



## Oregon State Archives

800 Summer Street NE

Salem, OR 97310

503-373-0701 ext. 1

[sos.oregon.gov/archives](http://sos.oregon.gov/archives)

## GOVERNOR TOM MCCALL ADMINISTRATION

January 9, 1967 to January 13, 1975

### SECOND TERM RECORDS

For more records see the [Governor's Records Guides](#).

#### **Second Inaugural Message, 1971**

Source: Inaugural Address Governor Tom McCall, Oregon, 1971

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Fifty-sixth Legislative Assembly, Honorable judges, Distinguished Guests, and Fellow Citizens:



Tom McCall at the Oregon Dunes on the Siuslaw National Forest. Image from the U.S. Forest Service.

WE embark today on as demanding a mission of statecraft as their chambers have ever encompassed.

All of us must shoulder a load of legislative work that ought to be dealt with a two annual regular sessions --- and we must do it at a period of new crisis in the fiscal life of our state.

We take some consolation form the realization that Oregon's citizens have found us worthy of leadership in crucial times.

We assemble in common obligation to those citizens, which impels us to work, not as adversaries, but with a high degree of teammanship tuned to mutual respect.

Divided, we shall be conquered by the most of challenges pressing close around us.

Surely, we all can subscribe to the uniting thought: That our actions here --- and always --- be guided by a reverence for life and respect for nature.

I suggest this theme respectfully, but firmly, not as any radical departure --- which it isn't --- but as a reaffirmation of what I perceive to be the dominant Oregon mood.

It is running stronger in the veins of Oregonians than it was even two years ago when I told you, "Keeping Oregon a quality part of the worked is what being governor and legislators is all about."

And it is a more compelling force than it was four years ago when the Legislature heard me say, "The overriding challenge of the decade is quality --- quality of life in Oregon."

Much of the product of those session mirrored you appreciation of the mandate for quality.

My first promise to the legislature is a fledgling governor was "to keep the lines of availability and cooperation constantly open."

---

This vow I have honored in both the spirit and the letter. You have reciprocated in kind. Accordingly, it is my belief that in Oregon we have the most meaningful rapport between the legislative and executive branches in any of the 50 states.

This is cited not to preen the Governor's feathers but to advise the new members of the Assembly --- and to remind the old --- that if differences there be between us in 1971, they need not arise from any fault in communications.

Objective assessments indicate that fiscal challenges to Oregon state government during the next biennium may be as thorny as any in history. But we've had our practice for stormy voyages.

You really haven't experienced the exquisite agony of governing until, in one year's time, you've had thrown at you an economic recession, a whopping welfare deficit, a virtually unbelievable budget for the new biennium, and a supreme Court decision costing more than \$15 million.

And that doesn't include those non-fiscal ulcer-makers: the People's Army Jamboree, campus unrest and the nerve gas controversy.

All of you shared these ordeals. All of you know the ship of state sails on only when we brave storm after storm with a combination of patience, humor, imagination, determination --- and teamwork.

Exhibiting those attributes in the weeks ahead, we can accomplish much for the more than 2 million Oregonians we serve.

This Assembly has three tasks that demand its earliest attention.

One is a joint effort on our part to reconstitute Oregon's welfare program; the second requires the initiation this year of a substantial federal revenue-sharing operation with state and local governments; and the other concerns the new federal-state program of extended unemployment benefits during periods of high unemployment.

Inflation, unemployment and family break-up have combined with costly federal administrative and county decisions to skyrocket public welfare caseloads and expenditures.

While the fiscal impact of these circumstances has been severe in all states, it has been particularly devastating in Oregon. The result for this biennium has been a stringent control of expenditures.

For 1971-73, the outlook is even more ominous, with welfare siphoning off vast amounts of General Fund moneys otherwise available for state support of education and property tax relief.

Despite the obvious complexity of public welfare problems, we must engage them head-on.

We must intensify our efforts toward vigorous fraud investigation and relentless pursuit of non-supporting fathers.

WE must seek innovative means of reversing current welfare trends. The Family Assistance Plan proposed in the last session of Congress, with modifications, could turn these trends around.

WE must redouble our efforts in education, training and rehabilitation for current or potential welfare recipients. Adequate provision for employment referral and child care services is essential to the success of these programs.

WE must recognize that regardless of the adequacy of training programs, many welfare recipients will still remain at a competitive disadvantage in today's labor market. The federal law should be changed to allow

---

states to implement a public work program affording employment opportunities for those who cannot be placed in the private sector.

Finally, we must continue to urge the Federal government to assume all, or a substantially larger portion of, the fiscal responsibility for public welfare.

Extended unemployment benefits, while not required by federal regulations until 1972, may be paid this year in eligible states where legislatures move quickly.

Prompt adoption of enabling legislation would mean 13 weeks of additional benefits this year for those who have exhausted their 26-week entitlement. This is the second priority task before us.

The State Division of Employment estimates that 5,500 Oregonians who exhausted their benefits before January 15, 1971, would qualify for the extension if Oregon enters the program now.

If economic recovery drags in 1971, extended benefits could be paid to as many as 20,000 eligible Oregonians.

The urgent family needs of Oregon workers who are victims of a national recession dictate that we not temporize in reaching a decision.

The third task requires action to bring about federal revenue-sharing with state and local governments this year --- either outright sharing or federal assumption of the \$6 billion annual state and local welfare costs.

State, city and county leaders across the nation are solidly united now on the mechanics for triggering action this year.

I urge this legislature to petition Congress to call a convention to propose a revenue sharing amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

One month ago, the New Jersey Senate and General Assembly unanimously passed a model resolution inaugurating this process. If 33 other states follow suit, Congress is obliged to call such a convention.

My long-standing position has been that when such sharing begins, the State of Oregon's top-priority shall be given to the education of our children.

In education, however, the stakes are too high for us to rely on future action by the Federal Government.

For two decades we have talked of dramatically increasing basic school support in Oregon. Unfortunately for the schools --- doubly unfortunate for the property taxpayer --- talk has been the limit of our accomplishment.

In each of the ten previous opening sessions of the Legislature I have attended, hopes have been voiced for increasing state support to 50 percent of local school operation costs.

Twice as governor I succumbed to the allure of this easy-to-express, elusive-to-attain goal.

Speaking to the opening joint session in 1967, I laid out an income tax-based program designed to reach the 50 percent goal.

Again in 1969 I urged renewed efforts to climb to that level.

---

In basic school support, we have called for the best, but we have moved steadily toward the worst. Despite a doubling of state dollars per child, the downslide already has taken us from 40 percent to 22 percent --- and 17 percent looms in the biennium ahead.

I may be the first governor in recent history to stand before you and concede --- not with shame, but with candor --- we just can't get all the way from here to there in one biennium.

This admission, I'm convinced, is a reflection of realism. Without realism, we're never going to get started on the job of halting the retreat in basic school support and start it marching up the hill.

Some have suggested that education should have been given first claim to General Fund monies in the budget --- but they fail to understand this perilously balanced document.

The physical shape of the budget is like that of a very tall man. Had the governor taken \$35 million off the top --- the sum needed to hold basic school support at the 22 percent level through 1973 --- this manlike profile would have an enormous head, but it also would have a distinctly hollow chest, a 12-inch waist and no legs whatever to provide locomotion.

Many other programs, in other words, would have suffered --- some, possible, to the point of extinction.'

I am now convinced that if we are ever to start up the long road toward an acceptable lever of basic school support, we must reassess our position, adopt attainable goals and take a fresh look at alternative revenue sources.

As an initial approach, I propose that we reach 23 percent state support in 1971-72 and 25 percent in 1972-73. This will require \$53 million in new state revenues and will result in a corresponding decrease in property tax requirements.

Among numerous alternative methods of production added revenues of this amount are: Elimination of one-half of the federal tax deduction one state income tax returns; a modest increase in our current income tax rate structure; or adoption of a selected group of non-regressive excise taxes.

These particular revenue options are not intended to be exclusive. I mention them simply because each has been the subject of past discussion and received some indication of relatively broad support.

If, in you deliberations, you wish to consider more innovative approaches, or mount a broader attack on the problems of school finance and property tax relief, many avenues are open to you.

A year-long study commission by me to assess revenue alternatives for education and property tax relief is growing to a color. Professor Richard Lindholm, Dean of the University of Oregon's School of Business Administration, will make 28 reports on the finding available to legislators this month.

We learned in 1967 --- and again in 1969 --- that we aren't likely to solve all our state's fiscal problems in a single stroke. But a combination of the options I have outlined for increasing basic school support, along with senior-citizen, low-income and general property tax relief measure described in my budget, will accomplish several things.

It will provide a firmer school finance base.

It will tend to stabilize property taxes for the next two years.

It will maintain the present level of direct, general property tax relief.

IT will provide immediate and substantial property tax relief to senior citizens and those of low income.

---

It will provide the time to determine whether federal shared revenues will become available, and to decide how these revenues can best be integrated into the fiscal structure of the state and local governments.

These attainments will not come without diligent effort. They will require bicameral support, bipartisan consensus and voter acceptance. You have my unqualified pledge of support in the accomplishment of each of these objectives.

Likewise, the financial bind on post-high school education is serious. We must look hard for means to reduce costs and yet maintain the quality of education programs. We should consider recommendation in the Carnegie Commission report for ways higher education degrees can be earned in less time and with more options.

The General Fund budget, balanced for the next biennium at almost \$819 million, is geared to keep up with inflation --- and that's about all.

The 13 percent increase it represents is a smaller proportional increase than the General Fund has registered in four of the last five biennia.

Budget requests were cut a record \$375 million. Tragically, no deleted request was frivolous, since all were based on "Goals for a Liable Oregon" as painstakingly documented by state agencies and local officials during the past 18 months.

It is a "hold-the-line" budget, with little program improvement; but it is fiscally sound, and within this stricture we sought to keep pace with the needs of our urbanizing Oregon society.

Some areas reflect the need for reinforcement.

The budget proposes that Oregon will operate 77 programs in 1971-73 providing assistance from all funds to local governments of more than \$526 million. This is an increase of \$120 million over the correct biennium's outlay.

Major areas of improved assistance include aid to private colleges, mental health, community juvenile institutions, grants for public safety and sewer facilities, and pollution-control enforcement.

If any issue has eclipsed the problems of government finance during my first term in office, it is the war against despoilment of nature.

Oregon needs from this legislature some 30 measures to improve protection and management of its natural resources, including:

More effective controls over air-pollution though requiring vehicle tune-up and inspection, regulating traffic in population centers, requiring discharge permits for air contaminants, and removing statutory exemptions on burning.

Implementation of the bonding authority, approved by the voters last may, is indicated through new legislation removing the \$50 million restoration and making funds available for other pollution control needs, particularly solid waste.

Provision should be made under the pollution bonding program for a capital construction loan fund to local government and to metropolitan service districts for incinerators; tank farms to recycle our oils and chemicals; and shredders and compactors, for garbage conversion and recycling plants.

Other urgent needs in the natural resources area are:

---

Expansion of state bonding authority to fund all water developments.

Establishment of a state agency with authority to approve sites for nuclear power plants.

Doubling of the Department of Environmental Quality's staff, and centering in that department full responsibility for management of solid waste and radioactive and nuclear waste.

Continuation of efforts to add acquisitions for the Willamette River park system, and nuclear waste.

Continuation of efforts to add acquisitions for the Willamette River park system, and the Highway Division's park and beach access programs.

Adoption of laws for removal and disposal of abandoned automobiles and to require a "price on the head" of bottles and cans, encouraging pickup, cleanup, return and reuse.

Finally, in this listing, retain of a Department of Natural Resources in the general form approved by the House in 1969.

There are two other board areas, Public Safety and Human Resources, where I urge consolidation of state agencies to achieve greater coordination and efficiency.

As we move forward in other categories of state services, we cannot be direct in our elemental duty to protect the safety of all Oregonians.

United States Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has said, "Governments exist chiefly to foster the rights and interests of their citizens --- to protect their homes and property, their persons and their lives."

Expediting criminal justice holds part of the answer. This Assembly must seize the opportunity to reduce the time required to process a criminal case by about half --- to less than one year.

You will have before you proposals to achieve that end and to bolster Oregon's crime-fighting field forces through creation of a Department of Public Safety.

The department would consolidate several independent agencies now concerned with crime and civil disorder.

I am particularly concerned in this matter, because prime responsibility for public safety rides on my shoulders. Though steps can be taken to delegate authority in this area, it is impossible to delegate my responsibility to control civil disorder and press on in the day-to-day fight against lawlessness.

In more specific areas of public safety, I urge speedy enactment of legislation to control the sale, transportation and possession of high explosive. Three times in recent months public facilities in Oregon have been severely damaged, and lives have been placed in jeopardy, through use of high-explosives by terrorists.

The law-enforcement profession is one of extraordinary peril, and one which makes exceptional demands on the resourcefulness and judgment of those who enter it. I urge you to give most serious consideration to establishment of a statewide law-enforcement officers' retirement system.

AN increased State Police workload is anticipated. The Governor's budget calls for 133 additional traffic officers to strengthen the campaign against mayhem and destruction on Oregon's streets and highways.

---

Fourteen additional State Police investigators are needed. Establishment of a narcotics investigation unit within the State Police is an imperative of the new biennium.

The mental Health Division budget will fund local citizens' drug advisory councils on a statewide basis and will operate a rehabilitation living center for up to 175 drug dependent persons.

My most sweeping recommendation in the social service area is state assumption of responsibility for community mental health clinics in the second year of the new biennium. This move will assure greater service within a comprehensive, fully-integrated system.

Added emphasis on community-oriented treatment is also a feature of the budget recommended for the Corrections Division.

The Corrections, Mental Health, Welfare, Employment and Vocational Rehabilitation Divisions have works well together in an informal alliance. This Legislature should make their interaction earn more fruitful by consolidating them as a Department of Human Resources.

All of us were shocked last year to see a child snatched out of its adoptive parents' home on a legal technicality. The Attorney General, in conjunction with representatives of child care agencies, has drafted a proposal to close this loophole.

Every young person in Oregon has a personal stake in another of the issues destined to be devoted in the House and Senate chambers this year.

I allude to the question of extending a franchise to 18, 19, 20 year olds in state and local elections, now the Act of Congress permitting them to vote in national elections has been held constitutional.

It is my distinct impression that many Oregonians believe any lowering of the voting age must be accompanied by a lowering of the age of majority.

I suggest, therefore, that this session pass a "lowering of the age of majority" bill as a prerequisite to approval of a measure to lower the voting age in state and local elections.

Without this reassurance, I'm certain that Oregon's electorate will again drub the lower voting age at the polls. The inconsistency of voting rights denials at the state and local level, while sanctioned in national elections, will perpetuate chaos at the polling place.

We must not abandon our responsibility to present the voters a modern, concise and workable constitution. I earnestly hope this Assembly will submit a truly noncontroversial revision at the polls in the spring of 1972.

Oregon is justly renowned for its voting integrity, but we must effect major changes in our Corrupt Practices Act, particularly in the area of campaign financing. I endorse bills for this purpose proposed by the Secretary of State and the Legislative committee on Rules and Resolution.

WE must set overall ceilings on the near-runaway costs of political campaigns.

"Safeguarding the electoral process' has a counterpart in the world of retail trade. WE call it "consumer protection."

The Attorney General and I have developed a plan for a consumer services division within the Department of Commerce and a consumer fraud unit within the Attorney General's office.

---

THE two units working together will provide a continuing responsiveness to consumer grievances, coordinate a variety of consumer educational programs, and deal forcefully with those few businessmen who refuse to adhere to standards of ethical conduct.

Additionally, the Attorney General is proposing a comprehensive consumer protection act. This, too, I commend to you favorable attention.

Whatever state programs you and I formulate will falter in the absence of a health, well-rounded Oregon economy.

Emphasizing quality rather than sheer size, we must plan for expansion and diversification of tourism, agriculture, manufacturing and foreign and domestic trade.

I ask the legislature, therefore, to strengthen Oregon's foreign trade position by establishing an international trade unit within the Division of Economy Development.

We are beginning to realize the potential Oregon's scenic wonders hold for the production of motion pictures. We must extend and even warmer welcome to Hollywood producers to enlarge this highly lucrative, non-polluting source in income.

Oregon needs a small but fulltime state unit to continue the informal effort I initiated last summer to encourage sales of Oregon products and services to the Federal sales to the world's largest buyer in Washington. D. C.

Oregon cannot hope to capitalize on an additional agricultural potential in excess of \$100 million without continuous developmental research, for which a modest \$200,000 is recommended.

The state will be well served if we adopt the recommendation of the Legislature's Urban Affairs Interim Committee to establish a state housing authority. Coupled with this should be authority for a \$200 million bonding capacity to assist in financing low and moderate-income housing in Oregon.

Although I have mention only two legislative committees by name today, the contribution of various interim groups to Oregon problem-solving has been prodigious. I subscribe, at least in principle, to most of their far-ranging recommendations.

Specifically I invite you attention to the management 70s Task Force whose reports will be part of your deliberations.

This is the unit of 20 corporate executives whose fulltime services were donated by their employers for a year. They focused on 27 major agencies in Oregon state government, in a searching analysis of strengths and weaknesses, and came up with more than 850 recommendations for change.

If all of these were implemented administratively, or adopted by the Legislature, the resultant savings or increased revenues could approximate \$20 million a year.

This year the State Department of Transportation will be accelerating efforts to structure multi-modal and interagency transportation planning and programming in both the private and public sectors.

This also is the year set by the 1969 legislature for completion of statewide local planning in all 36 counties. The wisdom of man has devised no stronger tool for as planning in all 36 counties. The wisdom of man has devised no stronger tool for assuring the prudent use of all our resources far into the future.

The Complexion of the Willamette Valley five, ten or even twenty-five years from now is being determined by what is known as the "Environmental Protection and Development Plan for the Willamette Valley."



---

Jointly sponsored by local government officials and the Governor, this vast effort will provide the basis for developing the valley, pack to peak, in a manner that best preserves its quality.

Local leaders, too, are primarily responsible for development of Oregon's coastal program.

This undertaking is headed by a 26-member Oregon Coastal Conservation and Development Committee. The goal of this unit is to "prepare, encourage and maintain a comprehensive coastal program for the orderly long-range conservation and development of marine and coastal resources."

It's a big order --- but once the Committee shows it's able to fill it, it will qualify as the coastal zone management authority required by proposed federal legislation.

This designation would qualify us for additional federal support; but, of crucial importance, it would mean that the future of the Oregon coast will be planned and managed by Oregonians.

In this message, then, I have mentioned a few areas which --- in my view --- most urgently demand our attention.

John Gardner has warned, "there is no middle road for the spirit. We must call for the best, our live with the worst."

Compromise indeed is bad for the spirit if it limits one's ideals or goals.

At the same time, if we renounce realism and gradualism, we may --- paradoxically --- be frustrated in our ideals, and see the realization of our goals delayed.

An Oregonian is in individual unique and his fierce independence --- but equally unique in his readiness to work effectively with his fellow citizens, as part of one team, when the chips are doesn't. All of us know that the chips are on the table now, and the stakes are high.

We who are privileged to be in these chambers today can view the challenges we face as opportunities, not as reasons for despair. We can do this only if we blend our independent spirits in terms of reverence for the life and respect for nature. Each of you might suggest different words, but our goal certainly is the same: a better Oregon.

Members of the Assembly, we cannot shape a better Oregon by ourselves. We are leaders, but we are not magicians. Only the citizens of Oregon themselves can attain this goal.

Our task as leaders is to inspire, if we can, every Oregonian toward excellence in achievement for himself and for his state.

Oregon's citizens are equal to the challenges which the 1970's already are hurling at them. The time is upon us to proceed to the business at hand and demonstrate that we are worthy of their confidence.

Tom McCall

**Legislative Message, 1973**

Source: Legislative Address Governor Tom McCall, Oregon, 1973

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Fifty-Seventh Legislative Assembly, Distinguished Guests, and Fellow Citizens:

---

Oregon is an inspiration. Whether you come to it or are born to it, you become entranced by our State's beauty, the opportunities she affords, and the independent spirit of her citizens.

Oregon is an inspiration even to those who do not come here to live. The story of the Willamette River --- our ecological Easter --- has evoked cries of hurrah! across the Nation and in distant parts of the world. And we have heard, along with applause for Oregon, lamentations for other states where progress has fallen prey to expediency.

Oregon's story is an inspiration to all Americans who believe they should be able to influence their government and the law-making process. The most intensive special interest pressure ever brought to bear on this Legislature was by a lobbyist who declared that the bottle bill should not pass. But it did pass, because you and your constituents were inspired by a love for the traditions and beauty of our home.

You and I shouldn't claim we love Oregon more than anyone else, but we do love this State as much as anyone. Our thoughts today and in the deliberations to come must spring from our determination to keep Oregon lovable, and make it more livable.

This is the last occasion I will stand in this chamber before a newly-elected Assembly asking enactment of a comprehensive package of laws. God willing, I expect to address you again, but not with such a wide array of ideas.

You have listened to me in the past with more than pro forma politeness, and I deeply appreciate the attention you give me today.

This is the 12th Legislative Assembly of which I have been a part --- and it seems to me as if we are always talking of troubled times, critical times, crucial times. But I can use no other words to describe this point in history.

Over the years, the Legislature and I, and our fellow citizens, have brought about imaginative change that will be warmly received by posterity. But modern society permits us no time to savor our successes. Society is not static, and government must be able to respond promptly, capably and fairly to emergent crises. The people of Oregon have high expectations. They look to us for fulfillment.

The Legislature and this Administration --- with the expectations of the people as our beacon --- have done as much to affect the destiny of Oregon as any citizens, including those whose names are emblazoned on the walls of these chambers. We have established the pattern --- and that pattern commands us to make one more great upward bound to protect the fabric of life throughout this Century.

In my first inaugural address I said: "An Imperative of progress in these years is a rapport between the executive and legislative branches." I was pleased to be able to say to you four years later that effective communication had been established, and that "in Oregon we have the most meaningful rapport between the legislative and executive branches in any of the 50 states."

Today we are more convinced than ever that reasonable men and women can treat the complex ills of society --- and that no problem can frustrate and enlightened people's search for a solution.

So it is that we now tackle that misshapen creature --- our tax structure for the support of schools.

We all are conscious of the grave inequities in educational finance. Some of our citizens can provide only minimal schooling for their children, even though they shoulder a massive property tax burden. We are confronted by a truism: Taxes on homes for the support of school operating costs bear little relationship to an ability to pay. We see this brutal tax already devastating the poor and the elderly, beginning to overwhelm the middle-income taxpayer, and making home ownership and impossibility for many of our citizens.

---

On other occasions I have described reform of taxation for education as the greatest challenge to the 57th Legislative Assembly. I will submit to you on the day after tomorrow a special message outlining the tax reform I propose, and a new formula for distributing revenue to public schools.

This and other communications I will send to you will be directed toward obtaining a better social, economic and environmental climate --- all recognizing that enhancing the quality of life is the lodestar of this Administration.

This has reigned as my priority in every legislative message. Two years ago I suggested that an awareness of the priority "is running stronger in the veins of Oregonians;" and we should assume, as a broad foundation for our actions in the months ahead, that this commitment is even more compelling in 1973.

Quality of life is the sum total of the fairness of our tax structure; the caliber of our homes; the cleanliness of our air and water; and the provision of affirmative assistance to those who cannot assist themselves. True quality is absent if we allow social suffering to abide in an otherwise pristine environment.

Our record thus far in enhancing the quality of life is exceptional. Unification of social service agencies into the Department of Human Resources has generated an increased capacity for dealing with human problems. The shakedown period has concentrated on the delivery of services to people, and we are further ahead with this than we had any rights to expect.

Key evidence of our reverence for the quality of life abound. The level of educational attainment has increased measurably. Community colleges have opened new doors of opportunity to thousands upon thousands of students, young and old. We have written almost the last word for all America in protecting our beaches. We have found ways for more of the mentally ill to remain secure in their own communities, and out of numbing institutional environments. We have given opportunity to thousands of offenders of the law to change their way of life to become productive, conscientious citizens.

We have established salmon runs where we knew of none before and assisted Nature to increase her bounty elsewhere. Last month we saw in the Elk River of Southern Oregon bright, heavy-bodied fish we sent to sea three years ago, now swamping the hatchery of their birth in the monumental achievement.

These are reflections of the determination of Oregonians to win quality in their lives. It means that after earning a living we have living that is worthwhile.

But there is a shameless threat to our environment and to the whole quality of life --- unfettered despoiling of the land. Sagebrush subdivisions, coastal "condomania," and the ravenous rampage of suburbia in Willamette Valley all threaten to mock Oregon's status as the environmental model for the Nation.

We are dismayed that we have not stopped mis-use of the land, our most valuable finite natural resource.

Umbrage at blatant disrespect for sound planning is not taken only at Salem. Less than a month ago the Jefferson County commissioners appealed to me for a moratorium on subdivision because the speculators had out-run local capacity for rational control.

We are in dire need of a state land-use policy, new subdivision laws, and new standards for planning and zoning by cities and counties. The interests of Oregon for today and in the future must be protected from grasping wastrels of the land. We must respect another truism: That unlimited and unregulated growth leads inexorably to a lowered quality of life.

By the end of this month I will submit messages covering these and other principal topics related briefly in the biennial budget that is already in your hands.

---

But you will need no special message from me to act upon the Women's Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution. I urge you to ratify this Amendment as your first order of business in this session --- and as a continuation of our mutual respect for human rights.

I will ask you to submit to the people a proposal for reducing the fiscal rigidity of our highway trust fund which so depresses our ability to provide an integrated transportation system.

I will ask you to authorize a \$150-million bond issue to raise funds to overcome an immense backlog of transportation needs. The details for this proposal will be presented to you in a special message that will reach you desks tomorrow.

I also will ask your support for a \$200-million revenue bond issue to provide better housing for Oregonians and to stimulate our economy.

I will ask you approval of more than two dozen traffic safety measures --- measures that are underscored by last year's vehicular carnage.

Oregon is admired for the openness of State government and the ease of access to it. The Legislature has won trust by doing the public's business in public. Running parallel to our cause is the public's guarantor of openness and revelation, the Oregon press.

The press is our insurance of a free and just society, but forays elsewhere against the Fourth Estate now convince us that intimidation of the insurer has arrived under a-new guise. We must react with a law to shield the press from over-zealousness. The newsman-source privacy that we have taken as a matter of traditional right in Oregon now must be made a matter of legal right as well.

Without a fair and meticulous press we would deliberate in a vacuum, hearing little and doing unheard.

During this session I also will ask you to further reorganize State government, making provision for Departments of Land and Water Resources, and Fish and Wildlife. Reorganization is politically pallid and may be politically hazardous at times, but we cannot look forward to the 21st Century with a governmental structure that already is antiquated in the 20th.

And do we concede that constitutional revision is dead? Three times I have asked the Legislature for it; and although you were responsive, the voters were not.

Even today, I confess, I cannot walk away from it. Thus, I recommend to you now that you explore a more palatable way of re-doing Oregon's patchwork charter --- explore that risks of calling a state constitutional convention.

Facing the 56th Legislative Assembly two years ago, I suggested that the session pass "a lowering-of-the-age-of-majority bill." I repeat that proposal today, noting it now possesses the urgency of an idea whose time has really come.

Two years ago I also called for expansion of state bonding authority to finance irrigation developments. The Legislature authorized submission of appropriate legislation to the ballot, but the people balked at the polls last May. It is a potent concept, though --- one well worth trying again, especially in view of the unlimited future of Oregon's foreign trade.

We must consider this and other ways of improving the economic climate for agriculture to enable our people to take advantage of the fertile ground surveyed by our trade missions.

---

Hundreds of millions of Pacific Rim Nation citizens will find Oregon their closet supplier of quality agricultural products. And so I repeat my plea of earlier messages to give Oregon a more effective State economic development entity; specifically, this time, a new Department of Economic Development heavily oriented toward foreign trade.

Even as we move toward heightened governmental efficiency on behalf of the people, we recognize that the concept of the people helping people has even more validity. We cherish what we now see as the re-dawning of the age of volunteerism.

Thomas Jefferson advised us: "That government is the strongest of which every man feels himself a part." When the activities of government are worthy, and when the results are visible, citizens take pride in their contribution to government.

More than 2,000 volunteers have dedicated part of their lives to programs of the Department of Human Resources alone, giving of themselves to those in desperate need.

The people are making themselves a part of government at a time when they are urgently needed, at time when we are passing again to self-determination by the states.

Federal revenue sharing is the beginning. It is true that we have grumbled in the past that the dollars for revenue sharing are being taken out of the hide of the environmental and people programs, but at the same time we must commend the President for trying to crowd deficit spending into a manageable corner.

We have and will protest a dilution of effort by the Federal government, but perhaps to no avail. The President is caught between a demanding public and a Congress that shirks responsibility, at the same time that he seeks to gain acceptance of his own philosophical persuasions.

Somehow, Oregon and most other states are lost in the national slue-footing. A balance will be found in the future, and New Federalism --- in the form of almost unrestricted revenue sharing grants --- helps to make this possible.

Make no mistake about it --- revenue sharing is fundamental to progress. How long it last and in what quantities will be determined by how imaginatively and wisely the money is used.

There is a danger that the money will go to perpetuate ineffective government, and the danger will remain unless we commit ourselves to the more hopeful concept that it can and should be a catalyst toward improving the quality of life.

That quality must be measured primarily in human terms. Revenue sharing dollars must not disappear solely into the maw of never-ending capital requirements --- those material things I refer to as lampposts.

This Administration has sought to coax local governments into innovative responses to Federal revenue sharing. We urge you to consider our plan to pass a hotel-motel tax, with the proceeds going to the cities and counties if, in turn, they will match new state social services grants.

These grants, if accepted, could do much to resolve the day care and child development crisis. Yet the amount of money involved pales by comparison with what we propose for educational support and property tax relief.

We determined late in 1972 that, at last, we will head into a biennium where we will not face instant fiscal chaos. Without increasing taxes we will have resources to overcome some pressing problems of the past without borrowing trouble for the future.

---

Despite this brightened outlook we resisted the bureaucratic urge to dramatically expand existing programs or find new ones to finance. Instead we ask you approval of our proposal to commit \$130-million from anticipated and on-hand revenue to the public schools, and to make these dollars a direct offset to taxes on homeowners and renters.

Let no one assume that the treasury is bulging. Never does enough money lie at our fingertips to finance what the public justly demands. Demands change, or grow, after we have prepared the budget. With the present constitutional strictures against annual legislative sessions, we are left in the almost impossible position of forecasting both the State's fiscal position and the wishes of the people 30 months hence.

Consequently, I am in general agreement with a proposal that I call a special session of the Legislature next January to deal with fiscal matters. My staff had urged last summer that I declare this is my policy.

But I could neither then nor now promise to call the Legislature to Salem next January. Circumstances may well dictate a special legislative session before that time, or after it.

I am committed to support of a constitutional amendment permitting annual session of the Legislature, but I cannot make a pledge to begin that tradition though gubernatorial action until we have fulfilled our promise to achieve tax reform. This well could require one or more special sessions, the timing of which would be dictated by your own actions and the decisions of the people.

Tax reform is only one of the improvements we must make in the laws. We have often discussed with each other in the past how we might elevate the position of the State and the conditions under which we all live. Many of the ideas we have had are not new except perhaps in degree. We would well serve ourselves and the people if we accord the past to a place in the future.

It isn't that the executive and legislative are bereft of the ability to think new and innovate. But if a cause is exemplary, we should keep coming back to it; you can be assured that it will keep coming back to us.

Last year I was presented with a copy of the second of three inaugural addresses given by Samuel McCall --- my grandfather --- to the Massachusetts Legislative Assembly.

In his 1917 address Governor Samuel McCall of Massachusetts requested governmental reorganization and money to finance a constitutional revision commission --- requests striking similar to those made today, in 1973, by another Governor McCall.

Samuel McCall also urged compulsory health insurance, improvements in the workmen's compensation system, cost of living controls, renewed attention to traffic safety, and prohibition of billboards along scenic highways.

He suggested a greenway concept for a new road, endorsed the abolition of capital punishment, urged firm measures to curb drug abuse and sought new protections for consumers.

He called attention to the coming Tricentennial of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock --- a near counterpart to our coming Bicentennial observance of the birth of the United States.

Governor Samuel McCall's ideas are on target even now; and a paragraph of inspiration in his address also is as applicable today as it was then, and as applicable to Oregon as to Massachusetts. He said"

"If regard is had to the traditions of the Commonwealth and the character of her people, there is no place upon the globe that has title to be governed by wiser laws. I she to have the sort of government to which she is entitled? It rests with us to give answer. Let us reverence the mandate we have received from the people. Let it be our aim to do deeds which shall take their place with the best things in our history and be an incentive and a challenge to those who shall come after us. The power which we wield does not belong to us

---

but to those who put it in our hands. And unless we shall use it solely for the public weal, we shall fall far short of performing our duty.”

In Oregon, our accomplishments of the next days and months will stem --- as before --- from the labors of people who gave the best of themselves, of public servants who put the common good ahead of personal or party interest.

We will not accomplish all that we as individuals believe we should, ever though we do our utmost personally to fulfill public expectations. There must be conciliation, flexibility and compromise if plans are to become reality.

Fifty-six years ago Governor Samuel McCall spoke of a state rich in accomplishment. He spoke of an intelligent and prosperous people, a state towering in history and scenic beauty. His idealism of 1917 is equally at home today in Oregon--- a State renowned in the world and precious to us all.

In his charge to the Legislative Assembly, Governor Samuel McCall expressed his love for Massachusetts. His words serve well as an expression to you of my love for Oregon

“For us to tarnish the lustre of a fame so splendid would be shameful; not to diminish it would be a very great thing, but to augment it would be indeed glory.”

Tom McCall

### **Farewell Message, 1975**

Source: Farewell Message Governor Tom McCall, Oregon, 1975

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Governor-Elect Straub, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the 58th Legislative Assembly.

This Chamber has been the scene of many battles for the Oregon cause. At the same time, working in this building is a delicate responsibility and keep honor for all of us who have had the opportunity.

In all honesty, though, I must say the entrance is more invigorating and pleasant than is the exit.

But it is not in the Oregon style to dwell on goodbyes. Though we full understand that the past gives us our foundation and our generating guidance, we are most ardently concerned with the future and how to get there.

I am not here for purposes of saying goodbye, nor for probing the file cabinets of the past.

Let me leave this assembly today the way I entered it: full of hope for tomorrow and actively at work helping to realize the hope.

I do have hope for the future, particularly for Oregon’s future, Beyond that (even) I feel certain that Oregon has a place in the destiny of world leadership . . . that this state is a lodestar for the wavering pace of the American society.

Let us continue to be that star.

If there is a single hallmark of the Oregon character, it must be citizen initiative.

We in Oregon do not wait for answers to be handed down to us . . .

We assess the ever-changing situation and respond with our own action.

---

WE do not celebrate a problem.

We set about to make things better by trying solutions.

WE are creative, and we trust our intuition.

We do not like to wait for the inevitable . . . we send scouts to stalk its approach.

Throughout the nation now there is a faint, cold fear that veils to haunt the shadows.

This mood must not be allowed to fasten and grow.

Oregon is in an ideal position to lead the attack against this most dangerous enemy of representative government --- the phantom of fear.

Oregon has never been terrified of change, but it also is cautious in meeting and channeling the flow of affairs.

Let's continue to be that way.

Our approach throughout our history has always been . . . this is Oregon; Oregon is special; Oregon will find its own destination just as it blazed its own trail.

And now, there is a new sense of pride in Oregonians as more of the world begins to notice us and wonder about us and listen to us.

So let's export the Oregon system, now when it's needed most.

By our own continuing example, let's offer every interested ear some timely reminders for days of crisis:

Let's remind the world that people of all sorts, all beliefs, all backgrounds can work together and can govern themselves with equanimity and goodwill.

Let's remind the world that the rights of individuals can (and must) be respected, even when the situation is tense and the journey hazardous.

Let's remind the world that an individual can lead his own special life and --- in parallel --- a group can conduct its complex mutual affairs --- both exiting, both living well, both respecting.

And most of all, let's remind the world that it is possible for a working system of government to be honest and to be believed.

At a time when most Americans no longer believe or trust their government, it is worthy of note that --- here in Oregon --- the Legislature, and our citizen boards and commissions operate in the light, day and night . . . the level of public participation remains high . . . the two major parties continue to debate and cooperate amicably . . . and the people continue to believe and trust themselves and their chosen representatives.

That is a quality worthy of export.

But the only way we can successfully export a philosophy is by doing, not by saying.

And Oregon has a long history of giving dynamic life to its ideas.



---

That's the heritage we have in this state --- and its stewardship is, indeed, a mighty responsibility.

Now it is time to step aside, and let the work move forward.

And be assured that not only will Robert W. Straub let the work go forward, he will lead a great advance.

I would factor at this time a good old toast --- one that I like because it recognized the inevitability of change and the danger of dreaming otherwise:

"Here's to the last time we meet . . . and to the time after that!"

So now ---

May your quest go well.

May we continue to find accord and high purpose.

May we forever prove (by our action) that people can join together for mutual benefit and greater good.

May we continue to work together.

May we face and endure every winter with spring . . . forever on our mind.