the long pull of maintaining the somewhat exciting results which have been achieved and of cleaning up and beautifying a great deal more. I have asked the Kentucky General Assembly, now in session, for legislation to require the screening of automobile graveyards from the view of the motoring public. I am most hopeful the legislation will pass.

I accept the Keep America Beautiful Award to Kentucky in the name of every citizen, civic club, industry, and corporation working in the effort. [Here the governor listed eleven organizations which had contributed to the clean-up campaign.]

The schoolchildren of our state have shown their strength, and every medium of mass communication has rendered an intensive and valuable public service in furthering the project. I accept the award to Kentucky's cleaner, greener land program in their name. I accept it too in behalf of every Kentucky citizen who at this moment is using a litter bag, litter barrel, or trash can as his waste receptacle rather than Kentucky's 40,395 square miles of beautiful countryside.

CONFERENCE OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS
Coping with the Problems of Appalachia
Gatlinburg, Tennessee / February 23, 1962

THE problems of the Appalachian region are not dissimilar to those of other regions. The trouble is we have more of them — and in greater

degree. In all the factors contributing to the Appalachian problem, we will find consistencies of the major national problems. For instance: automation, decline in farm employment and farm income, mobility of population, difficulty in constructing and maintaining basic community facilities from current revenues, not enough new industry, and not enough jobs.

In virtually every case, as your survey shows, these problems exist with greater intensity and in greater combination in this region. It is the pyramiding of these factors that has caused the Appalachian problem to become grave enough to warrant national concern. For instance, in the Appalachian region, there are virtually no jobs to replace those lost in the coal mines. Thus the impact of automation comes with a greater jolt than in other areas.

I suppose the problem of unemployment is much the same for one person as for another. But the impact on the community is far greater when the percentage of the unemployed rises from 10 percent to 50 percent, as it often does in Appalachia.

The approach to the Appalachian problem must go beyond efforts to attract industry. There must be basic development of highways, waterways, parks, and community facilities. There must be more effective education and training. All agencies of state, federal, and local governments must work together. Private and public groups must work together. The latest and most effective technology must be combined with a bootstraps effort by the people. There must be no ceiling on our thoughts or our work. We must think in bigger terms than our region. We must recognize that our problems are an aggravated accumulation of national problems, and that in solving our problems, we are also solving the problems of America.

Much has been done. Much more has not been done. In the past two or three years our problems have gained a better hearing, and there has been greater understanding of them by persons in high places outside the region.

Progress has been made in properly identifying and analyzing our problems. Your survey of the southern Appalachian region is a good example. Program 60, published by the Eastern Kentucky Regional Development Commission, is another example. In addition, the many congressional hearings on the area redevelopment legislation, the Kennedy task force report on the area, and Mr. Kennedy's own trip into the region have all produced greater interest and understanding. There is better organization of agencies and people. The Council of Southern Mountains has been a driving force among private groups to provide information and leadership.

In Kentucky, we have tried to put first things first. With revenue from a general retail sales tax, we have greatly improved the school system and stopped the exodus from the region of the most capable schoolteachers. We have taken the leadership throughout the nation in a vocational training program which provides training and re-training in specialized skills for many of our unemployed people.

A modern four-lane highway — the Eastern Kentucky Turnpike — is being cut through the mountains in order to provide an outlet to the metropolitan areas of Kentucky. Modern recreational parks are being constructed on a crash basis in the more acutely distressed areas. A chain of small lakes is being built throughout the area. We keep hammering at the federal government for more flood-control projects and reforestation programs. The legislature has enacted more stringent regulations on the strip-mining method of producing coal. Our entire economic development program has been broadened with a new division of community development, a division of wood utilization, a geological survey, and a new division of arts and crafts. The arts and crafts program has caught fire and is bringing new hope and new jobs to people who had almost lost hope.

The University of Kentucky has established a special eastern Kentucky regional development project with a team of carefully selected specialists to work with community groups.

Our Kentucky area program office is using the ARA program to bring about organization of area and county development groups. Industrial development loan projects are now pending in a dozen or more counties. The Conference of Appalachian Governors — of which I happen to be chairman — stands ready to combine the efforts, knowledge, and strength in attacking regional problems.

What are the next steps for us to take, and how can we best work together in taking them?

First, let us continue to tell the story; to make a better argument in behalf of an overall program for one region; in behalf of greater federal participation in sound development; and in behalf of more and better local development efforts.

Second, we must work, now, to do what we can with what we've got. No greater argument can be given for more help than the fact that we are making the most of what we have.

Third, we need to continue to improve upon our organizational approach. Much can be accomplished just by voluntarily coordinating our work to concentrate on carefully selected objectives.

Fourth, there are several pieces of legislation now before the Con-

gress which, if passed, would provide needed assistance in meeting our problems. I will list a few: the manpower utilization bill; the youth conservation corps bill; the bills providing federal aid to general education, adult education, and adult literacy education. I would suggest that we make concentrated efforts to support such beneficial legislation. However, I believe we ought to organize now not only to support such legislation but to review the provisions and perhaps suggest changes.

Fifth, I suggest that we continue aggressively in our efforts to secure special federal public work projects to develop key highways, water resources facilities, forests and other resources, and community facilities. An amendment to the Area Redevelopment Act could authorize ARA to designate certain areas, such as those in Appalachia, as "underdeveloped" and could appropriate funds for an ARA "supplemental development fund." Key projects could be selected for special assistance from this fund.

Sixth, we need to consider the extreme needs of many of our Appalachian people for greater self-development. We should review current programs and pending legislation in the fields of social welfare, education, and training. There is great need for special help for young people and adults who are underskilled and unemployed or underemployed. Our vocational training programs should be doubled or trebled. I have heard the comments of Perley Ayer,¹ and others of you, about the need for enabling persons on public assistance to do productive work or receive training during their reliance upon public assistance. Your organization could help devise a program to meet the need involved here.

Finally, I am convinced that real solutions to the problems of our region require action far more comprehensive and intense than anything currently contemplated.

To succeed in gaining special help for our region, we may have to take the lead in designing solutions to the unusual problems of all regions. Overall development action for the Appalachian region requires the kind of leadership which "sees something where nothing is, and creates something where nothing was." We must look to each other — and I will be looking to you — for this kind of leadership.

Kentucky has now embarked on a constructive, progressive program — a program which will enable us to solve many of our problems and to leave to our children the heritage of a great state. There are those who say we have set for ourselves too high a goal, that we cannot reach these ideals. But I would remind you that "ideals are like stars; you will not succeed in touching them with your hands.

But like the seafaring man on the desert of waters, you choose them as your guides, and following them, you will reach your destiny." I say to you that by charting our course on the lodestars of decency and honesty and constructive thinking and by following that course, we will either reach that goal or we will make it possible for our children to reach their destiny.

Founded in 1913, the Council of the Southern Mountains had a membership drawn from the poor and working people of Appalachia. It stressed the natural ties among people of the Appalachian region regardless of county and state lines. *Encyclopedia of Associations*, 12th ed. (Detroit, Mich., 1978), p. 631.

1. Perley F. Ayer (1900–1967), executive secretary of Council of the Southern Mountains (1951–1967); born in Merrimack, New Hampshire, and resided in Berea, Kentucky. Telephone interview with Mrs. Perley F. Ayer, Berea, June 3, 1977.

JOINT LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE ON TRUCK DEAL Frankfort / March 5, 1962

I WANT the record to show that I am appearing as a witness before this committee at my own request. I believe firmly in the theory of separation of powers of government. I believe that the governor, as head of the executive department, is not subject to subpoena, either by the legislature or by a body created by the legislature.

I have requested the opportunity to appear as a witness because I, as governor, requested the legislature to set up this committee to make full inquiry into all the facts concerning the subject at hand. That being so, and my name having been mentioned in the hearings, I think it is appropriate for me to testify, even though I would hope that my appearance would not operate as a precedent to require the appearance of some future governor before some other legislative committee.

There never was any preconceived plan, of which I have any knowledge, that the state of Kentucky, through its Department of

Highways, or otherwise, would purchase or lease trucks or other equipment from Thurston Cooke.¹

The employment of Mr. Klapheke² had absolutely no significance in regard to the purchase of any specific equipment by the Highway Department.

It is true that I directed that Mr. Tincher³ be discharged and that his position be filled by some capable person. It is true that Mr. Klapheke was recommended by Thurston Cooke. As I recall, it was required as a condition to his employment that he be acceptable to Senator Clements and that he obtain recommendation of the Louisville Democratic organization.

Any inference that Klapheke's employment had any significance as regards this transaction is wholly unjustified and unwarranted.

I knew, of course, that Thurston Cooke wanted to sell trucks or cars, or both, to the state. I knew this without being told. I knew he was in that business and that he had previously sold equipment to the state. But I did not know he owned a string of used trucks.

I am sure I said to Senator Clements that we were obligated to Thurston Cooke and that I wanted to help him insofar as we could properly do so. But again, it was not necessary that I make this statement, because Senator Clements knew of my obligation to Cooke, and he knew my philosophy of government.

He knew, without being told, that I wanted to help my political friends only insofar as I could properly do so, without sacrifice to the state of Kentucky.

I do not recall that Senator Clements ever said to me, "Thurston Cooke wants to lease or sell used trucks to the state." If he did, it did not register on my mind. I know for a certainty that no one ever, at any time, submitted to me facts upon which I could have based a decision in regard to this transaction, prior to the newspaper story.

I never, at any time, gave my approval to the proposal submitted by the Louisville Equipment Rental Company or to any transaction whatsoever between the state and that company. Those matters were not called to my attention.

If Senator Clements did mention the general subject to me, however, I no doubt responded as he has testified I did, to wit, that we were obligated to Thurston Cooke and wanted to help in any way we could properly do so.

It will be recalled that this transaction was developed during the first three months of this administration. As the incoming governor, it was incumbent upon me to form a cabinet, develop a legislative program, and work closely with a new legislature to obtain approval

of that program. The program I submitted to the legislature included a number of far-reaching pieces of legislation which necessarily required considerable time and attention by the governor. In addition, I found it necessary to give personal attention to hundreds — even thousands — of personnel requests and similar problems.

It is the rule rather than the exception that a governor knows comparatively little about routine work of the various departments during the first few months of his term. At least that was true in my case, and I believe in the case of most other governors.

Moreover, Senator Clements and I were very close. He knew my obligation; he knew state government, and it was not necessary for him to consult with me closely on the operation of his department.

It should be remembered, I think, that these trucks were never formally accepted by the state. It was, and is, my opinion that the trucks would not have been accepted until, and except, they met specifications and were in good operating conditions.

Everyone who had responsibility for this transaction believed, no doubt, that they were dealing with one of Kentucky's most substantial citizens — one of the state's biggest vendors of Ford products, a prominent church layman, and a man of unimpeachable reputation in his community. It was not unreasonable for them to believe, therefore, that Cooke, the vendor of this equipment, would be financially responsible for any default in his contract.

I have never said that Thurston Cooke could not come to Frankfort to testify before this committee. I did say to Senator Clements at our meeting in Louisville on February 15 that I understood it was the desire of this committee, which had been communicated to me by your distinguished chairman, that the committee would go to La-Grange and interrogate Cooke rather than subject him to the humiliation of being brought as a prisoner to the state Capitol.

Perhaps I also said to Senator Clements, in view of the committee's decision, that Cooke would not be brought to Frankfort to testify, but any such statement was based on the premise that the committee did not desire Cooke's presence in Frankfort.

I might have said also that I could not permit state prisoners to be transported about the state against their will except in response to duly executed subpoenas.

As the committee well knows, however, when a decision was made that Cooke should be interrogated here, and I was informed he was willing to come without being subpoenaed, I very readily agreed — in fact, I requested — that the warden should produce him before this committee in this room.

I had absolutely nothing to do with Cooke's decision not to testify. Actually, I had hoped he would testify because if he had done so and had sworn truthfully, as I believe he would have, he would have testified that I never discussed with him in any form or manner the sale or lease of equipment to the state until after this transaction had been reported in the press.

To my knowledge, Wilson Wyatt had no knowledge or information about this transaction. Certainly it was never mentioned between us prior to its disclosure by the press.

The transaction was never discussed between Dr. Robert Martin and me prior to the newspaper story, and, in my judgment, he had no knowledge of the transaction other than as shown by the official records of his office.

It so happens that most of the previous witnesses in the inquiry are no longer with this administration. The resignation of Dr. Bell and Mr. Klapheke were requested. Dr. Martin resigned to become president of Eastern State College and is doing a brilliant job in that capacity.

Senator Clements left of his own accord, and I want to make it very clear that, as far as I know, the truck transaction had no bearing on his decision to leave state government. This story was broken in April and Senator Clements did not resign until the following September. He resigned for the announced purpose of assisting in the presidential campaign. If he had other reasons for leaving, he did not make them known to me.

After the story broke in the press and after I had made a preliminary investigation, I made up my mind to cancel the contract. I then informed Cooke and Mr. Grubbs, his lawyer, of my decision.

I would like to interpolate here that I have found nothing to reflect on Mr. Grubbs in any way. His conduct throughout the negotiations with me was that of a reputable and ethical lawyer trying as best he could to protect his client.

There was some subsequent discussion about permitting the vendor to withdraw his bid rather than to have the contract canceled. I had no particular preference about the mechanics of terminating the contract, so long as it was done promptly.

Cooke requested time in which to arrange other collateral for obligations he had at a Louisville bank, and, as I recall, I agreed he could have from Friday (which I think was Good Friday) until the following Monday.

On Monday he asked for more time. By Tuesday afternoon I had

determined to proceed with cancellation of the contract. A few minutes before I was ready to sign an order directing cancellation, Cooke, or his attorney, called me — and I think it was from Dr. Martin's office — to say that they were prepared to withdraw their bid.

I told them it was too late; that I was already in the act of issuing a statement canceling the contract. Senator Clements was in my office at the time.

"The Award of Contract" (Exhibit Clements A, Form HB-16, Department of Finance) specifically provides the contract shall not be assigned without the express consent of the commissioner of finance. No such consent was ever given or even requested.

So any assignment of the contract was in direct violation of its terms. Moreover, my decision to investigate this transaction with the possibility of cancellation of the contract was reported on the front pages of all the metropolitan newspapers and no objection to the contract's cancellation was made by any assignee.

Any inference that the bank to whom this contract was assigned might have any future cause of action against the state is completely and wholly unwarranted.

I desire to file a copy of my statement of April 19 directing cancellation of this contract and with the committee's permission I will read that statement into the record. . . .⁴

My investigation of this transaction in April of 1960 revealed substantially the same facts that have been revealed to this committee, with one material difference.

It has been assumed, I think, by the witnesses in this inquiry that the trucks in question belonged to Thurston Cooke. At the time of my investigation, Cooke was denying ownership of the trucks. This was the basis for my reference to the "mystery and secrecy" surrounding the transaction.

I am not here to justify or to defend this transaction. It is an unfortunate episode in the history of this administration. None of us will win any achievement awards by reason of it.

Almost my only consolation is that with the cooperation of an alert press, the transaction was detected and stopped without financial loss to the state.

I am of the opinion, however, that if the person who tipped the press to this story had tipped Senator Clements or myself, or anyone else in authority, this transaction would have been stopped with the same results and with much less fanfare.

I take comfort, too, that there has not been any testimony that anyone then or now connected with this administration received or was promised any reward for his part in the transaction.

It is also of significance, I think, that some of the largest financial institutions in Kentucky, under the direction of Kentucky's most astute financial minds, lost many thousands of dollars in the collapse of the Thurston Cooke empire, but the state of Kentucky did not lose one red cent. Perhaps this proves the wisdom of having the press and other news media act as the fourth branch of government. Perhaps, too, this explains why we take the time of the legislature and this committee to further whip a dead horse. In any event, through fortuitous circumstances, and our system of checks and double-checks in state government, the state lost no money in this transaction.

In summary, the ultimate responsibility for this transaction is mine. Under our form of government a governor is responsible for the good and the bad of his administration. I do not seek to evade that responsibility. By reason of this, I have insisted — against the advice of practically all my friends — that this committee be formed and that you be directed and authorized to bring out all pertinent facts concerning this transaction; that you have the opportunity to consider those facts carefully and judicially; and that you be authorized to report your findings to the legislature and to the people of Kentucky.

It has been, and is, my desire that this inquiry be conducted in the pitiless glare of full publicity. This has been my position from the outset as regards this transaction. I have wanted everyone remotely connected with the matter to come forward with any pertinent information. I want the whole matter to be washed out for better or for worse.

I want to leave no skeletons in the closet of this administration, and, if there should be other incidents, transactions, or deals — call them what you will — during the remainder of my term, may God forbid, they, too, will be probed and exposed to the people through all available news media.

I think I can safely say that no one has been spared by previous witnesses. The interrogation of three of the witnesses has been handled by a man who has conducted two statewide campaigns against me. I say this without criticism of him. It just happens that in Kentucky politics we have been on opposite sides.⁵ I mention this only to demonstrate that nothing damaging to me or to this administration has been withheld.

It is with this thought that I make this statement and submit to you all the pertinent facts concerning this transaction of which I have knowledge.

Early in 1962 Combs called for a legislative investigation of the circumstances surrounding the 1960 truck deal. Persistent rumors that the governor had not revealed all the facts and, in effect, unfairly allowed Earle Clements to take the blame were underscored as two former political foes — Clements and A. B. Chandler — joined forces to work against Combs. When Thurston Cooke refused to testify, followed by Clements's statement that Combs had told him Cooke would not be allowed to testify, Governor Combs made this statement.

1. Thurston Cooke (1909–1966), finance chairman for Combs campaign in Jefferson County in 1959; owner of Thurston Cooke Ford Company, St. Matthews (1953–1960); served sixteen months of a four-year sentence before being paroled in 1962. Governor Edward Breathitt restored his civil rights in 1964. Criminal charges against him and four associates arose after forged and duplicated vehicle-mortgage papers were discovered to have been sold to financial institutions in Louisville. He later managed an auto firm in Nashville, Tennessee, until his death; born in Quality, Kentucky, and resided in Louisville. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, September 6, 1966.

2. Harry Klapheke (1902–), director of equipment in Kentucky Highway Department in 1960; formerly heavy truck district sales manager for Ford Motor Company and employee of Louisville Motors; born in Jaunzeuleu, Latvia, and resident of Louisville. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 11, 1962. Phone interview, June 25, 1976.

3. Wilbur Tincher (1927–), director of equipment in Kentucky Highway Department in 1960; born in Frankfort, Kentucky, and resident of Frankfort. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 11, 1962. Phone interview, June 25, 1976.

4. See pp. 103-4.

5. The reference was to Joseph J. Leary, Frankfort attorney, who represented Clements, Klapheke, and Dr. Lewis Bell, *Lexington Herald*, March 6, 1962.

NEWSPAPER ACCOUNT OF TRUCK DEAL Frankfort / March 11, 1962

THE political story in Sunday's *Courier-Journal* is just another *Courier-Journal* pipe dream. This story is apparently one of a series and all of us are looking forward to future installments.

It has been said that a blind hog will occasionally find an acorn. If the boys keep trying, they eventually may come close to the truth.

It is getting a little monotonous denying the *Courier-Journal's* political stories. I want to announce now that failure to deny stories should not be construed as confirmation.

Combs reacted here to a feature story entitled "Trucks . . . trucks . . . trucks . . . etc.," which suggested much inside maneuvering had occurred within state government to try to protect all participants in the transaction. Though the story did not criticize Combs as much as others, the governor obviously believed the reporter, Hugh Morris, knew nothing more than had already been revealed and was simply fishing in a sea of sensationalism. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, March 11, 1962. That the truck deal never again surfaced in a significant way offers strong support for the validity of Governor Combs's position.

MIDWAY JUNIOR COLLEGE Community Colleges in Kentucky Midway / March 17, 1962

My interest in junior colleges is more than academic. It is personal. Were it not for a junior college, which also provided a job for earning tuition, board, and room back in the depression days of the early 1930s, I might not be standing before you today.

Cumberland College, at Williamsburg, Kentucky, provided that opportunity. It enabled me to obtain two years of college training, which in turn enabled me to get a better-paying job and to earn

enough money to complete my college education at the University of Kentucky. At that time there were only 178 junior colleges in the United States. Now we have nearly 700, attended by nearly a million students who represent approximately 25 percent of all the students attending college.

You students of Midway Junior College can find pride in being part of a movement which, in the words of President David Starr Jordan¹ of Stanford University, may turn out to be "the most significant occurrence in American education in the present century." Kentucky is very active in that movement. Our Commonwealth now has sixteen junior colleges, five of them maintained by the state. The five are the extension centers operated by the University of Kentucky at Ashland, Covington, Henderson, Cumberland, and Elizabethtown.

We are going to have more. The Kentucky General Assembly, upon my recommendation, recently established the University of Kentucky community college system. Each school in it will provide a two-year college curriculum. The present extension centers will become a part of the system. Other community colleges will be established as funds become available. The next four community colleges will be established at Prestonsburg, Hopkinsville, Somerset, and in the Blackey-Hazard area.

Because the community colleges will be operated by the University of Kentucky board of trustees, they can benefit from the guidance, academic and technical knowledge, and assistance which abounds in a great state university. They will benefit from another advantage. In each community, where a community college exists, there will be a seven-member local advisory board. This board will advise the university trustees and the head of each college.

Why the name of "community college" for these junior colleges? Because the community college is designed to serve not only the special needs of its students but the needs of the community. This is not a new concept. There are more than 400 community junior colleges in the nation.

In addition to providing a solid two years of college education to enrich the student and prepare him for his chosen career, the community college can help the community in many ways. I will cite two of them: 1) The student can be given education and training which will enable him to perform a particular role in the community, assuming that his ambitions are so aimed, and 2) Adults are given the opportunity to continue their education. In one community the percentage of high school graduates beginning college work rose from 7

percent to 52 percent in ten years after the establishment of a community college.

The community college also can have programs flexible enough to be responsive to local needs. The principal objective of the community junior college, however, is to provide an economical two-year college education close to home for the young men and women who do not have the financial means to attend a college or university away from home. Economists say that no family earning less than \$7,500 a year can afford to send a boy or girl away to college. The community junior college, then, puts college opportunities within reach, geographically and financially, of a larger number of students.

There is another important reason for the junior college, and it is being manifest right here in Kentucky. The population explosion is increasing at a tremendous rate the number of young men and women clamoring for admittance to our colleges and universities. A shortage of facilities is requiring that these institutions limit the number of students admitted. One big university outside Kentucky, for example, last fall had 8,000 applicants for its freshman class. It could admit only 1,600.

The enrollment in all Kentucky colleges had been expected to increase 68 percent between 1960 and 1970. However, so rapid is the increase of students that those figures are constantly being revised upward. The enrollment increase in one Kentucky college was 33.3 percent last year.

The public junior college offers a place for those who can't get into certain colleges and universities because of academic requirements necessitated by shortage of accommodations. Usually, anyone with a high school diploma can get into a public junior college.

The junior college, too, is helpful to the student who might be doubtful of his ability to complete four years and obtain a bachelor's degree. If he finds he isn't interested in the full four years or doubts he can make the grade or can't afford the four years, he can take a two-year program in liberal arts or in some specialized vocational training. At a university, should he change his mind, all he can do is drop out. At the junior college he has opportunity to obtain, say, an associate of arts degree. As for making higher education available to youngsters in this category, Dean Robert J. Hannelly² of Phoenix College says: "If we can raise them just one notch educationally, isn't that a victory for democracy?"

The education offered by a great many junior colleges equals in quality that to be obtained in universities. The record of junior college graduates who go on to four-year schools is good.

Our investments in junior colleges — or community colleges — in Kentucky will pay great dividends, I am sure. An educated people is a progressive people. As we make progress in education, we stimulate overall progress for Kentucky.

Influenced by his own experience with a two-year college and possessing a deep appreciation for the difficulties people faced when such institutions were not easily available, Combs pushed hard for additional area schools. More and more education, he always believed, was the best safeguard for democracy.

1. David Starr Jordan (1851–1931), president, Indiana University (1885–1891); first president of Stanford University (1891–1912); born in Gainesville, New York, and resided at Stanford, California. *Who Was Who in America, 1897–1942* (Chicago, 1943), 1:651.

2. Robert J. Hannelly (1901–), dean, Phoenix College (1947–1963); president, Maricopa County Junior Colleges (1963–1968); born in Creston, Iowa, and resides in Phoenix, Arizona. *Who's Who in America, 1972–1973*, 37th ed. (Chicago, 1972), p. 1316.

KENTUCKY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Management, Labor, and State Government

Louisville / April 10, 1962

AGAINST the advice of some friends, I want to take up a subject they consider indelicate for a gathering of this kind. That subject is the legislature and what it did in the fields of management and labor.

I understand some of you are calling Combs pro-labor. When the labor folks read the March 27 issue of *American Banker*, I imagine some called Combs pro-capital. The *American Banker* reported that Ralph Fontaine,¹ executive vice president of the Kentucky Bankers Association, was "mildly and modestly jubilant" over the association's efforts in the recent legislative session. Fontaine was quoted as follows: "The recent session of the Kentucky General Assembly was a very constructive one as far as legislation affecting banks and banking was concerned."

I have found that every member of the legislature — and that

includes those who bitterly opposed me in the last session — has certain principles and convictions which must be respected. Any governor who arbitrarily demands that they vote contrary to those principles and convictions is treading on dangerous ground. He can lose that legislator's support.

There were bills which I supported which did not get through the legislature. There was legislation, which I felt was needed, that I didn't even propose to the General Assembly. Why? Because I knew it had little chance of success. If I had tried to push it, I would have jeopardized more important legislation. The governor just does not use a "big stick" to gain his ends in a legislature, as some people suppose. Some of you may be surprised to learn that a governor operates pretty much as your lobbyists do — by argument and compromise.

Let's look at some of the legislation which was at issue between management and labor. But before we do, let me suggest that you do not believe implicitly everything you read in the newspapers about this bill and that. This is no reflection on the newspapers. Generally, they report what somebody else has to say.

In legislative controversies, partisans are disposed to exaggerate and even distort. This includes representatives of both management and labor. If you think you have difficulty ascertaining, from the conflicting statements, just what is the true situation regarding a bill, you may be surprised to learn that a governor has the same difficulty. My office puts in a tremendous amount of time and effort trying to analyze proposed legislation; trying to sift fact from fancy in order to arrive at a proper judgment. We are not helped by the extremists.

Twenty-five years after the first state adopted a Boiler Safety Law, Kentucky enacted such a law.² It sets up boiler standards and an inspection system to see that those standards are upheld. Tennessee has had a somewhat similar law for ten years. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia, and Virginia have it; except, their law is stronger than ours. The Kentucky law was sorely needed for the public welfare — to protect lives and property. At the same time it will reduce the cost of fire and boiler insurance. It is a paradox that Kentucky, which became the first state to adopt controls protecting its citizens from the dangers of atomic radiation, was the thirty-ninth state to adopt a boiler safety bill.

As for the unemployment compensation bill,³ I gathered from the negotiators for management and labor at Frankfort that it was a pretty reasonable compromise between their respective desires. It increases the minimum payment from \$11 a week to \$12 and the

maximum from \$37 to \$40. Management gained an important change in the law which it has sought for years. That change, as you know, completely disqualifies from benefits those employees who leave their jobs without cause. Until now they have been able to draw thirty-nine weeks of unemployment insurance.

The maximum workmen's compensation⁴ payment was increased by two dollars to \$38. Labor has complained bitterly about Kentucky's low maximum. Our \$38 compares with Ohio's \$49, Illinois's \$51, Indiana's \$39, and Missouri's \$45. The Kentucky maximum is 42 percent of our state's average weekly wage. Let us consider this against Tennessee's 48 percent, Mississippi's 57, Arkansas's 59, Missouri's 54, and South Carolina's 57.

The administration got caught in the crossfire of charges, countercharges, and recriminations over the prevailing wage bill.⁵ We tried to work out a compromise that would be satisfactory to both management and labor. Although labor accepts it, there are labor partisans who may complain that the change is unfair to labor. The new law takes wage rate-fixing from the hands of a three-member commission, composed of the commissioner of industrial relations, a representative of management, and a representative of labor, and places that authority in the hands of the commissioner. The appeal board is composed of three members, one representing the political subdivision making the complaint, one representing labor, and one representing management.

Now, was the recent legislature pro-labor or pro-management? I had my staff do a survey of the bills enacted into law. We found that the legislature enacted some fourteen bills which might properly be described as especially desirable to labor. How many bills beneficial to management were enacted? The total was sixty-eight. The legislators devoted a large portion of their time to bills sought by management. Some of them got little attention in the public press. They included, for example, bills like these: Permitting professional people, such as doctors and lawyers, to form service corporations; facilitating the establishment of branch banks; prohibiting an employee from disclosing information, obtained in the course of his employment, without the employer's approval; and prohibiting any carrier or shipper from paying a labor organization for the privilege of moving on a carrier any motor vehicle, trailer, or container which can be moved on the highways. The bill also prohibits labor organizations from accepting such payments.

We have good labor-management relations in Kentucky and we want to keep them that way. Kentucky's work-stoppage rate, for

example, is better than the national average. The percentage of time lost, through work stoppages in Kentucky, is .013. The national average is .015. The rate in Tennessee is .014, in Indiana .022, and in Missouri .041.

We were playing for stakes besides good labor-management relations in the recent legislative session. Those stakes involved continuation of the program of progress initiated by the 1960 General Assembly. That program is based on adequate revenue, and you are well aware that the keystone is the sales tax.

Labor, which heretofore has opposed the sales tax, joined hands with management in protecting the tax structure. Thanks to this cooperation, we are able to continue our program of progress and to make substantive improvements, all of which inure to the benefit not only of labor and management but of all the citizens of Kentucky.

Charged at times by his political opponents with being too soft on labor, Combs here indicated what he believed to be his fair and balanced approach to both business and labor.

1. Ralph Fontaine (1914–), executive vice president of the Kentucky Bankers Association (1937–1972); born in Brandenburg, Kentucky, and resides in Elizabethtown, Kentucky. Telephone interview with Melba Stewart, Kentucky Bankers Association, Louisville, June 14, 1977.

2. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, 1962, Chapter 89 (H.B. 117), pp. 333-41.

3. *Ibid.*, Chapter 223 (S.B. 343), pp. 766-72.

4. *Ibid.*, Chapter 267 (H.B. 328), pp. 928-33.

5. *Ibid.*, Chapter 173 (S.B. 219), pp. 610-17.

KENTUCKY PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION

Public Health in Kentucky
Louisville / April 11, 1962

TODAY you are doing much in the prevention of disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical and mental efficiency through organized community effort. Dr. Teague¹ recently reported that both the

quality and quantity of services have been greatly improved in the areas of prevention, medical services, and control of the environment. The direct services which you are providing to citizens of the Commonwealth are indeed an important contribution.

Your programs are receiving substantial support from state government. For example, at the beginning of my administration the general fund appropriations for the Department of Health was raised to \$4,547,335, an increase of \$1,149,735 or 38 percent. The appropriation to the Commission for Handicapped Children was increased by 190 percent over the previous two years. The Department of Mental Health received an increase in funds of 21 percent. The Commission on Alcoholism received a 78 percent increase and the State Tuberculosis Hospital Commission received an additional \$1,966,890.

As a result of our enlarged tax base, many new programs have been instituted and numerous existing programs expanded. It is reported that the surgical waiting list of the Commission for Handicapped Children has been eliminated. Kentucky is the first state to establish a radiological health program which will help stimulate industries utilizing nuclear materials. In our occupational health program we have doubled the number of industrial plants surveyed and inspected by professional industrial hygienists to determine the occupational hazards to workers. The Division of Engineering of the Department of Health doubled the inspection activities in connection with public water supplies. Many new water plants have been constructed. The water pollution program has had an increase in both federal and state funds.

Probably one of the most important expansions has been in the county health foundation program. Eighty-four counties are now participating as compared to sixty-six in 1960.

The University of Kentucky Medical Center Hospital, with 500 beds, will open April 24. This teaching facility will also serve general health needs. We also accepted another responsibility in providing medical facilities for the tuberculosis patients previously housed in Waverly Hills.

Under the leadership of Dr. McPheeters, we have greatly improved the quality of mental health facilities with special emphasis on outpatient and follow-up services for discharged patients of mental hospitals. The rehabilitation program has helped provide higher quality care for mental patients. Three new treatment centers have been established at the Central State Hospital.

In the expansion of medical facilities, six new hospitals have been completed recently at a cost of \$8 million, and a nursing home has

been completed at a cost of \$1 million. Nine new health centers were constructed in 1961. Presently under construction are ten new hospitals, which will cost a total of \$24 million. Seven new county health centers are presently under construction. Current funds are earmarked to include \$9 million for ten additional new hospitals, \$1 million for ten additional health centers, and \$380,000 for rehabilitation centers.

Under the Kentucky medical care program 50,000 needy Kentuckians received medical services in 1961. Vendor payments have now reached the rate of 600,000 per year. Funds have been provided basically for the purchase of personal health services for Kentucky's medically indigent citizens. Over 150,000 elderly Kentucky residents (more than one-half of our population over sixty-five years of age) are potentially eligible recipients. In addition, 70,000 younger Kentuckians are included among the disabled, blind, and dependent children beneficiaries.

Home-care nursing services have been extended to twenty-four county health departments, wherein the public health nurse is providing special care to the aged and chronically ill, as well as instructions to the family in self-care for the patient. The University of Kentucky, University of Louisville, and Nazareth College have cooperated in the training of nurses and nurses' aides, in the care and rehabilitation of the chronically ill.

Funds for the programs of mental retardation have been doubled, and you will see great attention given to the problems of the 90,000 mentally retarded children in Kentucky. You can do a lot to assist in identifying early symptoms of mental retardation and seeking appropriate care.

Advances in medical techniques are improving the treatment of tuberculosis patients, and we are expanding outpatient clinics. We believe you will witness the eradication of tuberculosis in the foreseeable future.

I have been particularly concerned about the inadequacy of nursing home facilities, especially in the rural areas. In many parts of the state there are no facilities at all for aged persons to receive care. We have established a revolving fund for the construction of nursing and personal care homes.

We must carefully review the needs of our elder citizens for housing, recreation, subsistence, and medical care. More effort and planning are required of voluntary and official health organizations.

The legislature this year enacted several laws to promote more effective public health. The three of the most important were recom-

mended in resolutions of the Kentucky Public Health Association. The first of these laws permits physicians employed by county, city-county, and district health departments to receive additional compensation commensurate with their duties and responsibilities. The second requires that children be immunized against diphtheria, tetanus, poliomyelitis, and whooping cough within twelve months after birth; and further, that no child shall enroll in public school without certification of immunization against these diseases. Under the third law, the Louisville and Jefferson County health departments are permitted to come under the state retirement system. The legislature also provided that the Aging Commission become a statutory agency. Other bills were passed to improve the control of narcotics, the handling of dead bodies, and the improvement of the registration of marriages and divorces.

I applaud your endeavors to provide maximum health for Kentuckians. Together, during the past two years, we have made great strides. Let us continue to work together to provide the highest possible level of good health for the citizens of Kentucky.

1. Russell E. Teague (1905–1972), commissioner of Department of Public Health of Kentucky (1956–1970); born in St. Charles, Kentucky, and resided in Frankfort, Kentucky. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 25, 1976.

FRANKFORT KIWANIS CLUB:
THE FUTURE OF
KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE
Frankfort / April 12, 1962

THE Council on Public Higher Education has launched a study of Kentucky State College to ascertain its future role in our system of higher education. As you know, this study was undertaken at the request of the college's regents. The council will employ consultants and invite the opinions of interested persons. It will be a sound, thorough study, and it will be completed by June 30.

I think we can all agree that Kentucky State College is a valuable asset to the community, culturally, economically, and educationally. And we owe gratitude to Dr. Atwood,¹ who has devoted thirty-three years to administering the college.

The question we must decide is: How can we make the college more valuable to the community as well as to the state? I think it has greater potentialities for adult education. We have more than 8,000 state employees in Frankfort, many of whom, I am sure, would welcome an opportunity to enrich their education. Can the college provide this opportunity, and how best can it do it?

Certainly, nothing will be done to hurt the college, so far as I am concerned. The objective will be to improve it and make better use of it. The study being made by the Council on Public Higher Education will give us some guidelines for determining the ultimate course.

Personally, I do not think that in the near future we can expect any developments which would detract from the college's position as the center of Negro culture in Kentucky. The Negro race is proud of its college and proud of its president. For many reasons, which I need not cite to you, it would be inimical to the welfare of the Commonwealth to do anything that would tend to destroy that pride.

1. Rufus Ballard Atwood (1897–), president of Kentucky State College (1929–1962); born in Hickman, Kentucky, and resident of Cincinnati, Ohio. *Who's Who in American Education*, 11th ed. (Nashville, Tenn., 1944), p. 47.

DEDICATION OF GARRISON
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LIBRARY
Vanceburg / April 21, 1962

WITHIN the last few years more knowledge and information about this amazing world have been discovered than in all the past eras of mankind's existence. Kentucky's citizens are faced with the responsibility of using this knowledge. We cannot go forward if we do not unlock the doors of the world's knowledge. Without libraries and bookmobile service, the doors will remain shut.

In 1960 we passed a law in Kentucky making libraries a requirement in elementary schools. Here is where children develop reading habits which stay with them throughout life. The minimum foundation program has received enough funds to make the beginning of school libraries possible, but I hope we shall not stop there. These libraries need to be better.

Your new school library has over 1,300 new books. I understand your public library and bookmobile have provided 500 more good books. Most of these come to you through the bookmobile program and the state Department of Libraries. Since 1960 your county has received twice as many bookmobile books as formerly. I commend the citizens of Lewis County for voting recently to support the bookmobile and the county library with local funds. Because of your action, Lewis County has been selected by the Department of Libraries to receive extra help with thousands of new books, records, films, and magazines through membership in a new regional library. There will be no charge for this help, and you will continue to control your local library program through your local library board. You will not have to share your local books and your local funds with anyone.

If you decide to accept this help, it will come to you in July. Most of the new material, however, will not be in evidence until the first of next year. Time is required to select, order, catalog, and process new books. The total cost to the state for the extra help will be approximately \$8,000 a year. Because you worked to improve your own program, you already have received from the state a new large bookmobile. It does not take the place of a good school library, however.

My personal tribute goes to Mr. William Saur, president of your PTA organization; to Miss Jo Anne Vergne, your new trained Garrison School librarian; to Mrs. Helen Rayburn, your able county and bookmobile librarian; to Mrs. Joanne Keller, the assistant librarian; to your county superintendent, Mr. Thomas W. Rowland, and to your board of education and the other citizens who have worked so hard to make this new school library and the better county library program a reality.¹ My hope is that you will not stop here, but that you will continue to study what is still needed, and work to get it.

1. William Saur, no vita available.

Jo Anne Vergne Godfrey (1933-), chairman of Library Board (1954-1976). Helen H. Rayburn, Vanceburg, Kentucky, to editor, May 3, 1977.

Helen H. Rayburn (1908-), librarian, Lewis County Public Library

(1954–). Helen H. Rayburn, Vanceburg, Ky., to editor, May 3, 1977.

Joanne Keller, assistant librarian, Lewis County Public Library (1962); moved to Maryland after working a few months. Helen H. Rayburn, Vanceburg, Ky., to editor, May 3, 1977.

Thomas W. Rowland, superintendent, Lewis County schools until his death in 1969. Helen H. Rayburn, Vanceburg, Ky., to editor, May 3, 1977.

KENTUCKY FEDERATION OF CHAPTERS OF
COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN
The Education of Exceptional Children
Lexington / May 12, 1962

KENTUCKY'S state government recognizes that every child is entitled to an education to the extent of his capabilities. Satisfying the needs of the exceptional children, such as the deaf, the blind, the crippled, and the mentally retarded, presents one of education's greatest challenges. These children must be helped, not only as a moral obligation, to develop their talents and skills so that, within the limits of their capabilities, they can become self-sufficient citizens and make a contribution to society. The rewards to society are well worth the cost of this education.

It is estimated that Kentucky has approximately 79,000 exceptional children. The state has made progress in providing special education for them since a program was established in 1948, but we still have far to go. Approximately 5,800 are now enrolled in special public school classes. Since 1956 the number of classroom units for exceptional children has increased from 99 to 250. Seventy of the units were added in the last two years.

The 1962 General Assembly accelerated this program of education. It provided for the addition of 150 new classroom units in the next two years. The cost of the increase will be approximately \$1.5 million. By the end of the next biennium we will have 400 classroom units for exceptional children.

The 1962 General Assembly went even further. It directed the superintendent of public instruction to employ two additional supervisors for the purpose of testing and classifying the mentally re-

tarded. We now have one such supervisor in the Division of Special Education. The legislature also directed the employment of two additional supervisors to supervise programs for all other exceptional children, which will increase to four the number of supervisors in this important work.

The education of exceptional children requires the services of dedicated, sympathetic teachers with specialized skills. As our program expands further — and the 150 classroom units to be added in the next two years will care for approximately 2,000 additional children — we will need more of such teachers. The 1960 General Assembly provided for scholarships for persons seeking to qualify as teachers for exceptional children. Four persons are now attending Peabody College at Nashville and the University of Tennessee and receiving special training under a southern regional education board program. The rapid growth of the demand for special educational provisions for handicapped children has far exceeded the number of qualified teachers available to serve such classes. This involves not only recruitment but the expansion of training programs in our colleges.

You are aware, of course, that the legislature in its last session doubled the appropriations for our program on mental retardation in state institutions, such as the Kentucky Training Home at Frankfort. More than \$4.5 million was budgeted for the next biennium. Some of our exceptional children will be absorbed in this program. We must keep in mind, however, that the mental retardation program is directed primarily toward care and treatment of the unfortunate children who cannot be accommodated in the special public school classes.

While we have a long way yet to go in meeting the needs of our exceptional children, we can be encouraged by the progress made so far and the prospects for further progress. The legislature, in generously increasing the funds for the education and care of physically and mentally handicapped children, reflected the public's recognition of the problem and the people's willingness to do more than we have been doing. There is reason to believe that more help can be expected when the people see the benefits of the improvements now under way.

COMMITTEE OF 500:
THE NEED TO DEFEND DECENCY
Fort Thomas / May 16, 1962

In the past twelve months, the moral climate of your county has improved beyond what many would have believed possible. Now the air of Campbell County is freer and cleaner. No longer are flagrant violations of law openly connived at by public officials. No longer are those citizens who struggled against great odds for the application of equal justice under law subjected to assault. No longer is the solemn oath which citizens take when they assume their responsibilities as public officials regarded as a hypocritical sham.

But the victory which decency has won in Campbell County is not yet permanent. There are those who, with the slightest encouragement either here in Newport or in Frankfort, would seek to reestablish the reascendency of the underworld in the public and community life of Newport and Campbell County.

I believe that those of you who have worked so faithfully and with such dedication in the cause of decent government would recognize that this task would have been much more difficult, and perhaps impossible, had there not been cooperation from your state government.

It is true that you have now a sheriff who believes that it is the job of the law enforcement officers to enforce the law rather than to fatten off the lawbreakers. But the powers and functions of any peace officer are somewhat circumscribed. Your sheriff can make arrests, but he cannot keep lawbreakers in jail, nor by his own efforts abate the unlawful activities which may be carried on in various establishments. Until the supremacy of the law is clearly established upon local foundations in Campbell County, your efforts may be frustrated by the presence of an administration in Frankfort which is in league with the underworld rather than forces of decent citizenship.

For this reason, the state elections which will take place in 1963 are vitally important to the cause of clean government in Campbell County. You must judge those who seek your votes, not in the light of their promises, but in the light of their performance while in public office. A candidate for governor who, while holding that office and after having taken a solemn oath to enforce the law, permits open and notorious operation of illegal gambling, prostitution, and other forms of vice and corruption, cannot be trusted to act differ-

ently in the face of future temptation. A candidate who toured Europe as the guest of one of Chicago's well-known pinball kings does not deserve the confidence of those who want clean government in Campbell County. A tiger does not change his stripes. On the other hand, those who have been allied through the years with clean government and law enforcement deserve your support.

You cannot place your trust in a man who has publicly ridiculed the efforts of your state government to eradicate commercialized vice from your community.

In fairness, however, I cannot fail to note with sympathy the economic problems which face your community in this period of transition. The gambling economy was an unhealthy economy, built on foundations that could not endure, but in a sense, it did serve as a temporary panacea. In the long run, your economy in Campbell County will be stronger and more secure because it will be built on foundations of productive wealth and honest industry. Because you have money to invest, lives to live, and children to rear, you will be drawn far more strongly and securely to a community where decent values prevail than to a lurid "sin city." Meanwhile, in the time of transition, your state government is eager to render every practical assistance to the upbuilding of a sound economy in Campbell County and in all northern Kentucky.

The location of the IRS processing center in this area will help materially to relieve the economic stress. I venture to say it would not have been located in northern Kentucky save that you joined forces to clean up Newport.

Your own community organizations are, I am sure, more and more alert to the importance of local effort to attract industry and to make the county a better place in which to live. Your county recreation park, together with the lakes the state has built there, will be of assistance in this regard, and the Big Bone State Park will attract its increasing share of the tourist business in this area.

A project in which all of you are interested is the proposed circumferential highway around the Greater Cincinnati area. On this project the governors of Ohio, Indiana, and I are working jointly in a strong effort to obtain approval of the Bureau of Public Roads. We have been in touch with the secretary of commerce, and I think there is reasonable hope for success. Construction of this beltline highway will be of the greatest benefit to northern Kentucky. Governor Di-Salle, Governor Welsh,¹ and myself are determined to go all the way to the top in our effort to obtain approval of this project.

The Committee of 500 was a separate political-action group that stemmed from the vice-fighting Newport ministerial association. Formed at the suggestion of Governor Combs, the committee was made up of wealthy businessmen and crusading lawyers as well as church leaders. *Look Magazine*, October 24, 1961.

1. Matthew E. Welsh (1912–), governor of Indiana (1961–1965); born in Detroit, Michigan, and resident of Indianapolis, Indiana. *Who's Who in America, 1974–1975*, 38th ed. (Chicago, 1974), p. 3258.

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Human Rights in Kentucky

Frankfort / June 6, 1962

THIS state is committed to a public policy of encouraging fair treatment for, and discouraging discrimination against, any racial or ethnic group or its members. While we have a long way to go, I believe we are making considerable progress.

The implementation of this policy should not be left to the Commission on Human Rights alone. Rather we must involve the many units of government and many private organizations to reach the goal of equal opportunity. We have given particular attention to state government as the proper leader in this effort.

Let me mention just a few of the departments and what they have undertaken.

1. The Department of Personnel is making a determined and intensive effort to implement our policy which prohibits discrimination in merit system employment. As of March 1962, approximately 950 Negroes were in state employment. We have now named a special consultant, Frank Stanley, Sr.,¹ as a consultant on Negro employment to encourage qualified Negroes to compete for state employment through merit system examinations. This is part of a special effort necessary to establish fair employment practices.

2. In this same context are the policies now being followed by the Kentucky employment services, which forbid the selection and referral of applicants on job orders containing discriminatory specifications with regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. This is part

of the policies adopted by the Kennedy administration in Washington and we expect them to be applied sympathetically in Kentucky.

3. I want to take this opportunity to commend the state Board of Education for the leadership they are providing to encourage those remaining districts which have not begun pupil desegregation to do so at the earliest practical time. This is the kind of leadership we need and I believe the people of Kentucky support it.

I am glad to see on the program that there will be two discussion groups here considering education. This field deserves much attention. I hope these groups will consider what can be done to strengthen our educational institutions and particularly Kentucky State College. We need the support of people here to develop plans which will result in rapidly increased desegregation at Kentucky State.

I believe the program of the Commission on Human Rights is receiving support throughout Kentucky. It is gratifying to have so many local communities that have or are establishing local commissions on human rights. At our mayors meeting April 9, there were six local groups, and I understand there are now at least two more with several others in the process of formation. This is in keeping with Senate Bill 193,² which we sponsored in the last General Assembly.

When I met with the Commission on Human Rights at its first meeting about a year and a half ago, I urged that the commission take the initiative and provide leadership in order that the people of Kentucky would have a program to support. I still believe that is true and I believe they will support the commission's latest program of trying to secure equal service for all in public accommodations. This emblem (held in hand) looks good to me and I hope that our state facilities as well as private establishments will participate in this voluntary program. We are trying to attract people to come to Kentucky to spend their tourist dollars, and I hope our visitors as well as our own people will come to know this as a sign of Kentucky hospitality in the very best tradition and that people won't be embarrassed or treated unfairly because of their race, creed, or color when they seek service in restaurants, movies, and similar facilities in Kentucky.

I know the commission is seeking the endorsement of our leading citizens for this voluntary campaign, and I hope they will join me in supporting this program. I hope our religious and civic groups will aid it in their communities because I believe with such support we

can make progress without difficulty. The commission has gathered a lot of facts which show that it is good business to practice fair treatment. I believe the record shows that the people will go along with this program with the leadership of our business, civic, and professional leaders.

It is a pleasure for me to call this meeting together and I want you to know of my interest. Please continue your good work and let me know how I can help.

1. Frank L. Stanley, Sr. (1905–1974), vice chairman of Commission on Human Rights in Kentucky (1960–1974); owner and publisher of *Louisville Defender* for forty years; born in Cicero, Illinois, and resided in Louisville. *New York Times*, October 20, 1974.

2. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, 1962, Chapter 171 (S.B. 193), pp. 608-9.

TENNESSEE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE: ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN KENTUCKY Nashville, Tennessee / June 12, 1962

THERE is a marked similarity between our two states geographically; economically, our assets and problems are common. The people of Kentucky and Tennessee have the same hopes and aspirations, for they both seek a better life for themselves and their children.

The 1960 census showed that the trend in America, and in our states, was toward larger urban areas. A predominantly rural state is like a large circus — a thing of the past. And as communities grow, many problems are created — problems that can only be solved by the state. So I would speak today about the services the state can render to municipalities to insure their continued growth, their economic stability, and an even distribution of this expansion throughout the whole state. There are general services which must be done and done well before the communities can hope to attract new industry and new people.

There is some measure of truth in the statement that a state is

known by its roads. Before any community can prosper, it must have access to the outside world. In Kentucky, we are now engaged in constructing over 1,000 miles of four-lane interstate and toll roads. One hundred and forty-five miles are open to the public and 258 miles are already under construction. We are providing the major need of any community, good access roads for the marketing of goods and the convenience of travelers.

Kentucky's park system ranks among the best in the USA and for this reason, tourism is our second largest industry. There are twenty-three major parks located throughout the state within two hours of any given community. This gives each citizen an opportunity to make maximum use of his leisure time.

In an age when growth is common to all aspects of our way of life, the state must assure that its educational facilities are strong. In Kentucky, 67 percent of our budget goes to public education. We have raised teachers' salaries, provided money for the construction of more classrooms, established an extensive junior college system, so that a college education may be within easy reach of our citizens. And we have also begun a statewide educational TV system, with transmitters located in eleven cities throughout Kentucky.

In this space age, we have tried to bring airports within easy reach of all areas of our state and have constructed ten new ones within the last year.

Upon the advice of the Kentucky Municipal League, the 1962 General Assembly enacted legislation to further emphasize Kentucky's greener and cleaner program. An auto junkyard bill was passed requiring that junkyards be screened from public view.

Along with the construction of our toll roads, we have begun construction of a series of small lakes wherever a road fill would make such a project feasible. This brings recreation areas even closer to the people of our urban areas.

Any community has much to offer if it has educational opportunities on all levels, if it has recreational areas close by, if it has an airport, beautiful clean surroundings, and good roads on which to ship its products to market. These things the state can provide in the way of general services.

There are, of course, services of a more specific nature which the state can render to any one community. Community development is a never-ending program because there are always improvements to be made in any community. The competition is tremendous, not only within our two states, but in every state. Cities are actively

working to make themselves as attractive as possible to anyone who can help them in their plans to be more stable economically.

As to specific services a state can render to a community, again let me use Kentucky as an example. To help both communities and their private businesses, Kentucky established two lending agencies — the Kentucky Business Development Finance Authority and the Kentucky Business Development Corporation. These two agencies, with the conventional sources of capital, provide any communities with all the means of financing industrial development.

Under our airport development program, communities may borrow from our Industrial Finance Authority to construct municipally owned airports or improve and extend existing ones.

Our Department of Economic Development analyzes the plant location needs of industry and pinpoints Kentucky cities which meet those specific requirements. Their reference files contain information on the state's industrial sites, industrial buildings, transportation and utility facilities, labor force, wage rates, and all other pertinent data to facilitate the selection of a Kentucky city or site area. It is the community "personal contact" with industrial representatives. The department inventories the needs of the community and gives technical advice on the implementation of a development program.

We have a planning and zoning division in the Department of Economic Development which provides technical planning assistance to over sixty-five communities. Recently the division was the first agency to receive funds through the provisions of the new Area Redevelopment Act to assist in planning for forty-seven cities in the depressed area of Kentucky. It assists in urban renewal planning and programming, giving the technical assistance necessary for the cities to take advantage of federal funds. I might add here that most cities are surprised at the amount of federal money available to those who will avail themselves of it.

Fifteen Kentucky communities have been assisted in preparation of programs necessary for participation in federal public housing and urban renewal programs. This includes such help as assisting the communities in solving sewer problems and adopting a plumbing code.

All of this, of course, would have been of little help if we had not let the world know that we were "building a better mousetrap." Kentucky has made a business of publicizing the advantages of its communities to the industrial leaders of our nation. Like Tennessee, we depend, in large part, on our industrial feasibility studies.

Industrial site analysis is heavily used. There are films, national

advertising campaigns in magazines and newspapers, mailing lists, and publications designed to promote a geographical area of the state as a whole. In this category, we recently won a national award with a book entitled *Kentucky*. Industrial tours of Kentucky, trade expositions, and fairs are also utilized. Like the Madison Avenue saying, "We have run up several flags — let's see which one people salute."

In the past, our two states have cooperated in the exchange of ideas for economic development of our communities and our state. We, in Kentucky, have learned much from you.

The whole is no larger than the sum of its parts. Kentucky can be no more than the total of all of its communities. On them, Kentucky, as does Tennessee, depends for continued growth and prosperity. By assisting them in every way possible, our success lies assured.

REAPPORTIONMENT

Frankfort / June 19, 1962

THE meeting yesterday was very informative, and information was developed which will be useful in making a decision. I intend to give the subject mature thought before making a judgment. I am prepared to do my duty as I see it, but I do not intend to play to the grandstand, nor will I be stampeded.

It is true the constitution provides for reapportionment every ten years, and we have had no reapportionment in Kentucky since 1942. It is also true that all citizens of Kentucky are entitled to equality in legislative representation. I am of the opinion, however, that we have many more problems just as important as redistricting. The problems of education, highways, mental health, distressed areas, mental retardation, educational television, homes for the aged are to me just as important as mathematical population equality in every legislative district. The conflict in the constitution itself (arising from a prohibition against more than a two-county district) needs to be resolved. The question whether the 1964 legislature can undo the work of a special session needs to be considered. In particular, consideration should be given to some sensible plan which can be sold to the legislature and which will stand up in court. Nothing would be

gained by having an interminable hassle in the legislature, and nothing would be gained by a legislative redistricting act which would not meet court approval.

A sound plan is more important than speedy action. I hope that everybody involved will consider the problem as objectively and as dispassionately as possible. The ideal solution would be to work out a bipartisan plan of action which would be endorsed by both political parties and by all of those groups genuinely interested in redistricting. I probably will have more to say on this subject within the next few days.

Combs had called a public conference to bring out a sense of the sentiment for reapportionment. The conference on June 18 revealed strong support for reapportioning senate and house seats in Kentucky immediately through a special session. The greatest pressure for this move came from Louisville and Lexington spokesmen. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 19, 1962.

KENTUCKY WELFARE ASSOCIATION
REGIONAL MEETING
A "New Look" in Welfare Administration
Hazard / June 21, 1962

OUR purpose here today is to do some constructive and effective planning toward obtaining the best possible services for eastern Kentucky. Needless to say, all Kentucky will benefit from what is learned here.

Some twenty-five years ago, our state, like others, was faced with a challenge to organize and launch a new program of public assistance. Today a new challenge is facing our state in discovering the weakness and gaps in our present program and devising new schemes to guarantee greater services to those of our fellow citizens unable to help themselves.

The Commonwealth is trying for a "new look" in welfare administration, and it seems to me we have had a large measure of success. A large part of this "new look" is a result, or has resulted from legislation passed by the 1962 General Assembly.

One act set up a combined Agency of Health and Welfare Services for the purpose of coordinating certain activities which relate to both the health and welfare fields. This is to end the tendency of certain departments, when on the same horse, of riding in different directions.

The term "needy child" has been redefined so that the state could participate in the program of aid to dependent children of unemployed parents if and when funds become available. There is now a law, dealing with the aid for dependent children program, which prevents abuses to children, makes provision for their removal from immoral surroundings, and makes it possible to guarantee that the assistance being granted to a dependent child is used for the child's benefit.

In my estimation, one of the most valuable new laws is the one permitting educational leave, with pay, to be granted for professional personnel training in the public assistance and child welfare programs. It is most imperative that we keep our people as highly trained as possible. Closely related is the legislative act promoting the building and expansion of nursing and personal care homes for the elderly.

In addition to these, Kentucky has taken advantage of the Kerr-Mills Act,¹ the federal law which provides medical care for all persons receiving public assistance and others over age sixty-five who are found to be medically indigent. Each month finds greater utilization of this program which provides payment for physician services, hospitalization, dental services, and drugs. Plans are also under way to provide nursing home care under this program.

This "new look" lays an emphasis, as much as possible, in providing more adequate attention to rehabilitation, better methods of preventing dependency, and removing, where it exists, any premium on dependency, and in the general improvement of the public assistance program. The theory of helping people to help themselves is sound and should be put into practice wherever possible.

On the national front, one aspect of the "new look" in welfare administration is social services in addition to assistance payments. It has not been difficult for this idea to be sold to us. On a limited basis, we are already using a program for supplementing money payments with services in order to help families to raise their standards of living within a community, to make better use of their resources, and to better prepare children in the family for responsible adult citizenship.

Of course there are problems in carrying out a service program.

Administrative funds are limited and cannot be found as easily as money for purposes of grants. The second problem relates to the scarcity of trained professional staff members who can adequately deal with these problems and it will take the cooperation of the various schools of social work and the state agencies involved to relieve this shortage.

Yet the state and community owes these people more than grants of money. They have the far greater duty of seeing these people, as many as possible, become financially responsible citizens. In short, they must provide them with the means and opportunity of earning a livelihood.

A great number of programs, parks, highways, education, ETV, economic developments, to name a few, are geared to creating a climate where the opportunity for earning a living may be found. I am proud to report to you that these programs are successful, are showing returns, and are showing promise of becoming even more successful. We must and shall help those who cannot help themselves. This is the cornerstone upon which this government was founded.

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1. 75 STAT 924, 1960.

SOLUTIONS TO OLD AND NEW STATE PROBLEMS Hershey, Pennsylvania / July 2, 1962

It has been said with a degree of accuracy that a governor's office is a political graveyard. This is especially true when it becomes necessary for a governor to sponsor an unpopular program, such as an increase in taxes, in order for the state to maintain its fiscal responsibility.

It was apparent when I became governor of Kentucky that if we were to make any real progress in the fields of education and highways, as well as in other related fields, it would be necessary to obtain a substantial increase in state revenue and also to initiate a

program of toll road construction. It was the almost unanimous belief of my advisors, and certainly of my opposition, that anyone who sponsored these two programs would thereby sound his political death knell. I did sponsor these two programs, and the legislature passed enabling legislation at my request. Specifically, the legislature passed a 3 percent sales tax and made it possible to construct an extensive toll road system.

We were thus faced with the task of selling two unpopular programs. It has been my observation that a governor is almost completely at the mercy of the press and other news media. It has also been my experience that even though a governor has a favorable press, that alone is not sufficient to obtain acceptance by the people of an unpopular program. It was apparent, therefore, that if I was to remain alive politically, it was necessary to find some method by which we could sell these two programs to the people.

In an attempt to sell these two programs and in order to keep the broad objectives of the state administration before the people, we inaugurated what we call "portable state government." On fifteen different occasions during the past two and one-half years, members of my staff and I and key department heads have journeyed to designated cities throughout the state and have set up a temporary state government for the duration of a day or two.¹

We operate in these temporary headquarters as nearly as possible like we do in the state Capitol. Visitors are received in order of their arrival. If the janitor arrives before the mayor does, we talk to the janitor first. Those with problems or complaints talk first to me and then are referred to the appropriate department; that is, those with problems about highways are referred to the representative of the Highway Department; applicants for jobs are referred to the personnel commissioner; and those who want to talk about parks are referred to the representative of the Parks Department. Some of the problems are handled on the spot. The more difficult problems are taken under consideration and are handled after we have returned to the state Capitol, with proper notice to the interested parties.

The local chamber of commerce and civic clubs usually hold a luncheon or dinner meeting at which time I have the opportunity to explain what we are trying to do in state government and why.

Announcements of interest to the area, such as key highways, parks, and other programs are usually made from the temporary headquarters.

This system of portable state government serves at least three purposes: 1) The governor and his department heads are able to keep in

closer touch with the people; 2) More extensive publicity can be obtained for specific programs and the broad objectives of a state government can more easily be explained to the people; 3) The average citizen has the opportunity to feel that he has some part in the operation of his state government.

It is possible by means of this program to dramatize in a small way the fact that the most lowly citizen can talk to the governor about his problems. This program of portable state government gives the people the opportunity to fuss with the governor in person rather than through channels. Even when they don't get what they want, they feel better by having had the opportunity to register their complaints or requests.

We do not say that our program is entirely original. We do not say it is a complete answer to the very difficult problem of selling new programs or projecting the image of a state administration in its proper dimensions. We do think it has worked well for us in Kentucky.

Combs was participating here in a panel discussion at the Hotel Hershey. There were two differing drafts of this message plus the usual off-the-cuff remarks revealed by penciled-in-notes, but this represents the closest to the main thrust of his remarks.

1. Governor Combs took state government into the field twenty-six more times after this date to make a grand total of forty-one for his administration.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE DINNER
HONORING CAMPBELLVILLE COLLEGE
Campbellsville / July 12, 1962

THE institution that has become Campbellsville College was christened Russell Creek Academy at its birth in 1907. That, incidentally, was four years before the present governor of Kentucky was born. Hence, when I contemplate changes that have occurred in the hills and valleys of Kentucky since my childhood days, I am thinking at the same time of changes that have come about during the lifetime of this institution that we are honoring today.

In 1907 the Russell Creek Baptist Association was keenly aware of the need of better trained teachers and of ministers of the gospel in Taylor County and neighboring counties. Public high schools were few and far between. Here, in the heart of Kentucky, there were counties that did not have a single high school, either public or private. High school education for rural boys and girls who lived at home was virtually nonexistent, for it was not until the following year that the Kentucky legislature enacted the law that provided for the establishment of county high schools. Such schools, as appeared on the scene, were not accessible to many rural families back there in "horse and buggy" days.

The founders of Russell Creek Academy, the mother of Campbellsville College, were men and women of vision. In some ways they were building better than most of their contemporaries could comprehend, for they were planting seed that would come to fruition as a fully accredited four-year college within the lifetime of some who were students that first year. They were founding an institution that would adapt itself admirably to changing conditions and needs and would strive, with a considerable measure of success, to keep abreast of progressive educational developments.

Back in 1907 the rural schools of this area, and of all of Kentucky for that matter, were taught by men and women who had only a common school education, plus in some instances a few weeks in local "subscription" schools (or "winter schools," as they were commonly called). Salaries were so low that not enough was left to pay the cost of professional training if it had been available.

As a matter of fact, however, state-supported professional training had not been available. It was not until 1906 that the General Assembly made provision for the establishment of normal schools at Bowling Green and at Richmond. These schools were on the same academic level as Russell Creek Academy; and what they were able to do in their infancy as teacher-training institutions was but a drop in the bucket when compared with all that needed to be done. Their establishment diminished but little, if any, the need for such institutions as Russell Creek Academy.

The Baptists of this area, in common with the General Association of Kentucky Baptists, were interested in the education of those who would serve the denomination as ministers of the gospel. Moreover, they wanted then, as now, to make Bible study and religious training part of the education of young men and young women in every walk of life. This is a function which the state-supported institutions cannot perform because of the constitutional separation of church and

state. Hence, in my opinion, for the foreseeable future there will be an important place for church-supported colleges in the life of Kentucky.

Naturally, I am proud of what my administration has accomplished for public education in Kentucky. The 1962 General Assembly increased appropriations for education by \$45 million. The 1960 General Assembly had provided an increase of \$110 million. As a result, teachers' salaries have been increased substantially, more new school buildings have been built, better bus transportation has been provided, and services have been expanded.

We have established a system of two-year community colleges, to make possible an education close to home for those young men and women who are unable to attend the state university or state colleges. We have launched a program of educational television.

I have noted the Campbellsville College industries, which help students earn an education through employment in metal and woodworking projects. We have undertaken a statewide program of arts and crafts to stimulate more projects of this kind and to help provide markets for the products.

Although we have accomplished much, I wish that we had been able to do more. We must not rest on our laurels, nor can the succeeding administration be satisfied with the accomplishments of my administration in the field of public education. Kentucky must go forward. She cannot stand still, and God forbid that she should be allowed to go backward.

To use an old homespun expression, I would be "goin' back on my raisin' " if I did not speak out in behalf of private, church-supported schools. My parents got their schooling at Baptist-supported Oneida Institute, and there is where I studied through the first six grades. Also, I am glad to say that Baptists generally have been staunch supporters of public education.

Public institutions of higher learning and church-supported colleges, such as Campbellsville, should supplement each other. In a very important sense, the latter can supply spiritual leavening for the former. So all power to you and your staff and your sources of financial support, Dr. Carter.¹ I wish you many years of ever-increasing success.

Strong community support is essential to the success of any educational institution. I congratulate the Campbellsville Chamber of Commerce on the support it is according Campbellsville College, as exemplified by this recognition dinner tonight.

1. John Maurice Carter (1911–), president, Campbellsville College (1946–); member governor's personnel commission, merit system board (1961–1965); born in Stanford, Kentucky, and resides in Campbellsville, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 165.

WEST FRANKFORT KIWANIS CLUB:
BONDED INDEBTEDNESS
Frankfort / July 16, 1962

A GOVERNOR and his administration have, in my opinion, two important responsibilities as servants of the people. Those responsibilities are: 1) To provide for the reasonable needs of the people that fall within the framework of state government; and 2) To provide for those needs in the most expeditious, efficient, and economical manner possible.

I would like this evening to discuss with you, who are businessmen and civic leaders, what has been done to meet these responsibilities since I took office in December 1959, and how and why.

It is a significant fact that since the turn of the century Kentucky has lagged far behind in giving its citizens the advantages of a higher standard of living. When our administration took office, Kentucky stood near the bottom among the states in providing essential governmental services.

At that time the administration committed itself to the following major programs: 1) To make quality education available at the primary, secondary, and college levels; 2) To build a statewide network of interstate, primary, and rural roads for Kentuckians' use and as an inducement to industry and tourists; 3) To provide adequate care for our less fortunate citizens; 4) To the rapid development of our state parks and other natural resources; and 5) To pay as fast as possible the veterans' bonus voted by the people. I think we are making excellent progress in fulfilling all of these commitments.

These goals are being achieved in two ways: First, by the issuance of bonds for specific purposes, when such borrowing is safe, feasi-

ble, and will obviously yield present and future benefits; and second, by a broad-based revenue structure founded principally upon a balanced sales and income tax program. Let us examine Kentucky's bonded indebtedness incurred during my administration.

We have issued \$424,920,000 in bonds of all types since this administration came into office. These may be classified by purpose as follows:

Veterans' bonds	\$140,000,000
General obligation highway	45,000,000
Eastern and western Kentucky toll roads	186,000,000
Parks	19,900,000
Voting machines	670,000
University of Kentucky	8,300,000
State colleges	25,050,000
Total	<u>\$424,920,000</u>

Now let us discuss these in some detail.

The voters in the general election of 1956 authorized the sale of \$100 million in general obligation highway bonds. Of this, \$70 million were issued during the previous administration. During my administration, we have issued the remaining \$30 million. In addition, the voters at the general election of 1960 authorized the issuance of \$90 million more in highway bonds. So far, we have issued \$15 million of this last authorization, leaving \$75 million yet to be issued. These highway bonds have been issued, as everyone should know, to permit Kentucky to take maximum advantage of the federal interstate highway system. As a result, Kentucky will be among the first states to complete a comprehensive system of high-speed highways. Such a system has been a critical economic need in Kentucky for decades.

The use of bond funds for the interstate program has permitted regular road funds to go into the rural road system to the full extent of the available funds. Furthermore, the vast increase in traffic through Kentucky, which will result from the interstate system, will produce many millions in additional road fund revenues and will, therefore, permit a greatly improved system of rural roads.

Early in my administration, it became evident that the interstate highway system, comprehensive though it is, would not meet fully Kentucky's needs for high-speed highways. Two gaps were obvious. One was in eastern and southeastern Kentucky where wide areas were left untouched. Another was the west-central section of the state. It is in these places where we decided to construct turnpikes. Accordingly, we have issued bonds totaling \$68 million for the east-

ern Kentucky toll road and \$118 million for the western Kentucky toll road. Our choice was to do without the roads or to issue revenue bonds. I believe that Kentucky needs the roads too urgently to even consider postponing indefinitely their construction.

Little need be said about the veterans' bonus bonds. These bonds were issued by vote of the people at the general election of 1959. With this money, we have so far paid bonuses to 402,081 veterans at a total cost of \$125,267,222. Other claims are still in process.

We have issued bonds for parks development totaling \$19.9 million. Of this amount, \$10 million was authorized by the people at the general election of 1960. The other \$9.9 million was in the form of revenue bonds issued this past spring. One of the great assets of Kentucky is its recreational potential. Our state parks are designed to develop this potential. When our program is completed, recreational facilities will be within easy driving range of every citizen of Kentucky. Thus \$195 million or 46 percent of the state's total bonded indebtedness during my administration has been approved by the people of Kentucky.

We have issued bonds of two types for the benefit of higher education. One type is for dormitories for students and housing for faculty members. Bonds of this type have totaled \$10,825,000 for the five state colleges and \$300,000 for the University of Kentucky. Virtually all of these bonds have been sold to the federal Housing and Home Finance Agency at low interest rates. The bonds are retired, at no cost to the state, from rents paid by the students and the faculty.

The other type of bonds are for classrooms and other educational facilities. These bonds, which are sold on the open market, are retired from tuition fees paid by the students. Of this type bond, we have sold \$14,925,000 for the benefit of the state colleges and \$8 million for the University of Kentucky. Other issues will be sold within the next year.

Our reason for authorizing these bond issues is simple. We had 17,516 full-time equated students enrolled in the state colleges and the University of Kentucky when I took office. When I leave office, we will have 26,700, an increase of more than 9,000 students. This is a percentage increase of 52 percent.

Actually, the cost of providing new facilities to cope with this enrollment increase has been nominal. The bonds so far issued for classrooms and related educational facilities amount to only about \$2,400 per student for the increased enrollment. Bonds issued for dormitories amount to only about \$1,200 per student for the increased enrollment. The alternative to this nominal cost is to deny

our college youth their opportunity to a more advanced education.

Even in view of all of this, it is fair for you to question whether such a course of fiscal policy is wise. Insofar as the voted indebtedness is concerned there can be, of course, no question, since the people have decided this issue for themselves. But what of the revenue bond issues?

The alternatives were to build and use these facilities now by the use of revenue bonds. This procedure has long been sanctioned and practiced in Kentucky. On the other hand, we could have tried to build up a surplus in the treasury sufficient to allow a future governor, perhaps ten to twenty years hence, to build these facilities on a pay-as-you-go basis. The decision to provide them on a pay-as-you-use program was predicated on two basic facts: First, the need for these facilities is now, not twenty years from now.

Second, had these facilities been started in 1956, they could have been constructed at approximately 20 percent less than they are costing us today. Had we waited another five years, these projects would have cost us at least 15 to 20 percent more than they are costing us today. This additional cost is four times the amount we are now paying in interest on these bonds.

This explanation in detail of bonded indebtedness and the benefits provided from the funds acquired represented a defense against charges by A. B. Chandler that the state administration was extravagant and wasteful. One day earlier, Combs had indicated to the Newspaper Farm Editors Association in Lexington that Chandler's "thoughts are in the past." It was the voice, Combs went on to say, "of a man who has become rich and complacent from a quarter century of professional hypocrisy." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 16, 1962.

KENTUCKY COMMISSION
ON REAPPORTIONMENT
Frankfort / July 16, 1962

I AM willing to call a special session of the legislature if and when I become convinced we are in position to obtain from the legislature a

redistricting law which would be fair to the people of Kentucky and acceptable to the courts.

I am frank to say, however, that I will not be stampeded into permitting this issue to become involved in the political fights of the moment. To deal soundly with reapportionment is one thing; but to allow this issue to be traded upon in the emotional setting of a partisan or factional battle is to risk the future well-being of the Commonwealth.

A sound approach to the reapportionment problem is necessary. This means a sound plan, first, and then a sound procedure to put the plan into effect. If we don't do it right the first time, we will have to do it over again. Therefore, I ask this commission to proceed dispassionately to consider all the factors involved and to hold to a firm purpose to serve the best interests of Kentucky.

Late in June 1962 the city of Louisville sued in the federal court to compel Combs to call a special session for the purpose of reapportionment of the state's elective districts. The governor called it a "grandstand play," but he did appoint a commission to draw up proposals for redistricting. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 27, 1962.

SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE
OF ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS
A Major Public Health Problem
Louisville / August 16, 1962

TONIGHT I feel that I am addressing not just a group of Kentuckians and visitors to Kentucky. I am speaking to a very special assemblage — people who through their individual trials and their recovery have become a very special type of people. Your illness and recovery, with the help of the AA program, have given to you a new life and, perhaps for some of you, the gift of life itself.

You have found a freedom from doubt and despair through faith in a better future. You have been given a gift of understanding and

have learned that in the giving of yourselves, in offering your hand in help to those in need, you find salvation for yourself.

It is such men and women as you who will ultimately solve Kentucky's third major public health problem. This illness, alcoholism, eats at the very foundation of society. Although it has plagued men for centuries, this illness is perhaps the most misunderstood. Obscured by ignorance and stigma, and complex in nature, it demands attention worthy of its magnitude.

Kentucky has not done as much as it should in the field of alcoholism. For several years we have had a state Commission on Alcoholism. In 1960 we were able to bolster their efforts with another step forward. A Division of Alcoholism was created in our state Department of Health. Since then, the division and commission also have enlisted support in the communities by organizing committees of influential citizens to work with them and Alcoholics Anonymous in the rehabilitation of those to whom alcohol is a poison.

All of our five state mental hospitals are making a contribution in treatment of the illness, but at one in particular — Western State Hospital at Hopkinsville — we have set up a special forty-five-bed ward. I am happy to report that a survey of the alcoholics treated at Western State shows that more than 50 percent have freed themselves of drink for at least two years. We hope as the next step to set up clinics at the University of Kentucky Medical Center and at the University of Louisville Medical School.

The state agencies on alcoholism must depend upon every one of you for help and guidance. You can help inspire the faith, strength, courage, and hope that will enable unfortunate fellow citizens to return to their rightful place as respected citizens of this Commonwealth and this nation.

LUNCHEON FOR WILSON WYATT
A Democratic Senator for Kentucky
Frankfort / August 25, 1962

THIS is not a formal campaign opening, but in a very real sense it opens a campaign — the campaign of the Democratic party to elect

Wilson Wyatt United States senator and to elect all the Democratic congressional nominees in Kentucky this coming November. But this is not merely a campaign on behalf of the Democratic party. It is a campaign on behalf of every Kentuckian who wants to see his state represented effectively in the nation's legislative councils and on behalf of every American who wants to see his country move forward under the leadership of John F. Kennedy.

When great Democrats from Kentucky sat in the United States Senate, Kentucky's voice was heard in the nation's Capitol and Kentucky's interests were heeded in the nation's legislative halls. And when great Democrats again represent Kentucky in the United States Senate, Kentucky's voice will ring louder and her problems will draw greater attention in the legislative process.

I do not mean, of course, that either the Democratic national administration or the Democratic majority in the United States Senate has sought to or would ignore Kentucky because she is so unfortunate as to be represented by two Republican senators. In fact, it is a great tribute to the compassionate and intelligent leadership of the Democratic party — both in the White House and in the Senate — and it is a special tribute to the Democrats from Kentucky in the House of Representatives — that so many things which Kentucky needs and deserves have come and will come to us.

I can point, for example, to the Area Redevelopment Program which has already begun to make itself felt to stimulate Kentucky's economy and is helping to meet Kentucky's social and human needs. So long as the Republican party through the power of the veto in the White House, was able to block the enactment of Democratic legislation, we were unable to have an Area Redevelopment Program. So long as the Republican party controlled the national administration, it made no difference how hard our delegation in the House would fight. It made no difference how hard Wilson Wyatt and I pleaded the cause of Kentucky's distressed areas. Until John Kennedy became president of the United States, we could not and we did not have an Area Redevelopment Program. And, even with John Kennedy in the White House we cannot extend and improve these programs — we cannot make them effective — without dynamic and progressive leadership in both houses in the Congress. That leadership can come only from dynamic and progressive Democrats. And that is why we must commence today and follow through to a victorious conclusion this campaign to elect Wilson Wyatt and our Democratic congressional delegation.

If we work, if we take nothing for granted, if we bring to the polls

the natural Democratic strength of Kentucky, I have no fears about Wilson Wyatt's election. If Wilson Wyatt's victory, and if the victory of the Democrats who represent Kentucky in the Congress, is in any danger, that danger does not come from any weakness in the Democratic party, it does not come from the strength of the Republican candidate, it does not come from the weakness or indecision of the national leadership of the Democratic party or from its candidates in Kentucky. If the Democratic nominees in Kentucky are in any danger — and I repeat that I believe we shall win and win handsomely — that danger comes from the possibility of deliberate and calculated disloyalty on the part of a factional leader who may be tempted to believe that he can promote his own future ambitions by wounding the party to which politically he owes all that he is or ever will be.

I tell you, and I tell all other Democrats of Kentucky, that when this election is over we shall know and know beyond all doubt which of our leaders have kept the faith and which have been disloyal.

But regardless of past factional alignments and regardless of the waverings or wanderings of individual leaders, at the district level, at the county level, and at the precinct level, Kentucky Democrats are loyal to the faith of our party. This loyalty, I believe to be deep and true. I believe it exists among Democrats of all groups and persuasion, among Democrats who have followed one factional leader or another.

I want to urge upon you who are gathered here today to draw into your county leadership, to draw into your precinct leadership, Democrats of every faction, Democrats of every alliance, so long as they are willing to support Democrats who are nominees in this fall election. Had it not been for the disloyalty of a few selfish and ruthless individuals, we should not today be suffering from a lack of Democratic representation in the United States Senate. Had it not been for the disloyalty and selfishness of a few Democrats we should be opening today the campaign for reelection of an incumbent Democratic United States senator. And I see no reason for Democrats to stand silent in the face of a repetition by the same individual of those tactics which cost Earle Clements his seat in the Senate in 1956. So again I urge you to serve as missionaries and coordinators and as peacemakers in your respective communities and counties so as to join together all Kentucky Democrats in the common cause to elect Wilson Wyatt and the other Democratic nominees.

If we work together without ceasing, if we preach the Democratic gospel from now until November — and especially if we get thousands of unregistered Democrats on the books in the next two

weeks — I have no fear of the outcome. We shall send our loyal, hardworking Democratic delegation back to Congress and we shall send Wilson Wyatt to Washington as a faithful and effective teammate for John Kennedy.

DEDICATION OF CARTER CAVES
STATE PARK LODGE
Olive Hill / August 25, 1962

We are here to dedicate one of America's most beautiful recreational parks. By coincidence we are here at the beginning of one of the most beautiful seasons in Kentucky. The brush of autumn treats Kentucky with a kind and artistic touch and brings our countryside into one of its peaks of greatest beauty. As a mountain man I have always thought Kentucky hills are most beautiful in the brilliant colors of fall and in the wakening hours of spring.

Thousands of travelers have waited for fall's unusual beauty and to this less crowded season for their vacation. We welcome them with all the trappings of Kentucky hospitality.

This is the second new lodge we have dedicated at a state park this year. Six more are near completion and will be dedicated soon. In addition, lodges at two other parks are being enlarged.

It is my belief that Kentucky's parks should be used as a means to preserve and protect Kentucky's great natural beauty. I also believe that our parks should be operated so far as is practicable by state personnel, under state supervision, for the use and benefit of all our people — share and share alike.

During the administration of my predecessor, Kentucky's parks were shamefully neglected. Lodges and cottages were permitted to deteriorate and rot away. The dedication of this beautiful new twenty-nine-room lodge, with a dining room for two hundred guests, is added proof of the passing of an era which we hope is gone forever.

Kentuckians and our friends from other states prefer the new era. They demonstrated it last year when 6,681,000 persons visited Kentucky's state parks. This was twice the number of the previous year.

And I predict that, because of our efforts to improve our parks and add to them, with the help of a \$10 million bond issue endorsed by the people, the number of visitors this year will increase proportionately as they learn about the more comfortable accommodations and the additional, attractive facilities.

How refreshing is the contrast to the era behind us. It was a shameful era in which Kentucky's magnificent resources for hospitality and recreation were neglected and wasted. It was an era in which our state parks actually were despoiled and prostituted for political gain.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the sordid details of how, in the administration just past, our parks were sacrificed to the greedy whims of self-seeking politicians. This park, Carter Caves, was a special victim. It not only was permitted to deteriorate, with contemptible disregard for the public's investment and the need for protecting and improving that investment. The previous administration even leased part of the Carter Caves lands to a political friend for oil and gas exploitation. We canceled those leases as contrary to public policy.

Other state parks were subjected to similar abuses. Their facilities were turned over to political favorites on long-term contracts for private gain. Early in my administration we found it necessary to cancel more than two score of these contracts for operations of concessions — everything from ice cream stands to boat docks — by private individuals.

The cancellations were based on the sound public policy that wherever possible the state should operate the people's park facilities for the people, rather than for the politicians.

While millions of Kentuckians and out-of-state tourists clamored for additional vacation and recreation accommodations, Kentucky's assets in state park lodges, cottages, camping areas, and swimming beaches were allowed to fall into a sad state of disrepair. An enormously rich potential for attracting tourists and adding to the state's income was allowed to go undeveloped. Now the spoilers of our parks, the wasters of our resources, want to get control of our state parks again. I don't think the people will let that happen again. I don't think they will take back Happy Chandler and subject Kentucky's magnificently improved state park system to the selfish caprices of those money changers who would pillage and despoil and tear down all that we have achieved.

It has taken us two and a half years to repair the damage done under Happy's last administration. We can never recoup the eco-

nomic loss in tourist income suffered under him. But we can make certain that Kentucky's state parks never again shall experience such humiliating abuse.

WYATT CAMPAIGN OPENING Louisville / September 21, 1962

BACK in the days when labor unions did a lot of singing, there was a favorite song among the men which went like this: "Solidarity forever — Union makes us strong." Tonight — as we open this campaign to elect a Democratic United States senator and Democratic congressmen — our slogan should be: "Solidarity forever — Unity makes us strong."

I want to add my words of welcome to those of Senator Kinkead¹ and the nominees, words of welcome to every Democrat here, regardless of previous factional allegiance.

We need and we want — and the nominees are entitled to — the active, vigorous, wholehearted support of every one of you and all other Democrats throughout Kentucky. So I suggest that we should forget our prefixes and factions and personal preferences. I suggest that all of us be just plain, unqualified, working Democrats from now until the November election. If we will only do this, Wilson Wyatt and the other Democratic nominees will win by a resounding majority.

Permit me to digress very briefly. Let us for the moment forget about Wilson Wyatt and his Republican opponent and talk about Kentucky. I believe you will agree that I am, or should be, as familiar with the problems of Kentucky as anybody anywhere. Even though a lot of people think I don't have any of the answers, most of you will agree, I believe, that I should know the problems. So let us consider this election in the light of what is best for Kentucky.

Kentucky needs the aid of the federal government. Tremendous sums go to the federal treasury as taxes on two of our most famous products, whiskey and tobacco. In addition, Kentuckians pay millions of dollars in federal income and other taxes. Unless a substantial part of this money is returned to Kentucky as federal aid, our people will suffer.

Kentucky needs more federal aid to highways, more federal aid to education at all levels, more federal aid for senior citizens' housing and medical care, more federal aid to airport development, more federal aid for flood control projects and development of natural resources, more federal aid for health and welfare programs, and more federal aid for construction of basic facilities in our communities and towns. Wilson Wyatt will be able to obtain this aid for us if we send him to Washington as our United States senator. He is qualified by experience, background, accomplishment, and philosophy, to make Kentucky a great United States senator.

A governor and a lieutenant governor must, of necessity, work closely together, and Wilson and I have done that. I have campaigned with him and I have worked with him in the task of moving Kentucky ahead. I know him, and I know him well. His intellect is first-rate; his zeal and industry are admitted even by his opposition; his patriotism and his dedication are of the highest. Wilson Wyatt stands high above the slings and arrows of partisan malice. He has dedicated his heart and soul and mind to the task of developing more jobs, a stronger economy, and a better way of life for Kentucky people.

Both candidates for the United States Senate are capable. They are good citizens and good Kentuckians. One of them can help Kentucky in the United States Senate. The other, by reason of his background and philosophy, and his condition of servitude to the national Republican party, is, in my judgment, not in position to be of much assistance.

One of these men is a symbol of Republican conservatism, with proven allegiance to a philosophy of government which would keep Kentucky from moving ahead. The other candidate is a symbol of a philosophy which — working in cooperation with a favorable national administration, which we have — will make it possible for Kentucky to provide to her citizens those things necessary for us to move ahead in the age of space, those things which will make a greater Kentucky for your children and mine.

I would suggest we vote for our state. Vote Kentucky. Vote Wilson Wyatt!

1. Shelby Kinkead (1913–), city commissioner of Lexington (1954–1956); mayor of Lexington (1956–1960); Kentucky state senator (1964–1968); born in Lexington, Kentucky, and resides in Lexington. *Who's Who in American Politics*, 3d ed. (New York, 1972), p. 559.

LAND OF "NOWHERE"
DEDICATION OF PARK LODGE
Prestonsburg / September 22, 1962

MAY I welcome you to the land of "nowhere." We are here in the land of "nowhere" to dedicate a substitute for the "back to nature" facilities originally approved for this park. I believe you will agree that this lodge will serve here in this land of "nowhere" as an appropriate substitute for those back-to-nature facilities, consisting of rustic-type cottages, with a central shower and outdoor toilets.

I take the position that, even though we do live in the land of "nowhere," our children and our people are entitled to park and recreational facilities equal to those in other parts of the state and the country — no better — but no worse.

Next spring — when the dogwood and the redbud cause these rugged hills to become a beautiful panorama of color, and when nature causes all growing things to burst through the ground and reach for the sun — the people of Kentucky will be able to reach this beautiful park by driving over the Mountain Parkway, which will be one of America's most beautiful highways.

Even though it has been said that the Mountain Parkway will run "into the foot of a mountain," and that when you drive to the mountain you will have to turn back, I predict that thousands of Kentuckians and Americans next summer will enjoy the great scenic beauty of the Mountain Parkway and will appreciate the hospitality and the modern conveniences of this beautiful park nestled here at the foot of a mountain and overlooking one of America's most picturesque lakes.

It has been said that we are not justified in issuing revenue bonds to pay for facilities such as this. I disagree. It is a sound investment in the future of Kentucky to provide facilities like this for the use and enjoyment of the people, especially our children.

I would have been derelict in my duty had I not made it possible for the people of Kentucky to embark upon a program of much needed highways, school buildings, and park facilities, which we can pay for as we use them. Those who would have you believe that the credit of the Commonwealth is endangered by building facilities like this are like the characters in the story of "Chicken Little" who, you will recall, was hit on the head by an acorn and thought the sky was falling. You will remember that Chicken Little ran with alarm to

see Ducky Lucky, and Chicken Little and Ducky Lucky, in great excitement, went to see Turkey Lurkey, and Chicken Little and Ducky Lucky and Turkey Lurkey all went to see Foxy Loxy. All of them went back to see where the sky had fallen in and discovered it was merely an acorn from a tree by a swimming pool in Versailles.

And now as we stand here on the threshold of the age of space, preparing to dedicate this beautiful facility as a symbol of the future, I hope you will permit me to reminisce very briefly. As I look out over the cool blue water of this mountain lake, my thoughts and the thoughts of many of you inevitably turn to the man who almost was solely responsible for the location of this lake here on the headwaters of John's Creek, said to be the longest nonnavigable stream in the country. You old-timers will recall that Andrew Jackson May¹ fought for years in the corridors of our national Capitol and on the floor of Congress for an appropriation sufficient to build this lake. You will recall that many of his constituents and fellow citizens abandoned the fight and criticized him for continuing it. You will recall that he lost friends and votes by reason of his almost single-handed effort to obtain the lake.

To Andrew Jackson May, more than any other man, we, the people of eastern Kentucky, are indebted for construction of the lake which has made possible the establishment of one of Kentucky's finest recreational parks. He was a man of great dedication and courage. He had almost a fanatical belief in the future of eastern Kentucky. He was almost as much a part of these rugged hills as are the trees which cast their shadows upon us this afternoon. So I suggest that we dedicate this beautiful facility to the memory of Andrew Jackson May, and that it be called "May Lodge."

The dedication theme referred to an earlier observation made by A. B. Chandler that the Mountain Parkway would lead to nowhere and thus was a waste of money by the Combs administration. Chandler denied he had said this, but his speech earlier in northern Kentucky had referred to a road to a mountain from which you could do nothing but turn around and come back. *Kentucky Post and Times Star*, August 31, 1961. Another paper quoted Chandler differently. "The Eastern Kentucky Turnpike," Chandler said according to this account, "will run uphill to nowhere. These great expressways are only for tourists." *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 31, 1961.

1. Andrew Jackson May (1875-1959), county attorney, Floyd County (1901-1909); United States Congressman from Kentucky (1931-1945); born in Langley, Kentucky, and resided in Prestonsburg, Kentucky. *Who Was Who in America, 1951-1960* (Chicago, 1960), 3:564.

ALBERT B. CHANDLER
Frankfort / September 24, 1962

I MUST have struck a nerve with the "Chicken Little" story. Hap calls me "Birdeye Bertie" on Thursday and his people think it is very funny. On Saturday I tell a harmless little story about Chicken Little, Henny Penny, and Ducky Lucky, and Happy acts like the sky is really falling in. He must be losing his sense of humor.

Chandler had reacted angrily to Combs's reference to "Chicken Little" at the Jenny Wiley State Park lodge dedication. The former governor charged Combs with resorting to "insults" and "slurs and slander." *Lexington Herald*, September 26, 1962.

DEMOCRATIC FUND-RAISING DINNER
Asheville, North Carolina / October 6, 1962

I KNOW that many of you are wondering why you had to pay to hear Combs speak. I understand they had a high-level conference about who would speak at this dinner. They couldn't agree on a speaker and finally decided they wouldn't have any. It was then that Margaret Rose¹ said, "We will just get Bert Combs."

I understand there are a great many Baptists here, and you might be interested in knowing that I am the first Baptist governor of Kentucky in the last 100 years. This probably doesn't prove anything except that we Baptists are poor politicians, but I do take a lot of ribbing from the Methodists and Presbyterians. One of the stories they never fail to tell in introducing me is the one to the effect that being a Baptist will not necessarily keep you from sinning, but it sure as hell will keep you from enjoying it.

It is a pleasure, though, to be here in the state which is the temporary home of the first lady of North Carolina. Some of you might not know that Margaret Rose's home is Hopkinsville, Kentucky. In Hopkinsville they will readily tell you that Terry Sanford thinks he is

governor of North Carolina, but they know better. They know that Margaret Rose has veto power.

It was a pleasure for me to make Margaret Rose a Kentucky Colonel, and we are always glad to have her visit back in Kentucky. They are telling the story in Hopkinsville about Margaret Rose being on a visit there last summer, and as she was driving along the road, she saw an old farmer, whom she had known many years ago, walking along the road. Since she is a very kindhearted person, she decided to give the old gentleman a lift. She stopped the car and very graciously asked the old gentleman if he wanted to ride. He got in and, of course, the air conditioning was working real good, and pretty soon the old gentleman got cooled off and Margaret Rose, in her vivacious manner finally said, "Uncle Joe, where are you going?" He replied, "Well, I had aimed to go down to the lower field to cut tobacco, but it's turned off so cold I think I'll go back to the house and kill hogs."

We governors do have our problems. We have inaugurated some new programs in Kentucky, and in an effort to at least explain these programs to our people, I have traveled over the state a great deal. Recently in a small town I stopped to shake hands with a young boy, about six to eight years old. It was apparent that he didn't know who I was and, moreover, didn't care. I said to him, "Sonny, surely you know who your governor is?" and he very promptly said, "Pop says we don't have any."

I am glad to be in a state where the importance of education is recognized. The University of North Carolina has become a symbol throughout the United States of those things which make a university great. In addition, the people of North Carolina have gained recognition far beyond your borders as progressive, forward-looking Americans who are willing to make some small sacrifice in order that your children may attend the best schools. Your acceptance of the school tax recommended by your able governor has provided for the citizens of other states an example of good citizenship. I am proud to break bread with people who realize that education of our children is more important now than ever before in history, with people who realize that civilization itself is a race between education and catastrophe, with people who agree with Thomas Jefferson that if you expect a nation to be ignorant and free, you expect something that never was and never will be.

I don't pretend to know anything about North Carolina politics, but it appears to me that this large gathering here this evening augurs well for a Democratic victory this fall. And, of course, that is as it

should be. The principles of the Democratic party are good for North Carolina as well as for the rest of the country.

I don't mean to imply that the Democratic party has a monopoly on political virtue or has been responsible for all progress. But any fair appraisal of this century will show that it has been under Democrats that we took our greatest strides forward and produced solutions to the great crises of our age.

Democrats met the challenge of economic collapse during the Depression. Democrats produced economic and social reforms that still form the strong framework of our society, under the leadership of a great Democrat — Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It was under another great Democratic president that we met the threat of world communism, saved our wartime allies with the Marshall Plan, and checked the tide of communist aggression in Korea — I refer, of course, to President Harry Truman.

Today, under another president who will be listed among the great leaders of our nation, we are racing ahead in our critical fight to win the struggle for space. We couldn't want a finer or wiser or more courageous leader in this struggle than John F. Kennedy.

Democrats have met the challenge of breadlines, and of Berlin. Democrats will lead the way to the stars and to a richer, more useful, more dignified life here on earth.

We must continue to look for new and better ways to do things. A few days ago the former Republican national chairman said that his party was going to take us back to an "old-fashioned Congress." This gentleman is running for reelection to the United States Senate from Kentucky and we are going to try to retire him this fall to some old-fashioned private life.

We don't need an old-fashioned Congress. We need a Congress which will look to the future with the help and guidance of men like Sam Ervin, Everett Jordan, and Terry Sanford.² We cannot cure the ills of the age of space with snake oil, swamp root, and other nostrums which are now being peddled by backward-looking Republican candidates.

Our children are going to live in a world more frightening and more promising than ever before in man's history. We must prepare them for it, and we must make sure that it is a world fit for hopes and dreams we have for them.

Except maybe in courting a girl or poking up a fire, old-fashioned methods just aren't good enough. We aren't going to find a cure for cancer, eradicate illiteracy, solve our farm and transportation prob-

lems, or blaze the trail to the planets by Hoover-cart methods. The old horse and buggy occupy a warm spot in America's memory, but it would be a poor match for the sigma seven rocket that boosted Walter Schirra³ into orbit last Wednesday.

It would seem to me very necessary at this time for North Carolina to reelect men like Sam Ervin, Roy Taylor, Paul Kitchin, Hugh Alexander, and your other able Democratic congressmen.⁴ Since North Carolina was an original Kennedy state, since your state has fared well under his administration, and since from all indications he is going to be there for several years to come, it seems to me you would not be using the judgment for which North Carolinians are famous if you didn't support the Kennedy administration.

Moreover, Terry Sanford and the Democratic nominees for the state legislature are entitled to a vote of confidence. Your progressive-minded forward-looking governor needs your support and influence in order that he may finish his job.

Let us remember two things first: Every man is a child of God. This we can deny or ignore only by repudiating our own spiritual heritage. But let us also remember that there is none among us — no individual, no state, no section — free enough from sin to cast the first stone. These are not new discoveries, but what is perhaps even better, they are old truths. If we take them to heart, perhaps we shall find a pathway to peace; and if not peace, then at least a willingness to bear one another's burden, which is the indispensable condition of Democratic survival.

Governor Combs spoke later for fund-raising gatherings in Ohio and Indiana and used much of the same material included in this speech.

1. Margaret Rose Sanford, wife of North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford, was originally from Hopkinsville, Kentucky.

2. Samuel James Ervin, Jr. (1896–), member, United States House of Representatives from North Carolina (1946–1947); associate justice, North Carolina Supreme Court (1948–1954); member, United States Senate (1954–1976); born in Morganton, North Carolina, and resides in Morganton. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 980.

B. Everett Jordan (1896–), chairman, North Carolina Democratic Executive Committee (1949–1954); Democratic national committeeman, North Carolina (1954–1958); member, United States Senate (1958–1972); born in Ramseur, North Carolina, and resides in North Carolina. *Congressional Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 34 (Washington, D.C., June 10, 1972), p. 1317.

3. Walter M. Schirra, Jr. (1923–), astronaut; born in Hackensack, New

Jersey, and resides in Littleton, Colorado. *Who's Who in America, 1978-1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2867.

4. Roy Arthur Taylor (1910-), member, United States House of Representatives (1960-1974); born in Vader, Washington, and resides in Black Mountain, North Carolina. *Who's Who in America, 1978-1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 3206.

Alvin Paul Kitchin (1908-), member, United States House of Representatives (1957-1963); born in Scotland Neck, North Carolina, and resides in Wadesboro, North Carolina. *Who's Who in American Politics, 1973-1974*, 4th ed. (New York, 1973), p. 582.

Hugh Quincy Alexander (1911-), member, United States House of Representatives from North Carolina (1952-1962); born in Monroe County, North Carolina, and resides in Alexandria, Virginia. *Who's Who in American Politics, 1973-1974*, 4th ed. (New York, 1973), p. 11.

WYATT'S DEFEAT

Frankfort / November 7, 1962

I HAD hoped it would not be necessary for me to make a statement about yesterday's election, but Mr. Chandler's charge, prepared by his ghost writer, the pious Mr. Leary,¹ leaves me no choice.

I have known both defeat and victory in politics and have learned to accept victory with equanimity and to accept defeat without bitterness. Chandler and Mr. Leary worked actively to defeat Wilson Wyatt while piously professing their allegiance to the Democratic ticket. When Wilson Wyatt was a candidate, they did a very efficient hatchet job on him. Now that Wyatt has been defeated, they have resumed their operation on me.

The Chandler statement is the sort of thing I have learned to expect from him and Leary. It is filled with hypocrisy and duplicity. Being guilty of disloyalty themselves, they seek to shift the blame to another. This is the kind of deceit and hypocrisy which has come to be known as Chandlerism. It is a hypocritical approach to politics which proceeds on the theory that people will believe anything so long as it is presented to them in a bold and persuasive manner. It is the sort of hypocritical approach which Chandler and Leary think will again make them the spoilsmen of Kentucky state government.

National publications, including *Time* magazine, have commented on the fact that Chandler and his henchmen were hoping for the defeat of Wilson Wyatt. Yet, Chandler and Leary are arrogant enough to think they can convince the people of Kentucky that they gave their all for the Wyatt campaign. They are like the pickpocket who cries "stop thief" in order to divert attention from his own nefarious activities.

Glance back through the years. Chandler contributed to the defeat of the Democratic nominee Lyter Donaldson² in 1943. Chandler bolted the Democratic party and supported the Dixiecrats in the presidential campaign of 1948. His newspaper fought Democrat Virgil Chapman³ that year in the Senate race.

Chandler bolted Kentucky's Democratic senatorial ticket in 1956 and bolted the Democratic nominees for state office in 1959. Immediately preceding yesterday's election, he spent several days in Florida while his hatchet men sabotaged the Democratic ticket in Kentucky. His political treachery and duplicity are well known. On February 13, 1957, Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler⁴ said publicly that Chandler was directly responsible for the loss of at least one and possibly two Democratic senatorial seats in Kentucky.

On February 21, 1958, in Frankfort, Chandler participated in a caucus of the twenty-one Republican members of the Kentucky House of Representatives and told them, and I quote from the record, "If it had not been for me, Morton⁵ would not be up there in the Senate now." On June 4, 1959, Senator Thruston Morton, before 200 members of the National Press Club in Washington, publicly acknowledged that Chandler had given him help in his 1956 senatorial race. It is indisputably clear that Chandler helped to elect Mr. Morton in 1956 and again in yesterday's election. To me it is almost inconceivable that having done this he would attempt to twist and distort the record so as to place the blame elsewhere. "Upon what meat doth this Caesar feed" that would cause him to practice such deceit against the people of Kentucky?

In contrast, it so happens that I have consistently supported the Democratic party and its nominees. In the recent campaign, I worked and spoke at every opportunity in behalf of the Democratic ticket and of Wilson Wyatt. I recognize him as a great Kentuckian who has rendered outstanding service to Kentuckians as lieutenant governor.

Nothing shows more clearly who was trying to do what in yesterday's election than the outcome of the vote in Chandler's home county of Woodford and my home county of Floyd. Wyatt carried

Floyd County by 4,162 votes and Morton carried Woodford County by 1,201 votes.

Chandler greeted Wyatt's defeat in his campaign for the Senate as proof that the Combs administration was a failure and that Combs had not really wanted Wyatt to be elected.

1. Joseph J. Leary (1907–), assistant attorney general of Kentucky (1936–1937); born in Williamstown, Kentucky, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. Telephone interview, June 14, 1976.

2. J. Lyter Donaldson (1891–1960), member of highway commission (1932–1936); highway commissioner of Kentucky (1939–1943); lost gubernatorial election to Simeon Willis in 1943 by 8,100 votes; born in Carrollton, Kentucky, and resided in Carrollton. Interview with Polly Gorman, former secretary to Governor Combs, June 17, 1976.

3. Virgil Munday Chapman (1895–1951), city attorney of Irvine, Kentucky (1918–1920); member, United States House of Representatives (1925–1929, 1931–1947); United States senator (1949–1951); born in Simpson County, Kentucky, and resided in Paris, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, 1st ed. (Chicago, 1947), p. 710.

4. Paul Mulholland Butler (1905–1961), Democratic committeeman from Indiana (1952); chairman, Democratic National Committee (1954–1960); born in South Bend, Indiana, and resided in South Bend. *Current Biography* (New York, 1955), pp. 88-90; *ibid.*, 1962, p. 68.

5. Thruston Ballard Morton (1907–), member, United States House of Representatives (1946–1953); assistant secretary of state (1953–1956); chairman, Republican National Committee (1959–1961); member, United States Senate (1956–1968); vice-chairman, Liberty National Bank and Trust, Louisville (1968–); born in Louisville, Kentucky, and resident of Louisville. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2320.

REACTION TO CHANDLER

Frankfort / November 8, 1962

It is another Chandler lie, and he knows it. Unfortunately for Mr. Chandler, Mr. Breathitt¹ will run and in my opinion will win. Moreover, I will join those thousands of Kentucky people who are

interested in good government and will support Mr. Breathitt to the best of my ability.

Chandler had responded to Combs's explanation of November 7 quickly. "The governor should go somewhere for a good, long rest," he quipped. "It is apparent that he is at the very edge of hysteria. The reason for his condition is apparent. It is certain that he now must face up to the horrible mess he has made of Kentucky's government. The escape hatch to the federal bench has been closed. The hysterical outburst of the governor yesterday spoke of disloyalty. If anyone doubts that he is a master of the subject, he should call Morganfield 27. I predict that Breathitt will be dumped — just as Clements was dumped. The evidence is persuasive." Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University Library, Richmond.

1. Edward Thompson Breathitt (1924–), member, Kentucky House of Representatives from Christian County (1952–1958); commissioner of personnel, Kentucky (1959–1960); Kentucky Public Service Commission (1961–1962); governor of Kentucky (1963–1967); born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and resident of Hopkinsville. *Who's Who in America, 1976–1977*, 39th ed. (Chicago, 1976), p. 373.

CIVIL DEFENSE CONFERENCE
OF COUNTY JUDGES AND MAYORS
Preparations for Disaster
Frankfort / November 9, 1962

PEOPLE will look to you for leadership in time of emergency created by the threat of thermonuclear attack or natural disaster. We are aware, you and I, of our responsibilities to the citizens of Kentucky for protection.

1. On June 27, 1960, I issued an executive order outlining the responsibilities of various state departments in the event of war or statewide emergency.

2. On October 2, 1961, by executive order I created at the state level an emergency resource planning committee, whose membership includes outstanding representatives in the fields of transporta-

tion, agriculture, industry, labor, petroleum and fuels, food, government, and other essential services that would be immediately needed during any crisis.

3. In addition to assigning responsibilities to key departmental officials, we have provided here in the state capitol an area adequately sheltered from radioactive fallout, from which the government of Kentucky can operate on an emergency basis.

This area has been stocked with food and water and provided with auxiliary power, radio and telephone communications, which can function even though all other power in the city has been cut off. It is from this communication center that we can provide you as county judges and mayors with information concerning fallout conditions and instructions that can be disseminated to your citizens. It is from this fallout shelter that we can rush assistance to you if your city or county is in dire straits and some of your neighboring counties have not felt the effects of the disaster.

This communications center would be operated from quarters now occupied by the offices of the Division of Civil Defense, and the prototype shelter in the western corner of the basement of this building. I hope that all of you will take the time to visit the fallout shelter here in the capitol because it illustrates what is needed for a 200-man community shelter.

4. In addition, we have asked each department head to select and assign fallout shelter wardens in each division, branch, and section of his department. For example, in this capitol building, according to the federal survey, we can shelter over 6,000 people with a radiation protection factor of 100 or above. In the capitol annex, more than 12,000 can be sheltered with this same high protection factor. The importance of this advanced planning and arranging for fallout shelter wardens and management is to prevent chaos and confusion in the event war really starts.

I want to urge each of you, who by virtue of your office have the responsibility for the citizens within your jurisdiction, to take every necessary step to prepare and plan for such an emergency. The Division of Civil Defense stands ready to assist you and your directors in perfecting your plans and organization.

I cannot stress too much the importance and urgency of this matter. It is a challenging responsibility to all of us. It may be vital to the lives of hundreds of our fellow citizens.

Held in the state house of representatives chamber, this meeting came as a result of President Kennedy's push for more effective civil defense in the wake of the Cuban missile crisis.

KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION OF
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
Protection of the Rights of Schoolchildren
Louisville / November 10, 1962

KENTUCKY ranks fourteenth in the nation in the percentage of personal income contributed to public schools. The figure is 2.1 percent in Kentucky, as compared with the national average of 1.5 percent. Kentucky ranks seventh in the percentage of state and local government revenue which goes to public schools. The figure is 38.1 percent, as compared with the national average of 33.9 percent. We are eighth in the percentage increase of public school instructors' salaries in the last ten years (77.6 percent). We are sixteenth in the percent of increase in current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance in the last decade. That figure is 70 percent, as against a national average of 69.5 percent.

In the last three years the amount of state revenue contributed to the school foundation program has risen 77.4 percent — from \$59,697,735 a year (1958–1959) to \$105,290,680. At the same time, the amount of local government revenue contributed to the foundation program increased 8.8 percent — from \$44,013,150 to \$47,876,554. A comparison of the two increases — 77.4 percent in state contributions with 8.8 percent in local government contributions — may strike you as unusual.

I believe, however, that the present arrangement for financing public education is in line with the sound philosophy of a former state superintendent of public education, George Colvin,¹ who in 1920 expressed the belief that it was a mistake to deny children in some districts the educational facilities given to children in other districts. He said: "There is only one sound principle of taxation for the support of schools, and that is to levy your taxes where your property is and to spend the money where the children are."

In the last three years we have built ninety new elementary schools and twenty-eight new high schools, constructed additions to 238 school buildings, and added improvements to 794 others. The result has been 3,593 additional classrooms for our children. We now rank thirtieth in the average number of students per classroom teacher. We have 26.3 pupils per teacher, as compared with the national average of 25.7. The salaries of Kentucky's public school instructors have increased 55 percent since the 1958-1959 school year. Approximately 81 percent of our teachers now have college degrees, as compared with 65 percent in 1959.

The figures I have cited are cause for modest pride. But, there are other figures which show that we still have a long way to go if we are to give Kentucky's schoolchildren and Kentucky's teachers educational advantages equal to those provided elsewhere.

Kentucky ranks forty-fifth (for 1961-1962 school year) in the per capita public school revenue provided by state and local governments. Our per capita is \$297. The national average is \$465. We rank forty-fifth in the average classroom teacher salaries (\$4,121 against the national average of \$5,527). We rank forty-second in the percentage of elementary schoolteachers with less than standard certificates. And we rank forty-third in the percentage of our enrolled pupils who are in average daily attendance. For 1961-1962, the figure was 88.7 percent, as against the national average of 89.3 percent.

It is very clear that although we have made substantial progress in education in the past three years, we still have a long way to go. Actually we have only made a good start toward providing adequate training for the children of Kentucky. We have no room for complacency. As other facets of our economy improve, so must our schools be improved. There is no such thing as standing still. To stand still is in effect to go backward because everyone else will be running full speed ahead.

The time has come to take a reading on our position. The time has come for plain talk. Most of us have paid lip service to a progressive program for education in Kentucky. There can be a progressive program only if you, the task force of the school people in Kentucky, are willing to join in a united effort to save our schools. There can be a progressive school program only if those interested in education are willing to join in a crusade to protect the rights of the schoolchildren of this Commonwealth. The voices of these children are clear but they are immature. They cannot secure for themselves the right to develop the talents God has given to them. Only we can do that for them. Only we can offset those half-truths and soapy slogans which

could set back education in Kentucky for a quarter of a century.

These are not easy times. To paraphrase old Tom Paine, "These are the times that try men's souls." In times like these the sunshine patriot and the summer soldier will shrink from service to his country. But he that stands it now deserves the thanks of his fellow citizens.

If we are to move forward, all of us will have to make some sacrifices. We will have to organize. We will have to carry the message to our fellow citizens. We will have to defend our schools until the cows come home. We will have to form "save our schools" clubs. We will have to prove once and for all that the forces of education in Kentucky are not impotent.

I am asking you now with all the solemnity at my command to join with me and those others interested in education so that we can say to the enemies of education in one voice loud and clear: you shall not destroy our schools; you shall not deprive the children of Kentucky of their God-given right to be informed; you shall not turn back the educational clock in Kentucky; you shall not again make Kentucky the laughingstock of other states.

These saboteurs of our children's heritage are numerous and powerful, but they can be foiled. In the words of William Jennings Bryan, "The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause is stronger than all the hosts of error." We have a righteous cause and we should make it a common cause. We should join together and take that cause to the people in a militant crusade under the motto "You shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free."

1. George Colvin (1875-1928), state superintendent of public instruction, Kentucky (1920-1924); president, University of Louisville (1926-1928); born in Willisburg, Kentucky, and resided in Louisville. *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942* (Chicago, 1943), 1: 247.

KENTUCKY WELFARE ASSOCIATION
Fifty Years of Welfare Progress
Louisville / November 14, 1962

It is a pleasure for me to be with you today at the beginning of your fiftieth anniversary conference. The Kentucky Welfare Association has been an integral part of Kentucky's history during the past fifty years. It has contributed much to the well-being of all Kentuckians during that time. It continues to be a vital force today as you commemorate the golden anniversary of your founding.

The welfare field and the many hundreds of people employed in it have always played an important role in the Bluegrass Commonwealth. Fifty years ago, when your organization had its beginning, welfare work consisted chiefly of institutional reform. We had prisons, poorhouses, and orphanages in Kentucky then. With the help of the welfare workers, our state has now moved far out of those "Dark Ages." Today, in Kentucky, the welfare field encompasses nearly every aspect of the health and well-being of our citizens. Certainly, we have made much progress; yet, a great deal remains to be done.

Let me point out where Kentucky now stands. In this state right now, there are nearly 146,000 people on our public assistance rolls. There are more than 6,000 patients in our four state mental hospitals. Close to 2,000 patients reside in the state tuberculosis hospitals. More than 7,000 handicapped children in Kentucky receive aid through the Commission for Handicapped Children each year. There are close to 17,000 Kentuckians who draw unemployment insurance each week. The Child Welfare Department serves about 11,000 Kentucky children and their families each year. There are an estimated 91,000 mentally retarded in Kentucky. Every one of these people is of vital concern, not only to workers in the welfare field, but to all Kentuckians.

Now, what are we — you the welfare workers, and myself as a representative of Kentucky state government — doing for these people? Public assistance recipients, the most needy families in our state, are receiving more help now than at any time in our history. In financial benefits, these 146,000 people are receiving more than five and a half million dollars a month in subsistence payments. But, besides giving them the money, we try and help them make the most use of it. This is where the welfare workers come in, with their

advice, help, and counsel. Our aim is not only to support these people but to give them the opportunity to become useful, self-respecting citizens.

In addition, all public assistance recipients plus nearly 12,000 more needy aged people, are receiving now, for the first time, medical care. State and federal funds amount to roughly \$400,000 a month for the services of doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and hospitals in the treatment of these needy citizens. And, beginning January 1, 1963, we will add nursing home care to this program. This will make Kentucky one of only four states in the nation to offer a completely "comprehensive" medical care program as defined by the federal government.

In the field of mental health, we are increasing the rate of discharge of patients from the mental hospitals. This is a result of additional emphasis on treatment, rehabilitation, and home-care services. There is now specialized treatment for alcoholics at Western State Hospital, for severely disturbed and psychotic children, and for the tuberculosis-mentally ill at Lakeland. Two of our four mental hospitals are now open hospitals, with the others moving in the same direction. State funds to support the four mental hospitals amount to nearly two million dollars more this year than they were three years ago. The daily food allowance for each state mental hospital patient has been increased by eleven cents a day since January 1960. An improved pay schedule has been approved for psychiatrists. The state has also taken over Waverly Hills sanatorium in Jefferson County and has leased the facilities to a group for a senior citizen center.

Kentucky now has six state-operated tuberculosis hospitals. Improvements in this field have reduced the number of deaths caused by tuberculosis in Kentucky from 1,554 in 1947 to only 335 in 1960. In addition, we take more than 150,000 X-rays annually in order to detect this dread disease before it gains strength. Before 1960 there were only two outpatient clinics in operation at locations other than the state hospitals. There are now eleven.

We are now able to provide more and better treatment of our state's handicapped children due to a budget more than double now from what it was in 1959.

Unemployed Kentuckians are also receiving more help now. During the past two years, through the Department of Economic Security, 385,667 job placements were made. Insured unemployment dropped to 6 percent this year from 8.3 percent last year. In addition, the 1962 Kentucky legislature increased the minimum weekly un-

employment insurance benefit from \$11 to \$12 and the maximum from \$37 to \$40.

Needy children and their families now receive protective services from child welfare workers through sixty-five local offices. Adoptions in the state have increased to nearly 250 during the past two years. Registration of foster homes increased by more than 100 last year. New programs, including group therapy for delinquents, are getting under way at all four state child-care institutions.

In addition to these achievements, we have also made progress in the field of public health and mental retardation. We now have thirty-eight health officers providing coverage for ninety-five counties, compared with thirty-two in ninety counties two years ago. There are presently ten hospitals, nine health centers, a rehabilitation unit, and a diagnostic and treatment center under construction in the state. Since 1959 twenty-five new projects have been completed under the federal government's Hill-Burton program.¹ The Health Department was recently reorganized to provide better service.

Responsibility for operation of the mental retardation program has been placed in the Department of Mental Health. During the next two years the state will spend almost \$4.5 million for service to the mentally retarded. One of the greatest steps forward in his field has been the transfer of Outwood Hospital near Dawson Springs from federal to state ownership. We are now in the process of moving some patients there from the Kentucky State Training Home at Frankfort. I am hopeful that this will relieve overcrowded conditions there, where we have had as many as 1,150 patients housed in buildings designed for only 750.

That is where Kentucky stands in 1962 in relation to the welfare field. I think we have made a lot of progress. And, I think there is a lot more to be done in the coming years. I hope that all of you, with your chief interest being in welfare, will continue to help us move forward in this field. And I hope that fifty years from now, when you gather to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the Kentucky Welfare Association, that another governor will be able to stand before you then and point with pride to the achievements made in that half-century.

I wish you much success with your conference and again congratulate you on the golden anniversary of the Kentucky Welfare Association.

1. 60 STAT 1040, 1946.

KENTUCKY CHAPTER,
AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Public Administration in Kentucky
Frankfort / December 14, 1962

THIS group is well aware that state government and related city and county governments constitute the largest, most varied, most complex business in the state. They touch the lives and fortunes of three million citizens in many direct and indirect ways.

You people in this room tonight play an indispensable role in this business, performing a great variety of complex services for your fellow citizens. Over 4,000 of the 18,000 employees in state government are required now to have specialized skills and training which can be acquired only in college. Many of you obtained from four to eight years of expensive college training in order to perform your duties.

I recognize and sincerely appreciate the dedication with which you apply your skills to the many tasks of this government. You are engaged in activities which are creative in every sense of the word. You are providing the administration structure for the conversion of the people's wishes into governmental services. Your activities are just as creative and important as those of architects and engineers who design and construct buildings. Your work often is not as tangible and visible as that of architects and engineers, but very often it requires even more skill. You must work within an atmosphere of competing and frequently conflicting interests.

Since all demands for governmental services can never be fully fulfilled, choices must be made concerning the emphasis which should be placed on various programs, and which demands are to be satisfied as far as possible within always inadequate financial and human resources. It is in this area of choices that you, as skilled administrators, and I, as governor, must have complete understanding and mutual support. The governorship is unique in that it is the only elective office which is responsible to all of the people of Kentucky for all of the programs and services of state government. I am sure that you understand and can appreciate that decisions must be made with this responsibility in mind. These decisions are generally based on the staff work, program analysis, and other information

supplied by the administrators in government. While some of your advice and information may not be used, or may be disregarded, it is still important in weighing the merits of any issue relating to the affairs of the people of Kentucky.

Without the support of legislators, interested groups, and the general public, the best designed and planned programs of public service cannot be implemented. It is in this area of seeking to gain and maintain support and public understanding that I have devoted much of my time and energy as governor. Our program of taking state government to the people is an example of how we are attempting to explain government to those who, after all, are both the recipients and the financial supporters of our own services.

I believe that the quality of public administration in state service has improved substantially during the last three years. The merit system, I think, is a vital force in that improvement. Salaries have not been raised to the point that many of us would like to see. However, substantial increases have been made throughout the salary structure. Governmental service is becoming respectable and rewarding, both in terms of pay and prestige.

We have initiated several programs to attract and retain a high quality of career employees. We have expanded our scholarship training in many areas of career service. The state now provides substantial assistance to those who seek to become urban planners, highway engineers, social workers, psychiatric workers, and experts in the field of general administration. Many of these inducements to career employees have been financed out of the governor's contingency fund because I consider such expenditures to be a good investment. We have to recruit and retain skilled employees.

I am glad that an organization such as the Kentucky chapter of the American Society for Public Administration exists. Over the years Kentucky has produced many outstanding public administrators. Many are in this room tonight. Many more are serving all over the world. We hope in the future to minimize the permanent departure of our good career employees for reasons that can be and should be controlled.

JEFFERSON COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY

Expansion of State Public Health Facilities

Louisville / December 17, 1962

PUBLIC health is a subject of major concern in state government, but it is a teamwork undertaking which requires also the responsibility of the communities and individuals — especially individuals in your profession.

What state government can accomplish depends in part on the good counsel, efforts, and cooperation of those who are professionals and specialists in the field of health and medicine. As one example of what state government has accomplished with your help, ninety-nine counties now have health offices, as compared with seventy-eight counties three years ago. Since January 1, 1960, health centers have been constructed in nineteen counties. A total of sixty-six counties are now served by these centers.

How best to make available the services performed by state government to the individual who needs them has always been a problem. Most public health services at the state level reach the individual citizen through local health departments. Recently, we have taken an administrative step which I believe will facilitate a better flow of services to citizens through local health departments.

We reduced the number of administrative divisions in the state Department of Health from thirty-four to six and placed the responsibility of dealing with local health departments directly in the office of the commissioner of health. By reducing the number of administrative divisions, we hope to effect a reduction in costs and improve the quality of services. By combining the responsibility for local activities in the commissioner of health's office, we hope to improve our working relation with local health departments and thereby provide better services.

There has long been a need to consolidate the health and welfare activities of state government into a functional arrangement that would best serve the citizens of Kentucky. Therefore, by authority of the 1962 General Assembly, I created a Health and Welfare Agency in hopes that it may accomplish the following:

- 1) We need to bring together the four departments and four com-

missions whose services are in the same general field and whose functions are interrelated and in some areas overlapping. If this can be accomplished, and we are making progress, unnecessary duplications of functions and activities will be reduced and serious gaps in the program services avoided.

2) As important as the administrative improvements and safeguards might be, there are other aspects of the agency concept which have far greater meaning and relevance to all concerned with the health of Kentuckians. The rapid and dynamic advances of medical science have made it absolutely essential that governmental programs be structured to handle the problems of the present and future and not the past. The agency organizational structure provides this flexibility of action.

3) The agency structure helps to facilitate the wishes of the people. It is fairly easy to pass legislation, but the implementation is another matter. Even after plans are developed and objectives formulated, it is necessary that they be put into effect and followed through before any concrete benefits can be realized. Through the agency structure, decisions can be reached regarding the best means for implementing new or alternate programs, including methods of financing, staffing patterns, and program techniques. This involves, in many cases, realignment of functions of various departments and commissions, through shifts in emphasis, as well as initiation of new activities.

4) But most important, the agency system helps to insure that the individual taxpayer gets the most out of his tax dollar. The most dynamic accomplishment of the administration in meeting the needs of our aging citizens has taken place here in Jefferson County. This past summer the state traded the old Health Department Building on Third Street for the Waverly Hills Tuberculosis Sanatorium, which was owned by Louisville and Jefferson County.

We have allotted \$289,328 for the conversion of the Waverly Hills property to a geriatrics center. Waverly Hills is now leased to the nonprofit Kentucky Geriatrics Foundation, Inc., and is being operated by the foundation. The incorporators are outstanding civic leaders who have a genuine interest in aiding the aging population. Incidentally, the state investment in renovating the property will be repaid by the foundation in future years.

The Waverly Hills project is a unique undertaking. It marks our first attempt to spur the development of community facilities for the aging from the state level. It's an endeavor we plan to see continued.

The most basic accomplishment of this administration in meeting

the needs of our elderly citizens for actual nursing homes is being provided by the state's Medical Assistance program under the federal Kerr-Mills legislation.

Beginning the first of the year, the state will provide funds for the actual cost of nursing home care in high standard facilities up to a maximum of 120 days. In conjunction with the nursing home program, the state is undertaking to remove from our mental hospitals those persons who have been committed primarily because of old age and a high degree of senility. Those removed will be placed in more suitable homes for the aging. Most of them will be eligible to receive monthly public assistance payments.

The most practical accomplishment in meeting the nursing home and personal care home needs of our older citizens was the establishment by legislation last spring of a loan fund for the construction of these facilities. The fund totals \$150,000. Any citizen or group can apply for a loan to build a nursing or personal care home. Loans are limited, however, to \$10,000 or 25 percent of the total cost of the structure, whichever is lowest. The loans are made at 3 percent interest. We are now accepting applications for loans and are hopeful that this fund will spur the development of nursing and personal care facilities.

During my remaining year in office, I have promised to devote much of my energy to the solution of the nursing home-personal home care program. We are now developing a package that can be distributed statewide to encourage the development of these facilities. We plan to include in the package full statements on the planning, construction, and operation of nursing and personal care homes. The package will explain the costs and financial advantages of operating the homes. These four projects — Waverly Hills, Medical Assistance, construction loans, and an information package — comprise our basic program in this vital area.

The Kerr-Mills medical program provides for the payment of medical care to public assistance recipients and to another group over age sixty-five who can qualify as medically indigent. Since the beginning of this program in July 1960, a total of \$6,062,039 has been paid for physician, dental, pharmacist, and hospital services to the needy in Kentucky. Of this amount, \$1,472,749 has been paid to physicians, \$245,013 to dentists, \$1,362,829 to pharmacists, and \$2,981,448 to hospitals. According to current payments, this is at an annual rate of \$1,166,318 for physicians, \$198,762 for dentists, \$1,167,146 for pharmacists, and \$2,321,496 for hospitals.

The program for high-standard nursing homes, starting January 1,

will provide first-class nursing and medical care for our needy citizens. Payments will be made for the actual daily cost of such care not to exceed 25 percent above the average cost for these high criteria homes. The maximum number of days are not to exceed 120.

The licensed nursing home program in Kentucky now provides 3,451 beds. No figures are available on the number of patients. Seven new nursing homes were constructed in the first nine months of 1962 providing 322 beds. Seven buildings were converted to nursing homes during the same period of time providing 177 beds. These are included in the total count of 3,451. Seven additional nursing homes are now under construction. Plans have been approved for the construction of ten additional nursing homes within the next twelve months. Those under construction and approved for construction will provide an additional total of 1,249 beds which, when added to the present 3,451, will total 4,700.

In addition to the licensed nursing homes, there are now 217 licensed homes for the aged and infirm with a total capacity of 5,587.

Appropriations to the Department of Health have been increased 38 percent in the last three years and special attention has been given to mental health, mental retardation, the Commission for Handicapped Children, Tuberculosis Hospital Commission, and to specific areas such as radiological health and alcoholism.

Let us touch on these other activities in Jefferson County. The relations of the Division of Environmental Health, of the state Department of Health, with Jefferson County have been gratifying. Many services are rendered to the county and to Louisville on both a direct and consultative basis. They include the areas of food inspection, general sanitation, occupational health, sewage facilities and treatment.

The Division of Environmental Health shared in the air-pollution study of Louisville's West End. I am considering the advisability of establishing an air-pollution program at the state level which would be beneficial to local districts. In radiological health, the state licenses and inspects isotope users in both medicine and industry in Jefferson County. The state also works with the local health department in mosquito control and regulation of plumbing practices. There is continued emphasis on increasing the standards of care in the state mental hospitals, and we are moving forward into community-based mental health programs. A rehabilitation center is now under construction at the Central State Hospital. It will have thirty-eight beds and will cost in excess of \$1 million.

The state, since taking over Waverly Hills will use part of the

property as a facility for the mentally retarded. The state also has taken over the Outwood Veterans Administration facility at Dawson Springs and has placed into operation the state's second institution for the mentally retarded. More than thirty-five patients already have been transferred to Outwood from the overcrowded Kentucky Training Home in Frankfort. A total of 500 patients are expected to be transferred to Outwood within the next year.

The death rate from tuberculosis has dropped from 1,073 in 1950, when the state opened five new TB hospitals, to 283 in 1961. The number of cases of TB per 100,000 population declined from 125.2 in 1950 to 38 in 1960.

The number of cases reported, however, is now increasing. We believe this is due not to an increase in tuberculosis but to a better case-finding job by private physicians, the state Health Department, general hospitals and clinics, and the state tuberculosis hospitals. The estimated number of cases reported in 1962 will total about 1,540, an increase of almost 400 over 1960.

Thanks to the sales tax, the general fund appropriations to the state Tuberculosis Hospital Commission is now 55 percent higher than it was before adoption of the sales tax.

The commission also has increased from eighteen to twenty-five the number of physicians employed by the state TB hospitals and has raised their salaries approximately 25 percent.

The most significant recent development in the fight against tuberculosis has been the establishment of field outpatient clinics by the TB Hospital Commission. In the last two years the number of clinics has been increased from two to twenty-nine.

The University of Kentucky Medical Center has accepted broad responsibilities. Even though members of the Jefferson County Medical Society may not be closely involved with the clinical program of the center, I feel you stand to benefit greatly from this new facility. The center accepted responsibility to help improve health services throughout the Commonwealth, as well as to educate professional health workers. I submit to you that anything the new University of Kentucky Medical Center can do to improve the health of our people in a manner which is professionally sound enhances the prestige and representation of the medical profession.

I congratulate the members of your society for the help you have accorded the Kentucky Commission on Handicapped Children, which has its headquarters in Louisville. In the 1961-1962 fiscal year, a total of 8,097 crippled or otherwise physically handicapped children received medical care and treatment through the commission's

program. This was an increase of 918 children over the previous year. During the last year, 18,435 examinations were given in outpatient diagnostic clinics in twenty-four locations. Because of an increase in appropriations, the commission spent \$1,517,474 during the year — or \$121,000 more than the previous year.

I have noted the discussions regarding additional financial participation by the state in the University of Louisville Medical School. The state has been contributing \$500,000 a year since 1956.

Kentucky long has been proud of the University of Louisville and its medical school. For a long time it was our only medical school, striving to cope with our state's need for more doctors. Now that we have a second medical school in Kentucky, that does not lessen our obligation to the first. Both of them must be first-rate. We cannot afford to have a second-rate medical school in Kentucky.

We must do what is necessary to keep the University of Louisville Medical School a first-rate institution. It has been suggested that \$18.5 million would be adequate for the medical school's expansion. It further has been suggested that the federal government would provide \$12.5 million, or more than two-thirds, of this amount. There is a question, however, that the federal government could or would participate to this extent. The University of Kentucky Medical Center cost \$27 million. The federal government put up \$10 million, or a little over one-third.

It also has been suggested that the state contribute \$2 million a year for operating expenses of the University of Louisville Medical School. I need not tell you that in addition to the financial questions, there are serious constitutional questions about the state's ability to participate to the extent outlined. The constitutional question could well be an escape hatch for anyone wishing to inject the subject into the political arena.

I think that a delegation from the University of Louisville and anyone else interested should sit down with responsible state officials and, first, give us your best judgment of what it will take to maintain the University of Louisville Medical School as a first-rate institution and, second, discuss with us how best these objectives can be achieved. Certainly, the best legal and financial talent available will be needed to resolve the questions. I assure you that we will contribute the best we have. Then, we will take whatever steps are necessary to keep the University of Louisville Medical School a first-rate institution.

I think we have made progress toward meeting the public health needs of Kentuckians. But we can agree, I believe, that much remains

to be done, both in further development of existing programs and in the addition of new programs. Meanwhile, there are some who say we are attempting to do too much. And there are those who would apply the scalpel to the financial resources now committed to existing programs. It doesn't make sense that we should cut any of the arteries supplying the lifeblood of programs such as health, education, highways, mental retardation, and industrial development and expect the patient to survive.

We can't have a proper health program — much less attempt to meet the new needs pressing upon us — without adequate revenue, and this includes the sales tax. If we should exempt certain items from the sales tax — with a sharp reduction in its revenue — and still have the patient survive, obviously we must turn to other sources of income to make up the difference. Where shall we go for that other income? Increase the income tax? Increase property taxes, or apply the sales tax to services, just as many other states have done? Kentucky cannot go forward with less revenue.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
PARDON OF HARRY STUART
Frankfort / December 21, 1962

WHEREAS, Harry Stuart was removed from the office of chief of police of Campbell County by executive order dated January 20, 1962; and

WHEREAS, KRS 63.990 provides that any peace officer so removed from office shall be disqualified from holding any office in this state for a period of four years;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, BERT COMBS, governor of the Commonwealth, by virtue of the power vested in me by section 77 of the constitution, do hereby and now pardon Harry Stuart and restore all civil rights which were denied him by the penalty in KRS 63.990.

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS
ON STUART'S PARDON
Frankfort / December 21, 1962

I HAVE today restored to Harry Stuart all civil rights which were taken from him by reason of his removal from office by my executive order of January 20, 1962. My reasons are these: 1) Stuart's ouster was ordered to attain certain results, to attack an intolerable situation which could only be corrected by positive action; 2) While Stuart was guilty of neglect of duty, he was in part a victim of circumstance and a product of a vicious system; 3) The commissioner who heard the case found extenuating circumstances in Stuart's favor; 4) Stuart had paid sufficient penalty for his neglect of duty and he should not further be deprived of the right to earn a livelihood for himself and his family; 5) Many of Stuart's fellow citizens have recommended that his civil rights be restored.

I realize this order will be the subject of criticism, as was the ouster order. In response to such criticism I can only say that I exercised my best judgment in ordering Mr. Stuart's ouster, and I am now exercising my best judgment in restoring to him his civil rights.

BLUEGRASS KIWANIS CLUB
Education in Kentucky
Lexington / January 24, 1963

INFORMED Kentuckians know that we have made substantial progress in education in the last three years. Even so, the 1960 census shows that the educational level of Kentucky's population over age fourteen was the lowest in the nation. The median educational level of Kentuckians is 8.9 years of schooling. The people of Mississippi and West Virginia — the next two lowest states in the nation — attained 9.1 years of school.

Dr. Frank Rose¹ in a speech here in Lexington last Tuesday expressed grave concern about our failure to properly educate the youth of Kentucky and America. To quote Dr. Rose, "No nation can

afford the luxury of educating less than one-third of its youth and hope to attain the leadership of the world." Bobby Kennedy² in the last issue of *U.S. News and World Report* listed education as perhaps this nation's greatest domestic problem. An editorial in today's *Lexington Herald* points out that unless we can better educate our youth and keep them in Kentucky, we are destined to become a backward state.

When the 1960 legislature enacted a tax program sufficient to provide a more adequate appropriation for education, it was agreed among most leaders in the field that first things should be first and immediate attention should be given to elementary and secondary schools. Consequently the bulk of additional money which has been provided for education has been spent at the elementary and secondary level.

The university and state colleges have done an excellent job of improvising and squeezing the last drop out of the funds available, but due to the great increase in the number of students they have barely managed to stand still. More than \$33.3 million of bonds have been issued by the university and the five state colleges to finance construction of new classrooms and dormitories. This is in addition to capital construction funds which have been provided by the General Assembly.

Despite this monumental effort, the university and state colleges are in danger of being overrun by the legions of new students. A total of 9,524 freshmen enrolled at UK and the state colleges last fall. This is an increase of 4,250 entering students — or 80 percent — in the last six years. Since 1956 our state-supported institutions of higher learning have admitted 45,178 freshmen.

More than 50,000 students are now enrolled in all Kentucky universities and colleges, and they are expected to increase to approximately 70,000 by 1970.

The college enrollment analysts call it a "tidalwave." That it is, and the waves are still coming. Mind you, these are youngsters who can afford to go to college.

Now, how about the uncounted thousands of qualified young men and women in Kentucky who want to go to college and can't afford it? There are many reasons — moral, practical, and otherwise — why we should place a college education within their reach.

For one, let us consider this paradox: There is a large segment of youth who, with their parents, are helping pay for college educations which they don't receive. Through taxes they support colleges serving the more fortunate young men and women who can afford higher

education. We are correcting this inequity with the community colleges situated within easy commuting distance of those citizens, young and adult, who can't afford to go away to college.

Kentucky's community college system began developing in 1948 when the university established an off-campus two-year college, or university extension center, at Covington. Nine years later a second center was opened at Ashland. Another was opened at Fort Knox in 1958. In that same year the General Assembly provided for additional centers at Cumberland and Henderson. The 1960 General Assembly added another at Elizabethtown.

The 1960 legislature also set up the Commission on the Study of Public Higher Education and directed it to make a thorough study of Kentucky's needs for additional two-year colleges. This commission reported that "whatever the cost of higher education, the price must be paid if democracy is to survive." It recommended expansion of the two-year college system for several reasons, including: a) to put higher education within the financial reach of more Kentuckians; b) to encourage more high school graduates to go on to college; c) to ease the pressure, caused by increasing enrollments, on the state's four-year institutions of higher learning; d) to reduce the financial burden of building dormitories at the university and state colleges, and e) to increase the supply of college-trained technicians and other specialists required by Kentucky's expanding industrial and agricultural economy.

The 1962 General Assembly reorganized our structure of two-year institutions of higher learning, set up the community college system under the University of Kentucky, and authorized four more such schools: at Somerset, Hopkinsville, Prestonsburg, and either Blackey or Hazard.

There was sound precedent for Kentucky's entry into the field of community or junior colleges. In 1930 there were 178 junior colleges in the United States. Today there are more than 680, attended by some 900,000 students, or approximately one-fourth of all students enrolled in college. The Kellogg Foundation reports that soon the community colleges will enroll 50 percent of all who enter college for the first time. Two reasons for this growth are the rising costs of attending a four-year college and the savings to parents, both as taxpayers and as individuals.

A North Carolina commission reports that it costs less to provide space in two-year local colleges than to build dormitories and other facilities in four-year institutions. A community college of 400 to 600 students can save taxpayers about \$1.5 million for dormitories alone.

And parents, by sending their children to a college in or near their home community, can save on room and board.

Now, what about the effect of community colleges on the University of Kentucky? Frankly, I believe the university will profit from them. The two-year colleges, by the nature of their geography, will bring the university closer to the people.

There will be other benefits, too. Dr. R. D. Johnson³ of the university believes community colleges will inspire their graduates to work toward a four-year degree. That, of course, would cause an upsurge in junior and senior year enrollments at the university and other colleges.

The question has been raised whether a community otherwise entitled to a community college should be required to finance its establishment. My answer is: no, if the college is justified. The community, however, should be required to demonstrate a tangible interest in the college and its success.

Land for the community colleges at Covington, Henderson, Cumberland, and Elizabethtown was donated to the Commonwealth by the communities, local citizens, or benefactor corporations. The Fort Knox facilities are provided on loan by the federal government. The site for the Prestonsburg College is being purchased jointly by the state and local citizens. The local people are putting up \$92,030. At Ashland, the state leases facilities from the city Board of Education.

The Commission on the Study of Public Higher Education said that the cost of "maintaining, operating, and building junior colleges should be borne primarily by the state." The commission reasoned that since the university and state colleges are maintained by the state, "it would constitute double taxation for persons living in areas served by the junior colleges to have to contribute additional money for the support of these institutions."

The overwhelming evidence is on the side of the two-year community colleges. They have proved their worth throughout the nation, and they are doing it in Kentucky. There will be some adjustment problems, of course, but these will be solved.

Among the staunch advocates of community colleges is the Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South,⁴ composed of distinguished educators and laymen representing sixteen southern states. The commission two years ago recommended: "Each state should develop a strong system of two-year community colleges." The commission found that "the community college is economical for both student and taxpayer. It can be a vital force in the community."

Then the commission eloquently summed up its plea for better education in which community colleges play an important role. The commission stated: "We must educate our youth for life in a vast unknown future. Greater change has already occurred in our lifetime than in nearly all the previous generations of man taken together, and the pace of change is quickening.

"The hour is late for southern higher education. The gap to be overcome is substantial, but the opportunities which beckon are great. Let us pursue them with all the strength and courage and determination at our command."

1. Frank Anthony Rose (1920–), president, Transylvania College (1951–1957); president, University of Alabama (1957–1971); chairman of board of General Computing Corporation, member board of control executive committee of Southern Regional Education Board (1971–); born in Meridian, Mississippi, and resides in Alexandria, Virginia. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1971–1972*, 12th ed. (Chicago, 1971), p. 528.

2. Robert Francis Kennedy (1925–1968), United States attorney general (1961–1964); United States senator from New York (1965–1968); born in Boston, and resided in Washington, D.C. *Who's Who in America, 1968–1969*, 35th ed. (Chicago, 1968), p. 1192.

3. Raymond Dudley Johnson (1915–), member, University of Kentucky faculty (1952–); dean, university extension, associate professor of education (1964); born in Sparta, Tennessee, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1972–1973*, 37th ed. (Chicago, 1972), p. 1610.

4. The commission was established by the Southern Regional Education Board and reported its findings to Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina, then chairman of SREB, in November 1961. *Within Our Reach: Report of the Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South* (Atlanta, Ga., 1961).

LINCOLN TRAIL TRAVEL CONFERENCE

Indianapolis, Indiana / February 13, 1963

If Mary Todd Lincoln¹ had not put her foot down, we would have a bigger job on our hands in this conference today. Instead of laying out a trail from Kentucky through Indiana to Illinois, we would be

planning a transcontinental route to the West Coast. You may recall that after Lincoln completed a term in Congress in 1849, he was offered the governorship of the new territory of Oregon. He was sorely tempted to accept, but his wife said "no," and Lincoln yielded to her wishes.

We from Kentucky are grateful for this opportunity to participate in a project that will enable the people of these United States to learn more about the great man who was born in our state, rose to manhood in Indiana, and achieved immortal fame while a resident of Illinois. It is appropriate in our particular time, when other peoples are throwing off the shackles of slavery to create new nations and enjoy the liberties of free men, that we should be undertaking a project that will further perpetuate the memory of the world's greatest mortal emancipator.

If our dreams materialize into the Lincoln Trail, millions of Americans can follow it to such shrines as his birthplace in Hodgenville, Kentucky, where he lived for eight years; to the Pigeon Creek region of Indiana, where he lived from eight to twenty-one and first quenched his insatiable thirst for knowledge; to Springfield, Illinois, where he took up the law and entered politics; and to Peoria, Illinois, the scene of his famous speech against slavery which projected him along the road to the presidency.

And let us be frank. In honoring Lincoln in this manner, we shall be honoring our states which created him, and we also shall be helping ourselves. I need not tell you that the tourist industry is important to our states. Last year out-of-state tourists spent \$205 million in Kentucky.

In Kentucky we have much to interest the folk from other states, just as you of Indiana and you of Illinois possess. We are engaged in a tremendous program of improvements to make our state even more attractive to visitors. We are building highways, including interstate freeways and four-lane toll roads, at the greatest pace in our history. Last year we improved more miles of highway than any state except Texas. We are spending \$20 million on a state parks expansion program. We are beautifying our highways and parks and last year became the first state to win the national "Keep America Beautiful" award.

But we need more than good highways, nice parks, playgrounds, and theaters. We need to call the public's attention to our other attractions, such as the Lincoln shrines and the burial place of Daniel Boone, which we have in Frankfort. That is the purpose of the Lincoln Trail, which is designed to touch in Indiana, Illinois, and Ken-

tucky all the historic sites identified with Abraham Lincoln. Through this trail we can bring history alive for the visitor.

Kentucky will be proud to work with Indiana and Illinois in designating and promoting the approximately 1,000 miles of highways which can serve to give all Americans a greater appreciation of Abraham Lincoln and his role in holding together our nation and laying the foundation for its greatness.

1. Mary Todd Lincoln (1818–1882), wife of Abraham Lincoln; born in Lexington, Kentucky, and resided in Springfield, Illinois. *Who Was Who in America*, Historical Volume, 1607–1896 (Chicago, 1963), p. 315.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE
FOR BROTHERHOOD
The Death of Segregation
Chicago / February 24, 1963

To make brotherhood week more than a mere festive occasion, we must live by the tenets which make up Christian brotherhood. Unless we live by those principles, our voices are no more than sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

Equality and cooperation are the lamps of civilization. As civilized people, then, we Americans must accept the challenge and lead the way. We must light the torch of freedom for oppressed people, both at home and all over the world. Only by so doing will our nation become equipped to take its rightful place in the vanguard of the present world liberation movement. And only in this manner can America truly become a contributing part of those great revolutionary and liberating forces which are more powerful than atomic fission.

One of the tragedies of America is that the whole universe knows firsthand that while America attempts to provide food, comfort, and protection for most of the distant peoples of the world, it still refuses to provide here at home the most vital of all constitutional rights — first-class citizenship for everyone. But the time has come when the

opponents of decency and right must recognize the inevitability of change. We stand at the dawn of a new day, on a new path toward full citizenship and personal dignity. At the beginning of our great nation, Americans assumed a mortgage on their freedom. World Wars I and II were interest installments. The Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955,¹ and all of America's great achievements, scientifically and technologically, were interest payments. But we are still behind on the principal. It is now time for everybody, every state to pay up, and the most delinquent of all are those who still persist in opposing law and order. No longer can America carry the total burden of freedom without reforming or dispossessing those delinquents. No longer can we be silent about those who would control our house and not contribute to its upkeep.

Government, be it at the national level or the state level, should heed the admonition of Washington, who said, "The government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

In this day and time, freedom has become more than an academic word. It is no longer sufficient merely to talk and write of the ingredients of the good life and the dignity of man. In this grave hour in which you and I are privileged to live, fraught paradoxically with great peril and great promise, the value and durability of full citizenship rights are to be found more in our actions than our words.

Like the blind man who touched the elephant, freedom is many things to many people. However, in the final analysis, it is a matter of choice. It is a choice between right and wrong, between good and evil, between doing or not doing, between going forward or backward. We make progress in proportion to our ability to make the right choices in the marketplace of life.

A world unfinished and broken must be made whole. If American freedom is to live, then all segregation must die. There is no more important or basic advance that our country needs than complete liberation of all of our citizens, and the granting of their privilege "of freedom to be free."

Tonight, I particularly salute my Negro fellow citizens, both in my own state and across the nation on this the centennial of their emancipation from slavery. As governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, the birth state of the Great Emancipator, I believe that while President Lincoln began a noble task 100 years ago, it still remains unfinished.

Our state and nation will never realize their full potential until every man is privileged to enjoy all the great privileges of democracy.

It is time now for those of us in states like Kentucky, as well as all others, to supply modern extensions to the Emancipation Proclamation. In the words of Lincoln, "The dogmas of the quiet past are not sufficient for these troublesome times. As our case is new, so must we think anew."

We must see to it that there are no second-class citizens in America. We must subdue all forces that would destroy by violence, and master by fear, the mind, soul, and bodies of the underprivileged. America is richer today for the advancement the Negro has won. And our society is more mature for what it has had to learn in granting him, all too slowly, his freedom. But yet the task ahead poses significant challenges.

As we embark upon the second century following the Emancipation, we observe that there are more forces working for the realization of civil rights for all Americans than ever before in history. And we of the South are happy to report that there are fewer resistant states than ever before, with the number dwindling to only a few. Much of the credit for this progress must go to the Negro himself, because he has demonstrated a remarkable capacity to work with his white neighbors for their common benefit. The Negro must be given credit for having met the patriotic demands made upon him by his nation, all of which have required equal sacrifice in time of war and emergency, while at the same time the Negro was receiving unequal rewards.

In the South, our progress is slow and often painful, but it is steady and it is inevitable. But the problem of segregation is not limited to the South alone. The problem of racial segregation which pits the Negro at the bottom of everything is a national, not a sectional, one. I know of no northern city without its tensions and shame. This does not excuse the South, but rather points up the fact that nowhere in our nation is the Negro yet truly free to enjoy all the privileges of democracy. In the North, the issue is not one of resistance to law. It is *de facto* rather than *de jure*, but it is in the North that the last battle for equal rights may be fought in America. I refer to the hidden agreements that bar the minority citizen from housing outside the ghetto; the employment practices that often hold him in menial status; and the overburdened neighborhood schools which deprive him of an adequate education. These are the subtle forms of denial, the most difficult to eliminate.

The American Negro, while he seeks and has largely found identification with the mainstream of American life, has suffered more than any other Americans from occupational and technological dislo-

cations. Many of society's ills can be remedied only by the acceptance of responsibility and mutual cooperation to solve common problems. As you and I know, there are always those among us who pay only lip service to civil rights, tolerance, and brotherhood.

Brotherhood needs constant working-at all over America. There is much the Negro can do for himself. In Kentucky, for instance, in the 1960 presidential election, only 59 percent of the citizens of voting age cast a vote. The average for the United States was 64 percent. Illinois did remarkably well, comparatively, with 76 percent of the voting-age residents casting their ballots. But that is not the whole picture. A large percentage of our citizens of voting age do not even take the trouble to register. It is unfortunately true that in some communities, and I refer to those communities where Negroes are unhampered by voting restrictions, they do not take full advantage of the privilege to vote. In Louisville, for example, 44 percent of the white population was registered to vote last fall, but only 28.6 percent of the Negro population was registered.

We sometimes get the erroneous impression that only groups and organizations can correct social injustice. We forget that one dedicated person can sometimes move a mountain. William Jennings Bryan said, "The humblest citizen of all the land when clad in the armor of righteous cause is stronger than all the hosts of error."

I do not mean that we as individuals will always succeed in these endeavors, but I suggest this thought. It is better to be an outstanding failure than a mediocre do-nothing. In large part, it is the character of the effort, the trying itself, that determines the greatness of the individual. People who do not try anything difficult are the real failures. Life for them is the roll call of what might have been, a parade of untried opportunities.

We are more likely to succeed in our efforts to correct injustices if we deal from strength rather than from weakness. Americans, more than most people, respect strength. The American Negro can move faster toward economic and social equality by making himself strong at the polling place.

While President Lincoln by proclamation released the Negro from civil bondage, he left a great responsibility to the Americans who followed him. That responsibility, resting upon all of us, is to free ourselves of the bonds of prejudice which deny to the Negro his full citizenship rights.

Let us always remember that democracy is never static. It is a constantly moving force that challenges us to reach new and higher levels of achievement. There are many ways to meet the challenge of

leadership in interracial matters. But I suggest quite simply that we begin anew in our own hearts and minds to strive to treat every man as an individual and never judge anyone on a general sense. Let us become more thoroughly aware of the patterns of prejudice that yet exist on our jobs, in public accommodations, churches, in our neighborhood and nation and resolve to use our every influence to eradicate them.

Let us be willing to state intelligently and firmly at all times our own personal opposition to bigotry in all of its varied forms. Let us give to bigotry no sanction; to persecution no assistance. Let us never acquiesce in discrimination. Let each of us in this audience tonight make the choice for complete freedom not only for ourselves but also for our fellow citizens and human brothers all over the world. Making this choice will become easier if we realize that as the spiritual inheritors of all of civilization's past, we are not only the trustees of its glorious present, but we are the architects for its boundless future.

As the late Elmer Davis² once said, "Civilization is not what our ancestors have built, but our capacity to build intellectually and spiritually, as well as architecturally." Therefore the solution to the problems of brotherhood rests squarely on our own shoulders and our willingness to work full-time in quest of human dignity.

1. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 US 483, 1954. The decision of May 31, 1955, established the principle that desegregation must proceed with "all deliberate speed." 347 US 294, 1955.

2. Elmer Holmes Davis (1890–1958), writer; born in Aurora, Indiana, and resided in New York. *Who Was Who in America, 1951–1960* (Chicago, 1960), 3:211.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS
APPROPRIATIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. / February 28, 1963

I AM Bert Combs, governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. I am here to discuss with you the urgent economic needs of the people of southern and southeastern Kentucky, as well as of neighboring areas of Tennessee, and of the unusual opportunity for effective development of a new economy for this area. This opportunity centers primarily upon the dramatic economic impacts which would result from the construction of the Devils Jump Dam in McCreary County, Kentucky.¹

The creation of a great new dam and reservoir at Devils Jump — when added to all the development projects and programs we have working for this area — can be the trigger to the first really effective action for improvement this area has known. On the other hand, the development problems faced in this area are such that they will not be solved without massive key projects like Devils Jump.

We are, therefore, asking for your approval of the construction of the Devils Jump project because it is required to make our overall development program possible and effective in this area. We are also assuring you that our overall program of action will add to and multiply the factors of economic benefit of this project far in excess of any calculations expressed in the feasibility studies on which the present justification of the project is based. Finally, it is my hope that you can share with me the recognition of the urgent necessity for quick action on the major measures required to meet the problems of some of our most severely distressed and underdeveloped areas.

As governor of Kentucky for the past three years, I have worked with an administration of state government which has had as its major objective the creation of a concentrated program of development actions adequate to come to grips, for the first time, with the real problems of our people. By the term *development* we, in Kentucky, are referring to much more than the location of industry or the improvement of farm income or the attraction of tourists. We are referring to the kinds of action, in any or all of our programs, which will help our people to overcome long-standing problems — basic

problems of education, highways, water resources, public health, community facilities, and all the other problems which have for too long stood in the way of progress.

In our Kentucky program we have recognized that our development progress depends on the total effort. We know that we cannot gain more jobs and higher incomes until we have solved these basic problems and created a climate in which private enterprise can operate effectively. In many areas, the most heroic efforts of local people to help themselves will have little success unless some things can be accomplished which are beyond the capacity of local efforts. To create a situation in which all actions can begin to be effective, a maximum and unusual effort will be required of federal, state, and local, and both public and private, interests.

For these reasons, every state program in Kentucky has been geared to bring about a special effort to overcome our unusual problems, the ones that have been called impossible for a long time. For instance, our problems in education in Kentucky exceeded those of most all the states in 1960. Yet, since then, the percentage of improvement in per capita education expenditures, in teachers' salaries, and in school construction have generally been first among all the states.

We have instituted special new programs in education, especially geared to the development objective. Kentucky is on its way to being the first state with a complete statewide educational TV network. We have established a special adult education program. And our nationally recognized vocational education program has been greatly expanded and improved. We revamped our entire revenue program to make these breakthrough gains possible in education and in other fields.

Highway building on Kentucky's varied terrain is difficult and expensive. For years it has been considered impossible to finance and construct adequate highways in certain parts of our state, especially the mountain areas. Not only have we now taken special action to complete a major four-lane turnpike into the heart of eastern Kentucky's underdeveloped mountain areas, but we are extending this road, a toll facility, virtually the entire east-west length of the state. Beyond that, we have so accelerated our entire highway construction program, that last year we had more miles of highways under construction than any other state except Texas.

In addition to these examples dealing with the key factors of education and highways, we have set many other special programs to action. Our state parks system, geared to our tourist industry, is

undergoing a more than \$20 million expansion. We have initiated a special small lakes construction program; our airport construction program has been greatly accelerated; we have doubled our program for forestry conservation and utilization; we have started a \$10 million geological survey and mapping program; and we have more than doubled our overall economic and industrial development program. In each of the last two years, our Kentucky program of economic development has been cited by the American Society of Industrial Realtors as being one of the three best state development programs in the nation.

In all these activities — and I could add to the list — certain factors are worthy of your attention. First, each of these special efforts deals with those big problems that have for a long time stopped us from development. Secondly, in every program, we have built in every possible factor to stimulate and aid local self-help action. Thirdly, while we have needed federal aid in many fields — and we have utilized federal programs wherever possible — we have not waited for federal aid. We have pushed our state programs to our maximum capacity in every possible way.

I recount our state effort, not to compare “our part” with the contribution of the federal government. My purpose, at the same time I stress the urgency of your approval of the Devils Jump project, is to outline for you the basis upon which your investment in Devils Jump will accrue maximum benefits and will trigger an entire range of action to meet the real problems of our people.

I know that you are aware of the intense level of distress and underdevelopment which plagues the people of several areas of our state. I won't recount the unfortunate statistics of this distress in great detail, except to remind you that there are a number of counties in Kentucky where the rates of unemployment and underemployment, the low level of personal income, the scarcity of job opportunities, and the lack of basic community and regional facilities essential to development are more severe than in any other areas of the nation.

While there are areas of our state where our development actions are paying off, jobs are increasing, and income levels are rising; there are large areas where all our current work will have all too little results unless we can see additional major projects in action.

A substantial portion of Kentucky — including the Devils Jump area — lies within the Appalachian region which is recognized as one of the most seriously distressed and underdeveloped regions of the nation. As a key element in our development program in Ken-

tucky, we have recognized the necessity to work with other states and the federal government to provide for the greatest possible attack on major problems suffered in common by regions which lie across state lines. We have engaged in several multistate efforts, but probably in none more significant than the program of the Conference of Appalachian Governors. I served as chairman of this conference for its first two years of activity. Governor Wallace Barron² of West Virginia is now our chairman and, under his leadership, we are continuing our program in which we have placed first priority on the need for creation of major transportation and water resource development facilities in the underdeveloped areas of the region. We regard these factors as equalled only by improved education as priority elements in a necessary foundation for economic opportunity in this region.

I might point out, in passing, that my knowledge of the real problems of eastern Kentucky and the Appalachian region goes further than my experience as governor or as chairman of the Appalachian conference. As you may know, I am a native of eastern Kentucky — the first Kentucky governor from this area since the late twenties. My birthplace, while not in the immediate Devils Jump area, is not too many miles from there.

As one who knows, I would like to stress for you that no statistics, nor any narrative of words, can account to you for either the real need of our people for sensible help, or of their intense desire for an opportunity in which they could more effectively help themselves.

I might mention here just one statistic which you may not have heard, and which both appalls and encourages me. In this Appalachian area of Kentucky, more than 45 percent of the people are of less than eighteen years in age. To deny these young people real opportunity for self-development is tragic and appalling. But in recognizing that these young people are there, no one can deny that there is real opportunity and hope to develop this region, given the right tools for the job.

But now that I have talked with you about the problems of this area and the program we have set to deal with it, let me discuss some aspects of the Devils Jump project with its great importance to our situation.

I find some most unusual features of this project which place it in an almost singular position among such projects in terms of its development impact. I will not take your time with a recounting of technical details concerning the dam's construction and the several specific contributions it will make. I am sure these have been

adequately detailed for you in other testimony. I would like, instead, to enumerate these unusual features which, it seems to me, will provide benefits beyond those given specific value in the cost-benefit ratio now assigned to this project.

The Devils Jump site is located directly in the Cumberland National Forest area. A substantial portion of the beautiful, rugged, mountainous forestland around the site is government-owned. Little, if any, of the moderate amount of private land in the area to be flooded is inhabited or is in any productive use today. It encompasses no commercial farms, no towns, no railroads, no state or federal roads. The major resource of the area is timber, and while that portion of the timber to be inundated would be salvaged by the cutoff, the remaining vast timber acreage, much of it virgin, would be enhanced in value and utility by the availability of water supply and transportation on the reservoir.

This situation poses a unique set of opportunities related to the development of this project because: 1) There would be a minimum of inconveniences to people — no homesteads or towns to move; 2) No development would be lost; 3) Few resources would be lost; 4) Both the timber and recreation resources of this area, and thus its human resources, as well, would be unlocked for realization in sound development, made possible by the project; 5) An unparalleled opportunity would be established, with the combination of big water, big timber, and access to a true wilderness area — all under existing resource management programs — to develop a major conservation and recreation area; 6) An outstanding fish and wildlife habitat would be enhanced within this program; 7) The area — already developing as an important tourist area — would be able to utilize this new asset as a final foundation for new economic growth in the tourist industry supporting nearby towns.

Thus, this project is one uniquely characterized by almost all positive and no negative factors. It can mean virtually everything to the creation of a new opportunity for the people of this area. It becomes almost a go or no-go basis for a program which could allow these people to become productive in keeping with their potential to contribute to, and to enjoy, the standard of living expected by most Americans today. This is not a stopgap or a giveaway. It is not a temporary measure to provide short-term employment. It is a permanent investment in an essential facility for productive long-term development and benefit to the area and to the nation.

I hope that you will give special consideration to all the factors by which this project is justified under any criteria, but especially to

these unusual benefits and to the unusual need which places this project in a class by itself. Your approval will be most appreciated and rewarded.

1. Neither house of Congress approved the project. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 22, 1963.

2. William Wallace Barron (1911–), governor of West Virginia (1961–1964); born in Elkins, West Virginia, and resides in Charleston, West Virginia. *Who's Who in America, 1972–1973*, 37th ed. (Chicago, 1972), p. 168.

FRANK PETERSON CASE

Lexington / March 4, 1963

SECTION 81 of the Kentucky Constitution provides that the governor "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

KRS 164.130 provides that the governor shall be chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University of Kentucky.

KRS 164.130 (3) provides that no member of the administrative staff of the Board of Trustees shall be directly or indirectly interested in a contract with the university for the sale of property, materials, supplies, equipment, or services. This statute became effective March 25, 1960.

I consider it my duty to apprise you of certain business concerns in which it appears that Dr. Frank Peterson,¹ secretary of the board and vice president of the university, has had a financial interest.

1. Dr. Peterson owned stock in Hart's Bachelor Laundry from January 1950 to April 1956. This concern did some business with the university during that period. There is some evidence that Dr. Peterson used his university position and influence to have the university buy soap and detergents and then have the university sell them to Hart's Bachelor Laundry.

2. Real estate transactions. Dr. Peterson has been vested with authority by the Board of Trustees to handle real estate transactions for the University of Kentucky. Dr. Peterson sold two pieces of real estate to the university in 1956. He sold a piece of property on Prall Street to the university on December 22, 1956, for \$1,000. Dr. Peter-

son bought this same piece of property just several months earlier for \$500. On January 26, 1956, Dr. Peterson sold the property at 338 Clifton Avenue to the university for \$14,000. He had bought this property in 1944 for approximately \$3,500.

On May 18, 1953, the university purchased part of Lot #10 in College View Subdivision for \$4,700. The people who sold that property to the university had bought it just eleven months previously for \$1,000. On October 11, 1951, the university purchased one-half of Lot #16, College View Subdivision, for \$3,600. The people who sold that one-half lot to the university bought it just two and one-half months previously for \$1,000.

On June 29, 1957, the university purchased Lot #114 in Clifton Heights Subdivision for \$12,200. The people who sold that lot and house to the university purchased it two and one-half years before for \$6,500. No major improvements were made to the property. That person is now employed by the university.

On June 5, 1951, the university purchased the property on 24 College View Avenue for \$4,300. The people who sold that property to the university bought it thirteen months previously for only \$1,500.

The university, on September 29, 1958, bought a house and lot on Linden Avenue for \$22,000. The people who sold the property to the university made a \$5,100 profit by holding the property one year. The improvements? He painted the house himself at a cost of \$300. He too, had been, and is, a person identified with the university.

On June 10, 1954, the university purchased parts of Lots #5 and #7 of College View Subdivision for \$11,000. The people who sold that piece of property to the university had bought it only twenty-three days earlier for \$9,000.

On October 30, 1957, the university bought parts of Lots #91 and #92 of Clifton Heights Addition for \$8,500. The people who sold this property to the university had bought it for \$6,500 just twenty-three days earlier.

The university purchased property at 162 Colfax Street on November 9, 1962, for \$2,100. The person who sold it to the university had bought it twenty-three days previously. Although no purchase price was mentioned in his deed, the affixed federal document stamps indicated he had paid \$2,000 for 162 Colfax. But a close search revealed that he had paid only \$1,200 for the property. Dr. Peterson, at the time, had no authority to purchase the property. The Board of Trustees was not apprised of this transaction at the November 16 or December 11 meetings, and the executive committee was apprised

only on January 19, 1963, the same day that transaction was being investigated.

3. General Tire Services, Inc. This corporation, in which Dr. Peterson owned stock and received money for services rendered as a "consultant," also did business with the university and with other departments of state government. As a "consultant" Dr. Peterson received \$1,800 per annum for each of the years of 1958, 1959, and 1960. And many vendors doing business with the university also did business with General Tire Services, Inc. I offer as example the case of Automatic Merchandising Company whose cigarette machines have been the only ones on campus for many years. This particular vending machine company, until Dr. Peterson sold his stock in 1961, bought its tires from General Tire Services, Inc.

4. Central Kentucky Enterprises, Inc. From 1955 until 1961, all candy, coffee, and snack-vending machines on campus were owned and operated by Central Kentucky Enterprises, Inc. Although this was, and is, a highly competitive business, no other company had machines of this type here at the university. No competitive bids were taken and the arrangement was by oral agreement with Dr. Peterson, although written contracts were later made assuring the university of a small percentage of the gross. I am informed the university received 10 percent of the gross. No clubs or student groups were allowed to bring in or own vending machines. The articles of incorporation of this company did not contain Dr. Peterson's name in any capacity. Yet, Mr. Marcus Trumbo,² the president of the corporation, has stated that the stock was evenly divided between him and his wife and Dr. Peterson and his wife. In 1958 Central Kentucky Enterprises paid Dr. Peterson \$6,500 as a "consultant fee." In 1959 the "consultant fee" to Dr. Peterson was \$7,900, and in 1960, \$2,300.

Central Kentucky Enterprises had on campus about 130 machines. In 1961 Dr. Peterson sold his stock in Central Kentucky Enterprises for \$72,284.95, taking a long-term capital gain of \$59,754.95. At its June 1962 meeting, this board directed that vending machines for coffee, snacks, and candy be let on competitive bids. I am informed that the university now receives 26 percent of the gross.

Dr. Harry Denham, Judge James Sutherland, and Dr. Lewis Cochran, members of this board, have heretofore been appointed as a committee to consider the information herein contained and to make recommendations to the board.³ I understand that this committee has met and that it has prepared a report to submit to the board.

Ever sensitive to the possibility that the tax program of 1960 might suffer rejection because of mismanagement or violation of public trust, Combs came down hard on the longtime manager of fiscal affairs at the University of Kentucky. Following presentation of these charges, the board voted 5-4 to suspend Peterson pending investigation by a New York firm specializing in university business transactions. In April the board filed a formal charge of misconduct against Peterson followed in August by abolition of his vice-presidential position and reduction in rank for him to that of associate professor. Peterson retired in 1964.

1. Frank D. Peterson (1899–), auditor and inspector school records and finance, Kentucky Department of Education (1924–1931); director of finance (1932–1935); director, Kentucky National Youth Administration (1935–1936); comptroller, director of the budget, deputy commissioner of finance of Kentucky (1936–1941); comptroller, University of Kentucky (1941–1955); treasurer, University of Kentucky (1941–1963); born in Lone Valley, Kentucky, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2552.

2. Marcus Elwood Trumbo (1909–), president, manager, Central Kentucky Enterprises, Inc. (1947–1961); senior vice president, director, Kentucky Family Security Insurance Company (1961–); born in Tollesboro, Kentucky, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1969–1970*, 11th ed. (Chicago, 1969), p. 1025.

3. Harry Clayton Denham (1918–), surgeon; member of Board of Trustees of University of Kentucky (1963–); member, Council on Higher Education; born in Vanceburg, Kentucky, and resides in Maysville, Kentucky. Hambleton Tapp, ed., *Kentucky Lives: The Blue Grass State Who's Who* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1966), pp. 133-34.

James Sutherland (1918–), member, Board of Trustees of University of Kentucky (1962–1966, 1973–1977); born in Chaplain, Kentucky, and resides in Bloomfield, Kentucky. Telephone interview with Board of Trustees office, University of Kentucky, Lexington, June 3, 1977.

Lewis Wellington Cochran (1915–), professor of physics at University of Kentucky (1957–); vice president, academic affairs, University of Kentucky (1970–); born in Perryville, Kentucky, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. *Leaders in Education*, 5th ed. (New York, 1974), p. 207.

FRANKFORT BUSINESS AND
PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUB
Public Participation in Public Affairs
Frankfort / March 4, 1963

I UNDERSTAND that the members of your organization engage in many activities in addition to promoting the best interests of business and professional women — activities such as the United Fund, the Heart Fund, lending money to deserving college students, and supplying linens to the Kennebec Hall Orphanage. This, in my opinion, is splendid. "Woman power," which you represent, can be applied effectively in undertakings where men would be strangers and less effective.

Kipling once said, "A woman's guess is much more accurate than a man's certainty." That is why this evening I would like to suggest other areas in which your special talents might be effectively and profitably applied, not only for your own benefit but for the benefit of those less talented than you.

Never before has there been greater need for more people to contribute their talents to public affairs. In the complex society of the space age, there is special need for educated and dedicated men and women to hold office, to help run government — local, state, and national — and help solve the many new and complicated problems which constantly are arising.

Frankly, one good reason for participating in public affairs is this: You owe it to yourself — for your own protection — to help shape the governmental decisions which intimately affect you and your family.

Edmund Burke once said: "All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing." If the educated person does not help make the important decisions which vitally influence the lives of all of us, the less qualified will decide them. Plato has logically warned us that "The punishment that the wise suffer who refuse to take part in government (or community affairs) is to live under the government of worse men."

I would like to suggest some guidelines which might be helpful in making the most effective use of the time and energy which you devote to public affairs.

1. Be independent. Don't label yourself either "liberal" or "conservative" just for the sake of liberalism or conservatism. Keep in

mind that no problem seldom involves merely distinguishing between black or white. Give your talents free rein to work out solutions free of enslaving dogmas and prejudices. Be at liberty to depart from the tenets of any organization to which you subscribe when you feel they are not consistent with what you consider is right.

2. Arrange, in order of importance, the list of public affairs in which you will participate. Don't take on the easier chores first. Give your primary attention to the biggest responsibilities.

3. Take sides on controversial questions. Those people who do not have the courage to stand up for what they know is right contribute to the problem rather than to the solution.

4. Be constructive in your criticism. Don't criticize unless you can offer a solution. A carping critic wastes his time and contributes nothing.

5. Be willing to sacrifice more of your personal time. The personal satisfaction you will derive from doing something for others will more than compensate you for the time taken from personal pleasures.

I am aware that many members of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs already are devoting their time and efforts to public affairs. An outstanding example is your former national president, Katherine Peden¹ of Hopkinsville. She is now working as the woman's chairman for one of the candidates for governor and doing a splendid job. We are proud of her and you have good reason to be proud of her.

I think that politics is changing, and for the better, because of the presence of dedicated women like Katie Peden. Thanks to the ladies, we are emerging from the traditional smoke-filled room, where too often important decisions, affecting the welfare of all our citizens, were arrived at in secret. By your example you can encourage other women to volunteer their services for public affairs.

Recently, a newspaper editor, writing in the *Kentucky School Journal*, chided the schoolteachers. He said that the teachers in almost every community constitute one of the best sources of brains for community action and planning, "yet in many communities seldom is this source ever tapped."

The editor observed that this situation hurts in two ways:

"1. It hurts the community, because some of its best minds are not brought to bear on community problems, and

"2. It hurts the schools, because the perpetual hiding of such talent fails to bring about a real appreciation of the teacher by the community."

The editor was not indicting the teachers so much as he was indicting the community for not calling on them more often. He just thought it was a shameful waste of good brains. But he insisted that the teachers project themselves more aggressively into community affairs.

I hasten to add that this fault is not confined to the teachers. It applies to every category of our society, including the lawyers, of which I am one. How many of us here today can conscientiously say that he gives, or has given, as much time as he reasonably can to public affairs? I believe that great opportunity for public service awaits you in Kentucky.

No one can read about Kentucky's low ranking in education, about the need for improving our care of the blind, the deaf, and the mentally retarded, about the necessity for relief of overcrowding in our prisons without wanting to pitch in and help to correct conditions. Women, I believe, can exercise a powerful force for good in all these areas.

We have made considerable progress in Kentucky; for example, in education, highway construction, expansion of state parks, development of new industry, and in the care of our less fortunate citizens. But we can make much more progress, and faster, with your help.

1. Katherine Graham Peden (1926–), member, Personnel Board of Kentucky (1960–1963); commissioner of commerce (1963–1967); Democratic nominee for the United States Senate (1968); born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, and resides in Louisville, Kentucky. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2529.

KENTUCKY HIGHWAY CONFERENCE

Kentucky's Best Highway Program

Lexington / March 5, 1963

THE function of the Department of Highways is to build and maintain roads. This is the department's purpose. This is its reason for being.

All other functions are secondary. What measure of success in this direction has been achieved in recent years?

I think the Department of Highways in particular and the highway industry in general can justly share a sense of pride and a sense of accomplishment as we review the events of the past three years. We can fairly say that this is the best highway program in the history of Kentucky. We can say that never has Kentucky seen such a vast program of road construction. But this is the pitch of the medicine man and the soothsayers. Let us depart from generalities. Let us deal in the specifics. There are those who can quarrel with the propaganda, but none can quarrel with the facts.

What are the facts?

1. In calendar 1960, the Kentucky Department of Highways invested more money in the construction of new highways than in any previous year. During 1960, more than \$122 million in construction contracts were awarded by the Department of Highways.

2. As good as the record was for 1960, the ensuing year of 1961 saw this record broken. For in calendar 1962, the year just completed, construction contracts which totaled almost \$157 million were let to contractors. The 1962 awards exceeded the 1961 record year by almost 30 percent, by almost \$35 million.

3. In the first three years of the current administration, almost \$95 million more has been awarded in construction contracts than was awarded in the entire four years of the previous administration.

4. Thirty-seven and one-half percent more dollars have gone into road construction during the first three years of this administration than in the entire four years of the previous administration. This should be proof positive that no effort was made during the current administration to hoard funds for an election year. Our program has not been one of famine and feast, but one in which available funds have been utilized as they became available each and every year.

Dollars alone do not tell the entire story. How does Kentucky's highway-building program compare to those in its neighboring states? How does Kentucky rank nationally? Again, let me give you the facts.

At the end of 1962:

1. Kentucky ranked first in the nation in miles of roads improved, financed entirely with its own money.

2. Kentucky ranked second in the nation in miles of highways improved through the use of all monies, both state and federal.

3. Kentucky ranked second in the nation in dollar volume of contracts awarded for roads improved without use of federal funds.

4. Kentucky ranked eighth in the nation in total dollars of money spent for all highway construction contracts. These rankings are available for all to see and were produced from records furnished by the United States Bureau of Public Roads.

What else can we say of the highway program and the highway industry in Kentucky during the last three years? What concrete facts, what specific accomplishments can be applauded?

1. Forty-three miles of the Mountain Parkway, the section from Winchester to Campton, have been designed, financed, constructed, and opened for the use of the driving public.

2. An additional thirty-three miles of the Mountain Parkway from Campton to Salyersville have been designed, financed, and placed under construction and will be opened to traffic by the end of this calendar year.

3. One-hundred and twenty-seven miles of the Western Kentucky Parkway from Elizabethtown to Princeton have also been designed, financed, and placed under construction and this major addition to the Kentucky turnpike system is expected to be placed under traffic this year also.

4. All together, 250 miles of interstate and turnpike routes are now being used by the public. Another 250 miles are under construction. This 500 miles of multilane, divided highway represent approximately one-half of the state's planned one thousand miles of new, modern, four-lane highways.

5. Kentucky became the third state in the entire nation to qualify for the billboard bonus offered by the federal government. Kentucky will receive bonus payments of \$3 million in additional federal funds because of this program.

6. Interstate 64 between Louisville and Frankfort received national recognition when this highway was designated as one of the twenty most beautiful in the entire United States.

7. The Sherman Minton¹ double-deck bridge between Louisville and New Albany was named as the best bridge design in the country.

8. Kentucky became the second state in the entire country to be approved for the new system of concurrent auditing and billing by the United States Bureau of Public Roads.

What other significant development has occurred in the recent past? This administration has taken the leadership in enacting into law a new formula which guarantees an equitable and fair distribution to each of the 120 counties of the so-called two-cent money,² the rural secondary fund. This bill is a Magna Charta for the counties.

You and I know beyond a reasonable shadow of a doubt that prior to the enactment of this law, no county in Kentucky was safe from political punishment in the distribution of funds for rural and secondary roads.

And what of the rural secondary and rural highway programs? These roads have not been neglected. The road programs affecting this type of road have had to share the publicity spotlight with the more glamorous interstate and turnpike construction projects. Last year over \$25 million of state funds went into the construction and maintenance of rural and secondary roads. Eight hundred and seventy-one miles of new rural and secondary roads were constructed. Over 24,000 miles of rural and secondary roads were maintained through the rural highway and rural secondary programs.

I have given you some of the specifics, some of the concrete facts which cast favor upon the highway programs of the last three years. I take no personal credit for these accomplishments, for the credit is not mine to take. Nor does the personal credit belong alone to Henry Ward, although Commissioner Ward has made a personal contribution above and beyond all normal demands of public service. The credit should be shared by the great mass of highway employees and by the highway industry generally. This performance could not have been accomplished, nor this record entered on the record books without the contribution which has been made by the highway contractors, the private consulting engineering firms, and all of the other suppliers of materials and services which are so vital to the accomplishment of a program so varied and of such immensity as the modern highway program.

In spite of this record and in spite of the fact that I think we have accomplished much, I am not satisfied. Commissioner Ward would not be the man I know him to be if he were satisfied. I am sure that the Department of Highways and the highway industry generally is not satisfied. Much needs to be done. We are but in the beginning of a long-range program, a program which demands the construction of a system of roads, designed to serve all the needs of Kentucky, all economic interests, and all geographical areas. So I pose this question to the highway industry and to the public in general: What kind of program can best accomplish the needed objective? Is not the interest of the highway industry and that of the general public compatible? In reality, are they not identical?

Let me ask a few questions.

Can Kentucky afford to return to a system where road building is

done on an individual project basis rather than on a planned, long-range program basis?

Can Kentucky afford to return to a system wherein the major decisions regarding programming, scheduling, and location of highway projects are made by political henchmen, rather than by the trained, qualified engineering personnel of the Department of Highways?

Can Kentucky afford to return to the kind of highway department where employees are browbeaten, coerced, hired, fired, and assessed to further political factionalism, rather than to build and maintain a system of roads?

Can Kentucky afford a system whereby property is acquired for public road rights-of-way which is detrimental both to the affected property owner and to the taxpaying public?

Should we return to a system which condones work performed off of the public rights-of-way which benefits the few at the expense of the many?

Can we go back to a system which permits the chaos of political turbulence which caused us to have five highway commissioners within a period of a single administration?

Can we afford a system which condones the employment of management consultant firms at unbelievably exorbitant fees which makes no lasting contribution to highway management?

I have posed a series of questions to you. As reasonable men the only answer is no. This is my answer and it obviously must be yours. I pose these questions to you not in any sense of political partisanship but rather in a sense of public responsibility, for in my judgment Kentucky must now answer these questions no or yes, nay or yea. There is no middle ground. There are no ifs, ands, or buts.

You have heard it said that Kentucky is on the threshold of greatness. It is. We have moved into the twentieth century. Can we stay in the twentieth century? Or must we slip back in the morass of smallness, bickering, and wasteful squandering of the state road fund that has plagued us for generations?

We are about to enter a period of time when Kentuckians must be subjected to the furor of a political primary campaign for which our state is so famous. It behooves us as citizens genuinely interested in a highway program for Kentucky to fight for what we think is right. It matters not your political affiliation, Democrat or Republican. It matters not your factional alignment. If you are sincerely and genuinely interested in building a system of good roads for your state, now is the time to stand up and be counted. In the final analysis,

there can be no real conflict between what is good politics and what is good public policy. For it is an age-old political maxim that the best politics is to do a good job. The best public support will be gained for the type of program which can accomplish the major objective of the Department of Highways — to build and maintain roads, roads which are so essential for Kentucky and its progress — roads which Kentucky can build, Kentucky can afford, and which we must have.

This address was an obvious effort by Combs to warn against the likelihood that a Chandler victory in the upcoming May primary would mean an end to effective highway development.

1. Sherman Minton (1890–1965), United States senator from Indiana (1935–1941); judge, United States Court of Appeals for Seventh Circuit (1941–1949); associate justice of the United States Supreme Court (1949–1956); born in Georgetown, Indiana, and resided in New Albany, Indiana. *New York Times*, April 10, 1965.

2. Since 1948, two cents out of every seven cents of the state gasoline tax was earmarked for rural road maintenance. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 23, 1963.

KENTUCKY SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION

The Wise Spending of Public Education Funds
Louisville / March 12, 1963

NOTHING worse could happen to Kentucky than to interrupt the progress we are making in education. We must do everything possible to make certain that this does not happen. This progress could be interrupted if the people of Kentucky became convinced that the money which they provide for the education of their children is not spent wisely.

Kentucky taxpayers are making a greater sacrifice than ever before in order to provide an education for their children. In the last three years, the General Assembly, expressing the will of the people, has

increased funds available to education by \$75 million annually. The KEA has suggested an increase for elementary and secondary schools, and I'm certain an increase is justified. The president of the University of Kentucky and the state college presidents say that higher education will need more money. I'm certain, too, they will need more.

It is absolutely necessary then that the people have full confidence in those who handle public funds. If the people should lose this confidence, the educational progress in Kentucky could be destroyed. In the words of Henry Ward Beecher: "Public sentiment is a battery which protects the city behind it, but sweeps with destruction all in the plain before it. It powerfully restrains men from doing wrong; but when they have done wrong, sets itself as powerfully against them."

The need for strict accounting for public funds applies to every public official. In fact, those who hold the highest positions have the greatest responsibility; it is necessary that those in high positions set the example for others. Lord Clarendon said, "No man is so insignificant as to be sure his example can do no hurt," and Juvenal has said that, "Examples of vicious courses, practiced in a domestic circle, corrupt more readily and more deeply when we behold them in persons of authority."

The Constitution of Kentucky provides that the governor "shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed." I construe this to mean that the governor is charged with the responsibility of preventing where possible, misuse of the public funds, as well as preventing the holder of a public office from using the office for his personal gain or the gain of his friends and cronies.

The governor should be more than a housekeeper. He should set the moral standards for his administration. Every instance of misuse of public funds, no matter how isolated, must be thoroughly investigated, exposed to the spotlight of publicity, and corrective measures taken. Moreover, it is not enough that those in high fiduciary positions obey only the statutory laws. They must also obey the moral laws. We have Montesquieu's words that "There are bad examples that are worse than crimes; and more states have perished from the violation of morality than from the violation of the law." Actually, a breach of a moral law can sometimes be more iniquitous than violation of a statute. The man in a position of public trust has a greater potential for good or harm because he is trusted. The public expects greater honesty from him than from those in less exalted positions.

I do not say that those in the Combs administration have not made

mistakes, because we have. There have been instances of maladministration, inefficiency, and neglect. But I do say that we have not condoned these things. We have not swept under the rug evidence of misuse of public funds; we have not protected persons guilty of breach of trust; we have not hesitated to turn the full spotlight of publicity on our own mistakes and we have taken corrective action to the best of our ability.

Almost invariably when someone is caught with his hand in the public till he sends up the cry of "politics" loud and clear. It is true, of course, that in Frankfort we operate in a political atmosphere. But don't be misled by this. Decisions can be, and most of them are, based on simple facts of honesty, justice, and equity.

I like to think that intellectual honesty is not a complete stranger in your state capital. The standards of public morality and the requirement of fidelity to a public trust certainly should not be lower in our educational institutions than in our ordinary activities of state, county, or city government. One of the oldest principles of our legal system, older than our statutes and older even than our constitution, is the rule that trustees cannot serve two masters. A public official who uses his official position to enrich himself has committed a breach of trust.

I consider it a part of my duty to make certain that the people's money is spent wisely, and I intend to continue to perform this duty. In the words of Lincoln, "I do the best I can and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."

I am proud of the fact, as I know you are, that in recent years, there have been very few instances of misuse of school funds or other public monies. The vast majority of school people and other public officials are honest, capable, and dedicated. In my judgment, they need only adequate money, then sufficient time, to establish Kentucky as one of the most progressive states in the field of education. I like the optimistic viewpoint expressed by a recent editorial in the *Lexington Herald* referring to the Carter County situation as "a rather sordid chapter in the educational history of Kentucky." He made the point that Carter County is the rare exception and certainly not the rule in Kentucky. The writer of the editorial pointed out that there are hundreds of well-managed, properly conducted school systems in Kentucky and admonished that the weakness of the one county should not be considered as proof of weakness in all school systems.

Combs's great fear that the public would withdraw support for expensive educational progress if evidences of corruption were revealed in education administration and then ignored is clearly indicated here. Mindful of Heman McGuire, Combs also was apparently referring to Frank Peterson, University of Kentucky treasurer, whom the governor had charged with misuse of funds.

INTRODUCTION OF ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY

Louisville / March 18, 1963

THIS meeting to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation should be much more than an occasion to take note of what happened in our country 100 years ago. It should be an occasion for an examination of the progress that has been made in 100 years as well as a recognition of our failures. The passage of time alone will not bring about the changes which are needed. President Lincoln knew this when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation and we must not wait for time alone to extend human rights as we consider what should be done 100 years later. We in Kentucky believe that state government has a responsibility to lead the way to eliminate discrimination. This is not a new policy with this administration; rather it has been the same with other recent Kentucky governors, particularly since the Supreme Court school decision of 1954. Our governor and our school leaders at that time announced that Kentucky schools would abide by the law and we have held to that.

We in this state have begun a program of seeking fair treatment for everyone. We seek equal treatment for all of our people because it is morally right, democratically sound, and economically practical. We found from our experience in Kentucky that wherever fair treatment practices have been decided upon and instituted with the use of good methods, no difficulty has resulted and the people have accepted and supported the change. Our people deserve credit for this and we should have faith in them and provide the leadership necessary to eliminate all remnants of discrimination.

As we undertook this program, we were set with the determination that we would not be held back by the unfortunate actions of some of the states to the south, nor would we be handicapped by the failure of states to the north; rather we do our best to do what is right and act with a strong belief in the fair-mindedness of our people.

We have today issued a Code of Fair Practices which is designed to reinforce our determination to eliminate discrimination from all activities of state government. We have already been trying to carry out many of the features of this code and we are now trying to unify and reemphasize our commitment. We do this for two fundamental reasons: 1) All agencies of government have a specific responsibility to keep their own houses in order. The operations of state government should serve as a model for business, industry, education, and labor. If we set a proper example, we will have come a long way toward establishing fair treatment policies throughout the state. 2) A clear understanding of the role which government should play makes it clear that every state official and every arm of government has a direct responsibility to insure that the state is not using the citizens' tax money to aid discrimination against him.

We are trying to bring this concept into the conscience and function of all executive officials and departments. In regard to state facilities, services and financial assistance, the respective state authorities should examine their practices and take effective steps to eliminate any discrimination which might exist. An individual citizen should expect this action from his government and it should not be mandatory that he take court action or make burdensome personal complaints or become involved in other forms of direct action to obtain his rights.

The Code of Fair Practices also contains provisions to insure that contractors and subcontractors doing business with the state will not discriminate against our citizens. Most of our industries were already following such provisions in the contracts with the federal government. We are using language similar to that contained in President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 governing all federal contractors.¹ We expect our state Commission on Human Rights and the contracting agencies to work with our state contractors to implement these provisions.

We are privileged to have as our principal speaker tonight one of the nation's outstanding leaders in the battle to protect the civil rights of all our citizens. It was he who said, after a trip around the world last year, so long as the American Negro is prevented from voting by intimidation and legal trickery, the United States "will be

nothing more than a poor preacher on democracy." It is noteworthy that during the period in which he has headed our Department of Justice, the number of active cases designed to win for Negroes the right to vote has quadrupled. Under his leadership, the Department of Justice also has distinguished itself by its efforts to protect both the workingman and the businessman. The department's powers have been used to expose and correct injustices in our judiciary system and corruption in law enforcement.

I could spend the rest of this evening relating details of the fascinating career of our speaker. However, you are familiar with most of them, including his ability as a hiker. Truly, this is a man who needs no introduction. It is my privilege and honor to present to you the attorney general of the United States, the Honorable Robert F. Kennedy.

1. On March 6, 1963, President Kennedy established the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to supervise employment practices of federal contractors. *Federal Register*, p. 1977.

KENTUCKY HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION

Hospital Care in Kentucky

Louisville / April 2, 1963

KENTUCKY today has over 150 hospitals with nearly 18,000 beds. Most of these are voluntary, nonprofit, general, community hospitals that in recent years have assumed an increasingly important role in the health and welfare of our communities.

We in state government are not unaware of the strategic role which the hospital can play as a central base from which personal health services are provided to our citizens. Public concern and interest in the development and operation of hospitals gives real evidence of the fact that hospital care (as a basic element of medical care) is today considered a commodity essential to the maintenance of a minimum standard of living. Kentucky's hospitals and this association deserve great credit for their years of service in response to the public interest.

As the scope of hospital activities has extended, there has been an expansion of governmental activities which bear upon hospital operation. This is also a reflection of the public's desire for good hospital care. We in state government feel a strong responsibility to work with hospitals to fulfill this desire.

There are at least five basic areas in which government activities have direct bearing upon hospital operation. The first of these is licensure. It seems appropriate for each of us to remember that hospitals operate only under sanction of the general public and that the inspection and licensure programs of the Department of Health are designed to protect the public from unnecessary hazard or exploitation.

A second major area of government assistance is that of hospital construction. Certainly the largest inducement of government in this field of activity is found in the state's administration of the Hill-Burton program. Since its beginning in 1949, this program has seen the development of a hundred hospital construction projects, about half of which were new hospitals that stand today providing services which were unavailable prior to their construction. This program has administered the expenditure of approximately \$40 million in federal and state funds, without which most communities would have found it impossible to succeed as they have.

A third area of government activity affecting hospitals is in the purchase of hospital care by the state for beneficiaries of government programs. Certainly the largest of these is the new indigent medical care program administered by the Departments of Health and Economic Security. Its current annual hospital budget of \$2.5 million has been expanded only this month in order to liberalize the hospitalization benefits available to its beneficiaries. Other state agencies, such as the Commission for Handicapped Children and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, are also engaged in the purchase of hospital care from your institutions. We realize that ideally such public agencies should pay the full cost of the care received, and we are continuing to make advances toward that goal.

A fourth area of government responsibility lies in the surveillance of prepayment and insurance plans. Health insurance, like other forms of insurance, operates under the benefit of public inspection. In our state, this responsibility for prepayment plans such as Blue Cross is shared by the insurance commissioner with the state Board of Health.

A fifth area of government activity is the actual provision of hospi-

tal care. The Department of Mental Health, the Tuberculosis Hospital Commission, and the University of Kentucky all operate hospital facilities. They are intimately involved with the same day-to-day hospital administration problems which you face. Although these are certainly specialized facilities, their utilization does affect the operation and utilization of other, general hospitals.

In each of these five areas is a common aspect of community service. We have observed this vividly in recent weeks as these varied agencies have worked cooperatively to make the resources of state government available to eastern Kentucky communities about to lose their hospitals.¹ No greater misfortune could come to the already heavily burdened people of eastern Kentucky. Your state government will use every handle available to it to keep these hospitals open. If this should require a special session of the legislature, so be it. Such consultation and assistance is available to any of our communities with a hospital problem.

For all of these program activities, administered by a variety of state agencies, we have intended to follow certain broad, long-range objectives which form a goal for Kentucky hospital care that we feel is worthy of both public and private support. To be sure, such objectives must be implemented with flexibility and prudence; but, if they are pursued with diligence and imagination, these are attainable: 1) It is our objective to encourage higher standards of hospital care; 2) It is our objective to encourage the development of practices that will limit or reduce costs without sacrifice of quality of care; 3) It is our objective to encourage the planning for rational utilization of hospital facilities on an overall community or regional basis; 4) It is our objective to discourage the operation of hospitals that are substandard or unnecessary; 5) It is our objective to promote public understanding of the problems of hospital care through the collection and dissemination of information.

The statutory powers of state government, whether they be regulation, inducement, or education, should all be directed toward the attainment of such long-range objectives.

A final overriding responsibility we feel is ours, and that is to work diligently with the hospital profession in the attainment of the best hospital care for Kentucky's citizens. We have done this in the past. Practically all of the state programs mentioned have high-level advisory councils and policy boards on which many of you serve. You thereby provide your government with the availability of technical competence and assure broad public support of appropriate

activities. We consider it our long-range responsibility to continue serving with you in this joint private-public effort which is so in keeping with the American tradition.

1. *Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, Second Extraordinary Session, 1963, Chapter 2 (H.B. 1), pp. 3-8.*

KENTUCKY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
Protect Kentucky's Progress
Lexington / April 9, 1963

We have not achieved all that Kentucky needs. But I think we have made progress. We have completed some programs and initiated others which, I hope, will be carried to completion by my successor.

Education has received our major attention, because the need admittedly was greatest in that area and because the people indicated they wished education to receive number one priority. Appropriations for all education have been increased by more than \$75 million a year. Teachers' salaries have been increased by \$1,100 a year. More than \$71.5 million has been invested in public school building improvements, and some \$38 million has been spent for new college buildings and additions.

In highway building, records have been broken. Construction contracts awarded in the last three years exceed \$345 million. Last year Kentucky built more miles of highways with its own money than any other state. Last year, too, we improved more miles of highways than any other state except Texas. We have 200 miles of four-lane superhighways open to traffic and 250 miles under construction. When our program is completed, and I refer to the interstate and turnpike programs, we will have more than 1,000 miles of these four-lane highways crisscrossing the state. We are dedicating the Mountain Parkway on May 8; the Western Kentucky Parkway is under construction, and we are planning a Central Kentucky Parkway. At the same time we have improved 6,000 miles of rural highways.

We are completing what I think is the greatest recreational park

system in the United States. In this we have invested \$20 million. Our parks are helping us to develop the tourist industry into Kentucky's number two income-producer. Last year twenty million out-of-state tourists spent \$200 million in Kentucky, an increase of \$12 million over the previous year.

In industrial development, during the last three years 350 manufacturing firms announced plans to create 21,500 new jobs in Kentucky. These new jobs will provide more than \$85 million a year in manufacturing wages alone.

Seventeen new airports have been developed, and improvements have been made at twenty other airports.

Progress has been made in other fields. For example, we have doubled our appropriations for the care of the mentally retarded, and acquired the Waverly Hills Sanatorium at Louisville and the U.S. Veterans Administration facility at Outwood. We are expanding our mental and tuberculosis hospitals.

In government reform we have established by law a merit system for state employees, which is helping us retain career workers with a resulting increase in efficiency of government operations.

I like to think these achievements have been good for Kentucky. All these programs, of course, have cost money. Government cannot produce miracles any more than can business. It has taken money to build and money to operate.

Admittedly, the expense of personnel has increased since 1959, and for two reasons: 1) We have had to employ additional people to man the new programs which Kentuckians demanded, particularly in schools and highways; 2) Like you in business and industry, we have had to increase salaries to obtain and to keep qualified personnel. Our schools were suffering because teachers, trained in Kentucky, were leaving us for the higher salaries in other states. Although we have led the nation in rate of increase in teacher salaries, the average Kentucky teacher still gets only \$4,480 a year, as compared with the national average of \$5,940. We rank forty-third among the states in the teacher salaries we pay.

We have raised the salaries of personnel in the University of Kentucky and in the state colleges, and have increased the number of instructors to cope with a tidal wave of new students coming. Three years ago the payroll of the University of Kentucky was \$9,300,000. This year that payroll is \$16,464,945, an increase of \$7,164,945. The payrolls of each of the state colleges have gone up approximately \$1 million a year.

Everyone is familiar with the problem experienced by Kentucky

and other states in obtaining and keeping competent engineers, scientists, doctors, and other specialists. Kentucky has undertaken, by paying higher salaries, to cut down the exodus of government-trained personnel to other states and to private industry. This problem has been especially critical in the field of mental health. We were paying psychiatrists \$10,000 a year and losing them. Now that we have hiked their salaries to \$16,000 a year, we are losing fewer psychiatrists and gaining a few. Today we are in danger of losing our commissioner of mental health, Dr. McPheeters. We pay him \$17,500 a year. Another state has just offered him \$30,000.

As all of you know, the fixed costs, the continuing expenditures, which stay with us year in and year out, constitute a major financing problem in any business. A good example of these fixed, or operating costs, exists in the University of Kentucky Medical Center. I mention them without intent to disparage the worthy purpose of the medical center. During the previous administration, \$17 million was appropriated for construction and \$1.6 million for operations of the center. In the present administration we have appropriated \$18.6 million for operating costs. So already, you can see, we have invested for operating expenses more than the center cost the state for construction. And we can expect these operating costs to go higher as the medical center's activity increases.

Kentucky's needs are great. We had the obligation of trying to cope with a serious situation brought on by many years of financial starvation of our schools, our highways, and our institutions. It was impossible to correct all the inequities in four years. So we undertook to take first things first; to make advances in those areas where the need was the most desperate. In the process, many worthwhile services and programs failed to receive the attention they demanded. You are quite familiar with one, the field of penal institutions. We have been criticized for conditions existing in some of our prisons, conditions which can be corrected only with money. We raised the beginning salary of prison guards from \$241 a month to \$266, but the National Council on Crime and Delinquency says the new salary is still far from adequate. We need more well-trained personnel to administer our system of probation and parole, but all this takes money. In view of the other needs which confront us in so many areas, I'll leave it to you whether we can stand a reduction — any reduction — in the revenue now derived from the sales tax.

We have tried conscientiously to obtain the maximum efficiency from the personnel we now have. I know of no drones. If you do, you can perform a valuable service to your state government by reporting

them to me. Meanwhile, I hope you will appraise your state government with the same realism you apply to your own business. And, for the sake of the Commonwealth, I hope you also apply the same realistic judgment to all proposals for altering your government's operations.

All of us wish to see our government continue as a sound enterprise, operated on principles of prudent fiscal management. Panaceas, equivalent to get-rich-quick schemes, must be guarded against just as carefully in government as in private business. It is to your benefit to be on guard. Your welfare is at stake. Kentucky's welfare is at stake.

With the May primary only six weeks away and Chandler promising to get rid of the sales tax, Combs continued to promote the achievements of his administration. A Chandler victory, the governor warned, would mean reduced services and fewer benefits for Kentuckians.

COMMITTEE FOR FORT THOMAS Electioneering Antics in Kentucky Fort Thomas / April 24, 1963

THE story of the Committee for Fort Thomas, and the role your members played in protecting the respectable name of Campbell County, is an inspiring one. I have been proud to associate with people who have the fortitude to stand up in public for what is right and decent for their community. Yours is the sort of spirit which will overcome the problems of Kentucky and elevate our Commonwealth to the position of eminence which it deserves.

We have made progress in Kentucky, I believe; and we have under way programs which should assure much more progress. Two examples, of special interest to you and in which you are participants, are the intensified industrial development of northern Kentucky and the northern Kentucky portion of the Cincinnati Circle Freeway. You have helped to create a favorable climate for both.

I now want to touch on the need for building and maintaining a

favorable climate for Kentucky as a whole. A newspaper editor recently described in two words a problem which, in my opinion, has caused Kentucky more harm than any other single factor. The editor called it "Kentucky's Purgatory." He was referring to the tension and turmoil to which Kentucky citizens are subjected because we have to hold an election every year. The elections year in and year out have been a strain on the people financially and emotionally. The greater harm, however, has come from the election campaigns.

Some of those campaigns have been, and still are, barbaric to the point of depravity. Characters have been destroyed with wanton disregard for fairness, ethics, and morality. Institutions and programs of which Kentucky is proud have been maligned and ridiculed. Clownish antics, carried even to the nation's Capitol, have tended to make a laughingstock of Kentucky politics.

All this has done irreparable harm to our Commonwealth. What is the profit in building up the state's good name and its attractions, only to have those efforts nullified by a vengeful and irresponsible candidate? We invest millions of dollars in a State Fair and Exposition Center, and then additional thousands advertising it, in order to attract conventions and exhibitors. Then a candidate destroys that effort by calling the exposition center a "white elephant." We build a beautiful four-lane highway into eastern Kentucky to help attract tourists and build up a depressed area, only to have a candidate label it "a highway which goes nowhere." We develop what we proudly boast is the best recreational park system in the United States, and then sadly hear one of the so-called leaders of our state deprecate it.

I ask you: What must the people outside of Kentucky think of us? What, for example, are the thoughts of readers of national magazines like *Fortune*, in which we spent thousands of dollars advertising Kentucky as a nice place in which to locate a new industrial plant? What are their mixed emotions when they read about a candidate for governor of Kentucky ridiculing his state's industrial development program? But, more important, what must the sober, responsible citizens inside our state think of the campaign tactics — the outrageous claims, the distortions of figures, the misrepresentation of facts, the destruction of character?

I often have remarked that a tragedy of our times is the fact that more qualified people do not run for public office. This reluctance is understandable, however, when we consider the vicious attacks to which public officials must submit.

Is it within the bounds of propriety when a candidate for governor, using the destruction of character as a political weapon, resorts

to villifying name-calling such as "drunk," "not dry behind the ears," and "a green young hand"? And what is the feeling of the voters when a candidate in one year calls a public figure a scoundrel, but in the next year embraces him as a partner and behind-the-scenes campaign manager?

I like to think that we Kentuckians are growing up politically and that one day we will demand that our elections be conducted not as Roman circuses, with prancing clowns.

I hope for a time when candidates for state office will conduct themselves as public servants aspiring to manage a serious business for their fellow citizens. And certainly state government, requiring an annual expenditure of a half-billion dollars, is a most serious business. I hope for a time when candidates will not sacrifice programs, important to the welfare of every Kentuckian, in order to further their political ambitions. Let us hope for a time when candidates will campaign on the basis of programs, weighing carefully what is best for Kentucky, and not on a basis of which man is the best entertainer and name-caller.

Finally, let us pray for the day when election campaigns can be conducted without harming Kentucky; when candidates for office will favor progress over politics. Then, I believe, we can look our children and grandchildren in the eye with a clear conscience.

Here is reflected Governor Combs's deepening distaste for the impact that annual political elections seemed to have upon long-range progress for Kentucky.

DEDICATION CEREMONIES FOR
EAST HARDIN HIGH SCHOOL
Glendale / April 28, 1963

THE dedication of two fine school buildings in one county on the same day is an event of which any school superintendent should be proud. I'm sure that Mr. Burkhead¹ is as pleased as I am to note the many advantages that have come to Hardin County students through improvement of their schools.

Mr. Burkhead tells me that when he became superintendent of the Hardin County schools about twenty-nine years ago, he had over 100 one-room elementary schools and six high schools. Today, with the opening of the East Hardin and West Hardin high schools, the consolidation program of Hardin County is complete. The resulting advantages, in better buildings, more equipment, and greater efficiency, will be felt by your children and your grandchildren for years to come.

Hardin County now has three fine high schools offering the best possible education for its nearly 1,600 high school students. There are now thirteen elementary schools. I am proud that Kentucky can boast of a feat such as this.

The additions made to East Hardin High School, which we are dedicating now, have for all practical purposes, created a new school. The cost of this project amounted to more than \$500,000, including the improvements made to the site and the equipment and furniture. At Stephensburg later this afternoon, we will be dedicating the West Hardin High School. This new building cost \$631,263 to construct and furnish. Alterations have been made, and new equipment has been added at the North Hardin High School. Completed last August, this work cost more than \$74,000.

The new construction and other improvements have provided Hardin County students with the finest in new classrooms and laboratories for science, modern languages, home economics, industrial arts, and agriculture, while guidance counseling — certainly important in this day of specialization — has been added to the school programs.

I am told that this splendid band which is playing for us here today is a result of the high school consolidation program for Hardin County. Prior to the opening of these two schools, only North Hardin High School had a band. The other schools in the county did not have the room and equipment needed for this type of project. Now today, we are hearing some fine music from 250 students, many of whom never had the opportunity to play any type of musical instrument before this year.

I might point out here that since 1955 consolidation programs throughout the state have made it possible for thirty-eight Kentucky schools to have bands and teach their students to play musical instruments.

This progress in the Hardin County school system is symbolical of what is happening all over Kentucky. By investing more than \$71 million in our public school buildings during the past three years,

we have provided an additional 3,595 classrooms. This has enabled us to climb to thirtieth in the nation in the ranking of number of pupils per classroom. We now have a classroom for every 26.3 pupils. The national average is 25.7.

Financial support for Kentucky's public schools has increased by \$80 million a year since 1960. During this school year, we had scheduled the completion of 982 instruction rooms. Our present rate of building them is about 1,000 a year.

School consolidation, as we are seeing here today, is greatly improving the quality of instruction for Kentucky pupils. Since 1959, seventy-nine Kentucky counties have effected consolidation at the high school level and thirty-seven counties have completed elementary school consolidation programs.

Despite this great expansion of school facilities, which we have seen in the past three years, more are needed. We require an estimated 4,192 classrooms. This means, primarily, more money. We cannot afford for one instant to drop back in the amount of money we put into school building.

You people of Hardin County are witnessing today the benefits which can be reaped from an advanced school program. I urge you to insist that your leaders in state government, now and in the future, continue to maintain a revenue program sufficient for our schools' needs. I hope to see the day come when every county in Kentucky can point with pride to the type of modern, efficient schools that Hardin County is dedicating today.

1. G. C. Burkhead (1903-), superintendent of Hardin County schools (1935-); born in Hardin County, Kentucky, and resides in Elizabethtown, Kentucky. *Who's Who in Kentucky* (Hopkinsville, Ky., 1955),

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LAW DAY
Law and Liberty
Louisville / May 1, 1963

WHILE we are here commemorating Law Day U.S.A., the annual celebration of the first of May in the Soviet Union is drawing to a close. The tanks have rumbled their way past the reviewing stand. The rockets, planes, and troops have been displayed to the captive audience and once again, the government of men in the Kremlin rests assured that its show of brute force is the complete answer to all the ills of mankind, real or fancied.

Undoubtedly our defensive weapons are in place and our soldiers are on a twenty-four-hour alert. The men of the *Thresher*¹ have proved that we Americans are willing to die for our country.

But, today we do not choose to answer in kind to the communists. Our celebration of the first of May takes the form of quiet and peaceful ceremonies throughout the nation, observing in Law Day our belief that it is the great heritage of American law, not arms and force, that protects our rights and freedoms.

For over 175 years, a body of just laws in a government of laws rather than men has protected the liberties of the individual American. Our law, though not perfect, is the wonder of the entire world. Today, in the United States of America, the lowest person under our flag enjoys more equal social justice, more protection of life, liberty, and property, a broader opportunity to pursue happiness, and a greater personal freedom than has ever been provided for the common man by any other political system in the history of mankind.

The difference in the law of our land and the law of other countries, where the communists have taken over, is readily apparent. Where there is a government of men and not of law, there is no justice for the common man. There are no rights guaranteed by law; the common man must submit to decrees stipulated by the men in power.

We do not have decrees in this country. However, we do have duties as citizens. And we must take great care to observe these duties if we are to continue to have a functioning democracy. Our duties are these: The duty to obey the laws; the duty to respect the rights of others; the duty to serve on juries if called; the duty to serve

and defend our country; the duty to vote in elections; the duty to practice and teach the principles of good citizenship in our homes; and the duty to inform ourselves on the issues of government and community welfare.

This last duty, which is charged to you as a citizen, is perhaps one of the most neglected. I am not convinced that we Kentuckians, for example, take the necessary time to seriously consider the issues of government. I think this is evident in the way we carry out our elections.

Our political campaigns are and have been barbaric to the point of depravity. The basic issues at stake are lost in a vast mishmash of clownish antics and name-calling. Candidates who feel that entertainment in the campaign forum is more important than discussion of good government destroy the opportunity for Kentuckians to inform themselves on the issues. Such candidates conceal the issues as their personal secrets.

I hope for a time in Kentucky when candidates for state office will not sacrifice programs, important to the welfare of every Kentuckian, in order to further their political ambitions.

The fulfillment of all of our duties as citizens is vital to the continuance of our freedoms. And these individual liberties are what distinguish our free society from the totalitarian systems. As long as the laws of America remain right and just, we shall have no tyranny here.

What happens, however, when some of our laws become no longer just, because they were promulgated during and for an era which has little relation to the present?

Consider for a moment the plight of our own state, Kentucky. The majority of our laws stem from a state constitution, which was adopted seventy-two years ago. The basic premises of this constitution are equal to the challenges of any generation premises, such as the rights of life, liberty, worship, and free speech. However, some sections of our constitution are not just in the light of our complex society.

Neither do I think it is just or practical for the constitution to specify the salaries which officials are to receive. In our cases where we have highly trained doctors, lawyers, psychiatrists, and others employed by the Commonwealth of Kentucky earning annual salaries far below what they might earn in private practice or industry, this is not conducive to good government.

On the ballot in November will be a constitutional amendment which seeks to correct this particular situation. We have already been

forced to seek action in the courts to remedy the salary problem in order to keep these highly talented men and women in the service of the state.²

All of us, citizens and lawmakers alike, must be prepared to accept the advice of one of our most celebrated jurists, Oliver Wendell Homes, Jr. He said we must "transcend our own convictions and leave room for much that we hold dear to be done away with . . . by the orderly change of law."

It is just as necessary for us to make orderly changes in the law in order to provide future generations with a solid foundation of justice as it is to safeguard the basic freedoms of the law which were laid down by our forefathers. Keep the best traditions of the past and implement the wisest laws for the future and we will be assured of a continuing democracy in America. As William Pitt once said, "Where law ends, tyranny begins." As long as we continue and improve the basic laws of our country and our state we shall have no tyranny in America.

1. On April 10, 1963, the nuclear-powered submarine *Thresher* sank during a test dive in the Atlantic with the loss of its entire crew of 129 men. Searchers failed to locate the *Thresher* until May 30, 1963, because the wreckage was at a depth of 8400 feet. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 31, 1963.

2. The constitutional amendment proposed to remove salary ceilings applicable to state and county officials as well as judges of the circuit and appellate courts. It failed 111,922 nays to 72,827 yeas. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 6, 1963.

DEDICATION OF MOUNTAIN PARKWAY

Campton / May 8, 1963

We are here to do more than dedicate a superhighway. We are here today to reaffirm our faith in the future of the area in which we stand. We are here to bring new hope and confidence to the courageous people who reside in the shadow of these majestic mountains.

These parallel strips of concrete cutting through rugged hills symbolize more than a modern highway. I think of them as twin mes-

sengers of optimism and progress. With the completion of the eastern extension of the Mountain Parkway to Pikeville and the southern leg to Whitesburg, the people of eastern Kentucky will be able to build a new economy and a new way of life.

This highway with its extensions will reveal to our visitors some of the most beautiful scenery in America, the southern Appalachian mountains. And the visitors will come, legions of them, now that the barrier of isolation has been pierced by these rapiers of concrete. They will come to behold the grandeur of the hills and to enjoy the hospitality of the mountain people. Thus will we build a new industry to supplement an economy built on coal.

The Mountain Parkway will pay for itself, not only financially but by answering the dreams of a people too long isolated, by rewarding their hopeful patience and by instilling in them new hope and confidence for the future. It is my hope and dream that this parkway will come to be known as one of the most beautiful scenic drives in mid-America. It is also my hope that we can build on the parkway an original and interesting service center for the convenience of our visitors.

We live in a fast-moving age. In keeping with the times we are trying to build modern roads, big and little, where they will do the most good for the most people. Kentucky was fortunate to receive authorization to build 700 miles of the national system of interstate highways. Four routes will traverse the state from border to border, and construction on them is being pushed to the limit.

The Mountain Parkway with its extensions will fill the gaps left by the interstate system in eastern Kentucky. Thirty-three more miles of this parkway from Campton to Salyersville will be open to traffic by the end of the year.

At this very moment, the first pavement is being poured on the Western Kentucky Parkway, which runs 127 miles from Elizabethtown to Princeton. That section should be open this year also.

Many of us have dreamed for a lifetime that someday there would be a modern highway across the long part of Kentucky, from Pikeville to Paducah, thereby making it possible for our people who reside in the border areas of the state to turn toward the heartland of Kentucky for their economic and social living. The completion of this great turnpike system will cause that dream to become a reality.

It is my plan to move with deliberate speed toward construction of the Central Kentucky Turnpike. With the addition of a Central Kentucky Turnpike, Kentucky will have the nucleus of a modern high-

way system. Any delay in construction of the system means that the cost will be higher when of necessity the roads have to be built.

Altogether, 250 miles of interstate and turnpike routes are now being used by the public in Kentucky. Another 250 miles are under construction. This 500 miles represents about one-half of the state's planned thousand miles of superhighways.

In 1962, more than \$25 million of state funds went into the construction and maintenance of rural and secondary roads. Eight hundred and seventy-one miles of new rural and secondary roads were built, and more than 24,000 miles of these highways were maintained.

What does all this mean, you may ask. It means that every year, for the past three years, your state government has been building all types of roads in record-breaking proportions. Since 1960, construction contracts have exceeded those awarded during the previous four years by \$95 million. That is an increase of 37.5 percent in dollars.

Today we face the present with purpose and plan for the future with confidence. We hereby dedicate the Mountain Parkway as a lasting symbol of the perseverance and hopes of the mountain people and to the continued progress and well-being of all the people of our Commonwealth.

GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON
HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY
Decent Housing for Every Citizen
Frankfort / May 13, 1963

I WANT to thank all of you who accepted my invitation to attend the first Governor's Conference on Housing for the Elderly. The Commission on Aging sponsored a similar conference last year, and today's meeting is a continuation of its work. Tom Ray has outlined for you the objectives of this workshop session. They are objectives which I consider extremely important.

Every citizen is entitled to decent housing. Shelter is one of the essentials of life and housing for the elderly is one of the most urgent

unmet social problems facing us today. It stands high on any current list of social problems.

A variety of factors combine to accentuate the housing problem of a growing elderly population. With advancing years, people become increasingly dependent. As the average man's life-span increases, the years he is in retirement become longer and longer. Income is reduced during these years. This condition results in an economic squeeze for even the most prudent person. Many of us are going to find that insurance, savings, and other retirement funds are going to run out before our life does. More and more of us are going to be affected by these austere economics. What once was considered a welfare problem relating to a small segment of the aging population is now a social problem relating to a substantial majority of the aging population.

Obviously, a problem of this magnitude is beyond the ability of most families to cope with by themselves. Voluntary agencies, religious organizations, public-spirited citizens, and governmental units at all levels have an obligation to take a hand in this matter.

Next to the family itself, the basic unit of our society is the community. Every aged person should have the privilege of considering himself a part of some community and to participate in that community's life. And he should be able to live the closing years of his life in the community of his choice. In addition, he should be able to engage in satisfying activities as long as he is able to do so. Without these two conditions being met, the so-called golden years are more apt to be characterized by boredom, anxiety, indignity, and a feeling of frustration and futility.

To achieve these two objectives, I believe that housing programs should be operated at the community level under whatever form of local control seems best in each individual situation, whether privately owned, operated by county or municipal governments, or by religious organizations and community agencies.

The state in the foreseeable future cannot afford to construct housing facilities for the elderly in every county. And even if we had the funds for such facilities, Kentucky does not have the millions of dollars required to operate them. We might, at the state level, be able to build large regional institutions for the elderly, but this is in direct opposition to the need for local housing in each community. Large private institutions, which also operate more or less on a regional basis, are not the answer either. These often tend to end up as a depository for old people brought from afar, left and forgotten.

The state government's responsibility must therefore be to provide

the leadership, technical assistance, planning, and coordination on a statewide basis that will persuade private interests and local governments to establish these housing units for the elderly. Private and public financing through the Housing and Home Finance Agency is available to private interests and local communities. Housing for the elderly must also be available when it is needed. The state can meet this responsibility by developing a comprehensive long-range plan for the establishment of housing throughout Kentucky.

We have been able to provide some leadership in this critical area in recent years. The Waverly Hills Geriatric Center and the public housing personal-care projects now under way attest to this fact. But, until today there was no single office in Kentucky state government charged with taking up the leadership in the area of housing for the elderly. I have directed the commissioner of economic security to establish within his agency an information and development center on housing for the elderly. To this center all inquiries on housing can be directed and from it will come the vigorous leadership Kentucky needs in order to develop the best possible housing for the elderly.

This office will provide technical assistance to all individuals, groups, and government agencies interested in providing housing for the elderly. Earle Powell,¹ the commissioner of economic security, has informed me that beginning July 1, this new office will be staffed by a full-time housing expert who can take charge of the development program.

I am aware that the state's responsibility for housing the elderly crosses departmental lines. I have therefore asked Felix Joyner,² the administrator of the state Health and Welfare Agency, to submit to me recommendations for unifying the state licensing and promotional activities which are now carried out in several departments.

I also have requested the Commission on Aging to prepare a publication listing the opportunities for providing the elderly with housing, and this will soon be available. This booklet will give detailed information on financing, loans, construction requirements, and licensing for personal-care and nursing homes. Each of you will receive a copy. I feel it will be helpful to anyone interested in operating housing for the elderly.

The payment of welfare grants is a long recognized and generally accepted responsibility of government. In the case of the needy elderly, such grants can help pay for the housing they need in nursing or in personal-care homes. It is unfair to assume that anyone will operate a home for the needy elderly solely from his own generosity. If an individual takes it upon himself to establish and operate a home

for the aged, then he must have money to operate his project. And, if the state does not help pay the way for the elderly without financial resources of their own, we will end up with housing only for those who can afford it out of their own pocket. It is for this reason that states must make welfare grants to public assistance recipients and others in nursing and personal-care homes. These grants must be high enough and the eligibility requirements for admission must be liberal enough to provide care for the greatest number of people.

In this area, I think Kentucky has made significant progress in recent years. In 1963 we raised the maximum grant to all public assistance recipients in nursing or personal-care homes by \$15 a month. This is helping to improve the standards of these homes.

We were able to raise these grants for two reasons. First, because we have increased all state funds to the public assistance program, by more than one and a half million dollars last year alone; second, because in 1960, Kentucky became one of the first states in the nation to implement the federal Kerr-Mills Act, which provides for medical aid to the needy. By taking advantage of this law, we were able to obtain higher matching federal funds for each dollar of state money we spent for the recipients in personal care or nursing homes.

On January 1 of this year, we implemented another section of the Kerr-Mills Act — one providing financial aid to our medically indigent population in nursing homes. This offers help to a great many of our elderly population, who because they do not qualify for public assistance, had previously been unable to obtain financial support for their stay in these homes. Kentucky is one of only four states in the nation which has taken advantage of this part of the medical care program.

These additional and increased grants to nursing and personal-care homes greatly increased their opportunities to expand and to improve their standards. It has also encouraged many private operators to build new homes. During the first nine months of 1962, fourteen more nursing homes were established. Seven of these were in new buildings, constructed specifically for that purpose. Seven additional nursing homes are now under construction and plans have been approved for the construction of ten more during 1963. These add up to a total of 1,748 more beds for the elderly during the two-year period.

To give additional impetus to raising the standards of all homes for the elderly, I have asked the Department of Economic Security to formulate criteria for grading personal-care homes according to the standard of care each gives. Homes providing excellent care should

receive higher grant payments for indigent patients. Homes providing only minimum care should receive only minimum grant payments. A similar rating for nursing homes is already in effect, under the medical care program, so that superior homes, those offering maximum service, receive their full per-diem costs from the state.

So far I have talked in generalities about the type of housing that is needed for the elderly. Now I would like to turn to specific types of housing. Independent living accommodations are the first need of the elderly. The need for this type of housing is the least critical. It is being met by and large today through public and private housing. I would like to point out, however, that when all public assistance grants were raised in Kentucky, many people on our aid-to-the-aged rolls who live in their own homes were able to obtain much more adequate housing.

A second type of housing is called for as we grow older and more dependent. Many now require minimal personal care and attention. The personal-care homes I have talked about meet this housing need. In these homes short-term bed rest and simple medication are available.

Next we may find an elderly person who becomes ill and needs a more intensive type of medical service. If this need is long term, then the care is provided in nursing homes, a vital part of a total elderly housing program. Modern medical care is a complex business involving expensive facilities and equipment and a great variety of highly skilled professional personnel. For that reason we emphasize the distinction between the nursing home and the personal-care home.

There are many people now in boarding homes or personal-care homes who are actually in need of skilled nursing home care. In turn, we have some in nursing homes who do not require the intensive long-term medical care provided there. With the existing shortage of facilities of all kinds, it is essential that we place each individual in the facility which provides the level of care most suitable to his needs.

Moreover, long-range development plans for housing the elderly must be tailored so that when extensive medical services are needed they can be obtained. When a patient in a personal-care home needs more extensive medical care, he should have the facilities of a nursing home available to him.

The balance between independent housing, personal-care homes, and nursing homes is largely an unknown in Kentucky today. The need for an answer to this unknown has prompted me to ask the state

Departments of Health and Economic Security to prepare a comprehensive plan that will show the need for private housing, personal-care homes, and nursing homes throughout the Commonwealth in the years to come. There is a strong need for such a plan to see to it that housing facilities are located where they are needed, now and in the future.

There is a final area of state responsibility that I want to mention. That is the state's obligation to conduct its affairs and programs in a manner that is consistent with the best interests of the total population. Naturally, it is the desire of all of us to administer our programs so that each special group we serve obtains the maximum benefits. And this is fine. However, we must keep in mind that the state has a binding commitment to the total population as well, the taxpayers who support our programs.

Every policy and administrative alternative must be weighed in the light of this consideration. The alternatives that do not serve the best interests of the total population will have to be rejected. Only in this way will public funds be expended in the best interests of the aged, the institutional system in general, and every citizen of Kentucky.

Invited by the governor, 150 people attended the conference held in the auditorium at the Health Department. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 14, 1963.

1. Earle Van Powell (1916–), clerk in office of secretary of state (1941–1943); contact officer, veterans administration, Frankfort (1944–1946); office manager, Kentucky Department of Education (1947–1953); assistant attorney general of Kentucky (1953–1959); deputy attorney general (1959–1961); commissioner of economic security (1961–1963); born in Elkhorn City, Kentucky, and resides in Owensboro, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 745.

2. Felix Joyner (1924–), budget analyst in Department of Finance, assistant budget director, head of Division of the Budget, deputy commissioner (1945–1955); administrator of state Health and Welfare Agency (1959–1963); commissioner of finance (1963–1967); born in Savannah, Georgia, and resides in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. J. O. Van Hook, "The Combs Years," unpublished manuscript, chapter 7, p. 6, Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University Library, Richmond. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

KENTUCKY FISCAL POLICY

Louisville / May 16, 1963

FOUR years ago you placed your confidence in this administration and supported its bold program for Kentucky's future. During these four years we have been diligent and faithful in our efforts to fulfill that trust. When we took office we pledged a covenant with you which has guided our every act.

In these past few weeks we have become disturbed about certain strong statements being made by Mr. A. B. Chandler against the integrity of this administration. Now, we welcome criticism. That's what has made our American democracy strong. But these particular statements are not criticisms. They are accusations, accusations which question the very honor of this administration and that of the loyal and capable people in it who serve you.

Mr. Chandler wants a third term as your governor. Mr. Chandler, like any other citizen, is free to find fault with our government. But charges against our honor, our honesty, are more than fault-finding. We cannot let them go unchallenged, and still be loyal to the covenant we have pledged to you.

My fellow Kentuckians, these charges are simply and plainly not true. The charges we are talking about are those that your state government is bankrupt and that this administration has a fifty-million-dollar "bloated" payroll. Now, these are most serious charges. If we have brought Kentucky to the brink of bankruptcy, and if we are deliberately misusing your tax dollars, then we have abused your trust. But we have not abused your trust because these charges made by Mr. Chandler are as false as false can be. They are, in fact, preposterous.

First, let us consider briefly the state's financial condition. At no time during the last four years has this state ever failed to meet its obligations fully and promptly. We have closed each and every fiscal year with a surplus in the state treasury, never a deficit. This year will be no exception.

We shall meet every obligation. We shall make all payments for the educational program and make them promptly upon receipt of proper requests. We shall pay our teachers and pay them on time. We shall pay our state employees and pay them on time. We shall close this fiscal year with a surplus in the treasury as we have closed each of the other fiscal years.

Of course, Kentucky has certain long-term debts. Some of these debts were contracted when Mr. Chandler was governor and some of them while I have been your governor. Every dollar of debt which is an obligation against the full faith and credit of this state was contracted by a vote of the people. Most of these general obligations, \$240 million of them, in fact, were authorized during Mr. Chandler's administration. Only \$100 million to match federal highway funds and to build the parks system was voted during the present administration.

Then, we have another type of indebtedness, known as revenue bonds. These obligations are not payable out of taxes. They are charged only against receipts from the projects which have been constructed with the proceeds of the bonds such as highway tolls, dormitory rentals, and other similar receipts. Despite what Mr. Chandler may say, and he says many things which are not true, these bonds are not a mortgage on your property. They are not a mortgage on the state's general fund or on the highway funds. For many years, Kentucky has financed necessary and progressive public improvements by this type of bond. Most of your local schools have been financed with revenue bonds. Kentucky financed her toll bridges with revenue bonds. We built the original Kentucky Turnpike with revenue bonds.

Despite what Mr. Chandler may say, and he says many things which are not true, these bonds have always paid out to the dollar in Kentucky. You will recall that when Governor Wetherby built the Kentucky Turnpike in 1955, Mr. Chandler said it would never pay out and he said it was a mortgage on your property. In fact, these bonds are being retired twelve years ahead of time and they haven't cost us a single tax dollar.

My fellow Kentuckians, you do not have to take my word for it when I say that your state government is sound today and has operated on a sound financial basis for the past four years. Perhaps Mr. Chandler will not accept my word. But surely he would accept the word of men who were his close advisers during his first administration, men like Clyde Reeves, who was his revenue commissioner, and Dr. John Manning, who was finance commissioner during the administration of his adviser, Mr. Clements.¹ Both held high posts under Mr. Chandler, and both were members of Governor Clements's cabinet.

Recently, along with Dr. Roy Owsley,² of Louisville, these two men completed a thorough study of our programs and our financial policies during the past four years. Here is their conclusion, dated

May 1, 1963: "We feel that the state's financial condition is sound and will continue to improve." I repeat, "We feel that the state's financial condition is sound and will continue to improve."

I suggest, therefore, that Mr. Chandler's real quarrel is with the very men who helped him conduct state government during his first term, men who furnished him the brains with which he operated his administration. Clyde Reeves and John Manning have not held positions under me. Their experience in state government was acquired under Mr. Chandler, and I should think he would find them good judges of our financial policies if he is looking for the truth.

A politician who will calculatingly risk the financial good name of his state in an attempt to mislead the people is like the gossip who starts a run on a bank. In addition to his false charge that the state is bankrupt, Mr. Chandler claims that this administration is also deceiving you with a fifty-million-dollar "bloated" payroll. The figure of \$50 million is Mr. Chandler's figure, and "bloat" is Mr. Chandler's word. But it can mean no less than that we are deliberately misusing your tax dollars. This is, I repeat, as false as false can be.

The records of our administration are available for examination by any citizen of Kentucky. We welcome you. After all, you elected us to serve you. And you have every right to know exactly what that service is. Frankly, we are proud of it. And we think you will be.

Before I begin the details of our true payroll story, I'd like to examine for a moment the details of Mr. Chandler's claims and accusations. Mr. Chandler is promising to cut the sales tax by \$36 million. He says he will pay for this cut by eliminating some \$50 million from state payrolls each year. That fifty million he claims is padded money. Mr. Chandler claims that this \$50 million is the amount of increased payrolls of this administration. In other words, we are spending, according to Mr. Chandler, \$50 million more than he did in his last term. And, he states, we are not getting any more for it. We are, he says, wasting this money.

First, we are not spending \$50 million more than he did. It is true that we are spending more. But not \$50 million. It is true that your state government costs have been going up every year since 1792 when our state was founded. A state's needs grow every year as the population grows. So do the costs for these needs. For example, during the last fiscal year of Governor Wetherby's administration the total state payroll was \$47,495,400. Governor Wetherby was succeeded by Mr. Chandler. In the last full fiscal year of Mr. Chandler's administration the state payroll was \$81,729,900, an increase of over \$34 million. Mr. Chandler did not, then, reduce state payrolls. He

increased them. Yet, he did not increase the state's services proportionately. But we are not challenging Mr. Chandler's payrolls here. Our point is that he, too, like the governors before him, found himself with an increased payroll situation, which he accepted.

The payroll of this administration, during this fiscal year, will be \$112,047,800. Subtract Mr. Chandler's increased \$81,729,900 payroll, and the difference is in fact \$30,317,900. Mr. Chandler's statement that it has increased \$50 million is, then, nearly \$20 million wrong. So we are talking about \$30.3 million not \$50 million.

We are not ashamed of this increase, nor embarrassed by it, because it represents vital and real increases in government services for you, the citizens of Kentucky. You are paying more and you are getting more.

Here is where your money goes. The largest part of this total is \$12,299,800. This money is being spent to increase the salaries of our professors and teachers at the University of Kentucky and at our state colleges. And it is being used to hire more badly needed professors, instructors, and other personnel for educating young people in college.

When Mr. Chandler cites the medical school at the University of Kentucky as he is doing, he neglects to add that most of the money to build it came from federal funds, and that the cost for equipping and staffing it came from this administration's budget. We hired the professors, the nurses, and the personnel. It cost \$28 million of your tax dollars to equip and staff this school that was supposedly already paid for.

If Mr. Chandler plans to abolish the \$12 million educational increase, he can do so, of course. But he will have to close the medical school. He will have to fire about one-fifth of our college professors and instructors. He will have to cut, by one-fourth, the salaries of those who are left. To eliminate this increase is to send our higher education programs back to the dark ages, to stab our young people in the back, just when they are beginning to benefit from the increased educational standards of our state.

The next expenditure from the \$30.3 million is an increase in our health and welfare services of \$6,623,600. Mr. Chandler said there was no money during his administration for retarded children. He said this despite the unanimous approval of expenditures given by both houses of the legislature. This administration is finding this money, money to bring daylight, care, and training into the pathetic lives of these children, money to raise salaries for the therapists, the technical and administrative people.

These people have to be experts. To get them we must pay them

adequately. We are spending this extra \$6.6 million throughout our health and welfare service to improve the lot of our retarded children and to provide better salaries for the people who staff our mental hospitals: attendants, nurses, nurses aides, physicians, and psychiatrists, the medical and technical staff of our TB hospitals. We are providing more help for children with physical handicaps.

What will happen to these vital services if Mr. Chandler cuts this \$6.6 million? This increase can be reduced only if we want to reduce doctors' care to children who are crippled; only if we want to go back to programs that keep people in institutions forever, rather than cure them and return them to productive lives. These are the choices.

There is an increase in payroll expenditures for the Department of Highways. The amount is \$1,545,200. Now, this does not represent the salary of a single additional employee. In fact, there are actually four hundred fewer employees in the Highway Department than there were when Mr. Chandler left office.

Many of the employees in the department are highly trained professionals, engineers, and dedicated career personnel. We must pay them adequately if we are to keep them working for us. Their skills are very much in demand these days, in industry and in other states. The last time Mr. Chandler was governor, more than 200 professional people left the Highway Department. No wonder work slowed down.

Our highway program is a big one — the biggest in Kentucky's history. Two hundred fifty miles of four-lane highways are already built and two hundred fifty more are under construction. And over a thousand total miles are planned. Alongside this, we have our stepped-up rural highway and rural secondary road programs, resurfacing and blacktopping these vital routes. Many of them were badly neglected from past years, and some even poorly built with inferior materials. My administration's highway program is correcting these deplorable conditions and is bringing you more roads and better roads.

And we are doing this with fewer people, but better-paid people. What will happen to Kentucky's road program if this payroll expenditure is eliminated? It will be drastically curtailed. Our engineers, our professional highway people, will leave us for better-paying jobs elsewhere. And we will be forced to turn back the clock in still another area of state progress.

These next figures will show you even more emphatically what I mean. An increase in payroll expenditures of \$1,590,000 went to our Departments of Parks and Conservation. This is money paid out as

an investment. Our parks system produces revenue. We have expanded these revenue possibilities considerably. We have built new parks, new facilities, to increase the number of visitors to our parks. More parks and facilities require more people to staff them. On the other hand, more parks and facilities mean more revenue from these parks and more money for the business that service the parks. So this money has been invested, not just spent.

Today, Kentucky has the best state parks system in the nation. There was a time, not many years ago, when we couldn't say that. Must we go back to those days of neglect and deterioration of our parks? Must we cut back our forestry program, reduce fire protection, and reduce our park supervisory personnel? Then we had almost as well place "detour" signs at our state's borders so tourists can bypass our state altogether. But even that would be almost better than having them pass through our state without spending dollars or contributing sales tax dollars. Let me assure you every cent spent for our parks is spent to make them better; to make them more profitable in terms of revenue, in terms of their value in attracting tourists to our state; to make them better parks for Kentuckians themselves to enjoy; in short, to make them better parks for you. If Mr. Chandler plans to abolish this increase he can do so, but does he plan to close parks, or does he plan to lease the facilities at a great loss, as he did before?

Here is a figure I want you to consider carefully. It is an increase of \$1,550,500 for our Department of Public Safety. This money is being spent to reduce the toll of death and accidents on our highways. There is more traffic on Kentucky highways today than at any other time in our history. We have hired seventy-five additional state troopers. We have raised the salaries of the troopers to make them more nearly comparable to those paid by other states. Do you want a governor to cut out these increases at the expense of protecting the lives of your family?

Let's go on to another expenditure. Eight units are covered in this payroll increase of \$2,413,700. These are the departments headed by elective officials: The Department of Education, Department of Agriculture, Department of Law, the secretary of state, the state auditor, and the Treasury Department. It also includes the legislature and the courts whose expenditures are outside the control of a governor. The men who head the constitutional departments are elected by you. I'm sure you wouldn't want to cripple their work with inadequate funds. And I have respected your wishes.

When Superintendent of Public Instruction Butler asked for an

additional \$1.5 million to administer an enlarged program for education, he got the money he needed. When the Commissioner of Agriculture Emerson Beauchamp³ asked for \$257,000 to administer programs such as Johnson grass control, weed control, animal disease control, and other programs vital to the farmers, he got the money.

What must happen if these funds are cut? The seven new vocational schools added since 1959 must be closed. Vital agriculture programs must be slashed. The special education program for retarded and handicapped children must be curtailed.

Now, let me add all the figures I have given you. When we total the increases for salaries for higher education, health and welfare, highways, parks and conservation, public safety, and constitutional officers, the increases total \$26,022,800 out of the total increase of \$30,317,000. This leaves, then, \$4,295,000 out of this sum we are paying for our expanded program for tourist promotion. It finances our expanding industrial development and industrial promotion program, which has helped bring 15,000 new jobs to our state in a single year. We have increased our library services throughout the state, notably our bookmobile program. And we have made many other improvements in public services in other departments.

Mr. Chandler has had a great deal to say about personal services contracts. Among other things he says that they can be reduced by \$15 million. Now the fact is that such contracts do not even total \$15 million. The total is actually just over \$2.5 million. Of this, over \$1.3 million is for the colleges and the Council on Public Higher Education. Over \$315,000 is to provide medical services through state agencies. Over \$400,000 is to advertise Kentucky through space in newspapers, magazines, and other promotion. Over \$82,000 is for nurse scholarships and other technician scholarships. Over \$34,000 is for veterinary services in the Brucellosis program. Over \$130,000 is for auditors and accountants. Which of these items would be cut?

This, my fellow Kentuckians, is where your \$30.3 million is being spent; not to add deadheads, cronies, hangers-on to our payrolls; not for inefficiency and waste; not for "bloating" your state payrolls. This money is being spent to make Kentucky a better state in which to live.

It is not an easy thing to tell people that it costs money to run a state. Because money means taxes. And no one wants to pay taxes. But whether we want to or not, we must pay some taxes. The real question is, how much? The answer is: As much as it takes to run your state government and provide for its services wisely, adequately, and dynamically. No state can survive in poverty for

long. No state can afford to limp along economically and educationally. Who would want to live there? Who would want to raise their children there? Yes, it will always take taxes to run a state, to keep it sound and progressive. And when it comes to election time, there will always be some politician who will rise up and denounce them, promising to bring great skills to bear in lowering them.

This is all to the good. If I really believed such a politician, I'd be tempted to vote for him myself. But I do not believe Mr. Chandler. This man never in his career lowered taxes. He consistently raised them. In this campaign, he says he has a secret plan for doing what he's never been able to do before. No wonder it is a secret. My concern tonight, however, is with Mr. Chandler's attempts to deceive you with false and misleading statements about the actions of my administration.

I didn't come on the air to tell you I am perfect. Nor did I come here to tell you there is no waste in government, in my administration or any other. Some waste is bound to creep in, no matter how vigilantly you try to prevent it. This much I do say: My administration has maintained an honest vigilance against waste and inefficiency with every effort we can make. We are always seeking economy, we are always seeking to get more for every dollar we spend.

I say, too, that this administration has been honest and open about every dollar we are spending. We do not have a bloated payroll. Every dollar is on record for you to see. Our files are open to you. It is understandable that Mr. Chandler is not informed on our state finances. But his fifty-million-dollar claim goes outside the area of even understandable ignorance. And his accusations of "bloated" payrolls are plainly irresponsible falsehoods.

It is my honor, and that of all of those good people in my administration, that I proclaim to you now: We made you a covenant. We are keeping it.

This was a major speech presented on WAVE-TV during prime time to answer charges made by Chandler that state fiscal policy was close to insolvency. Though Breathitt was Chandler's opponent in the primary, the former governor had devoted much of his effort to indictments of administration policy. Correspondingly, Combs gave comparatively little time to the promotion of Breathitt while focusing sharply upon Chandler. Breathitt's subsequent victory (309,377 to 247,661), it would seem therefore, offered proof that Kentuckians approved the policies of the Combs administration. See *Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 20, 1963, for vote report.

1. Clyde Reeves (1912–), revenue commissioner of Kentucky (1937–

1942, 1948–1952); executive director of Kentucky fairgrounds (1956–1961); presently director of state planning office; born in Scott County, Kentucky, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. Telephone interview, June 25, 1976.

John Manning (1899–), commissioner of finance (1948–1952); executive assistant to governor (1973–1974); Kentucky railroad commissioner (1974–); born in Cox's Creek, Kentucky, and resides in Louisville. John Manning to editor, August 31, 1976.

2. Roy Hamilton Owsley (1908–), assistant secretary, field secretary, and field consultant, Kentucky Municipal League (1929–1937); executive secretary, Maine Municipal Association (1937–1940); manager, assistant director of Washington, D.C. office, American Municipal Association (1941–1948); consultant, city of Louisville (1948–1952, 1954–1962); chairman, University of Kentucky Board of Trustees (1962); special consultant to the governor (1962–1963); born in Sonora, Kentucky, and resides in Louisville. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, 1966–1967, 10th ed. (Chicago, 1967), p. 721.

3. Emerson "Doc" Beauchamp (1900–1971), clerk county court, Logan County (1926–1933); member Kentucky Tax Commission (1933–1935); sheriff, Logan County (1937–1940); personnel director of Kentucky (1944–1946); rural roads commissioner (1949–1951); lieutenant governor (1952–1955); commissioner of agriculture (1960–1964); state treasurer (1964–1968); born in Logan County and resided in Russellville, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest*, 1966–1967, 10th ed. (Chicago, 1967), p. 70. *New York Times*, April 9, 1971.

KENTUCKY SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF COMMENCEMENT Danville / May 29, 1963

MANY of Kentucky's young people do not complete high school. You have done so under conditions that would discourage many people. The fact that you have succeeded in getting your diploma is a credit to your character and perseverance.

Actually, everybody has a handicap, and some of these handicaps are more than physical disability, because they are handicaps of the mind, like arrogance, selfishness, greed, and envy. Fortunately, there are compensations for handicaps. It was Emerson who said: "For everything you have missed, you have gained something else." For this we find both proof and inspiration in the immortal works of the poet Milton, who was blind; in the magnificent music of the

composers Bach and Beethoven who were deaf; and in the brilliant career of Helen Keller, who was both deaf and blind.

A wise man once said, "Education has for its object the formation of character." Character is the chief ingredient of the education you have received.

They tell me that I am the first governor of Kentucky to speak at this school's commencement exercises. I am proud that you have invited me. I'm proud of this school and its students.

Yours was the first state-supported school for the deaf in America. Some of the most illustrious names in the education of the deaf have been numbered among its superintendents and faculty. Many of this school's graduates have gone on to college and now hold teaching positions at schools for the deaf throughout the country. I am sure you will continue to uphold the notable reputation of your school.

There are many roads open to you now: higher education, travel, a job, or marriage and a home. The education you have gained here will enable you to follow the road you choose wisely and well. Your deafness will place no barriers on the road to your future. It has not prevented you from getting an education. It will not prevent you from obtaining a job, which your education has prepared you for. It will not prevent you from furthering your education. And it will not hinder you in preparing a home or raising a family.

Why is this true? Partly because of schools such as the Kentucky School for the Deaf. This school has given you the basic education that will enable you to meet college requirements. It has provided training that will let you hold a job. It has given you the character and emotional stability that will help you raise your family.

The Kentucky School for the Deaf has taught you to hear, not just sounds, for it goes far beyond that range. You know that there is a need for your education in this world because you can hear the need far beyond the spoken words. The need calls out right here in Kentucky. There is a need for more teachers to educate the deaf, to bring more knowledge to their grasp. Many of you graduates who are going on to college will help fulfill this need. I hope you will come back to Kentucky to teach or to work, perhaps right here in the same school where you got your start.

Every child has a right to education, and every state has an obligation to provide that education. Kentucky can build schoolrooms and buy books but they do no good if there aren't any teachers. We can neither build nor buy teachers. We can offer them the best salary possible, but in the final analysis, it is the teacher who will decide to come to us. Teachers must be born as well as trained.

We also need your education in industry. As we expand our industrial programs, more jobs will open, more people will be needed to fill them. Most of all, we need your education to add to the total knowledge of our state. Kentucky has many great programs that are making it a good state to live in. But the problems that remain to be solved in our state do not have to be spoken aloud to be recognized. These problems depend for their answer on the educated youth of today. You, as part of Kentucky's educated youth, are capable of finding the answers.

Don't be afraid to face up to the problems that come your way. Don't be afraid to take on a job simply because it hasn't been done before. It has been said that "The things that haven't been done before are the things that should be tried." Those who don't hear the challenges of life are the real failures; for their deafness is of the mind. You have demonstrated so far your ability to hear the challenges of life; you have completed your high school education.

This was one of many commencement speeches in 1963 stressing the idea that graduates should stay in Kentucky. Also, Combs was the first governor ever to speak at this school's commencement.

GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE
ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Additional Laws for Human Rights
Frankfort / June 7, 1963

It is a pleasure for me to welcome you to this third annual Conference on Human Rights. I think these conferences have proven to be helpful in bringing together Kentucky's civil rights leaders. This will be my last such conference as governor, but I believe my successor will want to continue to call such conferences.

It has been nearly three years since I spoke to the first meeting of the Commission on Human Rights and I think some review is indicated. I am also interested in mentioning efforts which we should be making in the coming months.

I do want to commend the members of the Commission on Human Rights for the public service which you have performed. You have provided the leadership for significant accomplishments. I appreciate this and I know the people of Kentucky do. Canon Estill has provided outstanding leadership in his role as chairman and I am glad that he is receiving the national recognition he deserves, including his selection to represent us at the National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago in January.

A white man once decided that he would try to put an Indian in his place. He drew a small circle and said "This is what the Indian knows." Then he drew a larger circle around that one saying "This is what the white man knows." The Indian studied this and then drew an enormously larger circle saying "This is what no man knows."

I am not here to try to draw you a circle showing what we have accomplished toward eliminating discrimination in Kentucky. There remains a larger circle of what we as public officials have as a responsibility to do, but have not yet completed. A public official shouldn't be trying to claim credit for performing the responsibility he undertook in his oath of office. There remains the enormously larger circle which represents discrimination based on race, creed, and color which we have yet to eliminate from our society.

During the past three years, we have undertaken several programs to eliminate discrimination. This is particularly true with regard to service in public places. I was glad to write to the managers of 7,000 restaurants, hotels, motels, theaters, and other public places to ask them to serve everyone. As you know 400 places indicated "We provide equal service for all regardless of race or color," and only seventeen returned negative responses. The vast majority of places did not respond.

Many managers say they want a state law so they can begin serving everyone and know that their competitors are doing likewise. A statute of this nature would be in the best interest of private businesses and it would help them as it contributes to our program of attracting tourists to Kentucky.

The Commission on Human Rights has concluded from its experience and from its study of experience in other states that additional laws are needed. Such statutes would continue to emphasize education and persuasion, but they could be enforced in the courts when necessary. I support the commission in its call for such legislation and I believe we would experience no difficulty once it were adopted.

Here in Kentucky, where we have been making progress, we must

also be aware of the significant events in other parts of this region and this country. We must take into account the rapid developments in some southern states and the proposals which are being made by President Kennedy at the national level. In the words of Lincoln, "The dogmas of the quiet past are not sufficient for these troublesome times. As our case is new, so must we think anew."

We must give increased attention to discouraging discrimination in new areas and with new methods. Our experience shows that desegregation has worked out well wherever it has been tried in Kentucky and this evidence should prompt us to try it in new places.

Here are some of the efforts which we might appropriately undertake in the coming months.

1. Effective implementation of our Code of Fair Practice. This code covers areas where our governmental responsibilities are clearest. We must make every effort to eliminate all discrimination in state employment, financial assistance, and in the utilization of the taxpayers' money through purchases.

2. I am asking the Commission on Human Rights to arrange meetings of proprietors of places of public accommodation so that I may personally urge them to extend practices of equal service for all persons throughout their Kentucky establishments. This method is rightly being followed by President Kennedy and we have a responsibility to support him in every way we can.

3. We should also begin preparation of bills which would eliminate from the Kentucky Revised Statutes the racial references that have become "dead letters" according to court decisions.

Our experience in Kentucky as well as that in those thirty states which have enacted laws prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation shows the need for such legislation here. You who are meeting here today have a responsibility to express yourselves in support of legislation which you believe is necessary. If you as individuals believe your Kentucky General Assembly should enact legislation with enforcement sanctions, you must let them know this. In our society, we have many channels for such democratic expression. The most important of these is the ballot box. I know that the outcome of certain elections in Louisville had an influence on the passage of the Public Accommodations Ordinance there. In our country, every citizen can demonstrate his desires through the ballot box. You should communicate with public officials in this way as well as other methods.

VOTERS LEAGUE OF COVINGTON
The Responsibility to Vote
Covington / June 19, 1963

DANIEL WEBSTER once said: "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote." I congratulate you for participating in this organization. You are giving your hearts and your hands to your obligations, as American citizens, to strengthen democracy.

Last February, in a speech before an interracial organization known as the Chicago Conference for Brotherhood, I remarked that the American Negro can move faster toward economic and social equality by making himself strong at his polling place. We are more likely to succeed in correcting injustices if we deal from strength. We can pool and exert that strength in the voting booth.

An unfortunately large percentage of our citizens of voting age do not take the trouble to register to vote. And it is unfortunately true that in some communities, where Negroes are unhampered by voting restrictions, they do not take full advantage of the privilege to vote. For example, last fall in Louisville, only 44 percent of the white population was registered to vote. But only 28.6 percent of the Negro population was registered.

And in the 1960 presidential election, only 59 percent of the Kentuckians of voting age cast a vote. The average for the United States was only 64 percent.

You should be proud that, through your activities in the Voters League of Covington, you are helping to correct this condition, you are setting a good example for our other citizens, white and colored.

The members of your organization have opportunity to achieve more than fulfilling your responsibility to vote. At the same time you can help, by exercising your full strength as voters, to free America of the bonds of prejudice which deny to the Negro his full citizenship rights.

William Jennings Bryan has told us, "The humblest citizen of all the land when clad in the armor of righteous cause is stronger than all the hosts of error." And yours is a righteous cause. To seek equal opportunity and equal treatment for all people is morally right, democratically sound, and economically practical. It is a righteous cause to condemn and seek to eliminate the patterns of prejudice that exist

in employment, in public accommodations, in the churches, in housing, and in the minds of men.

President Kennedy recently said, "This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened."

This statement is a good reminder of our heritage. Not by one race or creed, but by all of these working together, were we able to build the firm foundation on which our nation stands.

It has been said that our country's Constitution is colorblind. But many of us do not recognize this. We are often guilty of not practicing what we preach. We cannot preach equality and freedom to the world with our fingers crossed behind our backs because of racial discrimination here. We have come a long way in the hundred years since President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. But we have yet to give full effect to that proclamation. The problem cannot be left entirely to our national leaders. State and community leaders have an equal responsibility.

Kentucky has received considerable applause for the progress it has made in breaking down the barriers of racial prejudice. And we can be proud that we have experienced this progress with what I think has been a minimum of discord. The statewide Commission on Human Rights, established in 1960, has been most helpful. And it is encouraging to note that local communities are setting up similar commissions under a state law. We have adopted a Code of Ethics prohibiting discrimination in state government employment. Contractors doing business with the state are required to practice fairness in hiring employees. Our principal city recently adopted an ordinance banning discrimination in public accommodations.

We are hiring more Negroes in state government than ever before, and they are acquitting themselves well in responsible positions. Integration of our public schools is proceeding smoothly. We have integrated the state parks and other state-owned facilities.

Kentucky's future course in eliminating other aspects of racial discrimination will be dictated of necessity by the legislation enacted by Congress. It is very probable that any new federal laws would have to be supplemented by state laws. Meanwhile, your state government will encourage integration in all fields of endeavor.

We are conducting a study now to determine whether I, as governor, can direct integration in all facilities holding a state license. In the past decade Kentucky has been fortunate in having as governor men with a liberal attitude on civil rights. I think it is fair to say that

our state has made more progress by far in this field than any other so-called southern state.

Your officials in Frankfort are fully cognizant of the necessity to continue progress in the field of civil rights. We are aware of the constitutional provisions which affirmatively assert that all men are created equal and that no person shall be discriminated against because of race, creed, or color. Working together, and with God's help, I have no doubt that the time will come in the not-too-distant future when all American citizens will enjoy the unqualified right to pursue life, liberty, and happiness without resistance or prejudice.

DEDICATION OF KENTUCKY
TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION'S
NEW BUILDING

Louisville / June 24, 1963

It is always a pleasure to take part in the dedication of a new building because almost always it signifies progress and the realization of the dreams of dedicated people. This dedication is no different. It is another milestone in our state's long struggle against tuberculosis. And the struggle hasn't been easy. For many generations Kentuckians have faced a vast tuberculosis problem. The cause of death stamped on death certificates of many of our forebears was tuberculosis. Today, this has been changed and even though TB still claims more lives in Kentucky than all other infectious diseases combined, it no longer is the threat it was once. As recently as 1960, there were 1,073 deaths a year from TB in Kentucky. Last year, this was down to 287 deaths, a sizable reduction but still almost double the national average.

But, I'm told that death rates are no longer the most significant factor as an indication of the size of the tuberculosis problem. Because of drugs discovered within the past ten or twelve years, lives that once were lost to TB are now being saved. It is the case rate that is significant today.

In 1950, new cases of TB reported to the state Health Department totaled 3,702. Last year the number was down to 1,548. However,

even this number (1,548) marked an increase over the number of cases reported since the all-time low of 1,155 in 1960. Even now, our TB case rate is running ahead of last year's. This has been attributed by the authorities to improved case-finding and reporting. However, it is certain that Kentucky's TB problem still is serious, that much remains to be done.

Some say we speak too much of Kentucky's poor TB record in comparison to that of other states. I cannot go along with this, nor can the Kentucky TB Association, the state Health Department, or the state TB Hospital Commission. They warn that apathy in the fight against tuberculosis can be a serious threat to its ultimate defeat and they point out that we still have a distance to go in that regard. Even when we get to the point that we have far fewer cases than we do today, there still must be constant surveillance. I hope that in the not-too-distant future a case of tuberculosis will be viewed with as much alarm as is a case of smallpox today.

The Kentucky TB Association has always shown itself to be a forward-looking, progressive organization. It has come a long way since the late Dr. L.E. Smith,¹ its first executive director, carried his battery-operated film projector to the remote areas of Kentucky, showing films on TB and other health subjects and preaching the gospel of good sanitation and healthy living conditions.

Two years ago this organization invited other health groups to join it in a conference at the Campbell House in Lexington where our state's leading authorities said of TB eradication, "it can be done," and furnished the guidelines. The progress that has been made in carrying out these recommendations for eradication has been truly amazing.

Working closely with official agencies, this voluntary organization has helped spark a big push against TB in our Commonwealth. Twenty-four field outpatient clinics were established in Kentucky last year by the state TB Hospital Commission and the Health Department. An all-out eradication project is under way in Martin County, Kentucky. This organization also has been influential in helping to see that medical directors of our state tuberculosis hospitals received an increase in salary. Until a short time ago we were constantly losing top quality men to other states because of the low salary scale here.

In addition, a grant from this organization has helped make possible the opening of a new pulmonary function facility at the University of Louisville Medical School. Also, the Kentucky Tuberculosis Association has been supplying our state's physicians and medical

students with all the latest material and information on tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases.

These are just a few of the things the TB Association has been doing this year. Another measure of their success is this new building. In it, they will be able to operate even more efficiently and effectively. We are glad indeed that this voluntary agency has chosen to build here near our state tuberculosis hospitals. This is another indication of the cooperation that exists between our official agencies and the Kentucky Tuberculosis Association. And this cooperation certainly is essential if we are to carry out our dream of eradication.

This building points to the progress that can be made when people set their mind to it. I am proud to dedicate this building to the better health of all Kentuckians.

1. L. E. Smith (1878–1955), first executive director of Kentucky Tuberculosis Association; born in Sacramento, Kentucky, and resided in St. Matthews, Kentucky. Telephone interview with Tom Summers, Louisville, June 16, 1977.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
DESEGREGATION IN PLACES
OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS
Frankfort / June 26, 1963

WHEREAS, the denial of equal opportunity in an access to places of public accommodations because of race, color, creed, or national origin, is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the Commonwealth of Kentucky as manifested in its constitution and in the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the executive branch of the government in executing the laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and the United States which prohibit discrimination based on race, religion, creed, color, or national origin, is charged with an obligation and duty to assure that those laws are fairly administered and that benefits thereunder are

made available to all Kentucky citizens without regard to race, religion, color, creed, or national origin;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky by the constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, it is orderd as follows:

Section 1. All departments and agencies in the executive branch of state government, insofar as their functions relate to supervising or licensing persons or organizations (doing business or practicing a profession) in this state, shall take all lawful action necessary and appropriate to prevent at all times discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Section 2. All such executive departments and agencies shall take such other appropriate action permitted by law, including revising the rules and regulations, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices by all permittees or licensees under their jurisdiction.

Section 3. Each executive department and agency subject to this order is directed to submit to me within sixty (60) days from this date a report outlining all current programs administered by it which are affected by this order.

Section 4. The chief administrative officer of each executive department or agency of state government administering programs affected by this order is directed to proceed with all deliberate speed toward a program of full compliance with the purposes and intents of this executive order. This responsibility is nondelegable.

Pressed by civil rights leaders in Louisville to ask a special session of the legislature to consider a statewide public accommodations law, Combs resisted. The session was called, he insisted, to keep the UMW hospitals in eastern Kentucky from closing down — something that the governor believed should be done on a nonpartisan basis. To inject the civil rights issue into this situation would threaten the nonpartisan spirit and jeopardize the needed hospital legislation. Even so the clamor continued until Combs finally responded not by referring the matter to the legislature but by using his power as chief executive. The wording was almost identical to that used by Governor Matthew Welsh of Indiana at an earlier time except that Welsh acted on the basis of legislative authorization.

KENTUCKY SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND
COMMENCEMENT
Louisville / July 6, 1963

I'M very glad to be back with you again and especially pleased to see the changes since my last visit. Your new building is coming along rapidly. The last time I was here, I said that if the building was not ready for use next fall, some heads would be knocked together. I'm sticking by that promise.

I believe this new building will be a symbol of Kentucky's modern approach to the education of the blind. The graduates who come after this 1963 class will have a better environment in which to get their education because of this new classroom building. But this is just the first phase — the anchor point in future development. In the second phase, we have planned a permanent administration building, an auditorium, and a music building, new boys and girls dormitories, a swimming pool, cafeteria, and central kitchen, and new additions to the gymnasium and kindergarten. The third phase will include another boys' dormitory and a bowling alley.

Even though you will miss out on these future improvements of the Kentucky School for the Blind, I'm sure you will all agree that your education here has been good. You are well prepared to face the future and you have a shining future ahead of you.

Kentucky offers many opportunities for the blind and I hope you will want to stay in Kentucky and take advantage of them. There is a place for you in your own state. Kentucky has prepared you by giving you an education. We want you to stay here and put that education to work for Kentucky.

Some of you graduates may be planning to go on to college. I hope you will. At one time, this might have been an impossible goal for a blind student. There are now twenty blind students in Kentucky colleges and universities. They are furthering their education in many different fields. I hope they, too, will stay in Kentucky. We have a particular need for more teachers of the blind. Some of these college students are preparing themselves for that career.

You graduates of the Kentucky School for the Blind have a better-than-average chance for a college education. The state Division of Services to the Blind will provide a scholarship to those of you who want to go to college and who have the ability to qualify. The schol-

arship is based on need and will pay for as much as you are not able to provide for yourself.

As a college student, you can receive other assistance from the state. We started a program last year to record textbooks for use by blind students. This makes it easier for you to study and means less reliance on hired "readers." The Division of Services to the Blind also provides typewriters, tape recorders, braille writers, and other devices useful to students.

If you do not want to go to college, this state division will help you find a job. There are many openings available to you in Kentucky. The Kentucky Industries for the Blind, a state-supported agency, employs about seventy-five blind persons. We recently invested \$25,000 in this industry to add about 3,000 square feet of work space. This is making room for more people to be hired. This workshop started out by providing such work as broom and mop-making, time-honored jobs for the blind. The shop now has subcontracts for many kinds of assembly work. The Kentucky Industries for the Blind also has a training program now to teach various shop trades.

Kentucky state government itself hires many blind people. There are at least seven in the one division that serves the blind. The director of the Kentucky Division of Services to the Blind is blind. Tim Cranmer¹ is one of the more outstanding former students of the Kentucky School for the Blind. Mr. Cranmer has done much good work in his division. You might know about the abacus he has developed for use by the blind. Arithmetic is one of the most difficult courses for the blind person to master. The special abacus which Tim worked out may revolutionize the whole problem of learning mathematics. He has received a federal grant for his project and the American Printing House for the Blind, here in Louisville, is producing it.

The whole purpose of the Kentucky School for the Blind is to educate you for life in a seeing world. I am proud of the school for achieving this goal. You eight graduates here tonight are proof of that. You are ready to take your place as an educated, self-sufficient member of your community. The education you have gained can never be taken away from you. I urge you to use it well and I wish you luck in all your future endeavors.

1. Terrence Vernon "Tim" Cranmer (1925–), director of Kentucky Division of Technical Services to the Blind (1958–); born in Louisville, Kentucky, and resides in Frankfort, Kentucky. Martha Gregory, acting director of public services, to editor, Frankfort, May 10, 1977.

GUIDELINES FOR IMPLEMENTATION
OF EXECUTIVE
ORDER OF JUNE 26
Frankfort / July 7, 1963

1. THE governor considers the executive order a middle-of-the-road approach and thinks that it should be given reasonable and equitable interpretation.

2. The order will be construed to authorize only those steps which have been directed or clearly implied by decisions of the federal courts or the Kentucky Court of Appeals.

3. First consideration should be given to the areas covered by the ordinance of the city of Louisville so as to have uniformity throughout the state.

4. The executive order is not considered a permanent solution to the problem, but only a means of keeping Kentucky in a flexible position until the General Assembly and the next governor can take action warranted by then existing conditions.

5. Religious leaders, business leaders, and other interested groups will be consulted before any decisive action is taken under the executive order.

6. There is no cause for alarm. No action will be taken under the order that will infringe upon the legal or moral rights of our citizens to conduct legitimate business.

7. With the application of goodwill and tolerance by all of us, racial strife and controversy can be avoided in Kentucky.

8. It is to Kentucky's interest that this issue be kept on a nonpartisan basis, and it would be most unfortunate if it becomes a subject of argument in the political arena.

The reaction to Combs's public accommodations executive order was immediate and intense. Civil rights leaders appeared eager to proceed posthaste to full enforcement. Representatives of commercial organizations were alarmed by what seemed a sudden and arbitrary invasion of private rights. The governor cautioned here against extreme reactions from either side. The original draft in Combs's handwriting is identical to the final presentation.

EXECUTIVE ORDER OF JUNE 26
Louisville / July 15, 1963

ONE of the most critical problems in America today is that of civil rights. In Mississippi, Alabama, Maryland, Georgia, Chicago, and other places, there is turmoil and confusion. The National Guard is now on active duty in Maryland to maintain law and order. Police dogs, cattle prods, and fire hoses have been used against American citizens.

Our national Congress is now considering civil rights legislation. A feeling of tension and uneasiness grips the nation. We have been fortunate in Kentucky in that we have had no open strife in the struggle for civil rights. The 1960 Kentucky Legislature created a Commission on Human Rights, and this commission, composed of some of Kentucky's leading citizens, has done an excellent job in this field.

As governor, I have sponsored an annual Conference on Human Rights since 1961, to which representative, prominent citizens of Kentucky were invited to consider this problem. A steadily increasing number of Negroes have been employed in Kentucky state government. Total Negro employment is now approximately 1,150, and several Negroes have been employed in key positions: to wit, child welfare, Highway Department, nurses, consultant to the commissioner of personnel, and as a member of the Personnel Board of the Department of Public Safety.

Several months ago I wrote a personal letter to 7,000 managers of places of public accommodation urging them to provide service to all our citizens. Last March, as the head of the executive department of our state government, I issued a Code of Fair Practices prohibiting discrimination in employment by contractors doing business with the state.

Kentucky's state parks — some of the finest in the nation — have been integrated without incident or confusion. Integration of Kentucky's public schools is proceeding smoothly and is approaching completion.

The 1962 General Assembly enacted legislation authorizing Kentucky citizens to set up local Human Rights Commissions and to enact ordinances prohibiting discrimination. A number of Kentucky cities have established such commissions. Among them are Berea,

Covington, Danville, Frankfort, Henderson, Hopkinsville, Lexington, Paducah, and Louisville. The Louisville Board of Aldermen in May of this year passed a public accommodations ordinance.

On June 26 I issued an executive order directing the heads of departments and agencies in state government to report to me within sixty days what other appropriate steps might be taken under present laws to eliminate discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin. The extremists on both sides of the civil rights issue have been critical of this executive order. The extremists among the Negroes call it a hoax and a poor substitute for a state law. The extremists among the segregationists call it a dictatorial infringement upon the rights of Kentucky citizens.

Actually, in my judgment, it is neither. As is often the case, it is neither as bad as the opposition would like to believe, nor as good as its proponents have said it is. In my judgment, the executive order is a middle-of-the-road approach to a very sensitive and controversial situation. It is not a permanent solution to the problem but only a means of keeping Kentucky in a flexible position until the General Assembly and the next governor can take such action as is justified by then existing conditions.

I have emphasized that the order will be construed to authorize by state department heads only those steps which have been directed or clearly implied by decisions of federal and state courts. I have emphasized, too, that no action will be taken under the order that would infringe upon the legal or moral rights of our citizens to conduct a legitimate business.

The order was issued in order that we could set up legal machinery to deal with this problem between now and next January when the General Assembly will meet in regular session. The order was issued at a time when the General Assembly was preparing to adjourn after an extraordinary session which had been called to consider methods of keeping open the United Mine Workers hospitals.

At the time of the call for this extraordinary session, I had, at least by implication, promised the leadership of the assembly that if they would concentrate on the problem of the miners' hospitals, I would not inject into this extraordinary session other controversial issues. Moreover, I was and am of the opinion that the issue of civil rights for Kentucky citizens should be considered by the General Assembly at a regular session and not under the pressure of a special session called for another purpose. I am also of the opinion that the question should not be debated in the heat of a political campaign. I am very

hopeful that with a commonsense and moderate application of the executive order and with the goodwill and tolerance of the people of Kentucky, racial strife and controversy can be avoided.

Though repetitive of earlier remarks, this speech presented on WAVE-TV, reflected Combs's concern that people as a whole in Kentucky needed to hear his position. His hope, however, that it would not become a significant factor in the ensuing gubernatorial campaign was not realized.

COAL INDUSTRY

Miami Beach, Florida / July 22, 1963

OUR states rank number one and number two in the production of bituminous coal,¹ but during the last decade coal markets have declined or have been stabilized at a level entirely too low, causing a high level of unemployment in coal-producing areas.

Coal has a vital stake in policies affecting both imports and exports of our goods and commodities. Coal markets along the East Coast are seriously threatened by increasing imports of residual fuel oil. At the present time imports amount to the equivalent of some fifty million tons of coal annually.

The amount is less serious than the manner in which this oil is sold. Being a waste product, and without a measurable inherent value, it can and is sold for whatever price is necessary to move it into trade channels. Contracts are said to have been signed by some large users of residual oil guaranteeing them the price will always be under that of coal. Our trade policies were never intended to encourage piratical pricing such as this to the detriment of domestic products. For coal, the net effect has been to reserve for imported oil the market created by the growth of the economy.

Domestically produced residual oil is being driven out of the East Coast market by oil produced abroad and sold considerably under what it can be produced for in this country. There is an urgent need to stabilize imports of crude and residual oil. This can be done

without disrupting our international trade policies and commitments or the nation's friendships abroad.

The coal industry is asking for a stabilization of imports at or near present levels, with some assurance that the line will be held. Coal thus could share in the future growth of the market along with imported oil, and the coal mines of West Virginia and Kentucky would have a chance to increase production and put people back to work.

As for exports, it appears to us that coal offers a golden opportunity for the United States to increase sales abroad and make a major contribution to solving the problem of unfavorable balance of payments which so concerns the president.

Coal is one of the few commodities which this nation produces that can be sold competitively throughout the world. That it does not enjoy larger markets stems from the fact that almost all nations impose quotas, high tariffs, and other measures to keep out U.S. coal. We are encouraged by what seems to be a growing recognition on the part of our government that the highly industrialized nations offer a market of great potential for U.S. coal. From this growing realization of coal's potential we hope will emerge a determination to press during trade negotiations next year for a relaxation of restrictions against coal.

Two highly significant results would occur: 1) It would earn dollars for the United States in overseas markets; 2) It could create jobs in areas of the nation which need them desperately.

Those coal mines currently working in the Appalachian area are operating at or near capacity. Any increased demand, therefore, could only be met by putting more men to work. Every additional million tons of coal production, either through exports or a careful limitation of residual fuel oil imports sold under marketing practices which disrupt the entire domestic fuels market, would require 350 more jobs in our coal mines and another 200 on the nation's railroads, which transport the bulk of the coal to markets. Some foreign trade experts foresee a potential increase of up to 100 million tons annually in export markets. This could mean 55,000 new jobs in areas where a solution to unemployment problems is imperative.

Therefore, we urge our colleagues at this conference meeting to join in supporting a program to insure the maintenance of an expanding domestic fuels industry by urging upon the federal government realistic and reasonable restrictions upon imports of both crude and residual oil.

Further, we urge that our colleagues join in advocating that the

persons vested with the responsibility of developing international trade policies recognize that coal can play a significant role in solving our present trade and payments imbalance. The national interest will be served by such actions.

1. Issued jointly by Governor William Wallace Barron of West Virginia and Combs at the annual Governors' Conference, this statement represents continued close association among Appalachian leaders, an association begun by Combs and others in 1960.

GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE
Racial Relations in Kentucky
Miami Beach, Florida / July 23, 1963

KENTUCKY, as you know, is a border state, but it is more south than it is north. About 8 percent of our population are Negroes.

We have been putting great emphasis on programs for improving education and highways, developing state parks, attracting new industry, and other related programs. We feel that we should not permit these programs to be jeopardized by confusion and strife in the field of civil rights.

We have had no serious problems in this border state, perhaps because the last three governors took a rather liberal position on the issue of civil rights. Under them, and I think under my administration, Kentucky's program of civil rights has steadily advanced.

As I see it, this problem can be handled only by the chief executive of the U.S., by the national Congress, and by the individual states. This conference is not set up to handle controversial issues of this nature. We do not have the continuity of leadership or the time for organization and homework necessary to deal effectively with such problems.

The Kentucky legislature in 1960 created a state Commission on Human Rights. The 1962 legislature authorized the formation of local human rights commissions. The city of Louisville, under a Republi-

can mayor and acting under the 1962 legislation, enacted a public accommodations ordinance.

Early this year, I issued a code of fair employment practices relating to contractors doing business with the state. On June 26 of this year, I issued an executive order directing the heads of all state administrative agencies to report to me within sixty days what action they can take within the existing law to eliminate discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin. A copy of that order has been placed before each of you.

That order is based on the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution, as well as on somewhat similar provisions in the Kentucky constitution. It has attracted attention because there has been no legislative act authorizing the order. I take the position that, since the federal Constitution and the constitution of Kentucky forbid discrimination, no legislative act is necessary to enable the executive department of state government to enforce those constitutional provisions.

Reaction to the order has been on the whole favorable. Response by the press, both within the state and without, has been generally favorable. Letters, telegrams, and telephone calls from within the state have been two and one-half to one favorable. The reaction from outside Kentucky strangely enough has been just a little better than 50 percent favorable.

Fortunately, the reaction of church groups and religious leaders has been almost uniformly favorable. Apparently this is one issue on which the Catholics and we Baptists can get together.

About the only organized opposition to the order within Kentucky that I know of comes from the Republican candidate for governor. He calls it dictatorial and unconstitutional and a matter which should be submitted to the legislature, apparently without leadership from the chief executive.¹ Everybody knows that without leadership by the executive department, a legislature is not likely to enact effective legislation.

The civil rights problem involves emotional as well as legal and political overtones, and in my judgment it can be handled best by the executive department — especially the governor — assuming responsibility for complying with the federal and state constitutions, as well as by assuming moral leadership in this field. The problem can be best handled by our approaching it with an open mind rather than an open mouth. It seems to me that most of us talk too much and do too little in this very sensitive and important field.

At the time of this speech, in Kentucky the Congress of Racial Equality was boycotting stores, labor unions were launching campaigns to end discrimination, and the Human Rights Commission was urging more Kentucky mayors to integrate public recreation facilities voluntarily. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, July 23, 1963.

1. Louie Nunn charged that the order was politically motivated and an abuse of the governor's power. "I charge a conspiracy by the Kennedys and Breathitt-Combs to destroy good racial relations in Kentucky to get votes." Although this charge had been made an active issue by Mr. Nunn, it had not been debated by his opponent. Mr. Breathitt, rather, had campaigned on the record of Governor Combs, pledging four more years of what he termed progressive, honest government. *New York Times*, November 3, 1963.

Louie B. Nunn (1924–), county judge, Barren County (1953–1963); manager of Eisenhower-Cooper-Morton campaign (1956); manager of Cooper and Morton campaigns in 1960 and 1962; governor of Kentucky (1967–1971); born in Park, Kentucky, and resides in Lexington, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1971–1972*, 12th ed. (Chicago, 1971), p. 461.

EASTERN KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

Richmond / August 1, 1963

I WANT to speak to you tonight about education, and specifically about the education of Kentuckians. No one in a position of leadership in Kentucky can avoid a continuing concern with a subject that at once constitutes our greatest problem and greatest opportunity.

I like to think that Kentucky is coming of age as a state. Most Kentuckians take pride in the fact that Kentucky is now a state other states watch with interest and admiration; that we have a new pride and awareness of our place in the nation. No man with a feeling for his state and its people can help but feel a certain surge of satisfaction upon seeing wretched one-room schools replaced by fine modern buildings and children riding in new buses, eating in modern lunch rooms, studying in modern laboratories, taught by better-prepared, better-paid teachers. It is to our credit, I think, that Kentucky leads all of the states in the percentage of increase of state funds for schools.

Yet, this progress, I know, has not been enough. Perhaps it is never enough. Perhaps we can never run fast enough to keep pace with the swift advance of man's knowledge. True, we have built classrooms and laboratories, dormitories and gymnasiums. We have hired more professors and have given them better salaries. We have opened new colleges and laid plans for others. We have spent more than \$40 million on buildings alone. We have increased funds for higher education from \$14.9 million to \$29.6 million.

But leaders in the field of education, like your own Robert Martin, are now showing concern not only about our preparations to house students but also about the quality of education we are offering these students. They are concerned not only with how many people we shall educate but also how well they shall be educated. And I fear, too, that we have failed to take the message of education to the people of Kentucky. I fear that we have failed to sell them on the vital importance of making the all-out effort that must be made in a great drive against ignorance. For only if the people of Kentucky are imbued with a deep and burning concern will they be willing to make the personal and collective effort that is going to be necessary in the years ahead.

Let us not minimize the demands that this effort will make on every one of us. There are signs that some Kentuckians feel that the battle for better schools has already been won. In critical areas of the state they are beginning to chafe at the cost of education; they are turning down bond issues and tax increases to match at the local level the increased state aid to schools. I suspect that many of them feel that the effort and progress at the state level has been sufficient. This is a dangerous misunderstanding of the true state of our education. Even should we fail to improve the quality of our education, even should we fail tomorrow as we have failed in the past to lift out of the misery of ignorance our 222,500 functional illiterates, the cost of education at all levels is going to continue to increase.

And nowhere is the increase in costs more certain than in higher education. Seven years ago we had 16,513 students in our state-supported colleges. This year we had 29,511, and in only two years that number will increase to an estimated 39,509 students. To appreciate what this is going to mean in tax dollars, consider that each student educated in a tax-supported college costs the taxpayers approximately \$2,708 above the costs paid by the student. This means that the cost of educating these 39,500 college students of 1965 will amount to \$105,612,000. As present or future taxpayers, that figure has considerable meaning to you. But the significance to you as edu-

cated Kentuckians should be even greater. For it is going to be up to you, the educated and the educators, to sell to the people of Kentucky the provable truth that education is worth its price.

In this regard, I feel that higher education can do a better job of selling itself than it has done in the past. We have found in government that costly and even unpopular programs can be sold if they are good programs. But it takes a hard sell. Taxpayers are skeptical, and rightly so. They do not come asking to be convinced. And the colleges, I am afraid, have not gone aggressively and convincingly to the public with proof that their program is good.

Yet, that proof is all around us, real enough to be read in every morning newspaper, tangible enough to be felt in every tax bill. Every day brings home to us more graphically that the space age has no place for the ignorant, that the illiterate manual laborer is fast falling victim to mechanical and technological advance. Increasingly, we are finding that the hard-core of our nation's disturbingly large body of unemployed is composed of uneducated, untrained people. And even if we could be callous enough to ignore the cost in human suffering and indignity, we could not long afford to ignore the loss to our country of this potential manpower and the cost to the taxpayers of keeping these millions in unhappy idleness.

And the truth that applies to the nation applies in bitter double dose to Kentucky. From now on, each and every year, you are going to be paying millions of dollars in taxes to support people who, for want of education, cannot find work in modern industry; people who should — and could, if given the blessings of proper training — be contributing instead of taking, helping to support the institutions of advancement, taking their rightful place as productive citizens. Yet, at the same time that we are supporting these idle thousands, we are losing industries to other states because we do not have sufficient numbers of trained workers to staff them. Let this be one item of hard dollars-and-cents proof that you carry to the people of Kentucky. Not only does every year of schooling mean more money in the pocket of the worker, the reverse is also true; those who do not know, do not earn; they take from the pocket of the earner.

The colleges can do a better job, too, I feel, with their own people. There is a particular need to stimulate and inspire the student and to award and recognize the deserving professor. I suspect that the colleges could use their public relations facilities more effectively to tell the public what they are doing in the fields of research, in public service, and in the development of teaching techniques. Too little is being done, I feel, to publicize, circulate, and recognize the profes-

sional writings of some of our professors and Kentucky writers. It is inevitable perhaps, that the football hero shall receive more acclaim than the hero of the classroom or laboratory. I neither criticize this nor deplore it. But a great deal more can be done than is being done to inspire scholarship on the campus and to give recognition where it is deserved.

Knowledge, despite what some people think, can be made as exciting to the public as to the true student. The communications media will carry academic news if it is presented to them in the forceful, interesting manner that it deserves; if it is given as much talent and attention as is, for example, news of football practice. Research is dramatic news. It is vital to our welfare. Dr. Herman Donovan, former president of this college and the University of Kentucky, estimated that every dollar spent on research returns ten dollars on the investment. We should tell this story. People will listen.

And we should give scholarship some of the drama, excitement, and glamour of which it is capable. I would like to see academic teams from various state colleges and universities competing against each other in contests similar to the college bowl, with proper recognition and scholarship awards for the outstanding students. I would like to see colleges sponsoring such competition among high school teams, with perhaps local support in the form of awards for the winners. We all know the intense interest and rivalry that attends interscholastic athletic competition. The same kind of local interest could be generated in support of academic teams. And with it would come the increased popular support that our schools must have to do their jobs well. I believe this can be done. And I think the millennium will be approaching in education when a battle between two teams of scholars ends with a free-for-all among the fans from the opposing schools.

Educators themselves can do a better job of selling their product, too. Too often our professors, partly because they feel that their work is not understood or appreciated, keep apart from their communities and fail to carry the message of education to the people in a manner which only they can. There was a time when professors were considered strange, impractical eccentrics, packed with knowledge and devoid of common sense. That day is passing, rapidly and fortunately. Today industry is competing with the colleges for these trained brains, is paying them handsome salaries even for their part-time advice and guidance.

In this, the age of science, an egghead is more valuable than a hardhead. This new respect gives the professor an unprecedented

influence in his community. He should use it to advantage. I know that in Kentucky, as in most places, we burden our professors with work and that they have little time or energy left after the grueling routine of lecture preparation, grading of papers and tests, student counseling, and necessary reading, writing, and research. But we should correct that. We should hire more professors, pay them better salaries, and give them better working conditions. In return, they should go out and sell the idea of education. They should go out and find the bright minds and encourage them to come to college.

I want to ask you to join them, for there is a job in Kentucky that you can do better than anyone else. Today, in an effort to curb our shocking rate of tuberculosis, we are sending out detectors to spot active cases and to get them to treatment. In the same way, I hope that you will act as detectors to go out and spot our functional illiterates and get them into school. I would like to see every teacher, every professor, every graduate, every student, in fact, every educated Kentuckian, dedicate himself to the education of our functional illiterates, people who can and should be taught; people who must be taught if we are to survive the awesome problems that the age of space is beginning to reveal.

I would like to see a great five-year plan for education launched in this state, a great crusade in which groups from every neighborhood in every town and city in Kentucky will be formed to study our educational system, to become familiar with its problems, to help our educators find and work out remedies for our school ills. In short, I would like to see Kentucky a leader among the states in the field of education.

I would like to see a great grass-roots crusade begun to wage an all-out fight against ignorance, a fight to bring relief to our functional illiterates, to bring recognition to our scholars, to bring honor to our teachers. This five-year plan need not require great sums of money. Only the concern and the thought and the dedication of good minds is needed to do the job. I hope you will lead this effort. I commend these goals to you. They are worthy goals. And they are goals that must be attained if we are to survive in a world where man's misunderstanding of man has already brought us to the brink of nuclear extinction.

May I express my pleasure at having been with you this evening and congratulate you on these degrees and the precious stuff of the mind they symbolize. You will go out of these hallowed halls into an uneasy and dangerous world, but it is also an exciting world. Our

hopes, our best wishes, and our prayers will be with you as you go forth to meet the challenges of the age of space.

KENTUCKY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Education, the Key to the Future
Morehead / August 4, 1963

EVERY poll, every survey of public opinion, indicates that education holds first place in the hearts of Kentuckians. The people of this Commonwealth feel, and feel deeply, that if there is a single key which can unlock the expanding and improving future which we covet for our children, education is that key.

This poses a great challenge to the people of Kentucky and an even greater challenge to those of you who are intimately identified with education. The people of Kentucky have shown time and again that they are willing to sacrifice for the sake of their children and for the future of their state.

Meanwhile, our overall educational responsibilities grow greater. The needs are greater, the number of young men and women is greater. You see about you here at Morehead the evidences of an alert, vigorous response to that challenge. Yet, with all that you have accomplished and all that we have accomplished in our institutions of higher learning, there remains more to be done.

Even the best plans, however, will languish in someone's desk drawer if you, yes, I say you, cannot convince the people of Kentucky that your needs, your hopes, your plans are the needs, hopes, and plans which vitally concern the welfare and happiness of every family, every community, every section of Kentucky. It is not enough for you to be great men and women, great teachers, even great scholars. You must be great missionaries for education. To be great missionaries you must repudiate the ivory tower. You must live your faith in the ordinary life of Kentucky and her communities.

You must identify yourselves with the everyday struggles, the everyday programs and the progress of a particular community, a

particular region. You must make yourselves known as the carriers of good news, of help, of brainpower in dealing with the issues and the difficulties which confront Kentuckians in their struggle to build a greater state. This, then, would be my aspiration for those whose lives and interests and hopes are dedicated to the cause of education: that you make yourselves, to an even greater degree, an intimate, personal, visible part of Kentucky's life. This done, I have no fears about the willingness of Kentuckians to do whatever may be required to build a great and enduring structure in education at all levels.

Let me today point out an area in which the energies and talents of our higher educationalists could be used to the great benefit of all Kentucky. Kentucky must, if she is to burst the bonds of economic backwardness, make war on functional illiteracy. The progress which we have made, and of which we are justly proud, during the past four years, cannot of itself rehabilitate the casualties of a half-century of neglect and poverty. But these casualties are not incurable. Experience has shown, in Chicago and other communities, that the so-called unemployable illiterates can be made employable, can be led into literacy, can be transformed from a social burden into an economic asset. These illiterates, of course, do not possess the skills which modern industry requires in its labor force. And vocational education cannot impart to them the necessary skills unless they first acquire the basic education which enables them to read, write, and cipher.

Functional illiteracy is today public enemy number one, here in Kentucky; and until we lick this enemy, Kentucky will never be able to claim her rightful economic inheritance. Think of these astounding and distressing facts: more than 225,000 Kentuckians are classified today as functional illiterates. Nearly 14 percent of our people past the age of twenty-five do not have better than a fourth-grade education. There are 37,700 Kentuckians who have no schooling whatever. These facts would be bad news at any time, but in the age of automation, they are worse than bad. They are catastrophic.

The worker without education and without skills is not merely a burden to himself, he is a burden to society. If we cannot break up and re-create this hard-core of functional illiteracy and technical backwardness, many of Kentucky's communities and thousands of Kentucky's people will be condemned to a handout state, in which poverty is not only perpetual but transmitted from one generation to another.

This we cannot afford. Some of my friends and associates are con-

stantly complaining about the dangers of the welfare state. To them I would say this: If we want to turn back the tide which leads to the welfare state, we must make war on and we must defeat public enemy number one, functional illiteracy. Our institutions of higher learning can play an important part in winning this war, and the young men and women whom they send out into our communities each year can play an equally important part.

We must devise systematic means for detecting and identifying illiteracy, just as we have devised ways and means of detecting and identifying tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, heart disorders, and other diseases. The mobile X-ray must find its counterpart in the field of the mind.

Once we have isolated and identified illiteracy, we must set about curing it. We must revive, in up-to-date form the zeal, fervor, and elbow grease which made the "moonlight schools" of a half-century ago such a significant factor in fighting ignorance and illiteracy in eastern Kentucky. We must send out teams of missionaries to carry basic education to those who have it not.

I should like to see our institutions of higher learning, public and private, faculties and students, assume the leadership in this great and necessary enterprise. I should like to see the Kentucky Education Association and all those allied with it join in this crusade.

I hope we can initiate a program centered in each of our state colleges to wage an all-out organized war on this great menace to Kentucky's progress. I believe the people, through their legislative leaders, would provide the necessary financial support.

Those who receive benefits from the public treasury, even for the relief of distress and destitution, must be made to understand and accept the existence of a duty on their part to become productive and self-supporting members of society. Perhaps we could make enrollment in an adult education class a requirement for public assistance.

Even today in our affluent and abundant society, one person out of every four lives below the poverty line. This is a very different kind of poverty from that which we have known in past generations. It is not the poverty of economic depression, for it exists amidst an expanding economy reaching ever higher levels. It is not the poverty of the immigrant masses who fled from the tyrannies of the old world to our shores a century ago, for those masses were on the way up the ladder, and their grandchildren now live in expensive suburbs, and in the White House.

No, this poverty is the poverty of isolation, the victims of automation, the races which have not found the full freedom of American

life open to them, the regions where transportation, highways, and resource development have not brought the full benefits of industrial society. America, whatever the causes of this condition, cannot indefinitely permit it to survive without poisoning her soul and betraying her promise of equal opportunity for all.

We here in Kentucky, we who like to think that we have fought the battles of education in Kentucky, must fight this fight also. We must strike the shackles of illiteracy from a quarter of a million fellow Kentuckians and open to them the possibility of becoming partakers in the great heritage which should be and someday will be the common property of all who live in this Commonwealth.

KENTUCKY DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL
Kentucky's Unfinished Business
Lexington / August 15, 1963

IN reviewing the programs discussed here today, I am reminded anew of the broad front upon which government operates in a modern state. I am reminded, too, as I know you are, of the progress which, in spite of many failures and frustrations, has been made during the past four years. I am reminded, too, of the selfless and productive contribution which you members of the Economic Development Council¹ have made to that progress. Let me extend to you once more the thanks of a grateful Commonwealth for what you have done and are doing to provide greater opportunities and a better life for those who live in this place we call Kentucky.

It is written in that profound but worldly book of Ecclesiastes that there is nothing new under the sun. But a great judge once said that what we need most is education in the obvious. So I hope you will understand my purpose if, on this occasion, I reiterate what seems to be some obvious but important truths about Kentucky's future. Kentucky's future is, of course, dependent on Kentucky's leadership.

By leadership, I do not mean the governor or those who hold high office. I do not mean commissioners. Leadership by individuals in a democracy is temporary. If I may amend the words of Goldsmith:

Governors and commissioners will flourish and fade, A breath can make them as a breath has made; But a bold citizenry, our country's pride, Once destroyed, can ne'er be supplied.

It is not in the high places of government but in the hundreds of local communities that we must find, cultivate, and depend upon the enduring leadership which will not only point the way to progress in Kentucky, but make that pathway a permanent and well-traveled highway. I say this not merely to praise you who are gathered here, but to point out two morals: First, that the business of a free and open society is always unfinished business; and, second, that one of the great problems in a democracy is to keep the people's eye on the ball of progress.

We have a great program of economic development here in Kentucky. Twice this program has won national recognition, and the proof of the pudding is in the new jobs, expanded industry, the rising rate in the growth of per capita income. But the unfinished business is to extend, to expand, and to supplement this program until every Kentuckian can find a chance to earn a decent living and rear a prosperous family. And that work we have only begun.

Kentucky has led the nation in educational progress during the last four years, but our unfinished business is to make it possible for every child in Kentucky to attend school in a modern classroom, taught by a well-trained, well-paid teacher; to mobilize and use the resources of television; to extend the range of our educational processes; to build a firm foundation for higher education which will meet the needs of expanding enrollment; to extend our community college system so that higher education can be brought within the reach of more young men and women and more communities; to eradicate functional illiteracy and to keep our boys and girls in school until they have been educated to the limits of their capacities.

Kentucky has a park system which is the envy of the nation; a travel and tourist program which is drawing millions of Americans to visit and enjoy the scenic and historic attractions of Kentucky. But it is our unfinished business to complete and expand the park system, to continue with development of our travel and tourist attractions until Kentucky is the nation's favorite playground and vacationland.

For the first time in her history, Kentucky has a highway program which is planned to provide modern roads for every section of our Commonwealth, to afford access to our markets, to tourists, to agriculture, industry, and commerce, not only for our centers of trade but for our underdeveloped areas. It is our unfinished business to

keep that program moving on the basis of need without political preference, until every Kentuckian lives within reasonable distance of a well-built, modern highway.

In the many other important areas of government, the construction of airports, community mental health facilities, the construction of small lakes, the provision of decent housing for our senior citizens, the creation of attractive roadside parks, the training and care of those who are handicapped, there is unfinished business challenging us to move relentlessly forward.

Although we can take some pride in what has been accomplished — and I would like to deviate here to express my gratitude, and I think the gratitude of most Kentuckians, to those of you in state government and out, who have accomplished so much — we must not minimize the seriousness of the problems which lie ahead.

I served in World War II under a first sergeant who constantly reminded us, "Keep one foot moving forward at all times." Our economy and our society are a seamless web, and our programs of progress are a single fabric. A rip anywhere in the fabric will weaken the whole; and whatever strengthens and improves one sector strengthens and improves the whole pattern of progress.

But we must remember that steadiness of purpose and singleness of aim are absolute necessities in the completion of our unfinished business. If we let our purpose be diverted and our ideals be corrupted by those who would divide us, by those who would poison Kentucky's soul with prejudice and hatred, then we shall fail; and if we fail, we shall leave about us the wreckage of half-completed programs as sad monuments to our incapacity to judge what is permanent and what is passing and temporary in the life of Kentucky. Let us not earn the contempt of our children by abandoning the goals of progress and better life for the dubious pleasure of quarreling among ourselves over nonessentials.

Let us remember that no program, no leader, no group of men is ever perfect. The frailties of human nature will always, to some degree, impair the noblest efforts of mankind. But always we must be on guard and always willing to admit and correct our imperfections. Equally, I think we must be on guard against false prophets of democracy, those who would destroy for selfish ambition the successful efforts which belong not to an individual, not to a group, but to the whole people of this Commonwealth. I don't think any man has the right to build himself up by tearing down Kentucky.

Let us also remember that, in a final sense, the business of a free

society is never finished, the aspirations of a free people are never fully achieved. As we move ahead, the very processes of advancement open up new and larger goals.

The progress we have made with your efforts and your help was the unfinished business of yesterday. The progress to which we may point four years from now will be the unfinished business we discuss here today. Then, from the vantage point of tomorrow's achievement, we shall find still more unfinished business, a challenge and a hope to keep us working together, learning together for a richer, better life for ourselves and our children in every corner of Kentucky.

1. Three hundred attended the meeting. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 16, 1963.

FLOYD COUNTY COUNCIL
FOR RETARDED CHILDREN
Programs for the Retarded
Prestonsburg / September 2, 1963

KENTUCKY is awakening to the needs of the mentally retarded, and I think we are taking positive steps to restore them to their worth as valuable members of our society. With specialized and skilled assistance, large numbers of the mentally retarded can make substantial contributions in a wide variety of occupations. Research into the causes and prevention of mental retardation is vital to the solution of this tremendous problem, but our immediate need is to provide expert assistance to those for whom such research will have come too late.

Since the majority of our retarded reside in the communities, emphasis must be placed on the improvement of local programs. The interest and leadership of community people, such as is evident here in Floyd County, is the key to the success of local programs for the retarded.

In 1960 I asked the legislature to create a Division of Mental Retardation in the Department of Welfare. The division was established

“to develop and encourage the development of programs in the areas of unmet needs for the mentally retarded, and to coordinate and assist in developing further the programs assigned to or performed by private or governmental agencies.”

In 1962 this division and the Frankfort State Hospital and School were transferred to the Department of Mental Health. The division has directed its attention to the analysis of needs, program planning, coordination of state official and voluntary agencies, public education and information, consultation to communities in organization and program planning, development of a state master file system, maintenance of a priority waiting list for the institutions, and liaison between the state and federal government on the development of the federal program.

The past three years have seen many improvements in residential care for the retarded in Kentucky. Many improvements in facilities, personnel, and program were made during the first two years, even though the budget was limited. In 1962 the General Assembly doubled the budget for mental retardation. This provided for extensive renovation of the century-old Frankfort State Hospital and School, an increase in personnel, and thereby initiation of new programs, and provided funds to acquire and renovate Outwood State Hospital and School. Also, one unit of the Waverly Hills Tuberculosis Hospital was purchased to be used for 100 to 150 severely retarded patients.

I will not attempt to detail all of the projects that have been completed, but will list a few that are under way or planned for the near future. A ward building at Frankfort is being renovated to be used for an admission unit for twenty to thirty boys and girls. This, along with renovation of the dining room, is a \$111,000 project that is expected to be completed this fall. A \$15,000 renovation of one of the boys' wards is near completion. A \$17,800 project to be completed next month will brighten up another boys' ward and a girls' ward. The heating system is being overhauled at a cost of \$14,000. A new cold storage plant, estimated to cost \$133,000, is ready for bid advertisements. A \$115,000 winter garden is on the architects' drawing board. This will provide the severely retarded with a place for relaxation, recreation, exercise, and therapy with an outdoor atmosphere but protected from the elements.

At Outwood, major projects center on remodeling four ward buildings at a total cost of \$141,274. Work should be completed on these late this year. This will add approximately 350 beds to this facility and bring the total capacity to near 500.

Community programs of case-finding, evaluation, education and training, vocational services, foster care and other similar services have received greater emphasis from those agencies responsible for these programs. It was necessary to accomplish most of this through existing services without additional funds.

I have listed for you a few of the accomplishments in the state's program for the retarded. We have not solved the problem. Since probably 50 percent of mental retardation could be prevented, we must give high priority to better preventive programs. Increased efforts in the areas of maternal and child health and family social services are needed.

For those for whom prevention has come too late, we must recognize the desperate need for community facilities and services. We must plan and develop a coordinated range of timely diagnostic, health, educational, training, rehabilitation, employment, welfare, and legal protection services.

For those retardates who, for one reason or another, cannot remain in the community, we must develop and maintain appropriate residential facilities with programs to meet their care, treatment, and training needs. By the most optimistic estimates, Kentucky still needs in excess of 1,500 beds, in addition to what it will have, when the present facilities are operating at maximum capacity.

Formerly public apathy and now shortage of professional manpower and funds have limited Kentucky's efforts, as well as those of the nation, in research. The key to success for the future lies with research into the causes of mental retardation and methods of care, treatment, and training. We must redouble our efforts in this area.

The success of a complex program for the retarded is the responsibility of many state and local agencies and individuals. Some months ago I appointed an interdepartmental committee to study and analyze the state's programs and report what the state agencies are doing for the mentally retarded, what their plans for the future are, areas of unmet need that exist, and some idea of the cost of filling these needs. This committee recently handed me its report. The unmet needs as listed by this committee are many, but it was quite obvious that each agency involved was making a concerted effort to close the gap between existing programs and needs.

Another example of cooperative efforts among individuals and agencies is a conference planned by the Department of Mental Health this month. Fifty to sixty individuals representing seven state agencies, five volunteer or private groups, two residential facilities for the

retarded, and several departments of two universities will join in a cooperative effort to relate to each other their agency's programs regarding mental retardation and their plans for the future.

The federal government is stressing better programs for the retarded. Kentucky has shared in the development of the federal program. A year and a half ago, we appeared before the president's panel task force on coordination. Later we participated in a regional public hearing held by the president's panel. More recently, five members of my staff and I met with Dr. Warren Spafford,¹ special assistant to the president on mental retardation, and members of his staff regarding proposed federal legislation. On September 19 and 20 seven representatives of Kentucky will participate in a state-federal conference on mental retardation.

Because of Kentucky's reawakening to the needs of the mentally retarded and our accomplishments so far, I feel optimistic about the future. I think that Kentuckians concur in a remark of that great novelist Pearl Buck, who said: "The test I say again and again of any civilization is the measure of consideration and care which it gives to its weakest members."

1. Warren Spafford, no vita available.

FOOD PURCHASES FOR THE GOVERNOR'S RESIDENCE Frankfort / September 17, 1963

MR. NUNN'S criticism of the purchase of food for the governor's residence shows woeful lack of knowledge of the state's method of feeding not only those state employees of the residence and Capitol grounds, but the thousands of Kentuckians who visit the residence as guests of the state. The photostatic copies of requisitions made public by Mr. Nunn purporting to cover a period of fifteen consecutive weeks actually cover about seven months and were obviously not selected at random. Historically, trustees from the LaGrange Reformatory have been used as employees in the governor's residence

and on the Capitol grounds. As of now, a total of twenty-six employees, including trustees, state troopers, and civilian employees assigned to duties in Frankfort receive all or part of their meals from provisions issued to the governor's residence. Groceries and provisions for these meals are requisitioned from the LaGrange Reformatory. For the purpose of feeding himself and his family and entertaining personal guests, the governor buys groceries from his own funds.

We have sought to encourage Kentuckians from all walks of life to come to Frankfort on occasion and give the state the benefit of their advice and special talents. During the last three and one-half years, the state has benefited from the visits of thousands of citizens who came to Frankfort at their own expense. These groups have included clergymen, newspaper editors, and radio and television executives. They have included lawyers, doctors, civic leader, labor organizations, farm groups, educators, and women's clubs. In addition, delegations such as university students, high school students, and 4-H clubs have visited and eaten at the governor's residence. Today, for example, more than 100 businessmen, on the annual Kentucky Chamber of Commerce tour, were guests for breakfast.

For most of those who come at the state's invitation, the meal at the governor's residence is the only token which the state can give them for their services. It is in the tradition of Kentucky hospitality to ask a guest to sit at your table, especially if that guest is making a sacrifice to help his fellow citizens.

Hardly a day goes by when there are not guests for some meal at the governor's residence. Virtually all of these guests are in Frankfort on their own time and expense to make their services or knowledge available to state government. Actually, it is a rare occasion when the governor's family entertains strictly personal guests. Moreover, in view of my frequent travels over the state, I have probably eaten fewer meals at the governor's residence than any governor in recent history. Moreover, although I have traveled more than a million miles within the state and out of it on state business, I have never sought reimbursement for any expenses, other than one item of about \$60 for emergency airplane travel, and this was submitted by my office staff inadvertently. In keeping with Kentucky hospitality, we try to provide guests at the governor's residence with respectable, though not fancy, food. Although I like plain food myself, we cannot always serve sow belly and beans to visiting dignitaries.

Employees and trustees who eat at the governor's residence are served an average of 372 meals each week. Groceries for these people

last year averaged \$175 per week. This amounts to forty-seven cents a meal. The trustees who eat at the residence are paid only eight cents a day. I have insisted that they be given respectable, nourishing food. This factor of decent meals has been a strong incentive to inmates at the reformatory to qualify by good behavior for assignment at the governor's residence. Most of these people work long hours at arduous duties and are entitled to have palatable and nourishing food.

Also among those who eat at the governor's residence are state police troopers assigned to the residence around the clock. Meals to troopers are justified because they lose their \$35 month expense allowance when they are assigned to the residence.

In addition to those who regularly receive their meals at the residence, extra trustees are sometimes sent to the residence to help out for large official functions. Such help can number as many as thirty or more men and women who usually receive their meals while on assignment here.

I do not intend to engage in pork chop counting with Mr. Nunn, but on the other hand I do not intend to permit him, without rebuttal, to disseminate false information that we have chiseled extra groceries from the prison commissary. On the contrary, we have kept careful records and have tried to be entirely fair. I do not object to being criticized on matters of policy, but I do object to being accused of dishonesty. The records will show that groceries and other provisions issued to the governor's residence have not been excessive and are in line with supplies furnished to previous occupants of the governor's residence.

I realize that Louie is starving for campaign issues, but he doesn't have one here.

As the 1963 gubernatorial election neared, Republican candidate Louie Nunn focused his attacks increasingly upon Combs rather than the Democratic nominee, Edward Breathitt. Combs was particularly irked by Nunn's charge that the governor spent money lavishly and irresponsibly for food served at the mansion.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Lexington / September 24, 1963

THE motion picture we have just seen was made to present the story of your state government during the past four years. It shows how we have worked to keep the covenant I made with you four years ago. But this report is more than an accounting to you of four years of state government. It is a story of Kentucky. It is a story of your state. It is your story. The achievements, the aspirations are ultimately your own. You have helped Kentucky enter an era of progress unlike any in our state's history. You have given your state government a new stature. Whoever sits in the governor's chair sits there because of your trust, your confidence. I have tried to justify that confidence, but I will shortly leave this office. You might ask, why, then, do I make this accounting?

First, you have a right to an accounting. Your government is responsible to you, the voters. I believe that it is a very real part of that responsibility to present you with a balance sheet. I have, however, another reason in presenting this balance sheet. And that is, quite frankly, because this is the eve of an election for governor. The reins of government will pass, quite soon now, to someone new; someone you will choose to be your governor for the next four years. That choice, my fellow Kentuckians, will deeply affect the future of Kentucky. I'd like to speak to you about this choice, not as your governor, but as a Kentuckian who loves his state; who wants to see it continue to move forward.

The motion picture has told you, actually, only part of the story of Kentucky's progress. There is another chapter to be told, every bit as crucial to the future of Kentucky as the chapters already written. "The Progress Years" you have just seen and heard about are, in fact, not the story of a job completed, of progress already achieved. Progress is not something that can end and still be progress. It is a restless, dynamic force, steadily active, steadily alive. The growth of a free and open society such as ours is always unfinished business. And it is a fundamental role of governmental leadership to keep the momentum going.

It is going to be the role of your next governor to tackle anew our problems, to tackle them with great objectives, with great energy and determination and ability. Actually, the issue in this election is the future of Kentucky itself.

These past four years have seen important steps taken by Kentucky. The motion picture has pointed out some of them. I think all Kentuckians can be proud of what has been accomplished. I know I am. But I'd like to talk about these accomplishments from another point of view; the point of view of unfinished business. Not what has been done, but what remains yet to do. This is the job your next governor will face. This job encompasses immense challenges to keep Kentucky moving forward.

One of these challenges is Kentucky's continuing economic development. Twice our program has won national recognition, but the real evidences of its value are the new jobs created for Kentuckians, the industrial expansion, the growth in per capita income. The unfinished business is to extend and to supplement this program until every Kentuckian can find a chance to earn a decent living for himself and his family. And that work we have only begun.

Kentucky has led the nation in educational progress during the last four years. But the work yet unfinished is to make it possible for every child in Kentucky to attend school in a modern classroom, taught by a well-trained, well-paid teacher. We must also expand higher education so that a college education can be brought within the reach of every deserving young man and woman. We must wipe out functional illiteracy. We must find a way to keep our young boys and girls in school until they have been educated to the limits of their capacities. In the light of these vital needs, our educational work has just begun.

In the areas of vocational and adult education, we lead the nation in our job training programs. But here, too, there is unfinished business. Kentucky's economic growth demands a trained, qualified labor force to meet the ever-growing demands of new industry.

For the first time in her history, Kentucky has a highway program to provide modern roads for every section, with access to our markets for agriculture, industry, and commerce. These include not only the four-lane superhighways, like the Mountain Parkway and the Western Kentucky Parkway, but main and secondary roads to our centers of trade and underdeveloped areas as well. This road system also is essential to our tourist industry. However, execution of this comprehensive highway plan is not completed. It is our unfinished business to keep this road program moving — and on the basis of need, not political preference — until every Kentuckian lives within a reasonable distance of a well-built, modern highway.

Kentucky has a park system already second to none in the nation and a travel and tourist program which is drawing millions of Amer-

icans to visit and enjoy the scenic and historic attractions of our state. It is our unfinished business to expand our park system and develop our travel and tourist attractions until Kentucky is the nation's favorite vacationland.

We have taken unprecedented steps in prison reform, appointed a professional penologist to head our corrections system, and undertaken a ten-year program for improvement. It would be a critical setback if our new commissioner were thwarted by an unsympathetic government.

We have made important beginnings in many areas, in agriculture, in conservation, in our health and welfare programs; yes, and in the very character of government itself. The General Assembly has revamped the congressional districts and reapportioned the legislative districts. It has enabled state government, working with the Presbyterians, to keep the United Mine Workers hospitals in operation. It has established, by law, a merit system for state employees. It has made possible the installation of voting machines in every county.

We can be proud of what has been accomplished. But, on the eve of this vital election, we must consider the challenges of unfinished business. We must keep moving. We dare not let down or turn back. Yet there are those who would divert us from these worthy purposes. They speak not constructively for Kentucky. They speak against Kentucky. They slander our state's accomplishments. They down-rate Kentucky's progress. Surely Kentucky deserves more. They do not recognize, they cannot envision, the unfinished business which must be attended to if Kentucky is to march on in the parade of progress.

I have made mistakes, certainly. But I believe the record shows that I have given you clean government, honest government, efficient government. In the motion picture you've seen, Kentucky's progress — the parks, the roads, the schools — is there for everybody to see. But it is the future of Kentucky that matters here, and of that I am deeply concerned. I want Kentucky to continue to grow. I want Kentucky to gain from this election a new program of progress.

I find no such concern in the tactics of the Republican candidate. So grossly inaccurate are his statements and silly charges that I wonder if he really knows what state he is running in. Certainly it is not Kentucky.

Ned Breathitt, the Democratic candidate, is campaigning for Kentucky. It is true that he endorses my administration. He served capably in it. He has made a point to become intensely familiar with state

government operations. He knows what we are doing, and he shares our ambitions for Kentucky.

Although Ned endorses this administration's programs, he has the imagination and initiative to conceive programs entirely his own. This he has done, and he has described them to you. His overall program is dedicated to completion of Kentucky's unfinished business.

The platform of Ned Breathitt, Harry Lee Waterfield,¹ and the other Democratic candidates is a down-to-earth appraisal of Kentucky's needs and a realistic plan for Kentucky's future greatness. It embraces a profound understanding of the broad scope of modern government and recognizes the essential requirement for leadership and planning.

I am encouraged that Ned Breathitt has seen, too, that government does not function in a vacuum; that it cannot stand aloof from its people. Good government requires that all the people work together. Every individual and all groups must get equal and fair consideration; all must be able to count on the cooperation of government to work with them for the good of Kentucky. I like the term "Partnership of Progress" which underlies Ned's concept of government.

As I have pointed out, Ned is no novice. His governmental background is impressive. Here is a man who has worked toward government as a career. He served three terms in the Kentucky legislature and distinguished himself there by cosponsoring the Minimum Foundation Program for education and by leading the fight to establish the Kentucky Department of Mental Health. In my administration, he served as commissioner of personnel and put into operation the state's first merit system. He also served on the state Public Service Commission and made a notable record there. Furthermore, Ned's is the kind of initiative and idealism that inspires others toward progress. He has about him, working with him, a young and vigorous organization sharing his aspirations for Kentucky.

In Ned Breathitt, I see integrity, understanding, vision, courage, and ability. I see a man fully aware of, and dedicated to, Kentucky's unfinished business. In my opinion, he has both the temperament and the qualifications to be a positive governor. I am confident Ned will work unselfishly, unstintingly for the good of Kentucky and all Kentuckians. I can think of no man better qualified to carry on and enlarge upon the programs which I have undertaken for Kentucky during my four years as governor.

For Kentucky's sake, I fervently hope that, for the next four years,

you will entrust this responsibility, Kentucky's present and Kentucky's future, to Ned Breathitt, Harry Lee Waterfield, and their fellow Democratic candidates for state office and the General Assembly.

The use of television to promote causes had advanced far enough by 1963 so that the Democratic party considered it worthwhile to advertise its accomplishments via the tube. First shown on Lexington TV stations in early October, the movie "The Progress Years" depicted pictorially the changes in Kentucky since 1959. Later showings made it possible for all Kentucky TV viewers to see these evidences of progress. Governor Combs's speech followed each presentation of the program.

1. Harry Lee Waterfield (1911–), member, Kentucky House of Representatives (1938–1947, 1950–1951), Speaker (1944–1946); lieutenant governor of Kentucky (1955–1959, 1963–1967); born in Calloway County, Kentucky, and resides in Clinton, Kentucky. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 971.

CENTRAL KENTUCKY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Educational Television in Kentucky
Richmond / September 27, 1963

As it is true that the business of a free society is never finished, it is also true that the business of education is never fully achieved. And what we hope to accomplish in the field of education is limited only by our imagination. In moving ahead, the processes of advancement serve to open up new and larger goals. Kentuckians today feel that if there is a single key which can unlock the door to a brighter future, that key is education.

At the beginning of this decade, many of our schools were inadequate and overcrowded. Our teachers were underpaid on salaries far less than the national average. The exodus of Kentucky-trained teachers had reached a critical point.

We are now solving those problems. The increased financial support for our public schools is dramatically illustrated by a recent announcement of the new minimum foundation program allotments. Kentucky's school districts will receive \$107,983,961 for the 1963–

1964 school year. This is an increase of \$45,565,844 over the allotment of four years ago (1959–1960 school year).

Altogether, the appropriations for education have been increased by \$154 million per biennium. This has allowed us to raise teachers' salaries, add over 500 new classrooms by building 114 new elementary schools and 48 new high schools.

What I do want to talk about today is a relatively new program, one that is still in the experimental stage, but one in which Kentucky can provide the leadership for the rest of the nation. This is educational television, ETV.

Kentucky is the first state in the nation to have a statewide educational television network. Schools in Kentucky have already begun their own experiments in this field. I would like to outline briefly the progress we are making in educational television and what it can do for you as a teacher.

The origin of educational television dates back about ten years. Kentucky did not get into the field until the 1960 legislature directed the Legislative Research Commission to explore the state's educational gaps and see whether television could help bridge these gaps. The study concluded that it could, and in 1962 we established the ETV network for the benefit of the Commonwealth at large.

The idea behind the network plan was to assure that those areas of Kentucky which need ETV the most would not, because of their remoteness, be the last to get it. We are still hoping and planning that the network can be activated in time for public-school opening in 1964. The FCC has already reserved the ten required UHF channels for educational use in Kentucky.

The construction cost of transmitters, to make the television signal available throughout the state of Kentucky and to every school, will cost, for the next year, some \$6 million. The state has set aside \$500,000 in capital construction money for this project, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is putting up an additional \$500,000. The main sum for construction will come from the sale of revenue bonds.

Future development of the network, which will involve establishing projection centers at the state colleges and interconnections, will cost an additional \$2 million. It will require more than \$1 million annually to operate this system with forty hours a week of instructional and educational television.

This might sound expensive for a new program which is still somewhat experimental in nature. But it breaks down to approxi-

mately 1 percent of the total education budget in Kentucky. It will represent about two dollars per schoolchild.

It is a big program, and the results will be far-reaching. First, and primarily, the ETV is for you, the teachers. It was designed as an aid to you just as new classrooms and laboratories were designed to give you facilities with which you can expand and elaborate on your teaching abilities. I hope that none of you have been misled by the critics of educational television who say it will replace teachers in classrooms. In the early part of the fifteenth century, a new invention produced a device which critics said would replace the teacher completely. The invention was the printing press, and the device was a book, produced for the first time on a scale that would enable each student to have his own. It was said then that between the covers of a book could be printed all the knowledge necessary. This possibility became even more threatening when pictures were added, and now students could see and visualize as well as read. It is generally agreed that books are here to stay; and they have become invaluable aids rather than substitutes for teachers.

Teaching is not a static profession. The more we learn, the more there is to be taught, and in this space age we are reaching new heights in education every day. Teaching is a challenging profession, because the teacher must keep constantly abreast of new developments and pass them on as quickly to his students.

Television is part of the age of space. Without the technological achievements that have been developed and which you are introducing in your classrooms every day, we could not even have television. It is appropriate then that we utilize this tool of a technological age to bring additional knowledge to your students.

The classroom teacher will continue as the center of the teaching-learning experience. Without your intelligent use, television, like any other tool, will be useless. The state Department of Education has planned workshops to make it possible for teachers and school administrators throughout the Commonwealth to discuss in depth the ways you can utilize television in your classrooms. The potential of television as an aid in the classroom is enormous. You, the teachers, can utilize television to allow yourselves more time to work with individual students.

The space age cries out for scientists and technicians who know how to perform intricate experiments. In some areas of Kentucky, it would be impossible to demonstrate them at all, because of lack of equipment or facilities. Television can bring these experiments or

demonstrations to each student, no matter how remote his classroom or how ill equipped his lab.

Educational television will, in effect, make Kentucky education more democratic. Every student in this state has the right to know. But some, because of the remoteness of their school, the limited equipment in their laboratory, or a last-year's edition of their book, do not have an equal opportunity to know.

Television, on a statewide network, such as is planned in Kentucky, will allow every teacher in this state to give every student the same opportunity to know. It will bring the world of science, of geography, of people into every classroom whether it's in the mountains of eastern Kentucky, the lush land of the Bluegrass, or on the banks of the Mississippi; whether it's in a small town or a large city.

Not all of the potential value of educational television lies in the classroom, however. There will be many hours of the day when classes are out, but when the services of ETV will still be much in use. You have heard me speak before of the problems of functional illiteracy in Kentucky. This is not a problem concerning the students in school. It concerns those who aren't in school, those whose education was cut short. We can reach the functional illiterates through educational television before or after regular classroom periods.

Educational television can offer courses toward completion of high school for the dropouts; it can provide programs for retraining of the technologically unemployed and of labor displaced by relocation of industry; it can complement vocational training efforts out of school. In short, it can better prepare Kentuckians for better and more jobs.

At a higher level, educational television can provide an interchange of resources between the university, the five state colleges, and the community colleges; it can provide postgraduate education in medicine, business, and other professional fields, provide regular and remedial preschool and precollege work, and offer in-service teacher education. Furthermore, it can supplement the extension information programs, primarily in agriculture and home economics, serve the growing need for adult education and broader cultural exposure, and complement civil defense and other such vital areas. Educational television, if fully used, can be to the twentieth century almost what the printing press was to the fifteenth century.

Kentucky is already a leader in this field, and with your help in the classrooms, we can continue to move ahead. Kentucky teachers today have more qualifications and more ability than ever before. You now have a modern tool to work with. By properly utilizing this

tool, Kentucky can lead the nation in the field of educational television.

DEMOCRATIC FUND-RAISING Johns Creek / September 28, 1963

I'm glad that all my old friends here still recognize me. After all the food I'm supposed to be stuffing myself with at the residence, I was afraid I might be so fat they might not know me.

But wasn't that something? The idea of Lard Tub Louie accusing anybody of overeating. You could put a wig on Louie and an honest look on his face and you couldn't tell him from Kate Smith. Except that he couldn't bring the moon over the mountain. He doesn't want to bring anything to the mountains, not even a revenue agent to Floyd County since the grand jury down there called his bluff.¹

But this food charge of his almost makes me wish I was running again. I could get the vote of every woman in this state by promising to tell them how to eat twenty pounds of food a day and not gain an ounce.

Of course, Louie knows that that food at the residence went mostly for feeding official visitors to Kentucky: travel editors, out-of-state businessmen, people who might bring more jobs, more industry, more tourists to the state. Maybe that's what Louie objected to. He sure hasn't shown much interest in those things himself. But this charge of his isn't any more ridiculous than some of the others he has been making. And that's one of the main things I want to talk to you about here tonight: Why Louie Nunn is running such a wild, irresponsible campaign.

He doesn't seem to be running in Kentucky. He's running in the twilight zone. For those of you who might not watch much television, the twilight zone is where reality doesn't exist. Strange things happen that your eyes and your ears can't believe. And Louie Nunn has been the leading citizen of the twilight zone ever since he started running. He hasn't come to grips with reality once. He's been too busy protecting people from dangers that don't exist, too busy promising them things they already have or don't need.

Why is he conducting a campaign like this? One reason, of course, is that he has no issues. And having no issues he is grasping at more straws than a drunk in a broom sage field.

But there's another reason for his type of campaign and that's no compliment to Kentuckians, Democrats and Republicans alike. He's conducting this kind of campaign because he thinks we haven't got sense enough to see through what he is trying to put over on us.

Now, that's what it boils down to. He thinks that by trumping up these half-truths of his, by crying wolf, by turning in false alarms, by making mountains out of mole hills, he can divert our attention from the fact that he doesn't have one thing to offer in the way of solving your problems and the problems of this state.

He doesn't think we are smart enough to know what our real problems are. Apparently he doesn't think that he has to talk sense and come to grips truthfully and realistically with these problems. Instead, he thinks that his fellow Kentuckians are so stupid that he can trick them into voting for him by indulging in the most ridiculous campaign this state has ever seen.

And it's gotten so bad that even members of his own party can't take it any longer. You remember what happened when he first announced that he was going to be a candidate? Only one out of the nine Republican senators in the Kentucky state senate said that he would support him. But just this last month, even this one senator had had enough. After seeing what Louie Nunn was trying to put over on the people of Kentucky, this senator publicly apologized for the mistake he had made in supporting him. He said he could not, and I'm quoting, "condone the irresponsible manner in which the Republican candidate made conflicting statements and commitments."²

Now, tell me this: If Louie Nunn is so irresponsible that he can't even get Republicans to work with him, how in the name of common sense is he going to get a Democratic legislature to work with him?

And I wish you could see the sad looks on the faces of some of these Republicans who are being forced to support him. When Bill Cowger, the mayor of Louisville, has to say something good about Louie, he sounds like the mayor of Atlanta having to say something good about General Sherman. Last February, Cowger was asked by a reporter if he would run for lieutenant governor on a slate headed by Louie. He said "absolutely not." Even back then he knew that Louie would be a disgrace to the party and an insult to the people of this state. And he is the one Republican that Louie hasn't disappointed.

Now, like Louie, I was a judge at one time myself although I didn't have me a garnisheeing business on the side like he had, and we both know that if any lawyer ever presented to a jury the kind of case that he, Louie Nunn, is presenting to the voters of this state, he'd be held in contempt of court. Well, it seems to me Louie Nunn should be in contempt of the whole state. No man running for public office has ever shown as much contempt for the intelligence of the people of any state as negative Nunn is now showing.

For example, there's his handling of this matter of prayer in our schools. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that praying and scripture reading in schools is unconstitutional.³ Now, I don't like that ruling, Ned doesn't like it, and I don't think many other Kentuckians like it either. And we're going to see what can be done about it.

But nobody tried to make votes out of it except Louie Nunn. Even though it was a religious matter, he thought that he could win a few votes by twisting the situation around and promising to protect people from a danger that doesn't exist.

So, he rushed forth and issues this wild statement saying that as long as he was governor nobody would ever go to jail in Kentucky for praying in school or reading scriptures. Furthermore, he would be willing to go to jail himself to test the case.

Now nobody, nobody in Kentucky, nobody in Washington, D.C., nobody in this country, nobody has ever said one word about sending anybody to jail for praying in school. But here is Nunn sense Nunn out in the twilight zone trying to get votes by conjuring up pictures of praying kindergarten classes being packed off in paddy wagons and scripture-reading teachers being put in leg irons.

And what makes it even more comical is the idea of Louie Nunn rushing forth to protect the churches. That's like a possum rushing forth to protect the hen house.

But that's the kind of cheap demagoguery that he thinks he can use to take your minds off your real problems. Where east Kentucky is concerned, it's like saying to a hungry man: "I haven't got any plans for getting you any food but I won't let 'em put you in jail for saying the blessing."

And not only is he going to save your six-year-old daughter from a term in LaGrange for praying in school, he is going to save our park system from being taken over by communists. Now what happened there is that our parks buy thousands of toys and novelties from big American toy manufacturers. Well, out of \$90,000 worth of toys they

bought there were a few dozen wooden dolls that had been made in East Germany.⁴ And even they met the import specifications laid down by our government.

Well, that's the angle that Louie approached the park question from. Instead of talking sense to you about new parks for east Kentucky, about more tourists for east Kentucky, he evidently decided we were so stupid up here in the mountains he could just talk to us about these wooden dolls.

But, of course, he didn't make it sound as though there were just a few dolls. He made it sound like there were two communist cells in every state park. One cell was whittling wooden dolls and the other cell was beating off unemployed east Kentuckians who wanted to make the dolls themselves.

He didn't even give us credit for having enough sense to know that our Kentucky parks give priority to Kentucky-made articles and that in the Mayo Vocational School at Paintsville there is a special course to teach people how to make handicraft items that will sell.

So that's another one of those twilight zone dangers of Louie's that you don't have to worry about. We're not only going to protect our parks from communism, we're going to protect them from something just about as bad and that's Louie Nunn's brand of statesmanship.

Then, there's the matter of the phantom bootlegger. Now, knowing how much we need help and kind words here in east Kentucky, what was the first thing that Louie said he was going to do to help us? Was he going to help us get new jobs? new roads? No! Nothing trivial like that. He was going to put us on our feet by getting rid of the bootleggers in Floyd County. That was a big help, wasn't it? There we are in Frankfort trying to get new industry for this area by telling how many feet of timber it's got, how many minerals it's got, how many good workers it's got and there's Louie telling everybody how many bootleggers it's got.

Now, I know that maybe there are a few bootleggers in Floyd. A man can't live by bread alone, they say. But I knew there weren't anywhere near as many as Louie was claiming. And he knew it too. But he thought that you were so stupid you wouldn't know any better and would settle for a discussion of that problem instead of your real ones. So he claims he had all the facts and could name this great horde of bootleggers.

And what happens? The Floyd County grand jury gives him the chance to step forward and produce all his facts and names. They called his bluff. He has to break down and admit that he didn't have any facts. All he had was rumor and hearsay. Now just how con-

temptuous of the people can he get? Is he ever going to stop this demagoguery of his, come out of the twilight zone of half-lies and outright distortions and talk sense to the people of Kentucky?

The ineptness of Mr. Nunn's campaign is probably the result of his inexperience. It is a matter of record that he is the most inexperienced candidate to run for governor in the last quarter of a century. And what is more unusual, he boasts of his inexperience as a qualification. In other words, he doesn't know that he doesn't know; and to paraphrase an old parable:

He who doesn't know, and knows that he doesn't know, can learn; but he who doesn't know, and doesn't know, will never know.

State government is big business. The people of Kentucky would be taking a long risk if they should entrust their state government to a person as inexperienced as Louie Nunn.

Governor Combs normally discussed issues and explained programs in carefully chosen, judicious language. During the height of the 1963 gubernatorial campaign, however, while speaking in Pike County he demonstrated his capacity to pour it on the opposition in a highly partisan manner.

1. Late in July 1963, Nunn charged that Combs and the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board were not enforcing in Floyd County the laws against bootlegging. Candidate Nunn also accused the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times* of editing and abridging news reports from Floyd County to "cover up" Combs's shortcomings. When a Floyd County grand jury asked for evidence from Nunn, the latter declined to present any. See J. O. Van Hook, "The Combs Years," chapter 15, p. 46, unpublished manuscript. Combs Collection, Eastern Kentucky University Library, Richmond. Floyd County attorney Barkley J. Sturgill revealed on September 9, 1963, that Nunn had declined to appear before a grand jury about his bootlegging charges. Nunn had been invited to testify but replied by letter that "the only information he had was what he had heard from others and would be considered hearsay." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, September 10, 1963. *Ibid.*, September 11, 1963.

2. The candidate for lieutenant governor, Harry Lee Waterfield, declared on September 6, 1963, that Nunn lacked the support of state Republican leaders. He went on to say that Nunn had pulled out of the governor's race in 1959 after only one week because of party opposition, and in 1963, six of nine state senators immediately petitioned another candidate to run when Nunn announced at that time. According to Waterfield, two other senators were absent and only one favored Nunn. On August 2, 1963, "The one Republican senator who supported Mr. Nunn apologized for his mistake," Waterfield

continued, "and said he could not condone the irresponsible manner with which the Republican candidate makes conflicting statements and commitments." The quote is almost identical to that appearing in Combs's speech. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, September 7, 1963. The nine Republican state senators were Fred F. Bishop, Teges; O. O. Duncan, Whitley City; Paul Fuqua, Hardinsburg; Durham Howard, Pineville; Nich H. Johnson, Harlan; William Mann, Marrowbone; Vernon C. McGinty, Louisville; Scott Miller, Jr., Louisville; and John W. Swope, Harrodsburg. *Complete List of Members of Kentucky General Assembly, 1964*, Frankfort, 1964.

3. *Engle v. Vitale*, 370 US 421-450, 1962.

4. Speaking at Harlan, Kentucky, on August 30, 1963, Nunn charged that state parks were selling wood products made in the Soviet zone of East Germany. "It is criminal," he said, "that the state of Kentucky through its state park operation is selling wooden toys made in the communist zone when we have thousands of unemployed in eastern Kentucky that could duplicate these simple wooden toys." *Louisville Courier-Journal*, August 31, 1963. On September 1, 1963, Combs referred to the charge as more "Nunnsense," *ibid.*, September 2, 1963.

UNITED BRICK AND CLAY
WORKERS OF AMERICA
Labor's Role in State Government
Louisville / October 1, 1963

YOUR vice president, Earl Ballew,¹ has been a valued adviser on labor policy and labor legislation. As legislative representative of the Kentucky AFL-CIO, he has been one of the hardest working lobbyists in Frankfort, both during sessions of the General Assembly and when the legislature is not in session. The executive secretary of your Kentucky AFL-CIO, Sam Ezelle,² was appointed by me to the Board of Trustees of the University of Kentucky. Another member of your union, John G. Clark,³ is a safety inspector for the state. With the good counsel of people like Earl Ballew and Sam Ezelle, we have successfully undertaken a program which has brought higher standards and a better way of life for the working people of Kentucky.

In both regular sessions of the General Assembly, we have obtained legislation liberalizing unemployment compensation and

workmen's compensation. More than \$4 million a year extra in unemployment benefits have been made available. The workmen's compensation benefits have been raised a half million dollars.

We have accepted labor's endorsements for both commissioner and deputy commissioner of our Department of Labor, which was renamed from the old Department of Industrial Relations.

Some of the other examples of labor progress, which have become a reality in my administration, are: 1) a prevailing wage board and public works statute; 2) two labor members sit with two management members on the workmen's compensation board, instead of one labor and three management; 3) labor membership on the unemployment board; 4) labor representation on the barber board; 5) a regional office of the Department of Labor at Paducah; and 6) more funds for the Division of Occupational Help. Furthermore, we have stood firm in our opposition to so-called right-to-work legislation.

It is important that these gains be protected. And we have unfinished business of interest to labor. To insure protection of these gains, and to complete this unfinished business, we must elect a new governor who is sympathetic to our objectives.

I have every confidence that this program will be continued by Ned Breathitt. He has my endorsement. He has the endorsement of the AFL-CIO. He will give labor a fair shake. Furthermore, he is pledged to our program of getting new industry, which means bigger payrolls and additional jobs for Kentuckians.

To you who are visiting Kentucky for the first time, I hope you will find opportunity to see more of our state, especially our magnificent state parks. We think we have the best state park system in the nation, and it is getting better. You can drive to those parks over modern, new highways such as the Mountain Parkway into eastern Kentucky, and the Western Kentucky Parkway.

1. Earl Ballew (1910–), vice president of United Brick and Clay Workers of America until retirement in 1969; born in Denton, Kentucky, and resides in Queen City, Arizona. Telephone interview with Miss Glenna Hentsman, Olive Hill, Kentucky, June 2, 1977.

2. Sam Ezelle III (1920–), director, Department of Research and Education, Kentucky Federation of Labor (1946–1952), executive secretary (1952–1958); secretary-treasurer, Kentucky Labor News, Inc., (1952–1972); executive secretary, Kentucky AFL-CIO (1958–); born in Evansville, Indiana, and resides in Nashville, Tennessee. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1975–1976*, 14th ed. (Chicago, 1975), p. 212.

3. John D. Clark (1910–), member of United Brick and Clay Workers of

America and safety inspector for Kentucky; retired in 1972; born in Soldier, Kentucky, and resides in Soldier. Telephone interview, June 2, 1977.

UNVEILING OF BARKLEY STATUE Frankfort / October 3, 1963

It is fitting, I think, for us here in this rotunda to stop the clock for a few minutes; to turn off Valachi, forget Koufax and the Dodgers, cease our worry about Vietnam, tax reduction, the nuclear test ban, and Kentucky politics. It is appropriate that we honor one of Kentucky's great.

In many ways Alben Barkley was Kentucky. He was as much Kentucky as a Thoroughbred horse, a bluegrass pasture, the night riders, a mountain stream, or country ham. But Barkley was also America. He was not only Kentucky's senator, he was a national senator. He was a Kentucky leader, but he was also a great leader of the United States Senate. He was a great partisan, but he could cut through partisan lines. He believed passionately in the two-party system and had no doubt that his party should run the country. But he did not pursue partisanship blindly.

In a political battle he gave no quarter, but he fought without malice and without bitterness. He was subjected to the pressure of Kentucky politics for a half-century, but he never lost his sense of humor. He had political foes, but he had few personal enemies.

Barkley's monuments as a great legislative leader are the statutes, treaties, and other legislative enactments which made it possible for his nation to fight two great wars for the security of a free world and to establish machinery which offers the only hope for future peace. He left as monuments, too, laws which brought justice, stability, and growth to the domestic economy of our nation, laws once controversial but now accepted by the central leadership of both of our great political parties.

Though he walked with world leaders in times of world crisis, he never forgot the language of Kentucky's tenant farmer. He would be amused, I think, that through an act of the Kentucky legislature his statute is being placed in this rotunda with the president of the Union and the president of the Confederacy. And if it is true that

statues of great men sometimes talk, I have no doubt Alben Barkley will soon come up with a story which will bring laughter to the volatile Davis and a smile to the great Lincoln.

Today, we honor a great Kentuckian and a great American legislator, but above all perhaps, we honor a lovable man who loved his fellow citizens and who left to his state a legacy of good humor and good will. We honor the beloved veep, Alben Barkley.

DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S CLUB
Vote for Breathitt
Lexington / October 4, 1963

Two issues in this campaign that every Kentuckian ought to think about are experience or inexperience and inconsistency. Mr. Breathitt has long and valuable experience in state government. Mr. Breathitt has been consistent in his programs and in his promises. Mr. Nunn has no experience in state government, and he has been inconsistent in both his platform and his promises.

Mr. Breathitt has served three terms as a member of the legislature. During this service he fought for progressive measures. During this service he acquired an intimate knowledge of state government and how it operates. Mr. Breathitt has served as commissioner of personnel, and during this service he acquired a detailed, factual knowledge as to the management and operation of each and every department in the executive branch of government. Mr. Breathitt has served as a member of the Public Service Commission, where he gained additional experience in the important regulatory functions of state government. The Public Service Commission is a quasi-judicial body, so it is fair to say that Mr. Breathitt has experience in all three branches of government; legislative, executive, and judicial.

Mr. Breathitt's opponent is the only major candidate for the governorship in fifty years who is completely without experience in either state or national government. His total service in government is limited to a single term as county judge of Barren County, a term of office which produced no outstanding results and no outstanding accomplishments of any kind.

Experience is as important in government as it is in the ordinary activities of life. If the average Kentuckian suffered from illness, he would not look for a doctor who had never treated a patient or performed an operation. If the average Kentuckian were in legal difficulties, he would not consult a lawyer who had never tried a case. If the average Kentuckian wanted to build a barn, he would not hire a carpenter who had never built a building. The same philosophy holds good in government.

It is no easy job to manage the affairs of the state of Kentucky for four years. We now have a budget of almost a billion dollars. Kentucky's government is engaged in a gigantic highway program, an expanding parks enterprise, the construction of small lakes, and a vast effort for additional improvement. The unfinished business of Kentucky requires executive ability of the first order and a deep knowledge of the problems which will face this Commonwealth during the next four years. To commit these enterprises and activities to an inexperienced and uninformed individual would be an act of sheer recklessness on the part of the voters of Kentucky. I am sure that common sense will dictate the election of the experienced rather than the inexperienced candidate.

Nowhere does the inexperience of Mr. Breathitt's opponent show itself more clearly than in the inconsistency which has marked his campaign. Mr. Nunn has time and again stated that the principal issue in this campaign is the perpetuation of the Combs administration. Mr. Nunn says that under the leadership of the last four years Kentucky has slipped steadily backward. Mr. Nunn states that the leadership of the past four years has been corrupt, has connived with the underworld, has been in the league with bootleggers and outlaws, that nothing good has been going on in Frankfort or in Kentucky. It is indeed a black picture which this inexperienced candidate has sought to paint. But it is not a true picture. You and I know that Kentucky, with all its problems and difficulties, has been moving ahead for the past four years.

Indeed, if I were to call a witness in behalf of the program and policies of this administration, I believe that I should call the Republican candidate to the witness stand. He says we are a bad crowd, but that it is vital to retain the sales tax. He says that we are a bad crowd, but that Kentucky must continue to build turnpikes and toll roads. He says that we are a bad crowd, but that the park program ought to be retained and expanded. He says that we are a bad crowd, but that our educational program is so good he has copied it into his platform.

No greater tribute could be paid to the programs which have earned and won the respect of millions of Kentuckians — Democrats, Independents, and Republicans — than the endorsement which this candidate has given to each and every major policy of the present administration. Such inconsistency, condemning us as incompetent and corrupt on the one hand and accepting and embracing our programs on the other, is the product of ignorance and inexperience. The people of Kentucky cannot take a chance on a candidate like that. The stakes are too high, the risk is too great.

INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT HILL Frankfort / October 11, 1963

WE have come here today to initiate formally the administration of a man who in my judgment is destined to leave his mark not only on this school but on this state. We have acquired a leader and Kentucky has acquired a citizen who would bring distinction to any state, any college, any place where learning and scholarship are treasured. Emerson said, and rightly, that: "The highest compliment that can be paid a man is that he is a teacher."

A college president has many duties and many responsibilities. He must not only be an educator, he must be an administrator, a financier, a lobbyist, a public relations expert, an ambassador of good will, a public figure available for extra duty wherever and whenever he is called. It is helpful, too, if he is a scholar. Dr. Hill,¹ I am glad to say, is a scholar, a scholar of distinction. When he accepted this presidency, it was said in an editorial in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*: "It takes only a glance at his biographical sketch in *Who's Who in America* to know that the regents of Kentucky State College have selected one of the South's leading educators regardless of race."

While we rejoice in capturing for Kentucky a man who last year was voted one of the six top chemistry professors in the United States and Canada, today's inauguration ceremony provides yet another reason for celebration.

The installation of Dr. Hill is a reaffirmation of the opportunities

inherent in our American way of life. Some forty years ago a Negro boy worked in the job of grave-digging in a Virginia cemetery. Today that boy stands at the summit of the teaching profession, holding the highest position any educator can achieve — the presidency of a college.

Kentucky is fortunate in having Dr. Carl McClellan Hill to succeed another distinguished man of learning, Dr. Rufus B. Atwood, whose thirty-three years as president spanned almost half the life of this college.

Kentucky State like all other institutions of higher learning, is dedicated to breaking the bonds of ignorance which enslave the minds of men. But a college should not be satisfied merely to liberate men and women from ignorance. A college, in my opinion, completes its mission only when it sends out graduates fired with zeal to improve civilization with the works of their new-formed reason and information.

In our headlong quest for status and material comforts we sometimes forget that in the words of Aristotle: "True happiness flows from the possession of wisdom and virtue, and not from the possession of external goods."

Kentucky is undertaking to find its rightful place in the age of space. We are making progress in the field of education; in the construction of highways; in developing a great park system; in the field of governmental reform; and in health and welfare. We are making progress in keeping Kentucky beautiful and clean. And, how does Kentucky State College fit into this picture?

Dr. Hill comes at a critical period in the life of this institution. Let us face the facts. This college is a child of the era of segregated education. It came into existence as Kentucky's challenge of separate but equal educational rights under the outmoded doctrine of segregation. Now, however, the era of segregation is over, so far as education is concerned. How, then, can Kentucky State plan her future in the light of this inevitable change?

First, I would suggest, there must be a renewed emphasis on quality education. The age in which we live is making unusual demands. No longer are the old standards, the old methods, or the old levels of effort sufficient. We must have more dormitories, classrooms, libraries, and laboratories, it is true. But we must have also better trained teachers and an administration that will not only demand higher entrance requirements but will inspire the students to higher levels of achievement. We must offer a broader curricula. We must adapt ourselves to new methods of teaching, take advantage of mod-

ern teaching aids and techniques. And we must do these things despite the fact that there seems to be never enough money to buy the things we need or to compensate the dedicated men and women on whose devotions and skills the hope of future generations depends. We can be encouraged by the words of your new president at his first faculty workshop, to wit: "Our supreme challenge at Kentucky State College, is, and will continue to be, an unrelenting search for basic excellence in teaching, learning, scholarship, and integrity."

If Kentucky State is to survive in competition with other institutions of higher learning, and I have no doubt it will, then it must equal its competitors; equal them in the quality of its instruction, in the rigors of its training, in the standards of academic performance which it demands of its students.

There can be no room in Kentucky, or in America, for a college which operates on the assumption that Negroes cannot survive in the competition of an integrated educational society. This is one of the reasons why the choice of Dr. Hill gives hope and confidence for the future of Kentucky State. His whole life, his whole career, his whole philosophy of education bear witness that here is a man who will settle for nothing less than the best.

Kentucky State will live and grow and renew herself with vital energy if she stands always for quality and high standards in her academic life. Even so, there may be a difficult period, and we should face those difficulties frankly. One question is this: will young men and women who are not Negroes be willing to attend an institution which has been identified almost entirely with the education of Negroes?

My answer is yes, if you have what these young people want. It is significant, I think, that while the enrollment of Negro students in Kentucky State College was increasing by 44 percent in the last six years, the enrollment of white students increased 550 percent. In 1957, twenty of the college's 585 students were white. Today 110 of the 924 students are white.

Let me suggest that there are fields of specialization which this college may cultivate. Those fields can draw here young people of all races who need your particular intellectual gifts. And what are these fields of specialization?

First, I would suggest that this college might give more emphasis to those courses which will appeal to young men and women who already are employed in state government but who aspire to greater knowledge that will enable them to advance further in their voca-

tions. In addition there are many high school graduates I think who would like to take college courses to prepare them for careers in state government. For those in this area of central Kentucky, this college is a convenient place for preparation. It is not enough to offer good courses in accounting or business English. Those who would make themselves capable public servants need training in public administration, in political science, in history, and in literature.

Second, I suggest that Kentucky State College consider making of itself a center of thought and teaching in the fine arts — music, drama, painting. True, Kentucky needs scientists, business administrators, farmers, and engineers; but she also needs poets and painters and sculptors.

It is my hope that this college under Dr. Hill's administration will grow in service and help strengthen a society in which integrity and character, rather than race or color, shall determine every man's place in the community.

As I approach the close of my term as governor I feel glad that I have made some small contribution to the cause of human rights in the Commonwealth and to those institutions, like Kentucky State College, which have borne burdens in that cause. We have made progress in the field of human rights. But no law, no ruling of courts, or function of majority conscience can change our world into the world we want it to be. That is the job of each of us individually, and if we do not do it, it will not be done.

Today, as we celebrate the inauguration of this institution's seventh president, let us determine that this college will be a cathedral, not of bricks and mortar, but of ideas and principles. And let that cathedral be lighted by a beacon so bright that men everywhere will know that here at Kentucky State College is a citadel of courageous, sincere, scholarly men and women; men and women of all faiths, races, and ideas, united by a common bond in the search for truth that it may be shared with others; and realizing that all definitions of colleges and higher education end in the simple concept that it is the truth, and only the truth that will make men free.

1. Carl McClellan Hill (1908–), president of Kentucky State College (1963–1975); president, Hampton (Virginia) Institute (1976–); born in Norfolk, Virginia, and resides in Hampton, Virginia. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 1493.

GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON AGING
Improved Care for the Elderly
Lexington / October 14, 1963

NEVER before in our history has our nation had so many "senior citizens." Today there are 17.5 million people aged sixty-five or over, nearly one-tenth of our population, and their number increases by 1,000 every day. By 1980 they will number 25 million. Today there are already 25 million people aged sixty and over, nearly 6 million aged seventy-five and over, and more than 10,000 over the age of 100. Here in our great Commonwealth there are approximately 300,000 individuals over sixty-five years of age. This is an increase of 279 percent since 1900. Our overall state population has increased 41.5 percent since 1900.

These figures reflect a profound change in the composition of our population. In 1900 average life expectancy at birth was forty-nine years. Today more than seven out of ten newborn babies can expect to reach age sixty-five. Life expectancy at birth now averages seventy years. Women sixty-five years old can now expect to live sixteen more years and men sixty-five years old can expect to live thirteen additional years. While our nation's population has increased two and one-half times since 1900, the number of those aged sixty-five and over has increased almost sixfold.

This increase in the life-span and in the number of senior citizens presents our state with increased opportunities: the opportunity to draw upon their skill and wisdom and the opportunity to provide the respect and recognition they have earned.

It is not enough for our nation and Commonwealth to have added new years to life. Our challenge must be to add new life to these added years.

In this administration we have made considerable progress in making life meaningful for our elderly citizens. But, "the last of life, for which the first was made," is still not a "golden age" for all our citizens. With continued dedication we can provide the opportunity and the means for meeting the basic needs of our older population which are: 1) religion; 2) adequate living arrangements; 3) enough money to live on; 4) access to needed medical care; and 5) something to do, something to think about. In short, society can and must catch up with science. In the next few minutes I would like to discuss

with you some of the progress we have made and also take a look at the road ahead.

Soon after taking this office, the 1960 General Assembly met and passed into law the Medical Care Program, which provides medical care for the recipients of the four categories of public assistance. This program was initiated January 1, 1961. Later in the summer of 1960, I called a special session of the General Assembly and one of the matters which was acted upon was the Kerr-Mills Medical Assistance to the Aged Program. This too was started January 1, 1961.

Appropriated for the 1960–1962 biennium was a total of \$2,562,000 for medical care in all categories of public assistance and medical assistance to the aged. Also, during the 1960–1962 biennium an increase of \$6 million was appropriated to increase grant payments in each public assistance category. For the biennium 1962–1964, the following was appropriated for medical care: fiscal year 1962–1963, \$1,348,300; fiscal year 1963–1964, \$1,523,000. In order to start a nursing home medical care program under the category of medical assistance to the aged, \$284,000 was appropriated during the fiscal year 1962–1963; 1963–1964, \$384,000.

During the month of August 1963, 37,700 individuals received medical care in the four public-assistance categories. Twenty-three thousand of these individuals were of age sixty-five and over. This program could benefit 54,000 old-age assistance recipients and 12,000 medical aid to the aged recipients if care was needed. The Medical Care Program has expanded in several ways since its inception back in 1960. For instance: 1) Increased from six to ten were the number of recipients of state paid hospital care; 2) Increased from twelve to eighteen were the number of yearly home or office visits, but retained was the procedure for extensions in unusual cases. The scope of eligible home or office visits will include preventative, diagnostic, and rehabilitative services as well as therapeutic; 3) Expanded the medical care drug list to include additional drugs previously recommended but withheld due to lack of funds; 4) Increased personal income limits for medical care eligibility from \$1,200 to \$1,600 for a single person, and from \$1,800 to \$2,400 for a couple, for persons over sixty-five not on public assistance rolls; 5) Removed was the forty-eight-dollar-a-year ceiling for dental services. No new maximum was set, but the dental phase of the program limits the type of work that can be done. For example, a recipient cannot obtain a denture under the program.

During my administration the old-age assistance payments have

increased approximately ten dollars. The average monthly payment in the old-age assistance category is now fifty-three dollars and for those receiving and requiring medical care, sixty-three dollars per month.

The Community Health Service Program of the state Department of Health was established when the federal Community Health Service and Facilities Act of 1961 was passed. This act made available project grant funds, which Kentucky took advantage of, to establish this unit in state government. The major objectives of this program are to: 1) increase the availability, scope, and quality of community out-of-hospital health services and facilities which will assist in meeting both needs of the chronically ill and aged; 2) increase and expand health facilities, research demonstrations and experiments; and to 3) increase the construction of health research facilities.

To implement this act at the state level, the state Health Department is providing consultation about project grants. These grants are for studies, experiments, and demonstrations directed toward development of new or improved methods of health services outside the hospital.

There is now established a home-care program within the state Department of Health which presently makes public health nursing and physical therapy consultations available in thirty-six counties. It is anticipated that these services will be extended to all 120 Kentucky counties in the future. A nursing home program which provides consultation as regarding the proper administration to improve patient care within the nursing home now exists.

A new program under way is the Glaucoma Detection Program, which will be included in the near future, in the Multiple Screening Program and will be available to the entire state. It is planned that this program will include glaucoma, diabetes, cancer, and heart disease. Screening for other conditions will be done as experience dictates. Plans for the future include a statewide Information and Referral Program for the chronically ill and aged with the Community Health Services of the state Department of Health.

The Department of Education, Bureau of Rehabilitation Services placed a total of 1,881 handicapped individuals into employment during the last fiscal year of which 518 were above the age of forty-five. The Bureau of Rehabilitation Services and the Department of Mental Health have established through a cooperative agreement, rehabilitation units in the four mental hospitals. This program has tremendous potential in the placing of the person who has been

institutionalized back into employment, including the homemaker and family worker of which many will fall into the forty-five years of age and above category.

The state of Kentucky traded the state Health Department building on Third Street in Louisville for the former tuberculosis sanatorium at Waverly Hills. The Commonwealth advanced considerable funds to renovate the facility to be used as a geriatrics center. We in turn leased this facility to the Geriatrics Foundation for ninety-nine years. Today 225 senior citizens from all parts of Kentucky are resident receiving excellent personal and nursing care in this center.

Also, being aware of the need for housing and personal care for much of the state's expanding elderly population, we felt many of these needs could be solved by establishing nonprofit personal care corporations in low-rent public housing. At my direction, representatives of the Budget Division and the Department of Economic Security met with the commissioner of the Public Housing Administration in Washington to explore the possibility of personal care being provided for the elderly by nonprofit corporations in public housing units.

The Public Housing Commission expressed keen interest in this unique approach to personal care and asked our representatives to outline the operation of a personal care program in public housing. Four areas of the Commonwealth will share in this pilot program which will be a new nationwide development and will provide virtually every type care except medical services. Still some technicalities have to be worked out before we see bricks and mortar, but we are anticipating exciting results from this new approach.

I have also set up a Division of Housing for the Elderly within the Department of Economic Security. This office will serve as a coordinating agency and from it will come vigorous leadership Kentucky needs to develop the best possible housing for the elderly. The office will provide technical assistance to agencies (public and private) interested in housing for the elderly.

On January 1, 1960, there were fifty-two licensed nursing homes in Kentucky with a total bed capacity of 1,775. On October 1, 1963, there were eighty-seven facilities licensed as nursing homes in the bed capacity of 3,646. Since taking office the bed capacity has doubled and still more facilities for the aged are urgently needed. There were 128 facilities licensed as homes for the aged or infirm with bed capacity of 3,259 as of January 1960 and on October 1 of this year 225 facilities were licensed with bed capacity of 6,400.

The Department of Economic Security, Division of Employment

Services has in this past fiscal year designated an older worker specialist in each of the twenty-five district offices throughout the state. This specialist will provide services to older workers, those in the forty-five and above age bracket, as is necessary to promote for them equal opportunity for employment in competition with other workers of similar qualifications.

During my administration, I have been privileged to have a part in the organization of an educational program for adults, including senior citizens which is now being conducted by the public schools. This program is organized to provide educational opportunities for adults to complete the eighth grade and to continue through high school and receive a high school equivalency certificate. It is also organized to provide programs for the illiterates. It is unfortunate and regrettable that approximately 225,000 Kentuckians are functionally illiterate. A high percent of this number are in the retirement age. Continuing education or education for the illiterate is a vital ingredient in successful retirement. The ability to read is taken for granted by many of us. For those who are illiterate, the opportunities for enrichment through further reading and study is unavailable. A great deal of emphasis must be placed upon this program if the adult who is undereducated or uneducated is to have a full and happy retirement.

The Division of Adult Education reports that many people well into their sixties are now participating in this program. Many of our senior citizens have successfully attained an educational competency entitling them to a high school equivalency certificate. Many more have learned to read and write which insures new interest and thereby is effective in keeping our older people happy, contented, and active in the mainstream of life.

All divisions of state government are concerned and vitally interested in the success of the Senior Citizen Program and especially in the opportunities now provided by educational advancement. Many older people have learned new skills entitling them to a place in their local society never experienced before. Grandma Moses became a national painter at the age of seventy-nine. There is a ready market through our Division of Arts and Crafts for the handiwork and salable products produced mostly by the older people.

During the past two years, the Division of Adult Education has been organized in the state Department of Education to provide educational opportunities for adults including the senior citizens. An interdepartmental committee of divisions of state government has been organized under the leadership of the Adult Education Divi-

sion to assist in motivating the older people to participate in educational programs. During the past twelve months, two TV programs have been televised from WCPO, channel 9, and WSAZ, channel 3. This program, Operation Alphabet, was made available to the illiterates in a forty-county area of eastern and northern Kentucky.

Much more is needed to be done to improve the educational level of our senior citizens, and I sincerely hope that this program will be endorsed and more funds made available by the incoming administration. I am glad to have had a part in putting this program on the books.

The Department of Libraries has offered an accomplishment grant of \$100 from state aid funds to libraries which organize Golden Age Clubs in their respective counties. The department feels that clubs of older people are important and if a local group could sponsor the meetings, provide refreshments, and if the library would provide a film, a record program, a speaker on various subjects of interest to the aged, a book review, or a singing or folk music gathering, the library would be making a real contribution to the senior citizens in the community. Also, our Department of Libraries offers much in the way of distribution of materials pertaining to resources available to the aged.

Effective June 19, 1960, the legislature made into law the Guardianship Program within the Department of Mental Health. This program enables the Department of Mental Health to act as a committee for patients in the hospitals who are permanently and totally disabled or age sixty-five. The department applies and acts as a committee for patients of the various hospitals. These persons are removed from the hospitals and placed in a nursing home, boarding home, or personal care type home. They are brought back, so to speak, to the community. By removing people who do not need treatment for mental illness into other accommodations, more room is made for individuals who can benefit from psychiatric treatment. Great things are expected from this program in the future.

We are very proud that the University of Kentucky is one of very few universities having set up a council on aging. The objectives of this council shall be to: 1) service all segments of the university by developing an information and referral center to provide assistance in identifying problems requiring attention, supply references pertaining to ongoing programs, locate sources of funds for research, and be otherwise useful to departments and staff as requested; 2) assist in arranging for instructional programs for the aging persons who will be involved in serving them; 3) assist departments of the

university to pursue their interests in developing new knowledge by locating sources of funds and other assistance for research. The council will cooperate with the Kentucky Research Foundation in this function; 4) promote demonstration-service projects on the campus and at appropriate places elsewhere as required for the development of instructional and research programs, techniques, and materials; 5) cooperate with the Kentucky Commission on Aging as well as public and private agencies within the Commonwealth and throughout the nation which have an interest in developing opportunities for senior citizens to achieve their optimum values of independence, satisfaction, and productivity.

The Kentucky Commission on Aging was established by the 1962 General Assembly. Kentucky is one of thirty-seven states which has a permanent commission or committee on aging. I feel our commission has done an excellent job in informing our citizens of the opportunities and problems of our aging population. By law this commission is charged to: 1) promote and aid in the establishment of local programs and services for the aging; 2) assist and encourage governmental and private agencies to coordinate their efforts on behalf of the aging; 3) establish in selected areas and communities of the state, programs of services for the aging to demonstrate the value of such programs, and to encourage local agencies to continue the programs, and to create new services where needed. Emphasis is given to services designed to foster continued participation of older people in family and community life and to lessen the need for institutional care; and to cooperate with the federal government and with the government of other states in programs relating to the aging.

The commission has published several valuable publications, one being a directory, *Services Available to Kentucky Senior Citizens*, with a distribution of approximately 70,000 copies. Another publication in constant demand has been its *Recreation for Senior Citizens*, which explains procedures in organizing senior citizen groups.

The commission office has been a clearinghouse on programs relating to aging. This commission also arranges and promotes conferences such as the one we are attending today.

Senior citizens want what anyone else wants at any other age. They want to maintain self-respect and personal dignity; they don't want to be cared for, but they do want to be cared about; they don't want to be isolated, but want to be integrated into the community. The opportunity to contribute their time and talents to a meaningful community project brings satisfaction to many older people and reinforces their feeling of self respect and usefulness. For this reason we

are expecting the Commission on Aging to develop local committees on aging in many areas throughout the Commonwealth. By developing local committees on aging which will develop many activities for the aged, the senior citizens of Kentucky will have the opportunity to live more enriched lives. Also, we want to emphasize and push housing for senior citizens, as I feel that it is very essential to provide decent housing for our senior citizens.

CONSERVATION CONGRESS

Conservation in Kentucky

Louisville / October 17, 1963

KENTUCKY is a state of great beauty and with many natural resources, but we have failed to protect that beauty and we have failed to conserve our natural resources. As a result, denuded hillsides contribute to devastating floods; promiscuous cutting of trees has caused our timber stands to deteriorate. Unwise use of our agricultural lands has robbed it of its fertility. Thousands of acres of our forests have been carelessly burned; habitats for our birds and wildlife have been destroyed. Pollution of our streams has killed our fish.

In recent years our people have become aware of the necessity for the conservation of that which God has given to us. We have been jolted with the information that within twenty years our nation will need a 50 percent increase in our water supply, 30 percent more lumber, 50 percent more pulp wood, and more than one hundred million additional acres of usable land.

Conservation is not the responsibility alone of the professional. It is the responsibility of every citizen. It is significant, I think, that the theme of this year's congress is "Water — the stream of life."

Water, controlled and properly used, is one of God's greatest gifts. Water uncontrolled leaves in its wake heartaches and human miseries. It is said that Kentucky has more streams than almost any state. It is probably true, too, that no state in recent years has suffered more from ravaging floods. In Kentucky we generally have abundant rainfall, but we permit it to erode our hillsides, fill our streams with obstructions, and roll on to the sea. If Kentucky is to continue to

grow, to attract new industry, and to increase its population and payrolls, we must learn how to catch and hold our rainfall. We must use it rather than permit it to destroy us. Water conservation in particular is the business of everybody; the lawyer, the doctor, the preacher, the teacher, the businessman, as well as the farmer.

We have made some progress in our efforts to keep our streams free from pollution. One of the highest honors ever conferred by the civil engineering profession was presented last May 27 to the Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission of which Kentucky is a member. The award for "outstanding civil engineering achievement of the year" was given to that organization for its leadership in carrying out the Ohio River Basin Clean Streams Program.

Our small lakes program is a step in the right direction. By utilizing highway fills as dams, we expect to build a chain of lakes across Kentucky in connection with the greatest highway program Kentucky has ever experienced. By using highways as dams we frequently not only get a much needed lake, but the cost of the lake is less than building an expensive bridge or culvert. We are also concentrating on the conventional type lakes. Under the administration of Jack Matlick¹ three have been completed, two are almost completed, and five are in the planning stage. Five others are under consideration. Kentucky's lake program fits into the pattern of what we think is the nation's greatest recreational park system around which we are building a great tourist industry.

1. Jack O. Matlick (1911–), editor and general manager of *Kentucky Farmer* (1940–1960); manager of the Kentucky State Fair (1945, 1947, 1948); commissioner, Department of Natural Resources (1960–1968); born in Scotland County, Missouri, and resides in Louisville. J. O. Van Hook, "The Combs Years," unpublished manuscript in Combs Collection, Chapter 7, p. 11.

DEFENSE OF ADMINISTRATION

Frankfort / October 24, 1963

FIVE months ago when Louie Nunn started his campaign for governor, he chose to make what he called, "the mess in Frankfort" one of his issues. There was nothing new about using these terms in a political campaign. Candidates nearly always run against a real or an imagined "mess in Frankfort." If there is none, if the state government is being run prudently and efficiently, they try to create a false image of corruption.

It is my opinion that Nunn's smoke screen is fooling few people in Kentucky. I hope that the thousands of upstanding Republicans in the state will not be taken in by this man's irresponsible words. At first, although this was an attack on my personal integrity, I chose to overlook it, but Mr. Nunn has carried this smear to a point where he is questioning the character of the men and women who are administering the affairs of the state government.

Where is the mess Mr. Nunn says is in Frankfort? If there is such a thing, I want to know about it. The newspaper reporters who live and work in Frankfort apparently don't know about Nunn's imagined mess. They haven't written about it and never in my memory have newspaper reporters been reluctant to write about graft or scandal or corruption in state government. Certainly there have been instances during this administration where employees of the state have misused their offices. The public is aware of these incidents because they have been reported in the press. The public also knows that the violators, in every case, were dealt with promptly.

So where is the mess? Is it a mess to be the nation's leader in highway construction? Is it a mess to build more classrooms than have ever been built before? Is it a mess to have unemployment at a record low? Is it a mess to try to bring eastern Kentucky out of an economic crisis which has plagued it for years? Is it a mess to have the best state parks in the nation?

These are programs which everyone knows about. Louie Nunn may say they are bad. I'm ready to stand upon them. But also, alongside this program, I am ready to stand with and for those people who have been responsible for it, the people I have appointed to the highest offices in the state government. I will match the character and integrity and honesty and competence of these persons against any others. I will put my cabinet members, collectively or individu-

ally, to the test with any others in the history of Kentucky. And I am issuing a direct challenge to Louie Nunn, here and now, to show me I am wrong. If he knows of a better cabinet, let him tell about it.

The members of the cabinet are dedicated career people, not an assembly of politicians appointed for the convenience of a political party. They have worked hard during my four years and I have appreciated it. They have made this program go. They have met many challenges and have conquered them all. They have pushed hard to create and carry out an imaginative and vigorous program, but during all this, they have run their departments as good businessmen and not as reckless spenders. These are the people who Louie Nunn has maliciously condemned as presiding over his "mess in Frankfort." Take a look at them. Each has accomplished more during this administration than has Louie Nunn in his lifetime.

DEFENSE OF ADMINISTRATION

Louisville / October 29, 1963

THIS is probably the last chance I shall have to be talking with you as your governor. Four years is a long time in the life of any one of us, but in the history of a great state it is a very short time. For me these have been full and active years. I have enjoyed working with so many of you, trying our best to keep Kentucky moving ahead. The loyal support and cooperation which I have received from so many hundreds of you and the good friends I have made during my years in public office, these I shall treasure so long as I live. Of course, there have been disappointments to all of us. There have been setbacks and heartaches. There have been mistakes on my part. Perhaps this was to be expected.

In trying to administer the many and varied programs which are involved in the government of a great state and with the many difficult situations which Kentucky has faced, it would be foolish to look for perfection. Certainly I have never claimed to be perfect, and I have never disputed the right of any Kentuckian to differ with my policies or to find fault with the manner in which we in Frankfort have carried out those policies. Our critics — and especially mem-

bers of the press — have served a valuable public function in writing about our mistakes and in keeping us on our toes.

I have always tried to debate with my political opponents in a spirit of courtesy and good humor. Many times it is hard to know just what things are best in bringing progress to a state which faces so many hard choices. And it is important, I think, that in discussing these issues we maintain an attitude of mutual respect and, as far as possible, mutual good will. One of the things which has held Kentucky back has been the bitterness and rancor of political debate. So long as Kentuckians are divided, whether on the basis of race or factional allegiance, or geography and sectionalism, Kentucky will have a hard time making progress.

I believe, and I think you believe, that we have been making progress in Kentucky. Perhaps I am not completely objective about the matter, but I should be greatly grieved to feel that I have worked for four years as your governor, that I had called upon so many of you for help and sacrifice, and that we had little or nothing to show by way of results.

Happily for us all, and happily for these children in whom our hopes are centered, I think the results have been worthwhile. Certainly in the field of education, perhaps the most important single key to Kentucky's future, we have made some real advances. In raising teachers' salaries, in improving the quality of instruction, in building modern classrooms, in building first-class vocational schools, we have moved ahead.

Likewise, I believe that our highway program in Kentucky has been outstanding. From east to west, from north to south, modern highways are stretching through every section of Kentucky. Along with these highways, we have tried to do the best possible job in blacktopping secondary roads, in upgrading rural highways, and in solving our city traffic problem. Our highway commissioner, Henry Ward, and our rural highway commissioner, Ted Marcum,¹ have been outstanding in their ability to plan programs for the future and in executing those programs.

Had our Highway Department not been on the alert and well run, we could not have obtained additional mileage for the interstate system and we could not have blazed a trail by getting extra federal aid under the ARA [Area Redevelopment Administration] program for completing one part of the Mountain Parkway.

Of course, there are always those to remind us that we have not reached the millennium. You and I are already aware of that fact, and it does not take a genius to point it out. We still have much un-

finished business in Kentucky. Rome was not built in a day and no one should expect to cure the aggravated ills of a half century in four short years. In a growing, progressive, healthy state we shall always have unfinished business. That is the way free government works; that is the way human beings work. The progress which we have been talking about today was our unfinished business four years ago. Today's unfinished business will be tomorrow's problems, and then from the higher ground of tomorrow's progress, we shall look ahead and see further and broader vistas of unfinished business. This is the never-ending search for a better life which is the task of a good society. The important thing is to complete and expand those programs which have been started. If we do not complete them, we will leave across Kentucky scores of half-completed projects as sad monuments to our inability to determine what is permanent and what is temporary, what is important and what is trivial, in the life of Kentucky.

Let us not earn the contempt of our children by abandoning programs of progress for the dubious pleasure of quarreling among ourselves about nonessentials. In a few days you will be choosing your next governor. He will have the job of pushing ahead with Kentucky's unfinished business. A campaign for the governorship ought to be, and you have a right to expect it to be, a courteous and vigorous contest in offering proposals to deal with this unfinished business. I think Ned Breathitt has met this responsibility. He and his colleagues have worked out a platform which they call a partnership for progress.

The Breathitt platform sets down on paper, in simple language, plans and proposals to handle Kentucky's unfinished business in education, in highway building, in finding new jobs for Kentuckians, in expanding our farm income, in building up our parks and our tourist business, and in caring for the old people, the sick, the disabled, the handicapped children, and all those of our neighbors who have just claims on our compassion.

Mr. Breathitt's opponent for the most part ignored Kentucky's unfinished business. On one or two issues he has been specific; but in nine issues out of ten, Mr. Nunn has either ignored the problem entirely or confined his platform to a vague and empty formula of words. In a very real sense, therefore, Kentuckians will be forced to choose between Mr. Breathitt, who has a sensible, specific platform, and his opponent, who has no affirmative platform at all.

Mr. Breathitt's opponent is failing to give us much help in plans to deal with our unfinished business. Therefore, it seems to me he is

failing to meet his responsibility as a candidate. Instead of giving us constructive plans for this unfinished business, instead of offering suggestions for reducing school dropouts, bringing education to adult illiterates, or for building more miles of rural roads, or for increased help to the old people, or for bringing light into the lives of our handicapped or retarded children, instead of talking about Kentucky's problems, Mr. Nunn has conducted a campaign directed entirely against me and my associates in government. Mr. Nunn has made no real or substantial attack upon Ned Breathitt's character or integrity, either his personal life or as a public official. In fact, Mr. Nunn takes the very strange attitude that Ned Breathitt's wide experience in government as a member of the legislature, as commissioner of personnel, and as a public service commissioner is of no value.

Instead, Mr. Nunn does not point to a single, major program of this administration that he would discontinue. Instead, he attacks, in the most brutal and personal way, my integrity and the integrity of those who have administered those programs. Along with this has gone a rather thinly veiled attack upon the people of eastern Kentucky, and especially upon my home county of Floyd.

For the first time in my memory, a candidate for governor has tried to ridicule and downgrade a particular section of our state. This, I think, is most unfair and, at least indirectly, it serves to place the honor and the self-respect of eastern Kentuckians on trial in a very special way. Mr. Nunn bases much of his campaign upon the unproved and false assertion that my administration has been crooked and corrupt; and that because I am supporting Ned Breathitt, Ned is tarred with my brush.

I cannot take lightly charges, even in a political campaign, which reflect upon my honesty or upon the honesty of those who have worked with me. If Mr. Nunn thinks that Henry Ward is a crook, then he ought to have the courage to say so. Henry Ward has expended hundreds of millions of dollars building roads during the past three and a half years and not a breath of scandal has touched his department.

We have just finished paying the veterans' bonus in Kentucky, more than \$180 million. General Arthur Lloyd has handled these payments in what is universally recognized as an exemplary manner. There has not been a single scandal, great or small, which has touched the handling of the big bonus payment.

Our Department of Economic Security, headed by Earle Powell, has handled several hundred millions in old-age benefits and other

forms of public assistance affecting nearly 200,000 Kentuckians each year. In his department there has not occurred the slightest charge of misconduct or mishandling of public funds. By singling out these departments, which happen to be the biggest, I do not mean to intimate for a single second that other departments have not been equally clean. They have been, all of them.

In any administration there will be a few individuals who are lacking either in judgment or in proper ethical standards. Out of 18,000 state employees there will always be a few bad apples. President Lincoln had this problem. President Harding had the teapot dome. President Truman had the deep freezes and mink coats. President Eisenhower had the vicuna coats, conflict of interest, and Sherman Adams. These things a president or a governor cannot anticipate, but this he can do: When wrongdoing occurs, he can rule it out and he can take speedy action to get rid of the offenders. This I have done on every occasion. This, in my opinion, is what Ned Breathitt will do.

Whatever my faults and shortcomings, and I have many of them, I have never covered up for crooks or condoned corruptions. When contracts have looked questionable, I have ordered them canceled. When employees have not been faithful to their trust, I have separated them from the payroll. When laws have not been enforced, I have taken action against the lawbreakers, whether in Campbell County or Floyd County. In matters where integrity in government was involved, I have insisted on high standards. Yet Mr. Nunn would attack my personal honesty and the honesty of 18,000 state employees.

So much for Mr. Nunn and his ghost-and-goblin speech writers. For them, every day of the year is Halloween, and no doubt they will be riding their broomsticks hard from now until election day. Meanwhile, I hope that you and I will be thinking hard and thinking seriously about Kentucky's unfinished business. Not even in the closing days of a political campaign would I pretend that we do not face four tough, hard years in Kentucky. We cannot rest until every boy and girl in our state has a chance for a quality education; until our outstanding system of vocational schools is completed and modernized; until our colleges and university are ready to meet the needs of an expanding enrollment. We cannot rest until every family in Kentucky lives within reasonable distance of a modern, high-speed highway; until a highway system planned for people rather than politics unlocks every Kentucky community; until our town and city people can travel to and from their work without being jammed

into traffic bottlenecks; until our rural families may move themselves and the product of their farms over hard-surfaced roads. We cannot rest until Kentucky's economy catches up with that of the nation; until every Kentuckian willing and able to roll up his sleeves and work can find a decent job and a chance to rear a family in Kentucky; until a diversified economy has brought additional opportunities to our distressed and underdeveloped areas; until we conserve and develop our resources of soil, water, timber, and minerals; until Kentucky agriculture moves toward a billion-dollar annual income. We cannot rest until those with whom life has dealt harshly shall find compassion and help from a kindly Commonwealth: the aged, the fatherless, the halt and the blind, the mentally ill, the handicapped and retarded children. In short, we must have continuity in the programs which you, the people, have started.

Four years ago as I took the oath of office in the chilled sunshine of a December day, I made this statement, "The only thing I can hope for is to leave the governor's office four years from now with the respect and perhaps the affection of the people I serve."

Whether that wish will come true depends on your judgment on November 5. In large measure, your choice of a successor will be your way of expressing that judgment. Ned Breathitt points the way to Kentucky's unfinished business. His opponent, by attacking my honesty and integrity and the honesty and integrity of this administration, has drawn an issue which you and only you can resolve. I hope that you will permit me, as one who has tried in a humble way to do justice and love mercy as your governor, to resolve this issue by voting for continuous progress in Kentucky, by voting for Ned Breathitt and the Democratic ticket.

This elaboration on the governor's earlier statement was carried on WAVE-TV. Breathitt won by a narrow margin out of nearly 900,000 votes cast. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, November 8, 1963.

1. Ted Marcum (1904–), Clay County judge (1936–1942); rural highway commissioner (1959–1963); chief, Bureau of Government Affairs (1964–1967); born in Manchester, Kentucky, and resides in Richmond, Kentucky. Telephone interview, June 21, 1976.

MOUNTAIN PARKWAY DEDICATION

Campton / November 1, 1963

I TAKE more pride in the seventy-six-mile Mountain Parkway than any other single accomplishment of my administration. I have that feeling of pride because I see this parkway not just as a super road giving the outside world access to our mountain area for the first time, but as a strong tendon connecting eastern Kentucky to the body of our Commonwealth.

This Mountain Parkway opens up an eighteen-county area for travel on our national system of interstate and defense highways. By using this parkway, you can be in Lexington in two hours, and in the far western part of the state in half a day. But perhaps best of all is the simple fact that this parkway runs two ways. It will also permit people from beyond the mountains to come here quickly and easily.

As you go to Lexington on business, to Louisville to market your produce, and to the state parks in the west to see if the fish are biting, you will pass travelers coming east, travelers searching for new places to locate industry, to shop at the fine arts-crafts businesses you have built, and to relax at our beautiful, scenic state parks, such as Jenny Wiley, Buckhorn Lake, Natural Bridge, and the Breaks of the Big Sandy.

One of the significant accomplishments of the past four years is that, through the cooperation of the people of Kentucky and the programs of our Highway Department, we have realized an age-old dream of Kentucky's mountain people, the dream of a beautiful modern highway to provide egress and ingress to some of southern Appalachia's most scenic area.

The opening of this section to the Mountain Parkway is further insurance that we will live better, that a world we know only by hearsay will be available to our children, and improvements in our way of life, in prosperity, in education, in health and welfare, will redound tenfold throughout Kentucky.

The modern road system that all Kentuckians have helped to build will make it possible for us to know one another better and thereby work and learn together to solve our common problems. Let me give you an example. I guess that I'd rather have sorghum and biscuits in the morning than almost anything else. I'm sure there are a lot of folks in Lexington and Paducah that are sorghum eaters, too. But up to now, the good sorghum made in Menifee, Morgan, and some of

your other counties was only available to those who could get over narrow, crooked roads and visit nearby roadside stands. A few pails of syrup found their way to country stores on the fringe of central Kentucky, but not many. With this parkway, our sorghum will have statewide distribution. It will be where every sorghum eater can obtain it, take it home, and put it on his breakfast table. That's just one small example. But, as the sorghum business grows, so grows our state.

This Mountain Parkway as well as all our modern highways is the insurance policy that we write for ourselves. It is a policy that takes some of the risk out of our future by providing benefits for an improved way of life for every Kentuckian.

EXECUTIVE ORDER:
PARDON OF NORBERT ROLL
Frankfort / November 13, 1963

WHEREAS, Norbert Roll was removed from the office of sheriff of Campbell County by executive order dated December 7, 1961; and

WHEREAS, KRS 63.990 provides that any peace officer so removed from office shall be disqualified from holding any office in this state for a period of four years;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Bert Combs, governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, by virtue of the power vested in me by Section 77 of the constitution, do hereby and now pardon Norbert Roll and restore all civil rights which were denied him by the penalty in KRS 63.990.

Roll was the second of four Campbell County public officials barred from public office by the governor because of duty neglect to be pardoned. Combs had pardoned Harry Stuart a year earlier.

QUESTION-ANSWER REMARKS:
SALARIES OF JUDGES AND
AUTOMOBILE INSPECTION
Louisville / November 20, 1963

QUESTION. One of the main questions asked is why was it necessary to call a special session at this time.

BERT COMBS. Well, the two bills under consideration ought to be passed. Both are good bills, and if we are going to have a raise for the judges, it is necessary that the raise be enacted prior to January 1 when all the judges in the state take office. Too, the automobile inspection deal is almost an emergency because we have more people being killed on our highways, more this year than ever before. We have more automobiles and more trucks, and a great deal more traffic traveling across the state. The death toll is more than 700, and the experts, at least some of them, say that 10 percent to 13 percent of those fatalities could be reduced by a compulsory automobile inspection law, so I thought the two combined justified asking the legislature to consider this problem at this time.

QUESTION. With the background in mind that the judges that are to take office January 1 ran with full knowledge of what the salary would be, plus the fact that the electorate in the same election rejected a constitutional amendment to remove the salary restrictions, why was it your feeling that this was a matter to be presented at a special session?

COMBS. You have two questions there. I'll check them one at a time. First, yes, they ran knowing the statutory limit at present is less than the legislature is being asked to approve, but I think we had a right to assume the other two branches of government would do what is fair and reasonable in regard to their salary, their compensation, and, too, they are the lowest paid in the nation. I have had some experience in the judiciary, and I think there is nothing worse than a bad judge and nothing better than a good judge. It is a fact that we can't get the best talent, the best legal talent, in Kentucky to accept appointments or run for election as judges. I am not worried so much about the judges. I am worried about those of us who have litigation, civil litigation, or who may be charged with a crime in a court. We are entitled to the best judge Kentucky can furnish. So it is good for us and for Kentucky if we have the very best judges. The only way to

get them is to pay what would be comparable, what they can make in some other states or in private practice.

Now as to the amendment. The people did refuse to take off all the limits on salary raises, but the people also presumably knew the judges' [pay] could be raised under existing conditions, so what I have asked the legislature to do is to increase the compensation of the judges under the existing constitutional and statutory provisions which, as I say, we, the people, presumably knew when we voted not to take off all restrictions on salary raises.

QUESTION. The lawmakers have been considering your proposals since Monday and there is a wide divergence of opinion as to whether these measures are going to come out of the legislature in the shape and form in which you presented them. Now what is the consensus at this time?

COMBS. I guess I ought not to be making forecasts because that is one thing I have learned about the legislature. They like to make up their own minds. They don't like a governor or anybody else going around saying what they are going to do. I have my own opinion. I think they will face up to their responsibilities. I have found in the past that the legislature has faced up to the problems and done a good job on those things submitted to them. Until I know otherwise, I am going to assume they are going to consider these proposals in a fair and equitable manner and pass some legislation which will be good for Kentucky.

QUESTION. There has been speculation in Frankfort that the lawmakers conceivably could split your judicial proposal into two or three sections. How would you accept a passage by the legislature that would omit the nonpartisan election of judges or split the salary into different categories?

COMBS. Of course, I will take what I can get. I wouldn't have any choice except to accept whatever they pass, but I do think the nonpartisan part of the judicial bill is very important. Politics has absolutely no place in the judiciary, in the election of judges or trial of [people] and to the extent that we can let our judges be elected without party emblem or party affiliation, then I think we improve the chances of electing the sort of judiciary we need in Kentucky.

QUESTION. This seems to be stirring up perhaps the most trouble. Even Senator Ware, majority floor leader of the senate, remarked today that the Democrats are proud of the Democratic judges, and I believe he was quoted as saying the Democrats are as happy about their judges as the Republicans are about the Republican judges. Do

you feel there is a realistic chance the nonpartisan aspect could be passed by this legislature?

COMBS. I don't know just what Jim Ware's statement was, and until I know in what connection he made this statement, I guess I ought not to comment on it. I have already commented and I probably shouldn't have. But, of course, we are proud of our Democratic judges, as the Republicans are, but that doesn't mean there isn't a better system.

QUESTION. What about the auto inspection law, Governor Combs? In 1962 a similar proposal was rejected by the regular session. Is there anything that has occurred since then, other than the need of the urgency as you pointed out earlier, that leads you to believe this could get through at this time?

COMBS. Well, of course, the death toll, as I say, has increased this year in spite of the fact that the Public Safety Department has done everything possible to hold it down. We are getting more highways all the time and more vehicles all the time. It seems to me there is more definite proof now that we need some sort of vehicle inspection law. Too, many of these legislators are lame ducks. This will be the last session they will serve unless they are reelected later. I had the feeling, I think with some justification, that those of us who are lame ducks — and I am one because I go out on December 10 — could perhaps be more objective about these issues, which are not political, than those who were elected under a party emblem and have maybe an obligation to be good party members.

QUESTION. Has this lame-duck business at all worked in reverse? You said in your speech on Monday that you were the lamest duck of all since you would be going out of office on December 10 and some of the legislature would hold over until January 1. I don't like to use the words "governor's control over the legislature" but has this caused any difficulty and could it conceivably permit the legislature to get out of hand?

COMBS. That remains to be seen. They have only been there three days. Actually, it is a little too early to make a judgment on what they are going to do. I don't know how to answer that question. I never have tried to twist their arms, and I have had fine cooperation from the legislature. I do think the legislature itself is on trial more than it has been any time within my memory because they were called to consider two issues which are important to Kentucky, regardless of how you feel about them. They are important issues and they deserve consideration. They deserve a decision one way or another.

There has been a lot of criticism — criticism of me, actually — for dominating or attempting to dominate the legislature. Well, this, I think, is a test of whether the legislature without domination — and certainly I have no way to dominate it at this time — can function as a coordinate branch of government, can come to Frankfort in a special session without domination and face up to responsibility and can enact legislation or make decisions which make sense and can adjourn and go home. So I say the legislature itself is on trial. If they do get out of hand, if they do make a fiasco out of this, certainly it would be proof for those who say the legislature is not a responsible branch of government to point to as proof of the argument.

BEGINNING OF VIEWERS' QUESTIONS

QUESTION. How much will this special session cost the taxpayers?

COMBS. Let's go back . . . why is it necessary? I would like to elaborate a little. The legislature is, under the constitution, supposed to be an equal and coordinate branch of state government. They are going to come back January 1. The nucleus of the present legislature, anyway, will come back at that time. They will have many pressing problems and will have an opportunity at this special session to consider in informal discussion, at least, and to get information on a great many other subjects which are not listed in the call of this special session. I would hope and I am sure they will prepare themselves for the next session and begin to think about and discuss some of these problems which inevitably will come up January 1. So any way you look at it, it seems to me the session is justified. If you are going to come to recognize the legislature as a coordinate branch of government, I don't see how you can be so very critical of giving them an opportunity to serve as a coordinate branch of government. The cost will depend upon how long they stay. It will be about \$9,000 per day.

QUESTION. In your legislation on mandatory automobile inspection, what provisions are there to see that the inspecting garages concerned will always give a fair and honest appraisal of each and every vehicle? Aren't you afraid you might be opening up a whole new field of graft and corruption?

COMBS. Of course, you take some risk any time you make a change. About twenty states have a law somewhat similar to the one proposed. It has worked pretty well in most of those states. Why that wouldn't happen is that the Department of Public Safety, the state police, will regulate and supervise these garages closely, and, too, if a

person goes to one garage and he doesn't like the answer he gets there, or if he thinks the items for repair are not justified, he can go to another garage and get a certificate at another garage. Or he can get his repairs made at another garage or go to a third garage. He can just keep going to garages until he finds one that agrees with him about what is wrong or not wrong with his car.

QUESTION. Kentucky State Police, Louisville police, and police from various states send officers to Northwestern University to attend traffic school. How do you reconcile the conflicting statements of your police and the Louisville police published in the *Louisville Times* with the traffic experts at Northwestern with regard to auto inspections?

COMBS. You have to take the thing on balance. A great many of the experts say we can reduce fatalities 10 to 13 percent by the auto inspection law. I say if there is a possibility or probability that we can save one life by this law, then we ought to give it a trial. Too, this is not a permanent sort of thing that can never be changed. The legislature will come back in January. If this law needs to be changed at the next session or a second session, it could be amended, revised, or even repealed. All I am saying is that we need to do something to keep our people from getting killed on our highways. Five children were killed in a traffic accident last Sunday within fifty miles of us. A deputy marshal was killed, with another passenger, last week. We are just having too many accidents and too many deaths on our highways. So I say let's try some reasonable proposal to save the lives of innocent people.

QUESTION. Several experts have pointed to seat belts as a way of preventing traffic deaths. Why wasn't a mandatory section put in this bill about seat belts?

COMBS. I don't know. Maybe the law would be amended to include that. Senator McCann¹ usually has a seat belt law. He did in the last session. That question might have been asked by Mac or some of his friends. I would hope the people would use seat belts. It could very easily be amended to require seat belts if we wanted to do that. I don't know if that is sufficiently good to require people to buy a somewhat expensive seat belt.

QUESTION. How much will car inspections cost?

COMBS. The car inspection, under the proposed bill, would be \$1.50. The garage would get \$1.25 of that and one quarter would come to the Department of Public Safety for supervision and for the cost of the certificate which would be given to the motorist.

QUESTION. How do you plan to carry out the inspection of auto-

mobiles? Will it be illegal for a garage to scrape off a sticker and not put another one on until the car has passed inspection, as they do in Virginia?

COMBS. No, it wouldn't, of course, and these garages would be carefully supervised. As I say, you could go to another garage and the garage which wasn't doing its job and is reported would be taken off the list, so there would be many ways to keep a garage from chiseling. But this is not foolproof. I don't say it is. I say it is a step in the direction of trying to save some lives in Kentucky.

QUESTION. Candidates running for commissioners and judges knew what salaries to expect. How do you account for the fact that there is always an abundance of candidates for these offices?

COMBS. I have had experience, as governor, in that. When there is a vacancy in a judgeship, the governor makes the appointment. I have had difficulty on two or three occasions of getting a capable judge to accept a vacancy in the judiciary, and I just don't think that it is good for people who have litigation not to have the very best talent on the bench. It is a matter of fact and a matter of human nature that unless we pay these people sufficiently to get the best talent, we are just not going to get them. It's like getting a doctor. You have to pay more than you might think he is worth, at least, I think so real often. The point is you have to pay what is necessary to get the best medical attention. If we are going to get the best talent as judges, we have to pay something comparable to what they would get in private practice. Again I say Kentucky is the lowest in the nation in what we pay our judges. I just don't think Kentucky ought to be last in anything, not even in the pay of judges.

QUESTION. This figure of \$1.50 is heard more frequently as the charge, but the language of the bill as drafted and submitted to the legislature has a minimum of \$1.50 and a maximum of \$2.50. How are we going to arrive at the \$1.50 figure?

COMBS. I am informed by the Department of Public Safety that the \$1.50 is what they would permit the garage to charge. The other would be to take care of the leeway, to provide against inflation or unusual conditions which do not exist now.

QUESTION. The standards would come from the Department of Public Safety?

COMBS. That's true. I am informed it would be \$1.50 per inspection and only one inspection per year.

QUESTION. What effect would the general public have on the passage of these bills if they were deeply concerned?

COMBS. The members of the legislature are very susceptible to public opinion, as expressed in letters and telegrams from people who are sufficiently interested. They could, in my judgment, perform a public service by wiring or writing the members of the legislature expressing their opinion on these bills.

QUESTION. Will the driver license age be lowered in this call?

COMBS. This is not included in the call and certainly that will not be done during my administration.

QUESTION. Is there any chance, now that they have been in session three days and you have a sense of the tenor, of your broadening the call?

COMBS. No, I don't think so. There is very little chance that the call will be amended or broadened.

QUESTION. On Monday when they convened a great number of county officials were buttonholing members of the legislature explaining their desires to be included at least to the extent of possibly \$200 monthly in expense allowances insofar as they felt their salaries needed some adjustment. Has this had any effect?

COMBS. Well, I suppose it had some effect, but I do not think the call will be amended. It is true that some other county officials are not paid sufficiently to justify them devoting full time to their offices, and we are not getting as good service as we should from some of the county offices, but I think they should be considered by the next General Assembly and not by this special session.

QUESTION. Why aren't you as interested in enforcing present laws as you are in making new ones?

COMBS. The Department of Public Safety, I think, has done an outstanding job in enforcing present laws. We don't have as many state troopers as many states, not enough to enforce all of the existing laws. If we hired additional ones, these people would be fussing about that expense. In my judgment, the present laws are being enforced and have been enforced to the limits that the Department of Public Safety can do it. I think this law would be a help, but, of course, I could be wrong about it. Maybe we ought to try something else. That is my way of trying to save some lives on the highways in Kentucky.

QUESTION. What percentage of the deaths on our highways are caused by mechanical failure?

COMBS. I cited those figures. The figures available to us are 10 to 13 percent of the fatalities could be reduced with a vehicle inspection law.

QUESTION. Why could not a mandatory liability automobile inspection law be a more effective means of safety on the highway for our travelers?

COMBS. That would be sort of closing the door after the horse is gone. The liability insurance feature is valuable after you have had an accident with someone who perhaps doesn't have insurance, but we have a constitutional question there. The Court of Appeals of this state has held that we cannot require a person to have compulsory liability insurance as a prerequisite to obtaining a license. If he has an automobile that is his property, and under the provision of our constitution about life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the man is entitled to drive that automobile. But the courts say we can put certain conditions on this traveler. We can require that the car be in good condition so as not to endanger the lives of his fellow citizens, and that is what we are trying to do here. We are saying if you have a dangerous automobile, you shall not drive that automobile on the highway and endanger lives unless you get it repaired and get it where it will not be a danger to others.

QUESTION. A question called in from an ex-Pennsylvanian was to the effect that this is one of the most important things to be considered by a legislature and as yet this has presented no problems in Pennsylvania.

COMBS. I would say this: Anybody who has been involved in a serious automobile accident, who has had a relative or friend involved, or who has even seen a major tragedy caused by an automobile accident would think a long time before he would object to paying \$1.50 a year to make certain his automobile was safe to himself and to others.

QUESTION. Why did you put the taxpayers to the extra expense of a lame-duck legislature when the amendment to the constitution which would raise all salaries was overwhelmingly defeated in the November election?

COMBS. I have answered that. The vote on the amendment does not cover the raise of judges. There is a section of the constitution that says judges shall receive adequate compensation. The amendment had nothing to do with that. Again I say I am not worried about the judges. I like judges all right, but I am not too worried about their compensation. What I am worried about is the poor fellow who gets caught in a court and wants the best legal talent sitting there on the bench. The best judicial system that we can get in Kentucky states that our lives and our liberties will be protected.

QUESTION. When you called the session on Monday, you urged that

they get about their work speedily and hoped that they would be home by Thanksgiving. What do you think prospects are now?

COMBS. I don't think the prospects are as good as when I made that statement. That brings me back to this. The legislature itself is on trial and the people of Kentucky will be watching carefully, I am sure, to see if they can face up to their responsibilities as a coordinate branch of government. I would hate to see them do anything at this session which would give fuel to the fire of those who say the legislature is not a responsible arm of state government.

Governor Combs called the fifth special session of his term with only three weeks of his governorship remaining. The unusual circumstances of an outgoing governor convening a lame-duck General Assembly to accomplish specific objectives caused many to question his motives. True to his habit of clarifying openly as much as possible the meaning of his actions, Combs attempted to explain his position via the question and answer medium of WHAS-TV. Eventually the assembly did raise the pay of judges, but only the senate approved an auto inspection bill. The House Rules Committee refused to bring the latter measure to a floor vote. *Louisville Courier-Journal*, December 5, 1963.

1. Charles William Aloysius McCann (1900–), Kentucky state senator (1948–1967); born in Louisville and resident of Saint Matthews, Kentucky. *Who's Who in American Politics*, 3d ed. (New York, 1972), p. 635. John Ed Pearce to editor, June 15, 1976.

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR
PRESIDENT KENNEDY
Lexington / November 23, 1963

DURING this tragic interval in world history, as the world mourns the loss of a gallant, courageous leader, it is time, I think, for us to rededicate ourselves in a spirit of tolerance, charity, and understanding to the end that we may be better Kentuckians and better Americans.

I am sure that I speak your sentiments when I say that the hearts of all Kentuckians go out in sympathy to the family of our martyred

president. He was a good friend to Kentucky and will be sorely missed. May God give strength to President Johnson to carry on.

Upon hearing of President Kennedy's death in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, Combs discarded a speech he was about to present at Morehead State College and made a few impromptu remarks. On the following day the governor spoke briefly prior to the Kentucky-Tennessee football game in Lexington as reproduced here.

DEDICATION OF AGRICULTURAL
SCIENCE CENTER
Lexington / December 5, 1963

BACK in 1960, the leaders of a group which called itself the Blueprint for Kentucky Agriculture Committee called upon me to urge the construction of an agricultural science center here at the university. This blueprint committee embraced some sixty organizations, businesses, and associations, and their names read like a directory of Kentucky agricultural business and leadership. Its objectives were to develop a long-range plan for Kentucky agriculture. And it had published a brochure entitled "An Agricultural Science Center for Kentucky." The committee had consulted with the president of the university and the dean of agriculture and home economics and had received their blessing.

What the committee requested was an investment of some \$10 to \$12 million by the state government in Kentucky agriculture through improving the agricultural plant at the university. Their argument was persuasive. They reminded us that Kentucky farm income was below the average for the nation. They pointed out that Kentucky farmers must compete with the farmers of other states. And they pointed out, too, that agriculture today is a rapidly changing industry. They declared and I declared that research is the first step, the most basic step in all phases of agricultural progress, and that educational programs to take the results of research to farms and homes are equally essential.

The blueprint committee recommended construction of an "agricultural complex" which would provide space for the following: 1) extended research in field crops, horticulture, forestry, floriculture, and other fields of plant research; 2) more adequate program of research in the animal sciences, including animal husbandry, poultry, and feeds; 3) an agricultural library and conference center; 4) food technology; 5) dairy manufacturing and dairy management; 6) expanded program in agricultural engineering; 7) home management, child development training, and other home economics research; 8) livestock exhibits and shows; and finally, it was requested that the new program would also include the development of an expanded 4-H camp program for Kentucky's 75,000 rural and urban 4-H club members and badly needed improvements on the various research farms throughout the state.

And what of the size of this agricultural industry of which they spoke? It was pointed out that if we include the businesses which handle, process, and sell agricultural products (and therefore are dependent upon agriculture), and the businesses which manufacture and sell to farmers the materials used in agricultural production, the agricultural industry as a whole reaches a volume well in excess of \$2 billion a year. This, of course, places agriculture and agribusiness together as the ranking industry of the state. Very clearly the Kentucky economy depends heavily upon the well-being of agriculture.

I decided that the proposal of the blueprint committee was not only sound, but we had to approach this matter in accordance with the funds available. First, the 1960 General Assembly appropriated \$50,000 for planning and programming the center — and it took a lot of planning! The General Assembly also appropriated one million dollars to start construction on the first half of this building where we now stand. Later another million dollars was added for the first half of the building. Then the 1962 General Assembly appropriated another two million dollars for the second half. The two are being completed almost simultaneously. This past fall we added another \$400,000 to build an auditorium, and the architect is now working on plans. It will adjoin the present building to the south.

All this doesn't meet in full the original plans. Still in the plans are a food technology and nutrition building, some of the greenhouses, and a livestock arena and holding barn.

I should mention here one aspect of our new Agricultural Science Center not anticipated by the blueprint committee. By coincidence, at the time the new center was being planned, Congress was disposed to grant additional funds for tobacco research on a national

basis. Under the leadership of Kentucky Congressman William Natcher,¹ the funds, amounting to \$250,000 the first year, were granted to Kentucky. The grants have been continued in approximately the same amounts each year since.

Congressman Natcher argued for these federal grants on two separate counts: first, that the tobacco research program already under way at the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station is of a high order and worthy of support; and, second, that we in Kentucky had assured him that such a "national tobacco laboratory," supported by federal funds, would be housed in our new Agricultural Science Center. None of the federal money in the grants has gone into the construction of this building. All has been used for 1) salaries of tobacco research workers who are joint employees of the USDA Agricultural Research Service, 2) tobacco research equipment of various sorts, and 3) the building of three greenhouses for use in research.

I am sure Dean Seay and President Oswald join me in expressing hope that the research of our new Agricultural Science Center will be valuable not only to burley and to the dark tobaccos grown in Kentucky, but to all tobaccos and even in some instances, perhaps, to other plants.²

Now, let's look at the center as a part of the University of Kentucky. It is another example of the growth, and of the needed continued growth, of the university as a whole.

During the past several years the university acquired the Medical Center, the Coldstream Farm, the chemistry-physics building, an addition to the library, an addition to the student center, several dormitories, the new commerce building and the new education building now under construction. Accompanying this expansion of physical facilities has been growth in student body, in faculty, and in services of many kinds.

I think the university's growth fairly represents the progress Kentucky is making, particularly in fields such as agricultural and industrial development, highway construction, expansion of our state parks system and government reform. Since this is the last opportunity I will have to speak with many of you, I want to thank you for your contributions to that progress. I feel that, on the foundation we have built, a continuation of that progress is assured.

Now, it is my pleasure to dedicate this magnificent new building, and all that it stands for, to the discovery, preservation, transmission, and application of new knowledge and to the service of the people of Kentucky.

1. William Huston Natcher (1909–), Warren County attorney (1937–1949); commonwealth attorney, Eighth Judicial District (1952–1953); member of United States House of Representatives (1953–); born in Bowling Green, Kentucky, and resides in Bowling Green. *Who's Who in America, 1978–1979*, 40th ed. (Chicago, 1978), p. 2367.

2. William Albert Seay (1920–), dean and director of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture in 1963. *Who's Who in the South and Southwest, 1965–1966*, 9th ed. (Chicago, 1965), p. 826.

John Wieland Oswald (1917–), president, University of Kentucky (1963–1968); president, Pennsylvania State University (1970–); born in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and resident of University Park, Pennsylvania. *Who's Who in the East, 1974–1975*, 14th ed. (Chicago, 1973), p. 625.

DEDICATION OF ACADEMIC-ATHLETIC BUILDING Bowling Green / December 7, 1963

KENTUCKY is coming of age. It has grown up from the kneebritches of awkward adolescence to the long pants of progressive adulthood. Nowhere is that more definite than on the campus of Western State College and in the event we are celebrating today, the dedication of this spectacular facility and the A.E. Diddle Arena.

This college, I think, is a spectacular example of the progress which Kentucky has achieved. It is an example of the acceleration in development which Kentucky has experienced. During the last eight years, your enrollment has grown from 1,684 to 5,932 and you have constructed \$11,958,000 worth of building. Since 1956 your budget has increased from \$1,425,000 to \$3,808,138.

I'm glad to participate in this dedication with the people responsible for the remarkable development of Western Kentucky State College: Dr. Thompson,¹ whose tenure as president, significantly, has paralleled your intensive growth, with your enlightened Board of Regents, with your scholarly faculty, and with your dedicated alumni and friends of Western Kentucky.

Without detracting from the records of your distinguished former presidents, let me make this observation about Kelly Thompson: A governor frequently finds it necessary to jab the chiefs of govern-

ment departments to keep them moving. Our problem with Kelly Thompson is to restrain him to a reasonable pace.

A college as imbued with vitality as Western cannot be content with the status quo; it cannot stand still. It must be forever changing and growing, not only in size but in quality and character. And its impact is felt by others than its students. It is felt by the community of Bowling Green, by Warren County, and by the other communities throughout Kentucky.

Dr. Thompson or a representative of this college has had a hand in worthy causes for the development of this area of Kentucky. Through seminars and conferences on this campus they are showing school administrators and teachers how to disseminate learning more effectively. Through teaching, research, and service, Western Kentucky State College is carrying out its obligation to the people of this region and to the state.

However, there are dangers as well as satisfactions in eminent achievement, the dangers of pride and complacency. No educational institution is so good that it cannot be better; and if satisfaction with accomplishment should outweigh a concern for what still needs to be done, an institution is in danger of decline.

Western, like its sister state colleges and our university, faces a challenge to deal wisely with the population explosion which has produced a veritable tidal wave of new college students. Presently we have 29,675 students in our state-supported institutions of higher learning. This number is expected to increase to 40,000 in just two years. More and more our state-supported schools are being called upon to quench the thirst for knowledge of Kentucky's young men and women. In 1956, just seven years ago, the state-supported schools accommodated 46.5 percent of Kentucky's college enrollment. This year, 54.5 percent of Kentucky's college students are in state-supported institutions of learning.

I expect this trend to continue because, it appears, the private colleges are unable financially to meet all the needs generated by the population explosion. This year Kentucky high schools graduated 28,389 students. Next year, they are expected to graduate 36,205. And the forecast for 1965 is 41,413. Somehow Western and our other colleges must meet this challenge. I commend them for their efforts so far, as demonstrated by this college's \$12 million building program.

We must command the support and enthusiasm of those who feel deeply about the future of our state, our nation, and their advancement. The children we are educating will live in an increasingly turbulent and demanding world. These conditions call for the best

education of our young people that we can provide. Anything less than the best will not be enough. We must operate at peak performance. We must be willing to make sacrifices, to avoid the temptation of excess leisure. In brief, we must be willing to work and sacrifice.

The advancement of education in Kentucky is not merely a matter of justice to our children or to our underpaid teachers. The strength and adequacy of our educational system is, more than ever before, a necessity for our survival as a free people amidst the perils and conflicts of a nuclear age.

Since this is my last appearance as governor before many of you, let me take this opportunity to thank you for your kindness and cooperation during the last four years. I am pleased to participate in the dedication of this magnificent new building to the greater development and more extensive application of knowledge, to the physical development of our young people through athletics, and to the service of the people of Kentucky.

1. Kelly Thompson (1909–), president of Western Kentucky University (1955–1969); born in Lebanon, Kentucky, and resident of Bowling Green, Kentucky. *Leaders in Education*, 4th ed. (New York, 1971), p. 941.

KENTUCKY CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION Human Rights' Achievements in Kentucky Louisville / December 7, 1963

It is a pleasure to meet with you tonight. I recognize the contributions made by the Civil Liberties Union in Kentucky and on the national scene. Your programs go to the essence of our practices of democracy and you have your work cut out for you in these things.

Among other helpful programs of the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, I am grateful for your suggestions for the bill, passed in the 1962 regular session of the General Assembly, to make certain that cities of all classes have the power to create local human rights commission and to pass ordinances prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation. This bill became KRS 82.210, and it has

given encouragement for the creation of many of the local human rights commissions which we now have in fourteen cities.

All of my experiences with courts outline how important it is for every defendant to have full and adequate legal counsel to protect him so that he may have his day in court no matter how despicable may be the offense with which he is charged. It is unfortunate that some people have difficulty understanding this concept and have been critical of the Civil Liberties Union.

It is those who would weaken our civil liberties that pose the real threat to our country. To protect the individual is basic to our democracy, and those who would damage these concepts are the real subversives. It is those who inflame racial and religious intolerance that we need to fear. It is a simple truism that we can't protect the rights of all if we take away the rights of some. This was said eloquently by Chief Justice Earl Warren at the eulogy delivered over President Kennedy's coffin in the Capitol rotunda. He said in part: "What moved some misguided wretch to do this horrible deed may never be known to us, but we do know that such acts are commonly stimulated by forces of hatred and malevolence, such as today are eating their way into the bloodstream of American life. Is it too much to hope that the martyrdom of our beloved president might even soften the hearts of those who would themselves recoil from assassination, but who do not shrink from spreading the venom which kindles thoughts of it in others?"

We who are interested in civil liberties and the expansion of individual rights must try harder to make some basic concepts clearer to the people. We must try to help people understand that the recognition of individual rights does not detract from the rights of others, but rather it creates more rights for all to share. Too often we hear the claim that protecting the rights of some minorities is taking away the rights of the majority. This is a misconception. In our type of democracy, individuals have rights, and no group, whether it is large or small, has any right to lessen the rights of other individuals. As we protect and extend individual rights there is a multiplying factor and not a lessening effect.

In recent years, I think we have made considerable progress in expanding human rights in this state. We still have a long way to go and I wouldn't want anyone to think that past progress should be used to justify continued discrimination. Rather, accomplishments should be used as a foundation for moving ahead.

I think most of you here know what we have been trying to do in Kentucky in the field of human rights and I won't take much time

recounting that. 1) We have created the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights which has done significant work in its short history; 2) We have enacted a merit system which prohibits discrimination in state employment practices; 3) We have undertaken many programs to encourage places of public accommodation to begin services to all citizens.

We have also undertaken some other efforts which have been handicapped because of the recent political campaign. Some of our people may have been fooled on these matters, but I doubt that some future candidate is as likely to fool them with similar tactics. It is wrong to mislead the people and a candidate who tries it and comes close can't claim a moral victory. It is very difficult for a demagogue to fool the people twice on the same issue.

That is in the past, and now we should look to the future. Our efforts should go toward enactment of a workable law insuring equal service for all in public places. Many businessmen want a state law so they can begin serving everyone on an equal basis with their competitors. A statute of this nature would be in the best interest of private businesses and it would help them as it contributes to our program of attracting tourists to Kentucky.

The Commission on Human Rights has concluded from its experiences and from its study of experiences in other states that additional laws are needed. Such statutes would continue to emphasize education and persuasion, but they could be enforced in the courts when necessary. I have already indicated my support of such legislation, and I hope that it becomes a reality.

INAUGURATION OF
GOVERNOR-ELECT BREATHITT
Years of Change
Frankfort / December 10, 1963

WE have come here today to salute the men you have chosen to lead your state government for the next four years. For me, this is a day of mixed emotions; relief at laying down the burdens of the governorship, hope and sympathy for my successor, and a certain specula-

tion about what has been accomplished during my term of responsibility. I do not expect to stand here again; and, being only human, I look back today and wonder how history will judge us and our deeds, how well we have kept the faith, how Kentucky has fared under our stewardship.

I have not done all that I hoped to do when I stood here four years ago. Perhaps no man ever does. But when I addressed you four years ago, full of new plans and bright hopes, I said, "The only thing I can hope for is to leave the governor's office four years from now with the respect and perhaps the affection of the people I serve." My hope then is my hope now, and to the extent that I have earned your respect and perhaps a little of your affection, to that extent I have been successful.

As I say farewell, I can take deep comfort in the knowledge that I am leaving the state in good hands. Your new governor is a strong and capable young man, under whose leadership the state has reason to expect sound progress. Your new lieutenant governor is an experienced and dedicated man. They have been tempered in the heat of a grueling general election campaign, a hurtful, divisive campaign in which some sought to turn Kentuckian against Kentuckian. I pray to God we shall not see another like it. We can be grateful that the man who today assumes our highest office emerged from that campaign with no need of apology. To him I hand the reins of office not only with hope, but with confidence. Give him your support. Give him your prayers. Give him the help that can come only from a united people, dedicated to the welfare of their state and their nation.

When I look back at what has been done, it seems that we have done well, that our progress has been great. But then I look at the problems that remain, the terrible difficulties that face our successors, and I realize again how small an impress a man makes upon his world, how long and trying is the road we travel, how few are the victories, how elusive the answers we seek.

Certainly any satisfaction I feel today must be tempered with the realization of things undone, of hopes unfulfilled. I know that I have disappointed many Kentuckians who needed jobs I did not have to give. I sorrow to think of the inadequate schools and dirt roads that remain. Four years ago, I pledged integrity in the management of your government, and in my efforts to keep that pledge I have perhaps been hasty in judgment and punishment. The thought that someone may have been unfairly injured in the process adds to my regret.

Because of these things, these have been years of both happiness

and sorrow, satisfaction and frustration. It is difficult to suppress resentment when one is accused of doing ill when he feels he has done well. But that is part of politics, and a sound part, for the battle of democracy demands a toughness of hide as well as of conviction. And what scratches I have suffered have been more than healed by my association with so many thousands of Kentuckians. I shall forever treasure having worked with so many fine people. To my cabinet members, to my staff, and to the thousands of state employees, I will always be very grateful.

These have been years of great change in the world and in our state; years also of great tragedy, great sorrow, great hope. So, undoubtedly, will be the years ahead. Yet there is reason to believe that we face better things. For governors and their works and their little hour upon the stage soon pass. It is the spirit that survives, and the spirit of Kentucky is strong. We may change her laws, we may alter her lovely countryside, but the spirit of Kentucky endures. And if during my stay in office, I have helped to keep intact our faith in ourselves, if I have added a bit to the heritage we pass on to our children, if I have helped to keep proud the spirit of Kentucky, then I am content.

To those of you whom I have disappointed, I hope you will believe I have my regrets too; to those of you whom I have injured, I ask your forgiveness, and if that is impossible, then your tolerance.

To all of you, I say thank you for permitting me to serve as your governor.

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APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

Speeches of Governor Combs

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, Frankfort, December 8, 1959*

EXECUTIVE ORDER: THE STATE MERIT SYSTEM, Frankfort, December 9, 1959*

KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, Louisville, December 11, 1959

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE KENTUCKY GENERAL ASSEMBLY: CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION CALL, Frankfort, December 22, 1959*

DEDICATION OF FLAG AT CITY BUILDING, Frankfort, December 23, 1959

SEPARATE JUDICIAL DISTRICT FOR FRANKLIN COUNTY (press release), Frankfort, January 4, 1960*

STATE OF THE COMMONWEALTH ADDRESS, Frankfort, January 5, 1960*

GLENN LOVERN ACCEPTS POSITION OF COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC SAFETY (press release), Frankfort, January 15, 1960

FELIX JOYNER APPOINTED TO CHILD WELFARE AND HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT ORGANIZATION (press release), Frankfort, January 19, 1960

PURCHASE OF NEW BUICK AUTOMOBILE (press release), Frankfort, January 19, 1960

VETERANS' BONUS AND SALES TAX, Frankfort, January 27, 1960*

ANNUAL STOCKMAN'S BANQUET, ANNUAL FARM AND HOME WEEK, Lexington, January 27, 1960

SIGNING OF HOUSE BILL 62 CALLING FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, Frankfort, February 4, 1960

SIGNING HOUSE BILL 75, VETERANS' BONUS SALES AND USE TAX LAW, Frankfort, February 5, 1960

USE OF STATE-OWNED AUTOMOBILES, Frankfort, February 9, 1960*

LOUISVILLE PROFESSIONAL CHAPTER OF SIGMA DELTA CHI, Louisville, February 14, 1960

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC SECURITY BUDGET SUMMARY, Frankfort, February 15, 1960

* Address is included in this volume.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE CONFERENCE: PROBLEM AREAS IN KENTUCKY AGRICULTURE, Lexington, February 16, 1960*

BUDGET MESSAGE, Frankfort, February 17, 1960*

KENTUCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB (speech notes), Lexington, February 6, 18, 1960

SIGNING OF THE VETERANS' BONUS BILL, Frankfort, February 20, 1960

REPLY TO *COURIER-JOURNAL* CRITICISM, Frankfort, February 22, 1960

EXECUTIVE ORDER: AUTHORIZING PAYMENT OF THE VETERANS' BONUS, Frankfort, February 25, 1960*

COAL-BURNING ELECTRIC GENERATING PLANT TO BE BUILT IN EASTERN KENTUCKY BY KENTUCKY POWER COMPANY, Frankfort (press release), Frankfort, March 2, 1960

KENTUCKY MOUNTAIN CLUB, Lexington, March 4, 1960

ROAD FUND TAX (statement to the press), Frankfort, March 7, 1960*

MODIFICATION OF REVENUE LAWS, (statement to the press), Frankfort, March 8, 1960*

STRIP-MINING LEGISLATION, Frankfort, March 11, 1960

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION LAW AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW, Frankfort, March 11, 1960

JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER, Louisville, March 19, 1960

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, Winchester, March 23, 1960*

REVIEW OF THE 1960 LEGISLATURE, Frankfort, March 25, 1960

KENTUCKY DENTAL ASSOCIATION, Lexington, March 31, 1960

FIFTEENTH KENTUCKY YOUTH ASSEMBLY, Frankfort, April 1, 1960

KENTUCKY PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, Louisville, April 5, 1960

JUNIOR CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Winchester, April 8, 1960

CANCELLATION OF TRUCK TRANSACTION, Frankfort, April 19, 1960*

KENTUCKY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Louisville, April 19, 1960

LIONS CLUB (speech excerpts), Fort Thomas, April 25, 1960

ASHLAND CIVIC CLUBS (speech excerpts), Ashland, April 27, 1960

RESPECT FOR THE LAW, CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, Louisville, April 28, 1960

CIVIC CLUBS OF LETCHER COUNTY, Whitesburg, April 29, 1960

FARMERS' AND BUSINESSMEN'S BANQUET, Berea, May 3, 1960

VETERANS' BONUS AND SALES TAX, Frankfort, May 16, 1960
LINCOLN MEMORIAL CEMETERY, Fort Knox, May 18, 1960
KIWANIS CLUB, Manchester, May 19, 1960
WAYLAND HIGH SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT, Wayland, May 31, 1960
WESTERN KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, Bowling Green, June 2, 1960
DEDICATION OF MRS. CALVERT'S SCHOOL FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED, Pikeville, June 3, 1960
PIKEVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Pikeville, June 3, 1960
YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF KENTUCKY DINNER, Louisville, June 4, 1960
FINDLAY COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, Findlay, Ohio, June 6, 1960
EAST FRANKFORT KIWANIS CLUB, Frankfort, June 7, 1960
CHRISTIAN LAYMAN'S GROUP, Louisville, June 9, 1960
KENTUCKY COAL ASSOCIATION, Lexington, June 10, 1960
MINE INSPECTORS' INSTITUTE OF AMERICA CONVENTION, Louisville, June 13, 1960
COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, Louisville, June 14, 1960
GIRLS' STATE ASSEMBLY, Frankfort, June 15, 1960
AMERICAN LEGION STATE CONVENTION (speech excerpts), Henderson, June 18, 1960
MOREHEAD STATE COLLEGE CONVOCATION, Morehead, June 22, 1960
GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE: FEDERAL AID TO APPALACHIA, Glacier National Park, Montana, June 28, 1960*
TWENTY-EIGHTH KENTUCKY STATE POLICE CADET CLASS, Frankfort, July 22, 1960
PUBLIC HEARING ON THE MERIT SYSTEM, Frankfort, July 26, 1960
MAYO STATE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT, Paintsville, July 28, 1960*
ROTARY CLUB LUNCHEON: CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, Danville, July 29, 1960*
MAGISTRATES AND COMMISSIONERS' CONVENTION: CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, Somerset, July 29, 1960*
GROUND BREAKING CEREMONIES FOR KENTUCKY POWER COMPANY PLANT, Louisa, August 2, 1960*

- UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY KING LIBRARY, Lexington, August 5, 1960
- KENTUCKY SEED IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, Lexington, August 11, 1960
- NEWS REPORTING (statement to the press), Frankfort, August 15, 1960*
- EARLE CLEMENTS'S RESIGNATION (statement to the press), Frankfort, August 18, 1960*
- BUCKHORN DAM DEDICATION, Buckhorn, September 10, 1960
- KENTUCKY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AWARDS, Louisville, September 13, 1960
- KENTUCKY TAX COMMISSIONERS' ANNUAL CONFERENCE, Louisville, September 14, 1960
- ADVISORY COUNCIL ON MEDICAL ASSISTANCE, Frankfort, September 16, 1960
- AID TO EDUCATION, Caney Creek, September 18, 1960*
- EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE KENTUCKY GENERAL ASSEMBLY: AMENDING THE VETERANS' BONUS LAW, Frankfort, September 19, 1960*
- APPLACHIA, Huntington, West Virginia, September 19, 1960*
- SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WELFARE ASSOCIATION: WELCOMING REMARKS, Lexington, September 21, 1960*
- DEDICATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY MEDICAL CENTER, Lexington, September 23, 1960*
- CENTRAL KENTUCKY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Richmond, September 30, 1960
- KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION OF MENTAL HEALTH: STATE GOVERNMENT AND MENTAL HEALTH, Louisville, October 4, 1960*
- KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION OF SOIL CONSERVATION DISTRICTS, Corbin, October 6, 1960
- NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Louisville, October 10, 1960
- KENTUCKY BANKERS ASSOCIATION: KENTUCKY'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS, Louisville, October 18, 1960*
- KENTUCKY CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, Ashland, October 19, 1960
- EASTERN STAR CONVENTION, Lexington, October 24, 1960
- FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION, Frankfort, October 27, 1960
- RURAL HEALTH CONFERENCE, Morehead, October 27, 1960
- DEMOCRATIC RALLY, Frankfort, October 27, 1960*

KENTUCKY WELFARE ASSOCIATION: CHILD WELFARE IN KENTUCKY, Louisville, November 2, 1960*

NORTHERN KENTUCKY EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Newport, November 3, 1960

KENTUCKY COAL ASSOCIATION LUNCHEON, Lexington, November 10, 1960

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A GOVERNOR AND HIS LEGISLATURE, Chicago, November 12, 1960*

EASTERN KENTUCKY EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Ashland, November 17, 1960

LOUISVILLE URBAN LEAGUE: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY DAY, Louisville, November 19, 1960*

PRESENTATION OF TROPHY AT SECOND ANNUAL KENTUCKY LAKE FISHING DERBY, Kentucky Dam Village, November 26, 1960

FAILURE TO PASS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION (hearing), Frankfort, November 29, 1960

PRESENTATION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PLAQUE, Monticello, December 2, 1960*

CRESCENT HILL METHODIST BROTHERHOOD CLASS, Louisville, December 2, 1960

EXECUTIVE ORDER: CREATING A DIVISION OF ALCOHOLISM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, Frankfort, December 5, 1960

GROUND BREAKING FOR EASTERN KENTUCKY RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT BUILDING, Quicksand, December 6, 1960*

PLANS FOR STATE PARK DEVELOPMENT, Frankfort, December 7, 1960*

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL, Frankfort, December 8, 1960*

ELIMINATION OF WASTE, Frankfort, December 12, 1960*

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MEETING, Prestonsburg, December 16, 1960

CONFERENCE OF KENTUCKY SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, Louisville, December 17, 1960

KENNEDY'S WASHINGTON CONFERENCE ON DEPRESSED AREAS, Washington, D.C., December 28, 1960

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE: SUPPORT OF THE SALES TAX, Louisville, January 2, 1961*

STATE GOVERNMENT, Louisville, January 12, 1961*

FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO THE NEEDY, Frankfort, January 23, 1961

- CARROLLTON CIVIC CLUBS (speech excerpts), Carrollton, January 26, 1961
- SALES TAX, Lexington, January 31, 1961
- ANNUAL FARM AND HOME WEEK, Lexington, January 31, 1961
- CAMPBELL-KENTON COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY, Covington, February 2, 1961
- BONUS PAYMENT LITIGATION, Frankfort, February 6, 1961*
- KENTUCKY HEALTH COUNCIL, Louisville, February 24, 1961
- GROUND BREAKING FOR EASTERN KENTUCKY TURNPIKE, Winchester, February 25, 1961
- AREA REDEVELOPMENT BILL, Washington, D.C., February 28, 1961*
- KENTUCKY TOURIST CONFERENCE: THE IMPORTANCE OF TOURISM TO KENTUCKY, Louisville, March 1, 1961*
- KENTUCKY HIGHWAY CONFERENCE: FINANCING KENTUCKY'S HIGHWAYS, Lexington, March 2, 1961*
- RIVER VALLEY CLUB, Louisville, March 2, 1961
- GROUND BREAKING CEREMONY AT EASTERN KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE, Richmond, March 4, 1961
- COLLEGE GRADUATES' PLACEMENT IN KENTUCKY, Frankfort, March 8, 1961
- GROUND BREAKING FOR NORTHERN KENTUCKY VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL BUILDING, Covington, March 11, 1961*
- EMPLOYMENT FOR KENTUCKIANS IN KENTUCKY, Frankfort, March 13, 1961
- KENTUCKY SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION: THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL SCHOOLS BOARDS, Lexington, March 14, 1961*
- ROUTE OF ROAD, Frankfort, March 14, 1961
- PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED, Frankfort, March 16, 1961
- BEAVER VALLEY KIWANIS CLUB: PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, Wheelwright, March 20, 1961*
- KENTUCKY HOSPITAL ASSOCIATION, Lexington, March 22, 1961
- KENTUCKY YOUTH ASSEMBLY, Frankfort, March 23, 1961
- STAFF OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, Frankfort, March 27, 1961
- KENTUCKY'S PARTICIPATION IN PROJECT OF NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MENTAL HEALTH, Frankfort, March 28, 1961
- KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION OF REGISTERED SANITARIANS, Louisville, April 11, 1961

EXECUTIVE ORDER: MEMORANDUM OPINION ON AUTHORITY OF GOVERNOR TO REMOVE A CIRCUIT JUDGE, A COUNTY JUDGE, OR A MAYOR OF A CITY OF THE SECOND CLASS, Frankfort, April 12, 1961*

JAYCEE MEETING, Louisville, April 22, 1961

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT (speech notes), Frankfort, April 24, 1961

KENTUCKY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Louisville, April 25, 1961

DESEGREGATION IN LOUISVILLE, Frankfort, April 27, 1961*

KENTUCKY CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, Louisville, April 27, 1961

AWARDS LUNCHEON, Cincinnati, Ohio, May 16, 1961

DISPUTE BETWEEN LABOR UNIONS AND NONUNION CONTRACTORS ON STATE CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS, Frankfort, May 27, 1961

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