

BERTIE HILLENBRAND }
Bernie Hillenbrand }
REMARKS

President
WOODY DUMAS
(Baton Rouge)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

JULY 18, 1966

AID - Viet

↳ Fifty years ago a distinguished student of government compared American county government with the continent of Africa.

" County government, too, he suggested, was largely unexplored territory. . . mysterious . . . and a place where civilized men normally didn't go.

my, How times have changed. !

↳ Some of you attended our conference with officials of the nation's largest counties in January.

And, as a result of your interest in closer federal-county relations, some 250 counties have now appointed federal-aid coordinators, who met ~~there~~ in Washington in June.

It is good that you are doing this. For the changes in local government which lie ahead amount to a small revolution.

We are moving toward a whole new concept of federalism in our rapidly changing nation . . . and one which will be, in the deepest sense of the word, "creative."

At the heart of this concept is the conviction that our new programs must be tailored to fit the particular problems we are attacking. We are approaching water pollution control and stream management, for example, more and more within whole river basins.

We are approaching the problem of our depressed regions on the basis of economic trading areas.

↳ And we are planning new transit systems, airport systems, highway systems and even tax systems increasingly within the whole metropolitan areas they serve.

↳ ~~Now~~; the striking thing about this new approach is that, in almost every case, it sweeps across the historic boundaries of our existing governments -- state, county and municipal. It is oriented to problems ~~to~~ needs ~~functions~~.

↳ The question is: How do we organize on a "problem or need basis?"

↳ In the past we have frequently set up ~~new~~ special districts, or commissions, to handle the new programs as they've come along. Today, however, we are concerned about the way this bypasses existing governments, and fragments our overall effort still further.

↳ What we are trying to find, as a result, are entirely new forms of organization, and new patterns of cooperation, among our general-purpose municipal and county governments.

It will require much hard thought ^{and} experimentation

But Americans have always been pretty good at designing new political institutions. And we're coming up with some ~~new~~ new ideas on this problem, too.

↳ The Delaware River Basin Commission -- four states and the Secretary of the Interior -- is one answer to managing our water resources *in that river basin area,*

↳ The Councils of Governments movement, which really began with county supervisors in the Detroit area, is one possible answer in metropolitan areas.

↳ And we are experimenting, too, with new forms in our rural areas. *(The Rural Development bill - This provides planning funds for counties for several towns applying jointly - to plan for development around a metropolitan center.)*

~~In 15 years American local government will have~~ changed **Local Government is Changing -**

But I can assure you of one thing: Its role in our federal system will have been strengthened, not weakened.

ended under Sec 701-17 Housing Act of 1964

① The new Federal Programs - Vast, Diverse,
Comprehensive - 5 -

↳ The federal government will not and cannot alone administer our new national programs of rural and urban development. To be effective, these programs must, and will, be run by local people at the local level.

↳ It is clear, too, that key roles in this new pattern of local government will be played by those officials who adapt most quickly and most imaginatively to the changes that are coming.

↳ I think that in many areas the counties can do this.

In many of the new Great Society programs the county is the basic building-block: In our farm programs, of course . . . soil conservation . . . anti-poverty . . . economic development.

But A strong response from county government is needed.

It can -- and it should -- be a stronger response than county government generally made to the first wave of suburban expansion during the 1950's.

Counties vary tremendously across this nation.

Montgomery County, where I live near Washington, is a vastly different kind of government than Wright County, where I live in Minnesota. And the California county is an entirely different breed from the county we know in New England. Generalizations are dangerous. Yet I can see four common needs.

① The first is for more counties to go together in providing services . . . or actually to join together and consolidate.

While populations have changed, and distances have radically shrunk, county boundaries have changed very little ~~hardly at all~~. Many counties were laid out so the county seat would be a day's drive from the farthest corner. Yet today I can drive across many counties in 60 minutes. Sixty per cent of our counties now have 25,000 or fewer people -- that's smaller than a medium-sized suburb . . . yet we continue to maintain the full structure of county offices.

↳ I suspect many counties can join together, within whole regions of a state, to provide record-keeping, jails, libraries and other services -- and to provide them better.

↳ This is the message of the CED report you saw yesterday: Not to reduce the number of counties from 3,000 to 1,000 just for its own sake, but in order to make county government stronger and better.

↳ Some reorganizations may also be in your interests in metropolitan areas.

↳ Your best argument for ^aprominent place in the attack on urban problems is that the county is the general-purpose government unit that most nearly covers the entire urban area.

↳ About half our metropolitan areas lie entirely within one county.

↳ But the big ones spill over into two or more, and there will be more of these multi-county situations in the future.

1 So merger, or some new form of inter-county cooperation is needed.

2 The second area of needed change is in the apportionment of county boards.

The courts are applying the one-man-one-vote principle to you, too: If counties want to be strong policy-making general governments, fair representation is essential.

3 Third, there is need for change in the internal organization of county government.

The new problems require strong, professional administration. They also require close working relations between county boards and the independently elected officials. Currently, less than 1 per cent of the counties have a real executive, manager or administrative head.

4 Finally, of course, counties need to be relieved of many of the restrictions that prevent their potential from being used on our urban problems.

Restrictions on their authority to act, on their power to tax and spend, and on their ability to organize themselves -- all these could usefully be relaxed.

In most cases this can be done, of course, only by the states, through legislation or constitutional amendment. You will need to get to know your state legislators even better:

Creative federalism is not just for Washington.

In this coming re-building of American local government no one is exempt from change -- and certainly not the federal government.

We are trying for example, in the proposed Inter-governmental Cooperation Act to make our grant-in-aid programs somewhat more flexible, and to let them do more to serve local objectives without interfering with national objectives. We are trying to get better coordination among our agency people in the field. We want our water pollution people to know how

Slumism

We are faced abroad with the ~~the~~ threat & Aggression of Communism - I do not mean to minimize this threat, But we have a powerful & sinister force on the loose here at home - I call it Slumism - not only the physical slums of our cities, but the Psychological & Physical deprivation of the people who live in those slums

⊕ Demagogic
Cities
Rent Supply

to talk to our highway people when they both must deal with local planning.

↳ We are trying, of course, to fill out the whole kit of needed tools for the attack on local problems: We need a program that will make a large-scale impact on the slumism in the heart of our older cities. And we need a program that will bring some order out of the sprawl at the edges of our cities.

Slumism

Sprawl

↳ This latter program for planned metropolitan development may be the "sleeper" of our urban development bill this year: I wonder how ~~many~~ counties have really begun to think about the role they might play in the building of whole new, planned communities?

2
1

↳ Your federal government is trying to set up new and better ways of communicating with state and local officials. #

✓ This is what President Johnson had in mind when he assigned me the responsibility of liaison with the municipalities and counties. And this is what he had in mind when, for the first time in this government's history, the President called in the state legislative leaders from all 50 states this summer.

↳ We mean to have more of these meetings. And, in between, we will continue to work closely with the Washington offices of all your organizations.

↳ We all have an enormous job to do, to make our federal system work effectively in the America of the 1970's and 1980's.

We are all faced by challenge.

We have the opportunity to keep our system of government fully alive in the exciting days into which we are heading.

And I am confident that we will.

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ORIGINAL

STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

ADDRESS BY

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA

(This transcript was prepared from a tape recording.)

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NATION-WIDE COVERAGE

A D D R E S S

BY

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

- - -

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much.

My good friend, the President of the National Association of Counties, Woody Dumas -- also the chief man up in Baton Rouge. It's very nice to see you again, Woody, and to meet your lovely wife. We thank you for your cordial welcome to Mrs. Humphrey and myself.

I was in the back of this great auditorium when I was hearing Bernie Hildenbrand make all of these announcements, and possibly some of you overheard my chit-chat up here with Woodie. I heard Bernie Hildenbrand mention the word "democratic." I heard Dumas pick it up, and I congratulated him when I came on in. (Laughter)

Now that's about the only partisan reference I intend to make, but that's enough. (Laughter)

I'm sure that you know how pleased I am to have this day with you, and I'm sure you also know how very pleased I am, on arriving here, that I found our extremely able and gifted Under Secretary for the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, Mr. Woods here, who I gather has either spoken to you, or will.

1 I hope he has already spoken to you, because you are
2 entitled to one good substantive talk this morning. (Applause)
3 Bob Wood can do just that, and I have a feeling that-- Well,
4 I have a feeling I'm not quite sure just what I'm going to
5 do to you at this particular time. I have some notes here,
6 but these are pretty much like that little fellow that you
7 read about in "Peanuts," that one that always carries that
8 blanket along -- this is just for reassurance, just in case
9 things get out of hand.

10 I heard the announcement a moment ago about the
11 exhibit of our AID Agency here. I had no intention of men-
12 tioning this, but Bernie, I hope you will permit me to under-
13 score the importance of the announcement that you have made,
14 because we are in desperate need of competent people in the
15 civilian force in Vietnam. The military -- I'll have a
16 little word to say about that later -- is extremely compet-
17 ent, but our civilian side, there's competence there, yes,
18 but there is the need of more competent people.

19 While you're here will you take a look at that
20 exhibit, and talk to our people? Because I think before
21 this day is out you will understand why this is very, very
22 important.

23 Well, New Orleans is at the Delta end, so to speak,
24 of the great Mississippi River, and Minneapolis is up at
25 the headwaters. And of course the Delta is always bigger

1 and more impressive than the headwaters, and that's why
2 my friend Senator Russell Long is here. He's a very impres-
3 sive fellow. (Applause) I simply could not overstate my
4 admiration and respect for this good friend. He is the Major-
5 ity Whip of the United States Senate and doing a wonderful
6 job as the Majority Whip, and one of our leaders. I once held
7 that position myself, but he is developing it into something
8 of real significance. He is the Chairman of the very import-
9 ant Finance Committee of the United States Senate, and I know
10 of no one that does a better job in handling some of the most
11 difficult legislation that comes before the Congress, par-
12 ticularly tax legislation -- than the gentleman that graces
13 this platform today by his presence -- a very distinguished
14 Senator from the State of Louisiana, Senator Russell Long.

15 (Applause)

16 I miss the presence of the Governor, but I know he's
17 out of the State right now. He's a good friend, and Mrs.
18 Humphrey and I have been at Baton Rouge with Governor McKeithen
19 and his lovely wife, and we want to extend to them from this
20 platform, publicly as we would privately, our very good wishes.

21 Well, I have a few things to say to you this morning,
22 and I know we all want to go to lunch, and I don't think you
23 ought to start lunch too late, so I'll put my watch up there.
24 That will be the last time I'll look at it, I'm sure --
25 (Laughter) -- but it's kind of nice just to know it's there.

1 And if I should leave it, I know Bernie will bring it back.

2 You know, 50 years ago a very distinguished student
3 of government compared American county government with the
4 Continent of Africa. You might ask, what's the comparison?
5 Well, here's what he had to say: -- This is 50 years ago, I
6 want you to know -- he said, county government, too, was
7 largely unexplored territory: mysterious, and a place where
8 normally civilized men didn't go.

9 Now, I didn't say that. That was some fellow that
10 said that 50 years ago. Well, I think it's fair to say that
11 times have surely changed,--(Applause) -- because we depend
12 upon county government today, as never before, to perform
13 vital services for the American people.

14 Some of you attended a conference with officials
15 of the Nation's largest counties in Washington back in
16 January. I've been with you on other occasions, and each time
17 I find it a wonderful experience. And as a result of your
18 closer Federal-county relations, some 250 counties now have
19 have appointed Federal Aid Coordinators -- specialists to
20 work with the Federal Government -- and these coordinators
21 met in Washington recently in the month of June. So we're
22 getting to know each other, getting acquainted.

23 I think it's fair to say now that these old argu-
24 ments, or these old talks that we had, about criticizing
25 each other, if you were in Federal Government you spent a

1 little time criticizing local government, and if you were
2 in local government you always looked upon those demons in
3 Washington as the evil force. Now, truly, my friends and
4 neighbors, that's for the birds. That doesn't make much sense.
5 We are in this together. We are a part of the Government of
6 the United States, everyone of us. (Applause) Federal, State
7 or local, we're on the same team, and when the citizen or
8 taxpayer talks about the Government, he's not just talking
9 about Hubert Humphrey or Russell Long, or Bob Woods -- he may
10 be talking about you, too. Because we are responsible for
11 government of the people, by the people and for the people,
12 no matter where we serve.

13 I mentioned this meeting of the Federal Air Coordin-
14 ators in Washington. I think this is a good thing, because we
15 need people working with the Federal Government that understand
16 all of these programs that are now available.

17 [The changes in local government which lie ahead as
18 a result of the pressures upon local government, as a result
19 of the Federal, State and local relationship, amount to a small
20 revolution.] Why, there are county supervisors, judges and
21 commissioners here that can remember county government 25, 30,
22 45 years ago -- maybe even 15 years ago -- that had no semb-
23 lance at all of what we have now. You're far advanced from
24 what you were.

25 You see, [we're moving towards a whole new concept of

1 Federalism in our rapidly changing Nation.] I tried to
2 tell you about it a moment ago. [The concept of Federalism
3 where the Government of the United States is a system of
4 layers of governmental authority, but not separated -- each
5 with its own responsibility, but with sort of an arterial
6 capillary structure tying them all together -- a sense of
7 communication between local, State and Federal -- so that
8 what we call "Federalism" today no longer means Washington.
9 It means people in government. And we've added to this word
10 a new word called "creative," which means that everybody
11 had better think a little bit more than he's been thinking,
12 figure out how to do the job that we're elected or assigned
13 to do.

14 Now, at the heart of this concept of creative Fed-
15 eralism is the conviction that our new programs -- or any
16 program, new or old -- must be tailored to fit the particular
17 problems that we are attacking, just as we have to redesign
18 our clothing; just as we redesign our homes; just as a busi-
19 nessman has to redesign his business establishment. I've
20 been in the retail business part of my life, and I'm here
21 to tell you that if you had the same old fixtures and the
22 same old cash register, and the same old window display,
23 and the same old customer-management relationship that you
24 had 25 years ago, you'd be on relief. You'd be out of busi-
25 ness.

1 [There's nothing against government being remodern-
2 ized.] Really, there's no law against. [And there is not one
3 single reason in the world why a government authority, what-
4 ever it may be, from a township up to the national government
5 shouldn't be brought into tune with the needs of the people.]

6 Now, we're approaching water pollution control, and
7 stream management, for example. More and more within the
8 whole river basin-- You can't have water pollution control
9 on a county basis; you can't have stream management on the
10 village or township basis. You can be as pure as Caesar's
11 wife -- and she was supposed to be beyond suspicion -- in
12 your county, but if the guy up the road is dumping the sewage
13 in the river, you've had it. That is if it's flowing your
14 way. And I want Russ Long to know that everything flows his
15 way, from up where I am. (Laughter)

16 This is why this Senator is right in the forefront,
17 as Senator Muskie and a few others are, to make sure that
18 something is done about these great river systems of ours,
19 and the control of waters, flood control, pollution control,
20 and others.

21 Now, we are approaching the problem of our depressed
22 areas, and we still have some in this rich America, not on
23 the basis of old jurisdictions -- somebody just drew a map,
24 and said, well, that's a county and that's a township -- but on
25 the basis of economic trading areas.

1 Federal Reserve Districts have more relationship
2 to the facts of economics than States or the so-called govern-
3 mental jurisdictions. Every Reserve District is designed, in
4 a sense, to relate to a trading area, an economic area, and
5 we're planning our new transit systems and airport systems
6 and highway systems -- yes, and even tax systems -- increasing-
7 ly within the whole metropolitan areas that they serve, and
8 we should.

9 I know in my own State we have what we call the
10 Metropolitan Airport Commission that is responsible for all
11 of the airport facilities within 25 miles of each courthouse,
12 a radius of 25 miles of each courthouse, of Minneapolis and
13 St. Paul. That's the first time that Minneapolis and St. Paul
14 ever agreed on anything. And I was of the opinion that if
15 we could get that to work out, there was a chance for peace
16 in the world. (Laughter) But it works, and it's a wonderful
17 approach to the problems there of transportation, air trans-
18 portion.

19 The striking thing about this new approach, which
20 is not really new to you, but is to some of our constituents,
21 is that in almost every case it sweeps across the historic
22 boundaries of our existing governments -- State, county and
23 municipal. This approach is oriented towards problems, and
24 towards needs, rather than towards some line that somebody
25 drew on the State map back home 90 years ago. He's dead, and

1 the lines are dead, and we ought to face up to that.

2 Now, I believe in respect for those that have
3 passed on, and I believe in respect for those old lines, too.
4 But I want to tell you, I don't believe so much in respect
5 for them that I'm going to let them strangle me, or paralyze
6 me.

7 So, we have to ask ourselves: How do we organize
8 our governmental authorities on a problem or need basis?

9 Now, in the past we've set up these special Districts
10 or Commissions to handle the new problems as they come along.
11 Today, however, we're concerned about the way that this by-
12 passes existing governments, and fragments our overall effort
13 still further.

14 I was talking to Mr. Connor and Mr. Monroe, in
15 Michigan and Washington, respectively, and respectfully,
16 and I believe that Mr. Monroe was telling me that out in his
17 Seattle area they had between 150 and 200 taxing authorities.
18 Well, now, that's confusing even to the person that levies
19 the taxes, much less to the one that pays them. But this is
20 the result of putting a patch on here and a patch on there.
21 It's sort of the way we used to make the old Model-T run --
22 just add on a little bit, stop along, slip off the barbed
23 wire, tighten her up a little, to keep her going. The time
24 has come, my fellow Americans, when that will not suffice.

25 We're concerned about government, to make it

1 effective. And what we are trying to find as a result are
2 entirely new forms or organization, new patterns of cooperation,
3 among our general-purpose municipal and county governments.
4 The municipal and county governments should have the authority
5 to meet all of these needs, rather than putting on a little
6 political band-aid here or there, or adding on a porch, or
7 adding on an extension here or there. We ought to make our
8 general-purpose county governments and municipal governments,
9 with whatever new forms of organization may be needed, effective
10 and related to the needs. (Applause)

11 Now if I knew how to do all this -- if I knew how
12 to do it all, I wouldn't have time to be here, because I'd
13 be busy up there writing rules and regulations and books and
14 suggestions for you. I came down here just to stimulate your
15 thinking -- not to tell you what to do.

16 I think what we need to do is what America has always
17 done: To experiment, surprise. There isn't any rule of thumb
18 that says, once you've tried something that you never change
19 it. Try. If it doesn't succeed, if it doesn't work, try
20 again, and have the courage to do it. Because a nation that
21 has less than 10 per cent of its people in rural areas today,
22 on the farm -- I think it's 6, the last report -- is a nation
23 that's far different than the one that I was born in 55 years
24 ago. And a nation that today has cities with urban sprawl
25 and suburbs on plans is a far different city today, or different

1 nation than the rather nice, tidy nation that was known
2 for 50 large cities, 40 years ago. It's a different country
3 Where we used to think of county commissioners as primarily
4 responsible for rural America -- and that's the way it was --
5 the county commissioner more or less took care of the rural
6 things -- today that county supervisor or judge, that com-
7 mission or that county government is directly related in
8 his authority and in his responsibility to the largest metro-
9 politan areas of our land. The trouble is, the message hasn't
10 gotten through yet, to those in county government many times,
11 and those served by it.

12 So, I said that we Americans ought to experiment.
13 And we've tried some new political institutions, and we've
14 come up with some new ideas.

15 The Delaware River Basin Commission -- and I met
16 a couple of our Delaware friends here as they came in today --
17 that consists of four States, and a Secretary of Interior
18 representing the Federal Government, working together. And
19 it's one answer to managing our water resources -- using the
20 four established State governments, not adding any new ones,
21 -- and the Secretary of Interior.

22 The Council of Governments -- this is a new movement.
23 And actually it's funded under Section 701 of the Housing Act
24 of 1964. It began with the County Supervisors in the Detroit
25 area. This is one possible answer in the metropolitan areas.

1 You put together the existing government and get them to
2 work as a team, rather than establishing a whole new taxing
3 authority, or an entirely new organic body.

4 We're expanding too with new forms in rural areas --
5 the Rural Development Bill, which is still before the Congress.
6 It provides planning funds, as you know, for counties, or for
7 several towns that join together, applying jointly for these
8 funds, to plan suburbia, to plan their development.

9 I can think of my own community of Minneapolis and
10 the environs. Minneapolis and St. Paul have planning com-
11 missions. They have planning funds. And Hennepin County
12 itself has a planning commission. But when you get outside
13 of that metropolitan county and move into the rural county,
14 planning funds are practically non-existent in all too many
15 areas. And there isn't any reason at all why we shouldn't
16 start to plan. Because if it's going to be one full city from
17 Boston to Norfolk -- and it will be, one massive city -- by
18 the year 1980 they predict it will be one continuous massive
19 metropolitan area with over a hundred million people from
20 Boston to Norfolk-- There isn't any reason to think that
21 you won't expand out from New Orleans, or from Detroit, or
22 from Minneapolis, and I live 39 miles out of Minneapolis.
23 Fifteen years ago 30 of those miles were country. Today only
24 15 are country. Now, if I can hang on to that property long
25 enough, I may not have to come down here and make a speech to

1 to you. (Laughter)

2 So, we know that local government is changing. And
3 I can assure you of one thing: The change is not for the bad.
4 Its role in our Federal system is becoming more meaningful
5 and more important. That role of Federal or local government
6 is being strengthened, and not weakened.

7 These new Federal programs that you have heard
8 about -- all of you know about them. And I hope, Bernie,
9 that you have gotten those books out for all of our friends.
10 We finally got sort of a catalog of our Federal programs.
11 You know, I've told you about this before, but when I was
12 assigned the job by President Johnson to work with local
13 governments, I want you to know I started looking around for
14 what programs we had for local governments. It was like
15 getting turned loose in a supermarket, with no labels on any
16 of the cans or boxes. (Laughter) There was all kinds of
17 merchandise there, but you didn't know whether you were get-
18 ting dill pickles or some new detergent. Now at least we
19 have the labels on the programs, and we have "truth in
20 labelling," and we're even approaching "truth in packaging."
21 (Applause)

22 But we have so many Federal programs. We took
23 a look at one little district up in Massachusetts not long
24 ago and found that there were 32 separate grant-in-aid programs
25 for that one little township. That's just plain too many.

1 They ought to be consolidated, and that's something we have
2 to work on.

3 But with these vast new programs, and diverse
4 programs, and comprehensive programs, we need a local govern-
5 mental structure that can absorb them. I find people in local
6 government that come to me with problems and say, now, "I wish
7 the government would have done something about this," and I
8 said, "Lord, they did that in 1894." It's just that the message
9 never got to them. And everybody can't afford to hire a high-
10 class attorney to keep looking at it.

11 Some of our towns and villages in rural areas, and
12 even counties, do not have the same high quality, high-priced,
13 high professional talent that you get in the larger, more well-
14 to-do metropolitan areas.

15 I want to make it clear here, now, that the Federal
16 Government cannot, should not, and will not administer these
17 new national programs alone, of rural and urban development.
18 There isn't going to be any "Big Daddy" down in Washington
19 just taking care of all these things, and there shouldn't be.
20 (Applause)

21 To be effective, these programs must first be under-
22 stood by the people that they are designed to serve, and they
23 must be understood and comprehended by the administrative
24 officers, the elected and appointed officers of the local
25 government jurisdictions where these programs can be applied.

1 And above all, they must in the main be run by local
2 people at the local level. And I've been around long enough,
3 my friends, to know that you have heard that a good number of
4 times. You have heard that talk from many a Federal official.
5 But I was also Mayor of a great city, once, and I served on
6 boards wherein the county commissioners also served. And I
7 have one simple observation -- that in America, if you don't
8 answer the customers' needs, somebody else does.

9 And in the United States, if local county, municipal
10 county, or State government doesn't meet the needs of the
11 people, they know the way to Washington. And they are of the
12 mind -- the citizen is -- that the people down there are also
13 citizens of the same country. And the only way I know to
14 stop the so-called encroachment of the big government in
15 Washington is to shape up back home, and make your government
16 back home responsible. (Applause)

17 If I thought Washington was so wonderful, I wouldn't
18 own a house in Minnesota. (Laughter) And I think if Russell
19 Long thought Washington had all the answers to everything, he
20 wouldn't be back here in New Orleans today. We're citizens;
21 we love our local States, our counties, our villages. You
22 don't change when you go to the Nation's Capitol. The only
23 change is, you start getting different mail, and the telephone
24 rings. And the same fellow that back home gave that speech
25 about those monsters in Washington says on the telephone,

1 "Have you any Federal aid?" (Laughter)

2 And then the county supervisor, you say to him,
3 "Well, don't you think you ought to take that up with the
4 Governor or the State legislature," and he says, "We've
5 been doing that for 20 years with no results." Now it isn't
6 true in every State, but partially so. But with re-districting,
7 with changes in State government, I think much of this will
8 also change.

9 So, it's clear then that key roles in this new
10 pattern of local government will be played by those officials
11 who adapt most quickly, and most imaginatively to the changes
12 that are coming.

13 Now, I think that in many areas the county can do
14 all that I am talking about, more than any other institution.
15 (Applause)

16 I hope that you realize that this is your day.
17 I don't mean just this Monday. I mean this is the era that
18 belongs to you, because our cities today are dependent a
19 great deal upon our counties, and many times, as we know in
20 the case of Mayor Dumas her, it's county or parish and city
21 working together almost as one.

22 In many of the Great Society programs the county
23 is the basic building block. In our farm programs, of course,
24 the county committee-- I met with the county committees of
25 nine Midwestern States not long ago, and these are the people

1 that run the farm programs in nine States, and they are
2 county committees. Our Soil Conservation Districts -- county
3 offices -- and in the Anti-poverty Program the county is the
4 building block. And often in economic development. A strong
5 response, therefore, from county government is needed, and I
6 hope your convention and conference will put itself to that
7 task of finding out how you can better design your governmental
8 institutions to meet this tremendous opportunity that is at
9 your doorstep.

10 Counties vary tremendously across this nation.
11 Montgomery County, where I live, out in Chevy Chase near Wash-
12 ington -- Montgomery County, Maryland -- is a vastly different
13 kind of county than Wright County, Minnesota. Wright County,
14 Minnesota is right next to Hennepin County, right next to our
15 big metropolitan county. It's rural, small-town, rolling
16 countryside, agricultural. The county seat is Buffalo. It's
17 a beautiful little county, but it has no more relationship to
18 Montgomery County than Venus has to the moon. They are diff-
19 erent. And the California county is an entirely different
20 breed from the counties we know in New England.

21 So generalizations are dangerous. Yet I see four
22 common needs. The first is for more counties to get together
23 in providing services. You know, you are not members of the
24 United Nations. You do not have separate sovereignty. Don't
25 act like some of the Departments of the Federal Government.

1 I sit in the Cabinet of the Federal Government. Every once
2 in a while I get to thinking that somebody there is a special
3 ambassador from the United Nations for the department of this
4 department or that department, particularly when they consider
5 budget matters. Russell can tell you about that.

6 I remember when I was Senator from Minnesota I was
7 trying to get some defense contracts up there in northern Min-
8 nesota. The Defense Department said, "Oh, we can't afford
9 to do that. We have a budget, and if we make a little special
10 consideration to put those people to work up there it will
11 raise our costs a little bit." And I said, "Well, now, they're
12 on relief. Do you want that to be paid out of the Department
13 of Health, Education, and Welfare?" And they said, "Yes."

14 I said, "My people would rather work than get
15 relief," I said, "I hope it doesn't upset you, but that's the
16 way they feel." (Laughter)

17 And I am here to tell you that the Department of
18 Defense would defend its budget with all of the vigor that
19 we would defend Da Nang, or some other place. And I would
20 say to them, "Look, it's all out of the taxpayer -- same
21 taxpayer; he doesn't really know that we have these separate
22 governments down here in Washington. He thinks it is the
23 United States of America. He didn't know it was the United
24 States of the Department of Commerce and the United States of
25 the Department of Defense." And what's more, you only have

1 one Ambassador in the United Nations, and just one United
2 States up there."

3 I lost that argument, but it was an eloquent plea,
4 I want you to know. (Laughter)

5 Now I want to say to my friends of the counties:
6 You do not have separate sovereignty. You know that better
7 than I do. You are a part of a State, and a State is a part
8 of the Nation. And if you can get together it doesn't mean
9 that you lose your identity; it means that you start to
10 amount to something. I found out when I got associated with
11 Russell Long, I started to amount to something. (Laughter)

12 I've never forgotten the day that he told me, "Come
13 down to that little side room along the Senate dining room.
14 Don't go into that big one. Get in where the Establishment
15 is." (Laughter) He'd already found his way in there five
16 years ahead of me.

17 In all sincerity, though, you do not lose by join-
18 ing together.

19 Ben Franklin was right: If there is any eternal
20 truth in American public life -- this is what old Ben Franklin
21 said -- "You either hang together, or you hang separately."
22 And you grow stronger by standing together. So I say, join
23 together; consolidate.

24 While populations have changed, and distances have
25 radically shrunk, county boundaries have changed very little.

1 Many counties were laid out so that the county
2 seat would be a day's drive by horse from the farthest corner,
3 and the boundary hasn't changed despite jet planes and cars
4 that go a hundred miles an hour on roads that were made for
5 40 miles an hour. Yet today I can drive across many counties
6 in my State in 60 minutes -- yes, in 30 minutes.

7 Sixty per cent of our counties have fewer than
8 25,000 people. Now that's smaller than a medium-sized suburb.
9 Yet we continue to maintain the full structure of county
10 offices.

11 Now I suspect that many counties can join together
12 within whole regions of the State to provide such things as
13 record-keeping, jails, libraries, and other services, and to
14 provide them better.

15 Let me tell you what happens today in small business.
16 We don't have our own bookkeepers anymore. We have central
17 computers. And you feed all of your daily cash slips in, all
18 of your invoices into a central place, and rather than pay
19 large amounts of money for one or two bookkeepers for a little
20 establishment that can't even afford to have somebody standing
21 at the front door, you get the best of modern bookkeeping
22 through a centralized bookkeeping apparatus that's done by
23 computers. Now, if you can do it for Humphrey's drug store --
24 I always like to get one commercial in. I hope nobody will
25 object -- If you can do this for a small retail establishment

1 or wholesale house -- and they do it by the thousands --
2 why can't you have joint record-keeping. Why do you need to
3 have separate systems? I am sure you don't, and maybe many of
4 you do not have. And that's true even about jails.

5 I was Mayor of Minneapolis and I used to tell most
6 of my people, we had a very poor jail. Number one. It really
7 wasn't hardly good enough for those that inhabited it. And
8 number two, it was very expensive. So my idea of law enforce-
9 ment was to have more observance. It was a great deal more
10 economical for the City of Minneapolis to have fewer people
11 in jail than to have many.

12 And to put it another way, it's very difficult some-
13 times for local governments to maintain police services on
14 a separate, independent basis when they can join together.

15 Now that's what this message is all about.

16 I've brought this book along. You've read it --
17 "Modernizing Local Government." I don't say that this is the
18 oracle of truth, but it has some suggestions, and some of them
19 are going to make you burn a little. But there are a number of
20 good, solid suggestions in this "Modernizing Local Government --
21 Committee for Economic Development. That isn't a government
22 publication, and it merits your thoughtful consideration.
23 Your best argument for a prominent place in the attack on rural
24 problems, on urban problems is that the county is the general-
25 purpose government.

1 Now, the second needed change is in the appor-
2 tionment of county boards. Now, I am going to touch right
3 on the sensitive nerve here, I know.

4 The courts are applying the one-man, one-vote prin-
5 ciple. If counties want to be strong, general policy-making
6 governments, fair representation is essential, or they will
7 bypass you. It is just that simple.

8 Third, there is a need for change in the internal
9 organization of county government. New problems require
10 strong professional administration. They also require close
11 working relationships between county boards and independently
12 elected officials.

13 Currently, less than one per cent of the counties
14 of the United States have a real executive manager or ad-
15 ministrative head. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I know that
16 this is somewhat offensive to some of us. But committee
17 government, at best, is a poor substitute for government.
18 It just isn't that good, folks. (Applause) And there has
19 to be some kind of administrative head. He doesn't necessarily
20 have to be elected. But there has to be some way that you
21 can have the authority vested in a responsible person.

22 Now, most of you like to feel that business knows
23 what it is doing. And how many times have you been asked
24 by some irate taxpayer, "Did you ever meet a payroll?"
25 I am always happy to say, "Yes, I did. It wasn't as large

1 as I would have liked, but I met it, and there were times
2 that the checks were a little late, but we did meet it."

3 But I venture to say that General Motors does not
4 run its business, nor does AT&T nor General Foods, or anybody
5 else that I know of in the business world, without an exe-
6 cutive head. They don't do it by just a board.

7 [The board is the consulting body. The board sets
8 the policy. The board lays out the program. The board ap-
9 proves the budget. But there has to be something done beyond
10 that. And I appeal to county officials to take a good look
11 at your local county operations.

12 And finally, of course, counties needed to be
13 relieved of the many restrictions that prevent them from being
14 what they ought to be -- prevent their potential from being
15 used on their urban problems -- restrictions on their
16 authority to act, on their power to tax and spend, and on
17 their ability to organize themselves. All of these could be
18 usefully relaxed. And you know that most county governments
19 today are circumscribed by a set of laws that would have
20 you believe that you were somewhat of a juvenile delinquent,
21 that you're not given any freedom of action -- not even in
22 this structuring of your county government.

23 Now in most cases this reorganization that I speak
24 of, this change cannot be done by yourself, but only by the
25 States, through legislation or Constitutional amendment.

1 What I mean is that it will take some modification
2 of basic laws. You will need to get to know your State legis-
3 lators even better. And even though you are an office-holder,
4 you are also a voter.

5 And every once in a while I've had a great time.
6 Some fellow has come up to me and said, "I just want you to
7 know" -- when I was Senator, particularly. They don't say
8 this to a Vice President because they're after a bigger
9 number. They are after somebody else. But when I was
10 Senator, they would say, "I want you to know, Senator, that
11 if you don't do this I'm going to take care of you in the
12 next election." Every once in a while there would be some
13 local office-holder who would say that to me. He forgot
14 that he was the County Commissioner, or that he was on the
15 Board of Estimate and Taxation, or that he was on the Park
16 Board, or that he was Councilman. And it would dawn on me
17 at the moment that the fellow who was talking to me also had
18 to run for office. And I would say, "If you don't take
19 care of something back here, I'm going to get you, too."
20 (Laughter) And there was a sort of mutual exchange of
21 volleys, and both of us were the better for it.

22 Now, in this coming rebuilding of American local
23 government no one is exempt from change. We are trying,
24 for example, in the proposed Governmental Cooperation Act
25 to make our grant-in-aid programs out of Washington somewhat

1 more flexible, so you can use those funds with more discretion.

2 We are trying to get better coordination among our
3 Agency people out in the field. The Federal Government has
4 a network of agencies all over the Nation. Every one of
5 them ought to be at your service. And if there is any
6 Federal official here today that doesn't understand that, let
7 me make it clear: President Lyndon Johnson wants every
8 single Federal Government Agency to be your servant, at your
9 service, in your area. So get on the stick.

10 (Applause)

11 And I want them to clearly understand that when
12 a county official or a municipal official or anybody else
13 walks in, that that's the customer, and he is to be treated
14 like one. He is to be treated as if he is the finest citizen
15 in the nation, deserving the best that this Government has
16 to offer. And if you don't get that kind of treatment, write
17 a letter to the Executive Office Building, Vice President
18 of the United States. I'll take it up with somebody.

19 (Applause)

20 We want, for example, our water pollution people
21 to know how to work with you, and how to talk with our own
22 Highway people in Washington and out here in the field, so
23 that we're together as a team, when they both must deal
24 with local planning.

25 [And we are trying, of course, to fill out the

1 whole kit of needed tools for attack on local problems.
2 We need a program that will make a large-scale impact on
3 the slumism in the heart of our older cities. And we also
4 need a program that will bring some order out of the sprawl
5 at the edges of our cities.

6 And I want to tell you that some of the new slums
7 have got the old ones beat. What made anybody think that
8 you could get by without a sewage system just because you
9 went out of town a little ways? When you start to get a
10 large accumulation of residences and a few commercial
11 buildings-- Cesspools are for a day long gone by. Daniel
12 Boone started that idea. You have to have water systems,
13 sewage disposal systems. The latter program for planned
14 metropolitan development that I speak of may be the sleeper
15 in our Urban Development Bill this year.

16 I wonder how many counties have really begun to
17 think about the role they might play in the building of a
18 whole new planned community. The county government has that
19 chance. A whole new community -- completely brand-new. And
20 there are funds available under the Urban Development Program
21 for you to use. This gives me a chance to tell you we need
22 your help here, on Demonstration Cities -- the bill in the
23 Congress. I am not at all sure that this bill will answer
24 all of our needs, but I know that it is an improvement. I
25 know that it will add on to the many things that are already

1 under way. And the Demonstration Cities Bill does not
2 involve a vast amount of outlay in the beginning. It gives
3 us a chance to experiment and to try to get at our rural slums
4 and our urban slums, but primarily our urban slums.

5 And what about rent supplement? You are going to
6 make a choice, dear friends, whether you want all low-income
7 housing in this country to be owned by the Government, and
8 thereby put yourself strictly on the side of public housing
9 completely, or whether you want low-income housing to be
10 owned privately and that the inhabitant of that home can re-
11 ceive a modest amount of assistance so that he can have a
12 decent home in which to live, or whether you are going to
13 have open violence in America in every major city and county
14 because people will not live like animals, nor should they,
15 in some of the filthy, rotten housing that makes up the
16 urban ghettos of America's metropolitan areas. Now, make
17 up your mind what you are going to do. (Applause)

18 I want to say right now that as hot as it has
19 been up in my part of America, and as warm as it is here --
20 and we have had a heat wave all over -- I would hate to be
21 stuck in the fourth floor of a tenement with the rats
22 nibbling on the kids' toes -- and they do -- with the
23 garbage uncollected -- and it is -- with the streets filthy,
24 with no swimming pools, with little or no recreation -- I
25 would hate to be put in those conditions, and I want to tell

1 you, if I were in those conditions -- if that should happen
2 to have been my situation, I think you would have had a little
3 more trouble than you have had already, because I have enough
4 spark left ¹³ in me to lead a might good revolt under those con-
5 ditions.

6 *But* It's unnecessary. I heard the other day where a
7 major city has suddenly come to the conclusion that they
8 could buy portable swimming pools. They have been available
9 for years. What makes you think that the children at the
10 country club ought to have a swimming pool and the kids in
11 the slums ought not to have one? This just doesn't work in
12 America anymore, dear friends. Television destroyed all that.
13 Everybody knows what the other fellow is doing. Those cameras
14 right out there fixed that.

15 And you can't any longer tell some people, "You're
16 entitled to have a nice place to sleep, and you can have it,
17 and you can have a nice swimming pool in the rich part of
18 town, publicly supported, by the way -- but nothing in the
19 poor part of town. That's all over. It's all done.]

20 Washington, D.C. didn't have a single illuminated
21 playground -- not one. I said, why goodness, gracious, out
22 in Minnesota in the smallest little town that we have they
23 have a baseball field, and it's illuminated and it has got the
24 finest lights. It's brighter at night than it is in the day-
25 time. And we don't consider ourselves to be very fancy, but we

1 know enough how to live. And I got busy and we raised a
2 hundred thousand dollars in private donations and found
3 about another three-quarters of a million dollars in public
4 funds and we put lights on those playgrounds, and it had
5 a wonderful effect. Young people who ordinarily were out on
6 the streets at night getting into trouble are on their play-
7 grounds under supervised recreation.

8 We have now come to the conclusion that water
9 is here to stay in the District of Columbia, too. We are not
10 quite sure whether it ought to be put in the pools, but it's
11 there. They have discovered it. And one of these days we
12 are going to have even a little swimming pool for the kids
13 in the District of Columbia. I can tell you we are going
14 to have some next week, because I've gone out and raised
15 the money for some portable swimming pools. One citizen--
16 Why should a government not do it, as yourself, about slumism.
17 And it's not all in the cities, either. It's in rural
18 America and in some of our poor towns.

19 I will only conclude it by saying that for every
20 dollar you have to expend to make life worth living, you
21 will spend ten trying to put down revolt and riots, and
22 you know it.

23 The time is at hand for local government officials
24 to face up to the fact that the National Guard is no answer
25 to the problems of this country. (Applause)

1 I don't want to be misunderstood. I believe in
2 law observance. I believe in law enforcement. I not only
3 deplore violence -- I say it cannot be condoned. But I also
4 say, having said that, that's not enough. I've been to too
5 many of our big cities and I haven't just gone into the
6 nicest places, even though that's generally where they like
7 to take me. I don't like any Moscow tours in the United States.
8 I want to go and see where the people live.

9 And I was in one great city not long ago where I
10 saw garbage uncollected for better than eight days, where
11 I saw dirty streets, and where I saw no playgrounds, and where
12 I saw no swimming pools. And I saw within one mile of that
13 very area beautiful streets, everything clean, lovely parks,
14 tennis courts, recreation houses, swimming pools and everything.
15 You can't get by with it. That day is all over. I repeat:
16 The newspaper, television, the radio fixed that. There are
17 no secrets any longer, and we had better wake up.

18 I guess that's about all I wanted to say to you
19 about this. I want to just conclude with one other observa-
20 tion.

21 All of these problems that we have domestically are
22 of vital importance. ^{And} But our international problems are of
23 tremendous complexity and difficulty. ^{too} But my fellow Americans,
24 the United States of America will be able to do abroad no
25 more than it is able to do at home.

1 When we worried not long ago about all the
2 rioting in Saigon and Da Nang over in South Vietnam, I wonder
3 if we thought then that we would have a little of it in
4 Chicago, or in Washington, or in Los Angeles or in Minneapolis.
5 You name it -- no city is immune from it.

6 I guess that what I am trying to say to you is that
7 the way we conduct ourselves at home will pretty well deter-
8 mine how we are going to be able to conduct ourselves abroad.
9 For we are only as strong abroad as we are at home. And if
10 our economy falters here, we are not going to be able to be
11 a world leader. Or if America is torn apart by dissension,
12 you can't expect a unity of purpose in our efforts overseas.
13 We are in it all together. We are all Americans, whatever
14 our race, color, creed, national origin or region. There is
15 neither North, South, Northeast, nor West. We're Americans.
16 And today we have tremendous commitments, great respons-
17 ibilities, and it will do us no good to pretend that we
18 dont. Because, remember this, if the United States of America,
19 the leader of freedom in the world is unwilling to lead and
20 pay the price, then there are other forces that are evil
21 and sinister and oppressive that will lead and will pay the
22 price. There will be no vacuum.

23 Our decisions -- the decisions today -- are very
24 painful. None of us ever wants to involve our nation in
25 what we call war or defensive operations which entail the loss

1 of life. But I can tell you that a nation that has our
2 responsibilities and our position in the world may be com-
3 pelled on occasion to use force to restrain force, and may
4 be compelled also to have to help build nations that have been
5 destroyed.

6 Your America, my America -- this Blessed Nation --
7 is much criticized in the world. And it is much criticized
8 at home. But I want you to know that the United States of
9 America as it is today did not get where it is by a constant
10 series of mistakes, despite what you read or what you hear.
11 This America of yours has preserved the peace in the world
12 since World War II. It has contributed a hundred and twenty
13 billion dollars to peoples in other lands.

14 Seventy new Nations have come into being, and not
15 one has gone Communist.

16 One billion people have thrown off the yoke of oppres-
17 sion and colonialism for freedom. Not one single Communist
18 nation in Africa, and only one in this Western Hemisphere.

19 And in Asia we are being tested, and that is why
20 we are doing what we are doing. The struggle in Vietnam, my
21 friends, is not merely a struggle over the geography of Viet-
22 nam, important as that may be. Nor is it even a struggle over
23 the lives of the 15 million people in South Vietnam, even
24 though that's very important. I can't imagine people who think
25 that we ought to leave 15 million people to be swallowed up

1 by the forces of Communism -- and they would be -- and many
2 of them assassinated -- and they would be. When we speak of
3 morality -- when we speak of morality remember that scene
4 that some of us heard about, where a young lady was attacked
5 on the streets of New York, and it's said that there were
6 people standing by and not one lifted a hand to protect her.
7 And there was an outcry. And America said, "What's happened
8 to us? A terrible thing has happened to us." And the answer
9 was, "Well, if you get involved, they'll drag you into court
10 and you'll be subpoenaed, and this and that"-- so you thought
11 of your own skin.

12 And then nine nurses were killed the other day, and
13 somebody else -- some other madman gets going. Well, ladies
14 and gentlemen, we could forget the people of South Vietnam.
15 And some day somebody might forget us, because we're a
16 minority in this world.

17 Morality does mean your favorable, affirmative answer
18 to the old Biblical question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"
19 And I thought it was most interesting that the scriptures
20 never gave you the answer; they just let you figure it out.
21 And the answer is, of course, "Yes." It comes back over the
22 Ages, "Yes." And we would be a very immoral people if once
23 having been committed, as we are in South Vietnam, we walked
24 out and left 15 million innocent people in the South be
25 destroyed. I can't imagine a nation ever holding its head

1 high again in decency.

2 But we are not going to lose. And we are not going
3 to break our commitments. We see a new Asia on the march,
4 and the Communists are not winning.

5 If you think we have troubles, take a look at what
6 China and Russia have.

7 There's a better Asia today. Japan is strong and
8 free and peaceful. Korea -- South Korea has made its economic
9 breakthrough. India and Pakistan, a year ago at war, are at
10 peace. The Philippines -- a new leader. Indonesia -- a hun-
11 dred million people under the thumb of Peking, China only a
12 year ago today have broken out of the chains of Communist
13 domination.

14 Do you think a lot of this would have happened had
15 not your country stood firm? You know it would not have.
16 I am as sure as my name is Hubert Humphrey that one of the
17 reasons that the people of Indonesia -- and it's the largest
18 nation in Southeast Asia -- a hundred-some million people
19 with fabulous riches, at least potentially -- that one of
20 the reasons that the Communist grip has been broken is be-
21 cause the leaders of the non-Communist forces saw that we
22 meant business in Southeast Asia, that we were there. We
23 gave them courage.

24 And I remind this audience this morning that your
25 Nation is doing great work. No nation has given as much in the

1 cause of peace and justice. No people have ever been so
2 generous. No people have ever so strongly supported the United
3 Nations and the great international bodies all the way from
4 the World Bank to the Asian Development Bank, the Alliance for
5 Progress, or whatever it may be. This nation has taken the
6 lead, and because we have taken that lead we are what we are,
7 so don't weary. The one thing that the Communist forces are
8 waiting for is for us to get tired. They're waiting for our
9 system to break down. That's why I've talked this morning
10 about strengthening this governmental system, not by oppressive
11 measure, but by making it responsible to human need.

12 The Communists are waiting to see whether America
13 will be divided. They're wondering what is going to happen
14 in these coming elections.--and I am not talking Republican
15 or Democrat.-- whether or not we're divided on fundamental
16 principles. The Communists are waiting to see whether we have
17 the will to stick it out, or are we just weekend warriors.
18 Or are we just the boys that like to have a night on the
19 town. They are trying to find out, and they are testing to
20 see whether we are just rich and powerful, or whether we
21 are strong and resolute -- and there's a lot of difference.

22 Many a rich nation this world has known, and they
23 have gone off into ashes and oblivion.

24 We are being tested as to whether or not we will
25 keep our commitments, whether or not we have perseverance

1 and will and faith and determination. This doesn't mean
2 that we lose our temper. It doesn't mean that we become
3 emotional. It doesn't mean that we seek to spread a conflict.
4 It means that we have firmness without belligerence; we are
5 being resolute without being bellicose -- being strong, and
6 still at the same time, compassionate. And if we have those
7 qualities, I think we will continue to be a great people.
8 So we move ahead.

9 And my fellow Americans, as your Vice President I
10 report to you from this platform now that your Government,
11 in cooperation with its Allies in South Vietnam, is helping
12 that little beleaguered country of South Vietnam economically
13 -- and it is gaining economically; politically -- it is
14 gaining politically. There will be elections. And when I
15 hear the critics say, "Well, they may not be very good," I
16 say, "Well, what kind of elections have they had in North
17 Vietnam?"

18 I wish some of those who are so concerned about
19 what we are doing in South Vietnam would turn their purity
20 and their morality and their sense of decency upon those in
21 North Vietnam and in Peking, China.

22 (Prolonged applause.)

23 There will be an election, and it will be a good one
24 -- under the circumstances, a free one. And we are continuing
25 to gain on the diplomatic front. At least we pursue with

1 vigor and relentless purpose the cause of peace.

2 To every mother here in this audience -- and many
3 of you are here that have boys there -- let me tell you one
4 thing: The roadblock to peace is not in Washington. It's
5 in Hanoi and Peking. Not in Washington.

6 Your President does not need to be reminded to
7 search for peace. He searches for it, prays for it, and
8 works for it.

9 We are prepared to go anyplace, anytime, to meet
10 with anybody, anywhere, under any auspices to bring us
11 honorable settlement and peace to this conflict in Vietnam.
12 Now what more could you ask for?

13 (Applause)

14 But we are not prepared to surrender, and we are
15 not prepared to get out and to leave the South Vietnamese
16 people helpless, and we are not prepared to enter into some
17 kind of a deal or arrangement that history will describe as
18 a sellout. We're too big for that.

19 (Applause)

20 And militarily, dear fellow Americans, never has
21 this nation ever placed on the field of battle finer men,
22 men who are more courageous or able in combat than those
23 who today carry the flag of the United States and wear
24 the uniform of this country.

25 (Applause)

1 They are not only tremendously courageous in battle,
2 but they are effective in villages, in civic action. Why, my
3 dear friends, some of them are rebuilding local government,
4 just like you run local government -- your sons. These are
5 Americans, educated in America, the inheritors of 200 years
6 almost of self-government, the men whose forebears believed
7 in freedom. These young Americans want a free world. They
8 want a peaceful world. But thank God that this generation of
9 younger Americans understands what's going on in this world --
10 and it does. So I just leave you now with a word of encourage-
11 ment: Be of good faith. Do not weary. Do not yield to the
12 temptation of just being critical for the love of criticism.
13 Do not feel at any time that your leaders want less in terms
14 of peace and honor than you. Stand up straight and strong,
15 and know what Lincoln said is yet our philosophy. You remember
16 those immortal words: "With malice towards none, with charity
17 for all, but with firmness in the right, as God gives us to
18 see the right." That is, was, and continues to be the
19 philosophy of this nation.

20 We hate no one. We are prepared to extend the
21 hand of friendship to all, but we have ideals. We have prin-
22 ciples. We have a belief, and "firmness in the right, as God
23 gives us to see the right." And we will fulfill that obliga-
24 tion.

25 Thank you. (Applause)

* * *

Excerpts from the National Association of County Officials
speech by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey - July 18, 1966

I am not at all sure that this Bill will answer all of our needs, but I know that it is an improvement. I know that it will add on to the many things that are already under way. The Demonstration Cities Bill doesn't involve a vast amount of outlay at the beginning. It gives us a chance to experiment and to try, to get at our rural slums and our urban slums, but primarily at our urban slums.

And what about rent supplements. You're going to have to make a choice here, friends, whether you want all low-income housing in this country to be owned by the government and thereby put yourself on the side of public housing completely, or whether you want low-income housing to be owned privately and the inhabitant of that home can receive a modest amount of assistance so he can have a decent home in which to live. Or whether you're going to have open violence in America in every major city and county because people will not live like animals, nor should they in some of the filthy, rotten housing that makes up the urban ghettos of America's metropolitan areas.

Now make up your minds what you're going to do. (Applause)

I want to say right now that, as hot as it's been up in my part of America, and as warm as it is here, if we had a heat wave all over, I'd hate to be stuck in a fourth floor in a tenement with the rats nibbling on the kids' toes - and they do - with the garbage uncollected - and it is - with the streets filthy, with no swimming pools, with little or no recreation.

I'd hate to be put in those conditions, and I want to tell you if I were in those conditions and that should happen to have been my situation, I think you'd have had a little more trouble than you've had already because I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions. But that's unnecessary....

What makes you think that the children at the country club ought to have a swimming pool and the kids in the slums ought not to have. This just doesn't work any more in America....

Ask yourself about slummism. It's not all in the cities, either. It's in rural America in some of our poor towns.

I'll only conclude by saying that, for every dollar you have to expend to make life worth living, you'll spend ten trying to put down revolts and riots. And you know it. The time is at hand for local government officials to face up to the fact that the National Guard is no answer to the problems of this country.

I don't want to be misunderstood. I believe in law observance. I believe in law enforcement. I not only deplore violence, I say it cannot be condoned. But I also say, having said that, that's not enough.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY

EXCERPTS FROM
AN ADDRESS BY
THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
BEFORE THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY OFFICIALS
JULY 18, 1966
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

The changes in local government which lie ahead as a result of the pressures upon local government, and as a result of the Federal, State, and local relationship amount to a small revolution.

We are moving towards a whole new concept of Federalism in our rapidly changing Nation, where the Government of the United States is a system of layers of governmental authority, each with its own responsibility, but with sort of an arterial capillary structure tying them all together. There must be a sense of communication between local, State and Federal governments. "Federalism" can no longer mean simply Washington and Federal agencies. It means people in government at every level. And "creative" federalism means that every public official had better think a little bit more; a little bit better, than he's been thinking. He must figure out how to better do the job that he has been elected or assigned to do.

Now, at the heart of this concept of creative Federalism is the conviction that our programs -- new or old -- must be tailored to fit the particular problems that we are attacking, just as we have to redesign our clothing; just as we redesign our homes; just as a businessman has to redesign his business establishment.

There's nothing against government itself being modernized.

PROBLEM ORIENTATION

The striking thing about this new approach, which is not really new to you, but is to some of our constituents, is that in almost every case it sweeps across the historic boundaries of our existing governments -- State, county and municipal. This approach is oriented towards problems, and towards needs, rather than towards some line that somebody drew on the State map back home 90 years ago.

The lines must not be allowed to paralyze Government.

So, we have to ask ourselves: How do we organize our governmental authorities on a "problem" or "need" basis?

In the past we have set up special Districts or Commissions to handle the new problems as they came along. Today, however, we're concerned about the way that this bypasses existing governments, and fragments our overall effort still further.

We are concerned about government, and how to make it effective. And what we are trying to find, as a result, are entirely new forms of organization, new patterns of cooperation, among our general-purpose municipal and county governments which should have the authority to meet all of these needs.

EXPERIMENTATION REQUIRED

I think what we need to do is what America has always done: To experiment. There isn't any rule of thumb that says, once you've tried something that you never change it. Try. If it doesn't succeed, if it doesn't work, try again, and have the courage to do it. A nation that has less than ten per cent of its people in rural areas today, is a nation that's far different from the one that I was born in 55 years ago. And a nation that today has cities with urban sprawl and far flung suburbs is a far different nation from the rather nice, tidy nation that was known for 50 large cities, 40 years ago. It's a different country.

Where we used to think of county commissioners as primarily responsible for rural America -- and that's the way it was since the county commissioner more or less took care of the rural things -- today that county supervisor or judge, that commission or that county government is directly related in authority and in responsibility to the largest metropolitan areas of our land.

LOCAL ROLE A KEY FACTOR

We're expanding, too, with new forms in rural areas. The Rural Areas Development Bill, which is still before the Congress, provides planning funds, as you know, for counties, or for several towns that join together to plan their development.

So, we know that local government is changing. And I can assure you of one thing: The change is not for the worse. The role of local government in our Federal system is becoming more meaningful and more important. It is being strengthened, and not weakened.

But with these vast new, diverse, and comprehensive programs, we need a local governmental structure that can absorb them.

Some of our towns and villages in rural areas, and even counties, do not have the same professional talent that you get in the larger, more well-to-do metropolitan areas.

I want to make it clear here, now, that the Federal Government cannot, should not, and will not administer alone these new national programs of rural and urban development.

COUNTY BASIC BUILDING BLOCK

To be effective, these programs must first be understood by the people that they are designed to serve, and they must be understood and comprehended by the elected and appointed administrative officers of the local governmental jurisdictions where these programs can be applied.

Above all, they must, in the main, be run by local people at the local level.

In the United States, if local county, municipal, or State governments don't meet the needs of the people, they know the way to Washington.

So, it's clear then that key roles in this new pattern of local government will be played by those officials who adapt most quickly, and most imaginatively to the changes that are coming.

In many of the Great Society programs the county is the basic building block.

COMMON NEEDS REVIEWED

A strong response, therefore, from county government is needed, and I hope your convention and conference will put itself to that task of finding out how you can better design our governmental institutions to meet this tremendous opportunity that is at your doorstep.

I see four common needs. The first is for more counties to get together in providing services.

You do not have separate sovereignty. You know that better than I do. You are a part of a State, and a State is a part of the Nation. And if you can get together it doesn't mean that you lose your identity; it means that you start to amount to something.

Ben Franklin was right: "You either hang together, or you hang separately." And you grow stronger by standing together. So I say, join together; consolidate.

While populations have changed, and distances have radically shrunk, county boundaries have changed very little.

Many counties were laid out so that the county seat would be a day's drive by horse from the farthest corner, and the boundary hasn't changed despite jet planes and cars that go a hundred miles an hour on roads that were made for 40 miles an hour.

FAIR REPRESENTATION ESSENTIAL

Sixty per cent of our counties have fewer than 25,000 people. That's smaller than a medium-sized suburb, yet we continue to maintain the full structure of county offices.

I suspect that many counties can join together within whole regions of the State to provide such things as record-keeping, jails, libraries, and other services, and to provide them better.

The second needed change is in the apportionment of county boards. I am going to touch right on the sensitive nerve here, I know.

The courts are applying the one-man, one-vote principle. If counties want to be strong, general policy-making governments, fair representation is essential, or you will be bypassed. That is just that simple.

Third, there is a need for change in the internal organization of county government. New problems require strong professional administration. They also require close working relationships between county boards and independently elected officials.

GREATER FLEXIBILITY NEEDED

Currently, less than one per cent of the counties of the United States have a real executive manager or administrative head. The board is the consulting body. The board sets the policy. The board lays out the program. The board approves the budget. But there has to be something done beyond that. And I appeal to county officials to take a good look at your local county operations.

And finally, of course, counties needed to be relieved of the many restrictions that prevent them from being what they ought to be -- that prevent their potential from being used on their urban problems. The restrictions on their authority to act, on their power to tax and spend, and on their ability to organize themselves could be usefully relaxed.

In most cases this reorganization cannot be done by yourself, but only by the States, through legislation or Constitutional amendment.

In this coming rebuilding of American local government, no one is exempt from change. We are trying, for example, in the proposed Governmental Cooperation Act to make our grant-in-aid programs out of Washington somewhat more flexible, so you can use those funds with more discretion.

DEMONSTRATION CITIES PROGRAM

And we are trying, of course, to fill out the whole kit of needed tools for attack on local problems. We need a program that will make large-scale impact on the slumism in the heart of our older cities. And we also need a program that will bring some order out of the sprawl at the edges of our cities.

I wonder how many counties have really begun to think about the role they might play in the building of a whole new planned community. The county government has that chance. A whole new community -- completely brand-new. And there are funds available under the Urban Development Program for you to use. This gives me a chance to tell you that we need the Demonstration Cities Program.

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RENT SUPPLEMENTS OFFER CHOICE

And what about rent supplements. You're going to have to make a choice here, friends, whether you want all low-income housing in this country to be owned by the Government and thereby put yourself on the side of public housing completely, or whether you want low-income housing to be owned privately and the inhabitant of that home can receive a modest amount of assistance so he can have a decent home in which to live. Or whether you're going to have open violence in America in every major city and county because people will not live like animals, nor should they in some of the filthy, rotten housing that makes up the urban ghettos of America's metropolitan areas.

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SLUMMISM UNBEARABLE

I want to say right now that, as hot as it's been up in my part of America, and as warm as it is here, if we had a heat wave all over, I'd hate to be stuck in a fourth floor in a tenement with the rats nibbling on the kids' toes - and they do - with the garbage uncollected - and it is - with the streets filthy, with no swimming pools, with little or no recreation.

I'd hate to be put in those conditions, and I want to tell you if I were in those conditions and that should happen to have been my situation, I think you'd have had a little more trouble than you've had already because I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt under those conditions. But that's unnecessary.

What makes you think that the children at the country club ought to have a swimming pool and the kids in the slums ought not to have. This just doesn't work any more in America.

Ask yourself about slummism. It's not all in the cities, either. It's in rural America in some of our poor towns.

DEPLORING VIOLENCE NOT ENOUGH

I'll only conclude by saying that, for every dollar you have to expend to make life worth living, you'll spend ten trying to put down revolts and riots. And you know it. The time is at hand for local government officials to face up to the fact that the National Guard is no answer to the problems of this country.

I don't want to be misunderstood. I believe in law observance. I believe in law enforcement. I not only deplore violence, I say it cannot be condoned. But I also say, having said that, that's not enough.

I was in one great city not long ago where I saw garbage uncollected, where I saw dirty streets, and no playgrounds, and no swimming pools. This condition cannot continue. You can't get by with it. That day is all over.

NO DOUBLE IMAGE POSSIBLE

All of these problems that we have domestically are of vital importance. And our international problems are of tremendous complexity and difficulty, too. But my fellow Americans, the United States of America will be able to do abroad no more than it is able to do at home.

When we worried not long ago about all the rioting in Saigon and Da Nang in South Vietnam, I wonder if we thought then that we would have a little of it in Chicago, or in Washington, or in Los Angeles or in Minneapolis. You name it -- no city is immune from it.

What I am trying to say to you is that the way we conduct ourselves at home will pretty well determine how we are going to be able to conduct ourselves abroad. For we are only as strong abroad as we are at home. And if our economy falters here, we are not going to be able to be a world leader. Or if America is torn apart by dissension, you can't expect a unity of purpose in our efforts overseas. We are in it all together. We are all Americans, whatever our race, color, creed, national origin or region. There is neither North, South, East, nor West. We're Americans.

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Excerpts from Press Conference, New Orleans - July 18, 1966

..... by an Act of Congress and the Constitution. I'm not in any way wanting my remarks to be interpreted as relating to state lines. As a matter of fact, you may recall that I indicated in my message today to the County Officials that we ought to seek to use the general governmental services of local and state governments much more than we have rather than to design new governmental institutions to try to make the established local governments and state governments more responsive to human need and more responsive to the economic and social progress of the country.

QUERY: Mr. Vice President, are you satisfied with the solutions that have been put forth in Chicago in answer to needs that have been pointed out by the riots.

ANSWER: I'm not familiar with all the details of that. I'm only confident of one thing. The Mayor of Chicago, the local government there, is very cognizant of the problems of that city; and I am sure that Mayor Daley, in cooperation with his local governmental officials, will do everything that they can to rectify any injustices and to try to make a city that provides a wholesome environment for all of its people. The Mayor of Chicago is a very fine, compassionate public official.

..... the most of his ability to use his good offices. The roadblock to peace is in Hanoi and in North Vietnam and in Peking where there still continues to be considerable arrogance. But we shall pursue our diplomatic efforts.

QUERY: To return to the local level, Mr. William Cook, Regional Director of the OEO, said last week he had reports of threats to Head Start children by the Ku Klux Klan. Do you know anything about this, sir, or what action is to be taken.

ANSWER: No, I do not know anything about that. I can only say that I can't imagine anyone, whatever his political thoughts, being opposed to care and attention and compassionate concern for little children. Project Head Start in my mind is one of the finest programs of this government. And when I say this government, I mean Federal, state, and local. It relates to the health, the education, and the well-being of little children. It is inconceivable to me that any human being that has any sense of conscience or decency could be opposed to kindly care and helpfulness to little children. The Government of the United States will pursue a course of backing our program, Project Head Start. Your own state and local government has done the same. I don't think that any outburst of any individual or group will deter our attention in this activity.

Excerpts from NACO speech - July 18, 1966

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(This was carried the evening of July 18, 1966 on WDSU - Radio and TV, an NBC affiliate.)

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, speaking in New Orleans Monday, had some powerful remarks to make about slum conditions in America in 1966. The Vice President said this, and we quote, "I'd hate to be stuck in some fourth floor tenement apartment with the rats nibbling on the kids' toes, and they do, the garbage uncollected, and it is, the streets filthy, with no swimming pools, and little or no recreation."

Mr. Humphrey went on to point out that conditions such as he described breed discontent, hopelessness, and in many too many cases violence. What he said made sense.

The irony of it is that he was speaking in Louisiana, the only state in the Union that has refused so far to attack slums by taking advantage of urban renewal.

Had Mr. Humphrey known, for example, that just last month the Louisiana Legislature turned down a local option urban renewal bill, he might have had a few more powerful remarks to make. But the facts are that in New Orleans, alone, one quarter of the city's population lives in substandard housing today.

There are in New Orleans 20,000 people on the waiting list of the Public Housing Authority. Fortunately, some effort is being made to provide better housing for needy people.

Christopher Homes, Incorporated, a non-profit organization, has been formed by the Archdiocese of New Orleans to build low-rent housing for the poor.

But how long, how long will it take for Louisiana to join the rest of the Nation by taking advantage of urban renewal? How long will it take for certain legislators who voted against local option urban renewal to realize that their own areas might have benefited the most?

The answer is, it will take just as long as is necessary to get the people aroused and concerned to do something about combating slums.

Statement by the Vice President in response to comments by
Congressman Gerald Ford - July 20, 1966

The Vice President commented on the remarks of House Republican Leader Gerald Ford, who had criticized the Vice President's speech at New Orleans.

"Intolerable slum conditions are a seedbed for trouble, and every responsible American public official should be aware of this fact. This I referred to in my speech at New Orleans to the National Association of County Officials. But I also said that 'we cannot condone violence, lawlessness, and disorder.'"

So that there may be no misunderstanding of the Vice President's views: The American political and social system affords an opportunity for peaceful protest. There is no room in this nation for violence, riot, and disorder. Such actions only add to the troubles and do not in any way resolve them. The use of police and, indeed, the National Guard, may at times be necessary. But likewise, these instruments of law enforcement do not solve the basic problems. People who believe in law and order and social justice must redouble their efforts to provide every American with equal opportunity and a decent place in which to live, work and play.



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