



FOR RELEASE  
WEDNESDAY PM'S  
JULY 31, 1968  
Telephone 202/225-2961

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
JULY 31, 1968

It is hard, when you get an audience this size in a campaign year, to resist making a partisan speech. Especially when you find yourself flanked on the program by such tempting targets.

Today I mean to resist -- a little. I shall be patient a week or so longer.

Instead of telling you why you should vote for me, I want to set out as fully as I can the reasons why I want to be President and what I hope to accomplish if I am successful.

There is, of course, some personal pride and fulfillment involved -- although I doubt that it ever compensates for the rigors of the job.

But there is something else which all of you in public service can understand -- the chance to advance the commitments of a lifetime -- and the chance to try your hand on the throttle.

In my case the commitment is this: To strengthen the alternative to conflict -- at home and in the world.

Conflict -- hot or cold -- is costing us too much today.

It costs the world too much in terms of giant arms budgets... lives lost...resources diverted from the urgent business of helping ordinary people get on their feet.

I have always considered a more peaceful and just world within our grasp -- not just pie in the sky. And the same goes for an America where all citizens can have an equal chance to share in the promise of this great nation.

Those are the goals which cause me to seek the Presidency.

And those goals are now within reach -- if we have the courage to press on toward them...if we take charge of America's future.

\* \* \* \*

What are the specifics?

In Vietnam, the alternative to conflict is clear: South Vietnam should be run by the people who live there, not be Hanoi or Washington.

This means free elections -- elections in which all can vote and all can run for office, with guarantees against force and intimidation...elections in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process.

And it means being willing to accept the results of these elections, whatever they may be.

After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of the American role in developing areas.

Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will be found in widening areas of East-West agreement.

The most important area -- and the one which will release the most resources for more humane uses -- is disarmament.

The key question here is whether both the United States and the Soviet Union will settle for strategic security -- which their deterrent forces already provide -- or whether they will insist on playing the game of strategic one-upmanship, with all its attendant risks and costs.

Either country could now destroy the other, regardless of additional expenditures -- a fact which I believe makes an arms agreement a real possibility. I believe, too, that we must move beyond the pending discussions with the Soviet Union of offensive and defensive missiles to the business of a world-wide reduction of armaments and defense expenditures.

I look, too, to expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union -- in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the so-called Third World.

And I would hope that East and West could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the challenge that both face: endemic poverty in the Southern Hemisphere -- a festering source of conflict that threatens to embroil them both.

PAGE THREE

I think America should take the lead in an effort eventually to replace East-West conflict with North-South cooperation as the main theme of international affairs.

That is why I have insisted during this campaign that new world conditions demand new priorities and new policies -- a shift from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement.

The continuing hostilities in Southeast Asia...the recent events in Eastern Europe...these testify to the difficulty of achieving these objectives, even as the survival of mankind compels us to pursue them.

\* \* \* \*

In an effort to strengthen the alternative to conflict here at home, I mean to speak in the months ahead to the values which unite Americans, rather than to those which divide us.

I shall seek not a superficial unity or reconciliation based on campaign-year rhetoric, but a more fundamental unity of national purpose. I seek not an America of one mind, but an America of one spirit.

The national purpose must be to act, concretely and quickly, to overcome the deprivations and inequities which still exist in our society.

Law and order and civil justice are inseparable. Either -- without the other -- is illusion.

I believe the vast majority of Americans want both order and justice...and that we are rich enough, resourceful enough and strong enough to achieve both.

I have therefore proposed that we adopt two agenda which will serve the intents of all Americans:

An agenda for civil order...

And an agenda for civil justice...

And that we pursue both relentlessly.

These items are at the top of my agenda for civil order:

First. The rioting in American cities must stop. And if it breaks out again, it must be put down promptly, firmly and effectively.

Without order there can be no progress...or justice.

Without rules no society can endure.

Second. The interstate shipment and sale of firearms must be brought under federal control.

And if the states don't adopt -- and right away -- legislation requiring the registration of all firearms, then Congress must again take up this proposal.

Third. Councils of civil peace should be organized at the state, and where possible, the metropolitan level. This is a recommendation I made to you last year.

Such councils should include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state . . . the State Attorney General's Office . . . the National Guard . . . law enforcement agencies and officials of local government.

Finally, we need national efforts to control effectively the kind of crime by individuals against individuals that plague many of our neighborhoods -- particularly those which are already disadvantaged in other respects. I shall spell out a comprehensive position on crime control in the weeks ahead.

The agenda for civil justice is equally urgent.

We must act -- now -- to assure every citizen in this nation enough to eat.

There is no reason in America -- with its unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for anyone to be hungry. It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

Let me be perfectly candid: neither Congress nor the U.S. Department of Agriculture have made an adequate response to the severe problems of hunger and malnutrition we know exist in America. I plan to release a more comprehensive statement on this matter.

We must provide every American with the opportunity to earn a living. Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

Again, Congress and the U.S. Department of Labor can act -- this year -- to make a start on this expanded job program.

I personally endorse such action without reservation.

We must secure the right to a full education -- from age four on through college or advanced training -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

We must act now to secure these rights.

It won't come free. It isn't cheap. It will not come without change. But I believe it can be done if two requirements are met:

First. We need to involve private energies and private capital. The government has an important role to play. The programs I favor will cost money, and I don't intend to play games with you by trying to conceal this fact.

But the amounts of available government money will be far less than needed. Additional resources and personnel will have to be sought in the private sector, by new and creative approaches -- loan guarantees, tax credits, joint ventures, and many more. It is for the purpose of concentrating private resources and focusing them on our urban problems that I have proposed a National Urban Development Bank to be funded largely through the sale of bonds and shares to the public.

Second: We need to stimulate self-help by those whom we wish to assist. Our assistance can complement self-help; it cannot substitute for it, and it is wasted without it.

The poor, the black, the Mexican American, the Indian American want more than material improvement. They want -- above all -- to have their dignity acknowledged and respected.

Only by acknowledging this dignity and self-respect can we restore the national unity which now eludes us.

This brings me to an all-important point in my agenda of civil justice.

The communities that make up our country -- and the people who inhabit them -- must play a larger role in making their own future.

This is as true in our cities as in our suburbs and our countryside, and it is going to mean reshaping existing institutions.

In the inner cities, for example, we must provide greater freedom, community self-help and involvement. Minority entrepreneurship, locally controlled school boards, and neighborhood development corporations are ways to mobilize the human power found there.

My Marshall plan for the Cities -- which got its start before the convention last year -- is a plan of action founded on the principles of local initiative, sensible planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities, and massive commitment of human and financial resources -- both private and public.

(Cont'd)

Yesterday in San Francisco, I discussed my ideas for creating a living environment for all Americans. Whether a person lives in the city, in the suburbs, or in the country, the goal should be to give that person true freedom of choice in making that decision.

Today we possess the technology and resources to achieve this goal ... if we can only summon the imagination and courage to build the public support and governmental policies that are vital to success.

We must define certain basic social, economic and demographic objectives to guide our future urban, suburban and rural growth.

We must then provide meaningful incentives to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional planning. States, counties, and municipalities can work together when national policy makes it in their best interests to do so.

We need a strong and active President ... one strong enough to shake up the federal bureaucracy and hammer out a structure which rewards ... not frustrates ... local innovation and responsibility. Yes, an Open Presidency ... open to the people ... open to change.

And this strong President needs the mechanism of a national domestic policy council to oversee the reorganization and restructuring of the Federal bureaucracy -- and then to assure that it remains truly responsive to local needs and goals.

Once this integration and coordination of federal domestic agencies has been achieved, there can be an effective demand on state, county and local governments to take those



actions at their end which permit coordination of the total government effort.

I have several ideas I didn't mention in San Francisco.

--It is time to consider seriously a National Urban Homestead Act which could write down land costs and supplement local property taxes.

--It is also time to consider federal support for state equalization of certain community expenses -- education and welfare, for example -- within metropolitan areas, as well as between urban and rural areas.

-- We must continue to explore the proposal for sharing federal tax revenues with states, counties and cities, under strict safeguards and guidelines.

I believe there is a systematic way to solve the problem of urban, suburban, small town and rural America ... a way which achieves a working balance among federal, state, county and local governments ... a way which truly equips this nation to conquer the unique challenges -- and opportunities -- of the 1970's and 1980's.

And let me say I speak from experience -- from the experience of running a major United States city ... from the experience of struggling with legislation for 16 years in the U.S. Senate ... and from the experience of serving as liason between the federal government and the counties and municipalities of America for the past four years.

I also want to make this perfectly clear:

Peace, if I am President, will not mean that America relaxes and goes to sleep -- as we did in the 1950's after Korea. It will mean we shift our total energies and resources -- our peace dividend and our arms control dividend -- to the things that count most in human terms.

People will have priority in a Humphrey Administration.

I have heard it said that this is not the year in which to seek change and sacrifice.



PAGE NINE

If so, this is not my year. For that is what I stand for.

There are some things more important than becoming President of the United States. And speaking out for the hard tasks of reconciliation and justice, at home and abroad, is one of them.

So I intend to keep on speaking out.

I believe that the American people want to come together at home; that they want to seek reconciliation abroad; and that they are moved by compassion to help those less fortunate, at home and abroad, so that the people of the earth shall finally know the true meaning of freedom and human emancipation.

It is to voice and test this faith that I seek the Presidency this year.

# # #

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JULY 31, 1968

◀ IT IS HARD, WHEN YOU GET AN AUDIENCE THIS  
SIZE IN A CAMPAIGN YEAR, TO RESIST MAKING A  
PARTISAN SPEECH. ESPECIALLY WHEN ONE FINDS HIMSELF  
FLANKED ON THE PROGRAM BY SUCH TEMPTING TARGETS.

TODAY I MEAN TO RESIST -- A LITTLE. I SHALL BE  
PATIENT A WEEK OR SO LONGER.

◀ INSTEAD OF TELLING YOU WHY YOU SHOULD VOTE FOR  
ME, I WANT TO SET OUT ~~THE PROBLEMS I CAN~~ SOME OF THE  
PROBLEMS THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL FACE AND, HOPEFULLY,  
SOME CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS THAT WILL MEET THOSE  
PROBLEMS.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT I HOPE TO BE THAT NEXT  
PRESIDENT -- FULLY MINDFUL OF THE AWESOME

Change

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE OFFICE,

BUT THERE IS SOMETHING ELSE WHICH ALL OF  
YOU IN PUBLIC SERVICE CAN UNDERSTAND -- THE CHANCE  
TO ADVANCE THE COMMITMENTS OF A LIFETIME -- AND THE  
CHANCE TO TRY YOUR HAND ON THE THROTTLE.

IN MY CASE THE COMMITMENT IS THIS: TO FIND  
AND ADVANCE AN ALTERNATIVE TO CONFLICT -- AT HOME  
AND IN THE WORLD. TO Reduce Tensions

CONFLICT -- HOT OR COLD -- IS WASTEFUL AND  
For  
COSTING US TOO MUCH TODAY.

↳ IT COSTS THE WORLD TOO MUCH IN TERMS OF  
MILITARY BUDGETS ... LIVES LOST ... RESOURCES  
DIVERTED FROM THE URGENT NEEDS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE.

I BELIEVE A MORE PEACEFUL AND JUST WORLD IS  
WITHIN OUR GRASP -- NOT JUST PIE IN THE SKY.

AND I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN HAVE AN AMERICA WHERE  
ALL CITIZENS HAVE AN EQUAL CHANCE TO SHARE IN THE  
PROMISE OF THIS GREAT NATION.

↳ THOSE ARE THE GOALS WHICH CAUSE ME TO SEEK THE  
PRESIDENCY.

↳ AND, THOSE GOALS ARE NOW WITHIN REACH --  
IF WE TAKE CHARGE OF AMERICA'S FUTURE.

Keep ↳ NEW WORLD CONDITIONS DEMAND NEW PRIORITIES  
AND NEW POLICIES -- A SHIFT FROM POLICIES OF  
CONFRONTATION AND CONTAINMENT TO POLICIES OF  
RECONCILIATION AND PEACEFUL ENGAGEMENT.

THE CONTINUING HOSTILITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA ...  
THE RECENT EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE ... TESTIFY TO  
THE DIFFICULTY OF ACHIEVING THESE OBJECTIVES, EVEN  
AS THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND COMPELS US TO PURSUE THEM.

L TODAY, LET ME TALK WITH YOU ABOUT THE ~~NECESSITY~~  
OF FINDING AN ALTERNATIVE TO CONFLICTS WE'RE AT HOME, *peaceful & orderly progress here at home.*

THE PURPOSE OF THIS NATION IS TO FORM A MORE PERFECT  
UNION ... TO ASSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY. OUR  
PURPOSE IS TO SAFEGUARD LIFE AND TO MAKE LIFE MORE  
MEANINGFUL.

L THESE PURPOSES ARE NOT EASILY ACHIEVED. THEY  
REQUIRE THE UNITY OF OUR PEOPLE,

L I DO NOT SPEAK OF A SUPERFICIAL UNITY OR  
RECONCILIATION BASED ON CAMPAIGN-YEAR RHETORIC, BUT  
A MORE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF NATIONAL PURPOSE.

SEEK NOT AN AMERICA OF ONE MIND, BUT AN AMERICA  
OF ONE SPIRIT,

THE NATIONAL PURPOSE MUST BE TO ACT, CONCRETELY  
AND QUICKLY, TO OVERCOME THE DEPRIVATIONS AND  
INEQUITIES WHICH STILL EXIST IN OUR SOCIETY,

*Civil order*

⌞ LAW AND ORDER AND CIVIL JUSTICE ARE  
INSEPARABLE. EITHER -- WITHOUT THE OTHER -- IS  
ILLUSION.

⌞ I BELIEVE THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WANT  
BOTH ORDER AND JUSTICE ... AND THAT WE ARE RICH  
ENOUGH, RESOURCEFUL ENOUGH AND STRONG ENOUGH TO  
ACHIEVE BOTH.

I HAVE THEREFORE PROPOSED THAT WE ADOPT TWO  
AGENDA WHICH WILL SERVE THE INTENTS OF ALL  
AMERICANS:

AN AGENDA FOR CIVIL ORDER ...

AND AN AGENDA FOR CIVIL JUSTICE ...

AND THAT WE PURSUE BOTH RELENTLESSLY,

*now shout Civil order*  
~~THE RIOTING IS AT THE TOP OF THE AGENDA FOR~~

CIVIL ORDER: THE RIOTING IN AMERICAN CITIES MUST  
STOP. AND IF IT BREAKS OUT AGAIN, IT MUST BE PUT  
DOWN PROMPTLY, FIRMLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

WITHOUT ORDER THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS ...  
OR JUSTICE. WITHOUT RULES NO SOCIETY CAN ENDURE.

Preventive  
Action

COUNCILS OF CIVIL PEACE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED  
AT THE STATE AND, WHERE POSSIBLE, THE METROPOLITAN  
LEVEL. THIS IS A RECOMMENDATION I MADE TO YOU LAST  
YEAR IN DETROIT.

SUCH COUNCILS SHOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATION  
FROM ALL RACIAL, RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC GROUPS IN  
THE STATE ... THE STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE ...  
THE NATIONAL GUARD ... LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AND  
OFFICIALS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT,

THE AGENDA FOR CIVIL JUSTICE IS EQUALLY  
URGENT.

| Justice

WE MUST ACT -- NOW -- TO ASSURE EVERY CITIZEN  
IN THIS NATION ENOUGH TO EAT.

| Food



THERE IS NO REASON IN AMERICA -- WITH ITS  
UNEQUALED WEALTH AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY --  
FOR ANYONE TO BE HUNGRY. IT IS IMMORAL TO ALLOW  
SOME BABIES TO SUFFER FROM MALNUTRITION WHILE OTHERS  
IN OUR POPULATION ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DANGERS  
OF OVEREATING.

LET ME BE PERFECTLY CANDID: THE NEXT PRESIDENT  
AND THE NEXT CONGRESS MUST PROVIDE A SYSTEM THAT  
WILL ASSURE AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF FOOD FOR EVERY  
PERSON IN NEED. QUIBBLING OVER THE DETAILS OF THE  
FOOD STAMP PLAN IS NO WAY TO ANSWER THE TRAGEDY OF  
HUNGER IN A LAND OF PLENTY,

#2 WE MUST PROVIDE EVERY AMERICAN WITH THE  
OPPORTUNITY TO EARN A LIVING,

JOBS BRING DIGNITY TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND  
RESOURCES TO HIS FAMILY -- AND WEALTH TO THE NATION.

*Jobs*

L THE IDEA OF GUARANTEEING DECENT JOBS TO  
EVERYBODY WHO WILL WORK AT THEM MAKES SENSE -- WITH  
PRIVATE EMPLOYERS PROVIDING JOB OPPORTUNITIES TO THE  
FULLEST EXTENT POSSIBLE, AND WITH THE GOVERNMENT  
MAKING WHATEVER BACK-UP OR FINANCING ARRANGEMENTS  
ARE NECESSARY,

AGAIN, CONGRESS AND THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT  
OF LABOR CAN ACT -- THIS YEAR -- TO MAKE A START ON  
THIS EXPANDED JOB PROGRAM. I PERSONALLY ENDORSE  
SUCH ACTION WITHOUT RESERVATION.

*Edna*  
WE MUST ASSURE THE RIGHT TO A FULL EDUCATION TO  
EVERY CHILD, AND THAT EDUCATION SHOULD START AT AGE FOUR  
WITH PRE-SCHOOL. IT SHOULD CONTINUE THROUGH ELEMENTARY  
AND SECONDARY SCHOOL, AND ON TO COLLEGE IF THE STUDENT  
WANTS A COLLEGE EDUCATION. FOR THOSE WHO NEITHER WANT  
NOR QUALIFY FOR A COLLEGE EDUCATION, WE MUST PROVIDE

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS. THE SIMPLE RULE  
IS THAT PEOPLE MUST BE EQUIPPED BY TRAINING AND  
EDUCATION TO PROVIDE FOR THEMSELVES AND TO LIVE A  
GOOD LIFE.

AND, FINALLY, AMERICANS HAVE THE RIGHT TO

*Homes*  
*Neighborhood*  
GROW UP IN A DECENT HOME AND A WHOLESOME NEIGHBORHOOD . . .

SAFE STREETS, GOOD PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS, OPEN SPACES,

PROTECTION OF THE LAW. THESE ARE BASIC RIGHTS AND

PRIVILEGES THAT COME WITH AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

*L* WE MUST ACT NOW TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS.

*Costs*  
IT WON'T COME FREE. IT ISN'T CHEAP. IT WILL

NOT COME WITHOUT CHANGE. BUT IT CAN BE DONE -- I

BELIEVE IT CAN BE DONE IF TWO REQUIREMENTS ARE MET:

FIRST: WE NEED TO INVOLVE PRIVATE ENERGIES  
AND PRIVATE CAPITAL. THE GOVERNMENT HAS AN IMPORTANT  
ROLE TO PLAY. THE PROGRAMS I FAVOR WILL COST MONEY,  
I DON'T INTEND TO PLAY GAMES WITH YOU BY TRYING TO  
CONCEAL THIS FACT.

< BUT THE AMOUNTS OF AVAILABLE GOVERNMENT MONEY  
WILL BE FAR LESS THAN NEEDED. ADDITIONAL RESOURCES  
AND PERSONNEL WILL HAVE TO BE SOUGHT IN THE PRIVATE  
SECTOR, BY NEW AND CREATIVE APPROACHES, LOAN GUARANTEES,  
TAX CREDITS, JOINT VENTURES, AND MANY MORE. IT IS  
FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONCENTRATING PRIVATE RESOURCES  
AND FOCUSING THEM ON OUR URBAN PROBLEMS THAT I HAVE  
PROPOSED A NATIONAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT BANK TO BE  
FUNDED LARGELY THROUGH THE SALE OF BONDS AND SHARES  
TO THE PUBLIC.

*Bank*

#2 SECOND: WE NEED TO STIMULATE SELF-HELP BY  
THOSE WHOM WE WISH TO ASSIST. OUR ASSISTANCE CAN  
COMPLEMENT SELF-HELP; IT CANNOT SUBSTITUTE FOR IT,  
AND IT IS WASTED WITHOUT IT.

THE POOR, THE BLACK, THE MEXICAN AMERICAN, THE  
INDIAN AMERICAN WANT MORE THAN MATERIAL IMPROVEMENT.  
THEY WANT -- ABOVE ALL -- TO HAVE THEIR DIGNITY  
ACKNOWLEDGED AND RESPECTED.

ONLY BY ACKNOWLEDGING THIS DIGNITY AND SELF-RESPECT,  
CAN WE RESTORE THE NATIONAL UNITY WHICH NOW ELUDES US.

THIS BRINGS ME TO AN ALL-IMPORTANT POINT IN MY  
AGENDA OF CIVIL JUSTICE.

THE COMMUNITIES THAT MAKE UP OUR COUNTRY -- AND THE  
PEOPLE WHO INHABIT THEM -- MUST PLAY A LARGER ROLE  
IN MAKING THEIR OWN FUTURE.

THIS IS AS TRUE IN OUR CITIES AS IN OUR  
SUBURBS AND OUR COUNTRYSIDE, AND IT IS GOING TO  
MEAN RESHAPING EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

IN THE INNER CITIES, FOR EXAMPLE, WE MUST  
PROVIDE GREATER FREEDOM, COMMUNITY SELF-HELP AND  
INVOLVEMENT. MINORITY ENTREPRENEURSHIP, LOCALLY  
CONTROLLED SCHOOL BOARDS, AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS ARE WAYS TO MOBILIZE THE  
HUMAN POWER FOUND THERE.

MY MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE CITIES -- WHICH GOT  
ITS START BEFORE THE CONVENTION LAST YEAR -- IS A  
PLAN OF ACTION FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF LOCAL  
INITIATIVE, SENSIBLE PLANNING, COORDINATED POLICY,  
STRICT PRIORITIES, AND MASSIVE COMMITMENT OF HUMAN  
AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES -- BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC.

YESTERDAY IN SAN FRANCISCO, I DISCUSSED MY  
IDEAS FOR CREATING A LIVING ENVIRONMENT FOR ALL  
AMERICANS. WHETHER A PERSON LIVES IN THE CITY, IN  
THE SUBURBS, OR IN THE COUNTRY, THE GOALS SHOULD BE  
TO GIVE THAT PERSON TRUE FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN MAKING  
THAT DECISION.

TODAY WE POSSESS THE TECHNOLOGY AND RESOURCES  
TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL . . . IF WE CAN ONLY SUMMON  
THE IMAGINATION AND COURAGE TO BUILD THE PUBLIC  
SUPPORT AND GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES THAT ARE VITAL  
TO SUCCESS.

WE MUST DEFINE CERTAIN BASIC SOCIAL, ECONOMIC  
AND DEMOGRAPHIC OBJECTIVES TO GUIDE OUR FUTURE URBAN,  
SUBURBAN AND RURAL GROWTH.



WE MUST THEN PROVIDE MEANINGFUL INCENTIVES  
TO STIMULATE METROPOLITAN-WIDE AND REGIONAL PLANNING,  
STATES, COUNTIES, AND MUNICIPALITIES CAN WORK TOGETHER  
WHEN NATIONAL POLICY MAKES IT IN THEIR BEST INTERESTS  
TO DO SO.

WE NEED A STRONG AND ACTIVE PRESIDENCY . . .  
ONE STRONG ENOUGH TO SHAKE UP THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY  
AND HAMMER OUT A STRUCTURE WHICH REWARDS . . . NOT  
FRUSTRATES . . . LOCAL <sup>initiative</sup> ~~INNOVATION~~ AND RESPONSIBILITY,  
YES, AN OPEN PRESIDENCY . . . OPEN TO THE PEOPLE . . .  
OPEN TO CHANGE.

AND THIS STRONG PRESIDENT NEEDS THE MECHANISM  
OF A NATIONAL DOMESTIC POLICY COUNCIL TO OVERSEE THE  
REORGANIZATION AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE FEDERAL  
BUREAUCRACY -- AND THEN TO ASSURE THAT IT REMAINS  
TRULY RESPONSIVE TO LOCAL NEEDS AND GOALS.

(X) Intergovernmental cooperation bill - Blatnick House  
Senate Intro  
-15-  
a NACE  
bill

ONCE THIS INTEGRATION AND COORDINATION OF  
FEDERAL DOMESTIC AGENCIES HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, THERE  
CAN BE AN EFFECTIVE DEMAND ON STATE, COUNTY AND  
LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE THOSE ACTIONS AT THEIR END  
WHICH PERMIT COORDINATION OF THE TOTAL GOVERNMENT  
EFFORT.

--IT IS TIME TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY A NATIONAL  
URBAN HOMESTEAD ACT WHICH COULD WRITE DOWN LAND COSTS  
AND SUPPLEMENT LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES.

--IT IS ALSO TIME TO CONSIDER FEDERAL SUPPORT  
FOR STATE EQUALIZATION OF CERTAIN COMMUNITY EXPENSES --  
EDUCATION AND WELFARE, FOR EXAMPLE -- WITHIN  
METROPOLITAN AREAS, AS WELL AS BETWEEN URBAN AND  
RURAL AREAS.

--WE MUST CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THE PROPOSAL FOR  
SHARING FEDERAL TAX REVENUES WITH STATES, COUNTIES  
AND CITIES, UNDER STRICT SAFEGUARDS AND GUIDELINES.

I BELIEVE THERE IS A SYSTEMATIC WAY TO SOLVE  
THE PROBLEM OF URBAN, SUBURBAN, SMALL TOWN AND RURAL  
AMERICA . . . A WAY WHICH ACHIEVES A WORKING BALANCE  
AMONG FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS . . .  
A WAY WHICH TRULY EQUIPS THIS NATION TO CONQUER THE  
UNIQUE CHALLENGES -- AND OPPORTUNITIES -- OF THE  
1970's AND 1980's.

AND LET ME SAY I SPEAK FROM EXPERIENCE --  
FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING A MAYOR OF A MAJOR  
UNITED STATES CITY . . . FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF  
STRUGGLING WITH LEGISLATION FOR 16 YEARS IN THE  
U.S. SENATE . . . AND FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF SERVING

AS LIAISON BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE COUNTIES  
AND MUNICIPALITIES OF AMERICA FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS.

I ALSO WANT TO MAKE THIS PERFECTLY CLEAR:

PEACE, IF I AM PRESIDENT, WILL NOT MEAN THAT AMERICA  
RELAXES AND GOES TO SLEEP. IT WILL MEAN WE SHIFT OUR  
TOTAL ENERGIES AND RESOURCES -- OUR PEACE DIVIDEND AND  
OUR ARMS CONTROL DIVIDEND -- TO THE THINGS THAT COUNT  
MOST IN HUMAN TERMS.

↳ PEOPLE WILL HAVE PRIORITY IN A HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION.

So I INTEND TO KEEP ON SPEAKING OUT.

↳ I BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO COME  
TOGETHER AT HOME; THAT THEY WANT TO SEEK RECONCILIATION  
ABROAD; AND THAT THEY ARE MOVED BY COMPASSION TO HELP  
THOSE LESS FORTUNATE, AT HOME AND ABROAD, SO THAT THE  
PEOPLE OF THE EARTH SHALL FINALLY KNOW THE TRUE MEANING  
OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN EMANCIPATION.

# # # # #

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JULY 31, 1968

It is hard, when you get an audience this size in a campaign year, to resist making a partisan speech. Especially when you find yourself flanked on the program by such tempting targets.

Today I mean to resist -- a little. I shall be patient a week or so longer.

Instead of telling you why you should vote for me, I want to set out as fully as I can the reasons why I want to be President and what I hope to accomplish if I am successful.

There is, of course, some personal pride and fulfillment involved -- although I doubt that it ever compensates for the rigors of the job.

But there is something else which all of you in public service can understand -- the chance to advance the commitments of a lifetime -- and the chance to try your hand on the throttle.

In my case the commitment is this: To strengthen the alternative to conflict -- at home and in the world.

Conflict -- hot or cold -- is costing us too much today.

It costs the world too much in terms of giant arms budgets ... lives lost ... resources diverted from the urgent business of helping ordinary people get on their feet.

I have always considered a more peaceful and just world within our grasp -- not just pie in the sky. And the same goes for an America where all citizens can have an equal chance to share in the promise of this great nation.

Those are the goals which cause me to seek the Presidency.

And those goals are now within reach -- if we have the courage to press on toward them ... if we take charge of America's future.

\* \* \*

What are the specifics?

In Vietnam, the alternative to conflict is clear: South Vietnam should be run by the people who live there, not by Hanoi or Washington.

This means free elections -- elections in which all can vote and all can run for office, with guarantees against force and intimidation ... elections in which every group willing to do so can play its full part in the peaceful political process.

And it means being willing to accept the results of these elections, whatever they may be.



After Vietnam, the alternative to conflict must be found in a new concept of the American role in developing areas.

Beyond Vietnam, the alternative to conflict will be found in widening areas of East-West agreement.

The most important area -- and the one which will release the most resources for more humane uses -- is disarmament.

The key question here is whether both the United States and the Soviet Union will settle for strategic security -- which their deterrent forces already provide -- or whether they will insist on playing the game of strategic one-upmanship, with all its attendant risks and costs.

Either country could now destroy the other, regardless of additional expenditures -- a fact which I believe makes an arms agreement a real possibility. I believe, too, that we must move beyond the pending discussions with the Soviet Union, of offensive and defensive missiles to the business of worldwide reduction of armaments and defense expenditures.

I look too, to expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union -- in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the so-called third world.

And I would hope that East and West could come increasingly to cooperate in meeting the challenge that both face: Endemic poverty in the Southern Hemisphere -- a festering source of conflict that threatens to embroil them both.

I think America should take the lead in an effort eventually to replace East-West conflict with North-South cooperation as the main theme of international affairs.

That is why I have insisted during this campaign that new world conditions demand new priorities and new policies -- a shift from policies of confrontation and containment to policies of reconciliation and peaceful engagement.

The continuing hostilities in Southeast Asia ... the recent news in Eastern Europe ... these testify to the difficulty of achieving these objectives, even as the survival of mankind compels us to pursue them.

\* \* \*

In an effort to strengthen the alternative to conflict here at home, I mean to speak in the months ahead to the values which unite Americans, rather than to those which divide us.

I shall seek not a superficial unity or reconciliation based on campaign-year rhetoric, but a more fundamental unity of national purpose. I seek not an America of one mind, but an America of one spirit.

The national purpose must be to act, concretely and quickly, to overcome the deprivations and inequities which still exist in our society.

Law and order and civil justice are inseparable. Either -- without the other -- is illusion.

I believe the vast majority of Americans want both order and justice ... and that we are rich enough, resourceful enough and strong enough to achieve both.

I have therefore proposed that we adopt two agenda which will serve the intents of all Americans:

An agenda for Civil Order.

And an agenda for Civil Justice ...

and that we pursue both relentlessly.

These items are at the top of my agenda for civil order.

First. The rioting in American cities must stop. And if it breaks out again, it must be put down promptly, firmly and effectively. Without order there can be no progress ... or justice. Without rules no society can endure.

Second. The interstate shipment and sale of firearms must be brought under federal control.

And if the states don't adopt -- and right away -- legislation requiring the registration of all firearms, then Congress must again take up this proposal.

Third. Councils of Civil Peace should be organized at the state, and where possible, the metropolitan level. This is a recommendation I made to you last year.

Such Councils should include representation from all racial, religious and economic groups in the state ... the state attorney general's office ... the national guard ... law enforcement agencies and officials of local government.

Finally, we need national efforts to control effectively the kind of crime by individuals against individuals that plagues many of our neighborhoods -- particularly those which are already disadvantaged in other respects. I shall spell out a comprehensive position on crime control in the weeks ahead.

The agenda for Civil Justice is equally urgent.

We must act -- now -- to assure every citizen in this nation enough to eat.

There is no reason in America -- with its unequalled wealth and agricultural productivity -- for any one to go hungry. It is immoral to allow some babies to suffer from malnutrition while others in our population are concerned about the dangers of overeating.

Let me be perfectly candid: Neither Congress nor the U. S. Department of Agriculture has made an adequate response to the severe problems of hunger and malnutrition we know exist in America. I plan to release a more comprehensive statement on this matter.

We must provide every American with the opportunity to earn a living.

Jobs bring dignity to the individual and resources to his family -- and wealth to the nation.

The idea of guaranteeing decent jobs to everybody who will work at them makes sense -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible, and with the government making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.



Again, Congress and the U. S. Department of Labor can act -- this year -- to make a start on this expanded job program. I personally endorse such action without reservation.

We must secure the right to a full education -- from age four on through college or advanced training -- and the right to grow up in a decent home and neighborhood.

We must act now to secure these rights.

It won't come free. It isn't cheap. It will not come without change. But it can be done -- I believe it can be done if two requirements are met:

First: We need to involve private energies and private capital. The government has an important role to play. The programs I favor will cost money, and I don't intend to play games with you by trying to conceal this fact.

But the amounts of available government money will be far less than needed. Additional resources and personnel will have to be sought in the private sector, by new and creative approaches: loan guarantees, tax credits, joint ventures, and many more. It is for the purpose of concentrating private resources and focusing on our urban problems that I have proposed a National Urban Development Bank to be funded largely through the sale of bonds and shares to the public.

Second: We need to stimulate self-help by those whom we wish to assist. Our assistance can complement self-help; it cannot substitute for it, and it is wasted without it.

The poor, the black, the Mexican American, the Indian-American want more than material improvement. They want -- above all -- to have their dignity acknowledged and respected.

Only by acknowledging this dignity and self-respect, can we restore the national unity which now eludes us.

This brings me to an all-important point in my agenda of Civil Justice.

The communities that make up our country -- and the people who inhabit them -- must play a larger role in shaping their own future.

This is as true in our cities as in our suburbs and our countryside, and it is going to mean reshaping existing institutions.

In the inner cities, for example, we must provide greater freedom, community self-help and involvement. Minority entrepreneurship, locally controlled school boards, and neighborhood development corporations are ways to mobilize the human power found there.

My Marshall Plan for the Cities -- which got its start before this convention last year -- is a plan of action founded on the principles of local initiative, sensible planning, coordinated policy, strict priorities, and massive commitment of human and financial resources -- both private and public.

Yesterday in San Francisco I discussed my ideas for creating a living environment for all Americans. Whether a person wants to live in the city, in the suburbs, or in the country, the goal should be to give him true freedom of choice in making that decision.

Today we possess the technology and resources to achieve this goal ... if we can only summon the imagination and courage to build the public support and governmental policies that are vital to success.

We must define certain basic social, economic and demographic objectives to guide our future urban, suburban and rural growth.

We must then provide meaningful incentives to stimulate metropolitan-wide and regional planning. States, counties, and municipalities can work together when national policy makes it in their best interest to do so.

We need a strong and active President ... one strong enough to shake up the federal bureaucracy and hammer out a structure which rewards -- not frustrates -- local innovation and responsibility. Yes, an Open Presidency -- open to the people ... open to change.

And this strong President needs the mechanism of a National Domestic Policy Council to oversee the reorganization and restructuring of the federal bureaucracy -- and then to assure that it remains truly responsive to local needs and goals.

Once this integration and coordination of federal domestic agencies has been achieved, there can be an effective demand on state, county and local governments to take those actions at their end which permit coordination of the total government effort.

I have several ideas I didn't mention in San Francisco:

-- It is time to consider seriously a National Urban Homestead Act which could write down land costs and supplement local property taxes.

-- It is also time to consider federal support for state equalization of certain community expenses -- education and welfare, for example -- within metropolitan areas, as well as between urban and rural areas.

-- We must continue to explore the proposal for sharing federal tax revenues with states, counties and cities, under strict safeguards and guidelines.

I believe there is a systematic way to solve the problem of urban, suburban, small town and rural America ... a way which achieves a working balance among federal, state, county and local governments ... a way which truly equips this nation to conquer the unique challenges -- and opportunities -- of the 1970's and 1980's.

And let me say I speak from experience -- from the experience of running a major U. S. city ... from the experience of struggling with legislation for 16 years in the U. S. Senate ... and from the experience of serving as liaison between the federal government and the counties and municipalities of America for the past 4 years.

I also want to make this perfectly clear:

Peace, if I am President, will not mean that America relaxes and goes to sleep -- as we did in the 1950's after Korea. It will mean we shift our total energies and resources -- our peace dividend and our arms control dividend -- to the things that count most in human terms.

People will have priority in a Humphrey Administration.

I have heard it said that this is not the year in which to seek change and sacrifice.

If so, this is not my year. For that is what I stand for.

There are some things more important than becoming President of the United States. And speaking out for the hard tasks of reconciliation and justice, at home and abroad, is one of them.



So I intend to keep on speaking out.

I believe that the American people want to come together at home; that they want to seek reconciliation abroad; and that they are moved by compassion to help those less fortunate, at home and abroad, so that the people of the earth shall finally know the true meaning of freedom and human emancipation.

It is to voice and test this faith that I seek the Presidency this year.

# # #



# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)