

This McKelvin

Cabinet meeting

- Mayor Daley
- Mayor Maestri
- Mayor Cavanaugh

REMARKS OF

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

LEAGUE OF CITIES

DETROIT - JULY 27, 1965

Mr. Klotz
Klotz

Today I want to talk to you about the opportunities,
the great challenges, the great potential today for
creative city government.

not
Problems

your nat. Govt

This Administration is pledged to the goal of a
Great Society. We are moving forward with new, strong
programs to make all people and places in this society
full and productive partners in the American tomorrow.

↳ We strive for a society of opportunity -- where
each man has the education, the equal start, the
open doorway toward a better life for himself and his
children.

Goal

Today this Administration is launching creative new programs toward that opportunity. And this Congress is writing an historic record of legislation -- legislation for health, for housing, for education, for human rights, for jobs, for self-respect.

↳ But the future of our nation lies not only with the federal government and the legislative branch. It lies in our heartland -- in individual American communities.

The Great Society will be an America made up of thousands of great communities. It will be an America built where you serve.

↳ It is your communities that will have good schools or bad ones.

↳ It is your communities that will have decent homes or slums.

∟ It is your communities where young men will have jobs this summer or will not -- and may I say you have responded splendidly in seeing that there are jobs in your cities.

∟ It is your communities that will have racial harmony or racial antagonism.

∟ It is your cities that will either wage intelligent, coordinated drives on the causes of poverty -- or will ignore this social cancer.

∟ My 20 years in political life -- from Mayor to Vice President -- have taught me what I only vaguely understood when I was a political science teacher: that the key to success of a great national programs is local implementation and imaginative leadership.

∟ No greater opportunity faces all of us today than the opportunity to strengthen the economic and social structures of our communities, of our nation.

∟ We are moving ahead in seizing that opportunity.

And we can be proud of what has been done. But, in the midst of our rich and active society, we must look to missed opportunity.

There is an "other America." There are about 35 million Americans in it. They have been shunted aside or lost in the backwaters. These Americans belong to families earning an average 1800 dollars a year from all sources. That is 35 dollars a week -- to feed that family, to clothe that family, to house that family, to provide education and transportation and health care for that family.

35.00
avg.

"The Other America!"

But the poverty of these 35 million Americans is not to be measured in dollar terms alone. It must be measured in hopelessness and helplessness . . . in resentment and rejection . . . in despair and distrust . . . in loss to our nation of valuable human resources.

and No one knows better than you the cost of these lost resources. The costs of welfare are a continuing drain on your cities. The "other Americans" are taxeaters and not taxpayers. ^{but} What if these people could become productive citizens . . . could become, for your cities, pluses and not minuses?

There are 15 million children among those 35 million. And there is the basic challenge. Will these 15 million children -- and their yet unborn sisters and brothers -- become the heads of new

poor families ten or twenty years from now? Will this generation of children get permanently locked into the cycle of poverty? Will they find truth, as others have, in Proverbs:

"The rich man's wealth is his strong city . . .

The destruction of the poor is their poverty."

~~⊗~~ The war on poverty is more than a welfare program.

It is not designed to make the conditions of poverty tolerable. We seek to get the poor out of poverty and into the mainstream of American life.

Therefore, we must get to the root causes of poverty. We must understand the economics of poverty . . . the psychology of poverty . . . the sociology of poverty. We must understand why and how other groups have escaped from poverty. We must get to the heart

Poverty Program

Root causes!

of ignorance, slums, poor health, unemployability,
discrimination -- the links in poverty's vicious cycle.

I have met recently with officials of the poverty program and reviewed with them some impressive plans for research into poverty and evaluation of existing programs. We must be willing to make the necessary investments into what causes and keeps people in poverty.

~~It~~ ^{we} can ^{an} ~~the~~ investment to put a man on the Moon.

We can also make the investment to help a man stand on his own two feet here on earth.

^{all} For ~~too~~ many children in America -- in the Appalachian hollows, in the Harlem slums, in the migrant labor streams, on Indian reservations -- poverty is an inheritance and a prison.

from infancy, they are conditioned to believe that there is no hope, no escape.

↳ But we know, ^{that} each child is an adventure into a better life -- an opportunity to change the old pattern and make it new.

↳ That is why Project Head Start is so exciting and so promising. ~~It was conceived in the minds of those concerned with children.~~ It is the social and spiritual response of the American people to the task of giving each child an equal chance in life.

Head Start!

↳ ~~In February of this year, the concept of Head Start was developed. A simple concept.~~ Give some special attention to 4 and 5 year olds entering school for the first time this fall who might have difficulty adjusting.

~~~~~

And today half a million of these children are participating in over 13,000 Child Development Centers across the land.

But even this magnificent achievement will reach only half the children who need Head Start.

What will Head Start mean? ~~I will note one small,~~  
*Here is a* practical example.'

The pediatricians tell us that about 75,000 of these half million children will need glasses. In the normal course of events, perhaps 4 or 5 thousand would have realized the need or been able to obtain the help. But now, 75,000 children will be given a simple tool which will help them learn and which will help them save their eyes.

↳ And how about the hot meals to be served, and the work with the parents, and the first visits to the zoo, and the first exposure to books and crayons?

↳ Almost 3000 separate Head Start grants have been requested and granted. The great majority of all cities represented at this meeting have Head Start this summer.

↳ But will Head Start <sup>\*</sup> turn out to be a false start?

↳ It will be -- if our cities fail to follow-through on this summer's work . . . if health deficiencies are not corrected - - if parents of the children are not involved -- if plans for year-round Head Start are not developed now.

↳ The leadership, the volunteers, the staff, and the community support mobilized for Head Start must be mobilized to keep the effort going. For, it will do

the Head Start child very little good if he must

return to the same housing, to the same unemployed <sup>or</sup>

illiterate parent, to the same neglected school system.

↳ Poverty will not be defeated by the <sup>so called</sup> poverty program alone.

↳ It will require better education programs . . .

better housing programs . . . better health programs --

the programs with which you work every hour of the

day.

↳ That is why the <sup>econ. opportunity</sup> ~~poverty~~ program must be

linked closely with the other programs -- locally

as well as nationally ↳ And that's why city government

must play a key role in Community Action programs. #

I know, There have been some problems in this connection.

↳ But the fact is that ~~we are happy in Washington that~~

our nation's Mayors have, by and large, helped lead

development of local poverty programs.

No sooner was the Economic Opportunity program enacted than many of you started mobilizing your cities for it.

↳ I have had numerous discussions with the mayors of America and with officials of the poverty program. And I can now tell you that your important role is assured -- as it should be. !

No two cities of America are identical. And no two Community Action agencies can be identical. There has been, and there will continue to be, flexibility in the administration of Community Action. But we lay primary emphasis in the whole poverty program on Community Action.

The great bulk of all Community Action funds <sup>are</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>being</sup> ~~be~~ routed through <sup>you</sup> Community Action agencies.

↳ And in the future this will be even more so --  
as communities get organized and learn to take  
advantage of the priorities in the law extended to  
such agencies.

This is as it should be, ~~because that~~ <sup>it</sup> will make *for a*  
more ~~coordinated~~ coordinated, well-aimed attack on poverty.

↳ This process has already started.

It has started in hundreds of communities that  
have already been funded under the Community Action  
Program.

It has started in Washington with the launching  
of important related programs to provide health,  
education, housing and human equality. Each of  
these new programs provides our cities with new  
tools and new resources.

↳ In Washington, we are insisting upon co-ordination and co-operation among federal agencies. In your own cities, you can seek the same kind of co-operation -- including the blending of public and private efforts.

↳ Next year, Congress willing, the budget for the Economic Opportunity Act will be doubled. ~~That Act~~  
~~is important.~~

It has already reached millions of Americans.

Let me give you a quick run-down on what's been happening in the short nine months since Congress provided the funds:

Community Action -- More than 800 separate grants have been made to nearly 750 cities and counties in all fifty states.

Job Corps -- Over 300,000 young men and women have already applied. The first 10,000 enrollees are now learning and working in 50 centers across the land. We expect 40,000 by the end of the year.

VISTA -- About 1,200 are now on the job or in training. There will be 2,000 by end of the year working in 40 states. Over 20,000 have asked to serve.

Neighborhood Youth Corps -- More than 300,000 youths will be working by the end of the year -- but hundreds of thousands more will still be seeking jobs.

College Work Study -- 40,000 students from 750 colleges are working this summer.

Work-Experience Program -- 88,000 unemployed parents are participating in projects in 42 states.

But there are hundreds of thousands more who need this help.

Adult Basic Education -- 37,000 persons are receiving literacy training in 45 states.

Aid to Migrants -- 40 grants to 20 states have been made. But the need is tremendous.

Rural Loans -- 11,000 loans have been made to rural families and some 70 to rural cooperatives. Much more must and will be done.

Small Business Loans -- More than \$1.5 million has been loaned to 150 very small businesses.

Small Business Development Centers have been opened in 17 cities.

But the Economic Opportunity Act -- important as it is -- is only the beginning of a greater challenge.

*the creation of*

If we really believe in our past -- and our future -- we must dedicate ourselves to making each man, each woman, each child a full participant in American life. I mean a life not just of prosperity and security -- but a life in which self-expression and self-fulfillment are within the reach of all.

I came to Washington 17 years ago as a freshman Senator. During that first year a scene took place in a Senate hearing room that symbolized just what we mean by the Great Society.

A woman from Tennessee, a garment worker, was testifying before seven United States Senators on behalf of raising the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour. At one point, this what she said:

"My youngest girl, she's 9 now, goes straight to the piano when we go to a house where they have one. She does want to play the piano so bad. I've thought that maybe I could save 50 cents or a dollar a week to buy a second-hand piano for her. . . but I haven't found a way to do it yet. Maybe I've been foolish to talk to you people about music for one of my children when the main question is getting enough to eat and wear, or blankets for the bed, or a chair to sit on. But down in Tennessee we love music, and factory workers don't live by bread alone any more than anyone else does."

yes, L Piano lessons for a little Tennessee girl . . . full,  
productive lives for our citizens and the places where  
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environment

*all* they live -- these, my friends, are what the war on poverty is all about, what the Great Society is all about. *Here* ~~This~~ is what we work for           

↳ For the elderly, sick and disabled -- compassion and concern.

↳ For the young -- an equal start in life.

↳ For all Americans -- the opportunity to lift themselves not only to wealth and productivity, but to a life of satisfaction and fulfillment.

↳ And now, in closing, let me speak frankly for a moment about some of the very concrete problems I know you face in meeting this challenge.

↳ Your needs are increasing. Revenue is hard to find -- despite the fact that local income taxes, sales taxes and property taxes have increased rapidly in

the past few years, while federal taxes have actually gone down. Your major source of revenue -- the property tax -- has all but reached the saturation point.

It sometimes seems that things are closing in on you.

↳ Good government requires adequate resources of money and trained personnel. Good government also demands dedication, integrity and modern governmental tools.

↳ The question today is not whether the federal government is too big, but how it can best aid growing state and local government.

↳ Some weeks ago I was presented with a request sponsored by your organization, by the National Association of Counties, and by the International City Managers Association.

The request pointed to the need for large-scale <sup>research</sup> ~~research~~ projects to be brought to bear on problems of urban living -- research of the kind we have utilized in the federal government in space and defense. This is a creative and important <sup>and.</sup> proposal. It will be implemented.

I also compliment your organization and in particular your president, <sup>Mayor</sup> Mayor Maier, ~~for starting governmental~~ <sup>for your</sup> activity ~~on a~~ proposal to create urban observatories across this country.

Our grant-in-aid programs, growing every year, must be backed up by such cooperative federal and local research.

When we have serious problems that continue to grow and plague us, we must pool our efforts and create new knowledge. This is what we mean by research.

↳ We can no longer treat urban problems with band-aids when major surgery is necessary.

↳ A creative federalism can produce the desired results. The fruits of partnership between Washington and local government can be great.

↳ Two weeks ago a conference was held at my direction by Housing Administrator Robert Weaver and key people throughout the Administration.

They discussed feasibility of a program of large-scale research, centrally managed, to solve urban problems.

*and* Your concept of urban observatories was discussed at this meeting. This constructive proposal and many others will be given priority attention by an *inter-agency* ~~inter-governmental~~ committee which we are putting together and will announce shortly.

↳ Of course, what is needed and will soon be a reality, is a Department of Urban Affairs in the national government. The voice of urban America will be heard and respected in the President's Cabinet. Programs, projects, and research directed to the ever changing and expanding needs of our cities will be emphasized and accelerated.

↳ Our federal system is not based on hostility and competition, but on cooperation and common goals.

↳ We stand ready in Washington to offer that cooperation in search of those goals.

↳ We have the opportunity today, as never before, to move ahead . . . to create a better America. There is a broad national consensus that we should dedicate ourselves to the work to be done.

↳ Our economy is prosperous and expanding. We look forward to a trillion-dollar economy in ten years' time.

↳ We have the means, we have the energy, we have the will, we have the leadership to truly achieve a Great Society.

↳ I said earlier that the building of a Great Society will depend on the building of great communities.

And these communities, in turn, must be built by great people:

- - - people of tolerance, compassion and understanding.

- - - people of education and good health.

- - - people seeking and using opportunity.

- - - people of hope and confidence.

- - - people who have faith in themselves, their country and the future.

L These are the American people, L United we join  
in the task of fulfilling our dream still unfulfilled.

President Johnson has made his commitment  
to this task. I join him in that commitment. We  
ask your help.

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BEFORE THE LEAGUE OF CITIES, DETROIT, MICHIGAN,  
JULY 27, 1965

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It is your communities that will have good schools or bad ones.

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It is your communities where young men will have jobs this summer or will not -- and may I say you have responded splendidly in seeing that there are jobs in your cities.

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Therefore, we must get to the root causes of poverty. We must understand the economics of poverty . . . the psychology of poverty . . . the sociology of poverty. We must understand why and how other groups have escaped from poverty. We must get to the heart of ignorance, slums, poor health, unemployability, discrimination -- the links in poverty's vicious cycle.

I have met recently with officials of the poverty program and reviewed with them some impressive plans for research into poverty and evaluation of existing programs. We must be willing to make the necessary investments into what causes and keeps people in poverty.

We make the investment to put a man on the Moon. We can also make the investment to help a man stand on his own two feet here on earth.

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But we know, each child is an adventure into a better life -- an opportunity to change the old pattern and make it new.

That is why Project Head Start is so exciting and so promising. It was conceived in the minds of those concerned with children. It is the social and spiritual response of the American people to the task of giving each child an equal chance in life.

In February of this year, the concept of Head Start was developed. A simple concept: Give some special attention to 4 and 5 year olds entering school for the first time this fall who might have difficulty adjusting.

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But will Head Start turn out to be a false start?

It will be -- if our cities fail to follow-through on this summer's work . . . if health deficiencies are not corrected -- if parents of the children are not involved -- if plans for year-round Head Start are not developed now.

The leadership, the volunteers, the staff, and the community support mobilized for Head Start must be mobilized to keep the effort going. For, it will do the Head Start child very little good if he must return to the same housing, to the same unemployed illiterate parent, to the same neglected school system.

Poverty will not be defeated by the poverty program alone.

It will require better education programs . . . better housing programs . . . better housing programs . . . better health programs -- the programs with which you work every hour of the day.

This is why the poverty program must be linked closely with the other programs -- locally as well as nationally. And that's why city government must play a key role in Community Action programs.

There have been some problems in this connection.

But the fact is that we are happy in Washington that our nation's Mayors have, by and large, helped lead development of local poverty programs.

No sooner was the Economic Opportunity program enacted than many of you started mobilizing your cities for it.

I have had numerous discussions with the mayors of America and with officials of the poverty program. And I can now tell you that your important role is assured -- as it should be.

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The great bulk of all Community Action funds will be routed through Community Action agencies.

And in the future this will be even more so -- as communities get organized and learn to take advantage of the priorities in the law extended to such agencies.

This is as it should be, because that will make more likely a coordinated, well-aimed attack on poverty.

This process has already started.

It has started in hundreds of communities that have already been funded under the Community Action Program.

It has started in Washington with the launching of important related programs to provide health, education, housing and human equality. Each of these new programs provides our cities with new tools and new resources.

In Washington, we are insisting upon co-ordination and co-operation among federal agencies. In your own cities, you can seek the same kind of co-operation -- including the blending of public and private efforts.

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Piano lessons for a little Tennessee girl . . . full, productive lives for our citizens and the places where they live -- these, my friends, are what the war on poverty is all about, what the Great Society is all about. This is what we work for.

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And these communities, in turn, must be built by great people.

--- people of tolerance, compassion and understanding.

--- people of education and good health.

--- people seeking and using opportunity.

--- people of hope and confidence.

--- people who have faith in themselves, their country and the future.

These are the American people. United we join in the task of fulfilling our dream still unfulfilled.

President Johnson has made his commitment to this task. I join him in that commitment. We ask your help.



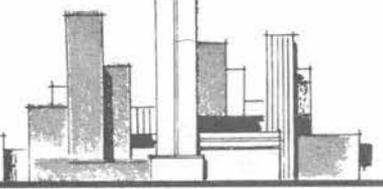
# NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

(Formerly American Municipal Association)

City Building, 1612 K Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20006

Representing 13,000 Municipalities in 50 states

Transcript



PATRICK HEALY  
Executive Director

Phone: (202) 628-3440  
Cable: AMERMUN

August 25, 1965

Mr. Neal Peterson  
Vice President's Office  
Room 5121  
New Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Neal:

In keeping with your wishes we are transmitting a copy, as transcribed, of the speech delivered by the Vice President at our Congress of Cities in Detroit, July 27.

We are also forwarding you your copy of the tape itself, recorded at 1 7/8" speed.

Sincerely,

John Garvey, Jr.  
Deputy Director

Enclosures

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

|                                                                   |                                                 |                                                   |                                                      |                                                   |                                                                  |
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Speech of Vice President  
Hubert H. Humphrey  
Congress of Cities  
Detroit, Michigan  
July 27, 1965

I come here ~~to you~~ <sup>to you</sup> today not to talk about a lot of problems. Most people start talking about difficulties and problems. I come to you as an optimist to talk to you about challenges and opportunities. The great potential that is ours, the great potential today ~~is~~ for creative city government. People are living in our cities. This is where the population of America will be found. It's there now and in a few years over eighty percent of the <sup>total</sup> population of our land will be residing in our great cities - cities represented right here in this audience. So it behooves each of us to start to place the proper emphasis upon the role of government. And the role of government today is a role at the local level of trying to make our cities not only big, but livable - places in which we can enjoy the good life, places where we cannot only earn a living but enjoy the art of living.

Now this administration <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ I am privileged to represent, and your government and country, is pledged to what we call the goal of the Great Society. We have heard many definitions of it and you have heard me define it before. That Great Society isn't just a bigger bank account or a larger gross national product, and that Great Society isn't within our reach today, possibly. It represents a goal and objective, an ideal, a hope, and indeed America represents a living hope for its own and for all <sup>of</sup> mankind. The Great Society is not merely, as has been said, the quantity of our goods, but rather the quality of our lives. It's <sup>is</sup> the cultural life, it's <sup>is</sup> the good life, it's <sup>is</sup> the life in which there is hope and promise for people that have been by-passed. We strive for a society of opportunity. If there's one single word that ought to be seared into

the conscience of the American community, it is this word "opportunity." Because that is the promise of America - the opportunity for each man and woman <sup>can have an</sup> to have an education, an equal start, an open doorway toward ~~a~~ <sup>the</sup> better life for himself and for his children. The land of opportunity. You know I had a visit with Mr. Khrushchev some years back. We were talking about our respective countries and there was ~~no~~ one word which Mr. Khrushchev couldn't find in his vocabulary, and that was the word "opportunity." There wasn't a word in his language <sup>that</sup> which had the same meaning as our word "opportunity." Words of power, words that meant wealth, strength, but opportunity is a characteristic, a hallmark, of our country.

Now this administration is attempting to launch creative new programs toward that opportunity. And may I say that unless somebody think themselves partisan, we have had a great bi-partisan support. This morning the President of the United States commended the Congress, Republican and Democrat alike, for their support of the broadest range of programs of social action and constructive purpose that any Congress has ever passed, and by the time we have completed this 89th Congress, I believe that Americans of all walks of life, whatever may be their political persuasion, will be proud of that record.

This Congress is writing an historic record in health, housing, education, human rights, jobs, self-respect, but we know that the future of our country doesn't lie merely with <sup>the</sup> Federal government. In fact, the government of this country is only partly federal. It lies in the heartland, in the individual American communities. That's why I come to you as one who is a practitioner

in Government, one who has been very proud of the privilege of serving in local government. The Great Society that I ~~spea~~<sup>of the spoke</sup> of will be made, will be an America made up of thousands of great communities, each with an individual personality. It will be an America built right where you serve. And ~~it's~~<sup>it is</sup> your communities that will have the good schools, or the bad ones, and therefore we will be able to measure education in America by what you do in your community. ~~It's~~<sup>It is</sup> your communities that will have decent homes or slums. Then these words take on meaning. Slums and homes when they apply to our respective communities. ~~It is~~<sup>and</sup> your communities where young men and young women will have jobs this summer or will not. ~~May~~<sup>and</sup> I say that you have responded splendidly in seeing to it that there are jobs for our young people in our cities. I wish to give you an announcement today. I was charged two months ago by the President to head up the Cabinet Task Force in what we call the Youth Employment Opportunity Campaign. We knew that there were two millions - approximately two million of our young people - without jobs this summer. In fact, ~~it's~~<sup>it is</sup> the problem of unemployment <sup>is</sup> with the elderly <sup>or</sup> ~~with~~ people whose skills are no longer applicable to modern industry, or the unskilled, and primarily with the young. About 50% of ~~the~~<sup>is</sup> unemployment in this country is with the group from 16 to 20. So we were determined to try to do something about that this summer. We got a late start, but we went at it. We set our goal at 500,000. I wrote to every mayor I believe that is represented here, every community. We wrote to the corporations, to the business leaders, to the labor leaders, to the cities, to the counties, to the states, we asked the Federal government to do a little better. <sup>and</sup> I am happy to tell you that ~~the~~<sup>that</sup> goal of a half million has been exceeded.

In fact, chopping off 20% on the basis that possibly at least that many would have been employed anyhow, we can point to now over 780,000 new jobs from the first of June to this day in July. These are young people at work, earning money, learning a trade, or in some kind of gainful pursuit.

Now it's in your communities that this is taking place, and it's there, by the way, where you will have racial harmony or racial antagonism. ~~It's~~ <sup>It is</sup> your cities that will either wage intelligent, coordinated effective campaigns against the causes of poverty or you will ignore this social cancer.

I have been in public life about 20 years, from mayor of a city to Vice President, and my 20 years have taught me what I only vaguely understood when I was a political science teacher many, many years ago, namely, that the key to success of any great national program or of great national programs is local implementation and local imagination and leadership. No greater opportunity faces us today than the opportunity, my fellow public servants, to strengthen the economic and social structures of our communities and of our nation.

I'd like to tell you <sup>that</sup> tonight, as I speak to the governors I'm going to emphasize to them what I can say to you now. ~~If~~ <sup>That</sup> this America of ours must be prepared for the long ordeal, the hard long period of leadership - and this means there must be a real basic interstrength in our social, economic political structure, we can't afford just <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ look of surface health, we

must have health of spirit <sup>of</sup> and mind of our economy, of our political, and economic and social institutions. Yes, my fellow Americans, we must be prepared for <sup>the long haul,</sup> the long haul, and we must demonstrate those qualities of patience and perseverance and strength which will command respect from friend and foe alike for the foreseeable future. That is why I appeal to you to buckle down to the task of doing whatever you can do in your town to make it a better place. Because America, the strength of this nation, is the sum total of the strength of every township, every county, every city, every governmental jurisdiction, every institution, public and private. And if anybody here thinks that we can afford weakness, I wish you had been sitting around the same table that your President has been sitting at and that your Vice President has been. I can tell you that our problems, our challenge, our many difficulties, our opportunities are great. Now we are moving ahead, fortunately, to seize this opportunity of strengthening our country, but I must say that in the midst of our rich and active society, we must look to missed opportunities.

I want to talk to you now about the other America - not the America that so many of us know, but the one that's hid out, the one that we have sort of shunted aside, and there are about 35,000,000 Americans in it. My fellow Americans, if you think that we can face up to the Communist challenge, to their brutality, to their subversion, to their propaganda - if ; you think we can face up to these matters and have an America with 35,000,000 people who are not full-time participants, then you have a

different conception of America than I have. I happen to believe that we need everybody, and we need everybody geared up to do the job that needs to be done. Now these 35,000,000 Americans that I speak of, these are Americans that have been shunted aside or lost in the backwaters. These Americans belong to families that have an average income of around \$1800. a year from all sources, or less, that is about \$35.00 a week to feed and clothe a family, to house that family, to provide education, transportation, and health care. No one can really do it on that sum, but the poverty of these 35,000,000 Americans is not to be measured in dollar terms alone. It must be measured in hopelessness, and helplessness, in resentment, and rejection, in despair and distrust, in loss to our nation of valuable human resources.

Now you know when one speaks like this, the opposition - and now I don't speak of any domestic opposition, but if the Communist propagandists pick this up and say - "Huh, they're talking now about poverty. That's what we've always said...America, the land of the few rich and the many poor..." But my fellow Americans, we know that that's not the case, this is the land of most people being quite well off. But what I want to tell you is that the only person that can dare to speak of his weakness is the strong man. And the only nation that has the courage to speak up of its limitations is the strong nation. You can generally tell the quality of a person, you can generally tell his real weakness by his braggadocio. You can generally tell the real weakness of a nation by the fact that they're unwilling to admit any limitations. We have some limitations, but the glory of America is that it has a conscience, that it's willing to face

up to those limitations, and that we are willing to take the action that is needed to do something about it.

Now noone knows better than the people I am talking to here about the cost of these limitations. You know the cost of the loss of human resources, the cost of welfare - they are draining your city treasury, they are draining local government. The other Americans are tax-eaters, and they are not tax payers. They are non-participants, rather than participants. Just think for a moment what it can mean to you, Mr. Mayor, Mr. City Councilman, Mr. Local Official - think what it would mean to you if these people we call "the other Americans", "the poor", if they could have a more productive life, better income; if they could have a more meaningful life, they'd become plusses, not minuses, for you and themselves.

Now much of these people that I have mentioned are 15,000,000 children, 15,000,000 amongst the 35,000,000 that are in the group that we call "the poor." And here's the basic challenge. I ask you this question - Will these 15,000,000 children and their yet unborn sisters and brothers become the heads of new poor families ten or twenty years from now? Will this generation - these 15 million of children get as permanently locked into the cycle of poverty as their parents? We know now that families can become permanent welfare cases, going into the second, and the third, and the fourth generation. What we have to do is to break that cycle, to break those chains that imprison these people in this unbelievable misery, and helplessness and hopelessness of poverty. I think we might

find a little truth in a quotation from Proverbs. The quotation is "The rich man's wealth is his strong city. The destruction of the poor is their poverty." Now the war on poverty is more than a welfare program. If that's all it was we couldn't need to give as much time to it. It is not designed to make the conditions of poverty tolerable - it's no aspirin - I'm sort of a refugee from the drugstore, graduating first in pharmacy - and I know that you can take enough aspirins to deaden the pain but you never get at the cause of the trouble. We're not interested in economic aspirin now. We seek to get the poor out of poverty and into the mainstream of American life. Therefore you, each and everyone of us, federal, state and local, we must get to the root causes of poverty, instead of just counting the blocks of our slums, and instead of taking a consensus of our poor, let's face up to it. This will spread over America like a plague unless we get at the root causes. We must understand the economics of poverty, the psychology of poverty, the sociology of poverty. There are all kinds of poverty, not just of the purse, but of the spirit, of the skill, of the will. We must understand why and how other groups have finally escaped from poverty. We must get to the heart of ignorance, of slums, poor health, unemployability, and discrimination. These are the links in poverty's vicious cycle and chain.

Now I have been meeting with officials of the Economic Opportunity or the War on Poverty program, and we have gone over some rather impressive plans for research into these causes of poverty and an evaluation of existing programs. I repeat that we must be willing to make the necessary investment

into what causes and keeps people in poverty. O Doy, when we start that, I can just see somebody appointing himself as the most practical, in quotes, man in the country - "Say now, look at that, look at those boondogglers - they're going to do résearch into what it is that makes people poor." Well, I think we can find out what makes people poor, but what keeps them that way? May I say that no matter how wealthy a community may be or how wealthy a nation may be, it cannot continue to just constantly take care of an ever expanding group of poor. Maybe the figures have changed, but when I wa mayor of Minneapolis, and I imagine that the figures changed a great deal, I found that it costs about five times as much to provide civic services, municipal services, for a block of poor housing as it did of the best housing. In fact, that's a conservative figure, and believe me, poverty is a luxury that few can afford. And we're going to do something about it. My friends, if we can make an investment of about thirty billion dollars to put a man on the moon - and I can show you that that investment is a wise one - then I submit we can make a reasonably good investment to help a man stand on his own two feet here on earth. It just so happens that's where most of you are going to be working.

I took a little simulated flight the other day with Walter Cirard? down at the Houston Manned Space Center. I got up about a hundred feet - got up there in that Gemini capsule - and they were doing some docking procedures - simulated - and that was enough for me - that was just about high enough. I prefer to be working just a little closer to earth.

Well, all too many children in America from the Appalachian Hollows, in Harlem's slums, in migrant labor streams, on our Indians reservations, for all too many of them, poverty is their inheritance. What is more, it is their prison, they're caught, just as if they were addicts. If we could get as much aroused in sense of purpose in this country on eradicating poverty as we have on addiction, then we'd be able to cure both. From infancy, these children are conditioned to believe that there is no hope, no escape. These are the ones that are frequently on your street corners, these are the ones that you have difficulties with. But you know, those of us who are parents, we know that each child is an adventure into a better life. I have always thought too that each child was a way that God Almighty had of demonstrating his confidence in mankind. For I do not think He would put them here unless He thought there was going to be a better day. Each child is an adventure into a better life and it offers an opportunity to change the old pattern and make it new. That's why this project Headstart which you have in your community is so exciting and so promising, and I hope that the women here in this audience will take a hand in it.

You know most of us have much more than we need. In fact, maybe your home is different than mine, but when I go through the closets of our home, when I go through and see what we have lying around that we couldn't possibly use, no matter what, I say to myself "Believe me, we surely must have had sometime, somewhere along the line to have done more for somebody than we did."

This project "Headstart" is the social and spiritual response of your America to the task of giving each child an equal chance in life. I think it's a wonderful, spiritual, social expression of our nation. The spirit of "Headstart" is a very simple one: Just give some special attention to the four and five year-olds entering school for the first time this fall. Youngsters who may have some difficulty in adjusting, coming from broken homes, filth and slums, and despair. Then being catapulted into a public or parochial school. They're not ready for it. They need some help. Is it any wonder that many of them are left behind and become dropouts? Is it any wonder that so many of them never even learn to read and become victims of their own despair? Today there are half a million of these youngsters in over 13,000 child development centers across this land and it was done in a hurry - since last February. But even this magnificent achievement will reach only half of the children who need "Headstart." What will Headstart mean? Let me give you a practical example. Well, the pediatricians tell us that about 75,000 of these youngsters will need glasses. In the normal course of events, about four to five thousand would have been able to obtain help. Now with Project Headstart, 75,000 children who need glasses, a simple tool, which will help them learn and which will help them save their eyes, 75,000 will get that help. If we had had no other benefit, that's good enough. And how about the hot meals to be served, the improvement of diet? Then the work with the parents, and the first visits to the Zoo; their first exposure to good books, and the crayons. Almost 3,000 separate Headstart grants have been requested and granted. The great

majority of all the cities at this meeting have Headstart this summer. But I must ask you a question - Will Headstart be a false start? It can be, you know, and it will be if the cities, the states, if we fail to follow through on this summer's work. If health deficiencies are not corrected, if parents of the children are not involved, if plans for a year-around Headstart are not developed now, Headstart will be indeed a false start. The leadership, the volunteers, the staff, and the community support mobilized for Headstart must be mobilized to keep this effort going. This is the best community organization that America's had. I say, keep it, put it to work, get it permanent duties. For it will do the Headstart child very little good if he must return to the same old rotten housing, to the same unemployed or illiterate parent, to the same neglected school system. Poverty will not be defeated that way.

You know, have you ever noticed in our communities where we had the best schools - we have the best schools where we need them the least. I can go to city after city where the income level is \$20,000, \$15,000, \$25,000 - families in the professional, semi-professional - they're wonderful schools. Every one of those parents could afford to send their children to a private school. But there are the schools - music, counselors, health service, intra-mural sports, every conceivable extra-curricular activity, fine teachers, good books, libraries, everything there for the children that come from the best homes, the homes where there are already good libraries, good music, where the mother most likely is a college-educated mother, where the father is a business or professional or skilled man. That's where you have the best schools. And where are the worst schools? You

know, I know, because we see them. The worst schools are frequently found in the very areas where the income levels are the lowest, where the town is the oldest, where the buildings are broken down and tattered, where the homes are anything but what you can call a home, frequently only a house or a tenement. They are where we put the least. Now we are beginning to reverse that picture, to be sure. The Elementary Education Act this year provides \$1,300,000,000 for educational aid, and \$1,000,000,000 is going for poor children. We are going to start to right the imbalance. But I ask you to think through with me honestly, faithfully, and you'll soon know why we have problems, you'll soon know why one generation after generation comes along with all sorts of social blight, and social irregularity. Poverty is going to require a concentration of more than just the so-called anti-poverty program. It's going to require better education programs, much better housing programs, much better health programs - programs on which you work every hour of the day and we've got to integrate these programs into this war on poverty. That's why the economy of our program must be linked with the other programs, local as well as national, and that's why city government must play a key role in community action programs. I know that there have been some problems in this connection. I look at my friends up here - some of the mayors - and we've had good heart-to-heart talks, and if you don't think that coming down to Washington and just laying it on the line has some effect, let me tell you that these programs are better today than they were when you started coming down because you have given us an understanding of what's needed to be done. The fact is that

our nations' mayors and consuls, by the large, have helped meet development of the local poverty program. No sooner was the Economic Opportunity program before the Congress, than this organization went on record to help get it passed. And no sooner was it passed than you started mobilizing your cities for it. Now I have had numerous discussions with you. I can tell you now that your important role is assured in this program. I'm your built-in Special Agent to make sure that you are represented in this program 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. I've been hired for you. I know that no two cities in America are alike and no two community action agencies can be identical. There must be flexibility in the administration of community action. But we lay primary emphasis in the whole poverty program on community action. The great bulk of all community action funds are being routed through or channeled through your own community action agencies, and in the future this will be even more so as communities get more organized and learn to take advantage of the priorities and the law extended to such agencies. This is the way it ought to be, this is the way it will be because it makes sense. It makes for a more coordinated and well-aimed attack on poverty.

Now in Washington we are insisting upon coordination and cooperation among Federal agencies. That's what we spent an hour on this morning at the Cabinet meeting. In your own cities you can seek the same kind of cooperation, including the blending of public and private efforts. Next year, the Congress willing, the poverty program will be doubled - be over a billion and a half dollars. It's already reached millions of Americans. Just let me tell you that the program is to be found in the Job Corps, VISTA, Neighborhood Youth

Corps, College Work Study. We have 40,000 students from 750 colleges this summer at work; Neighborhood Youth Corps, more than 300,000 young people will be working by the end of this year. Hundreds of thousands more will still be seeking jobs. In the Job Corps, over 300,000 have already applied. We expect 40,000 in these Job Corps Centers by the end of this year. VISTA - that's a wonderful program - about 1200 are now on the job or in training and there will be 2000 by the end of this year. What's VISTA? It's the Peace Corps at work at home. It's a young man or a young woman, it's a man or a woman of any age that wants to give of their life to their community - to work for a pittance - a kind of secular missionary job. Over 20,000 Americans have asked to serve. We have 37,000 persons receiving literacy training in adult education in 45 states. There are rural loans in the rural areas. Eleven thousand farm families have been helped in the past few months that never had any help before. Small business loans, over 150 small business firms. This is just a rundown. I don't want to take your time to go through all the details. I can tell you that we are beginning to make a good start. I can hear some voices saying already, "But you haven't done much." My reply to that one is - "We've done more than you did and more than you thought we had."

I had a fellow the other day, a man got up in the Congress and he started criticizing the Youth Employment Opportunity program. He was just up there demanding investigations and everything else. He happened to be from my home state. I got ahold of him and I said "I want to ask you one simple question, Mr. Investigator. How many jobs did you get for a boy in Minnesota?" There was thunderous silence. A record of zero. We don't need half as much criticism as we need results. When we get a little result we can then have time to criticize what we've resulted.

little 9-year old girl from the hills of Tennessee. That's what we're fighting for - piano lessons, full productive lives for our citizens, a better and a more wholesome environment. Even cleaner air - why not? It was intended to be that way - grass, flowers - God intended the earth to be that way. It wasn't intended to be a jungle of asphalt and concrete; it was intended to be liveable. There's such a thing as beauty and we intend to try to help bring it about. This is what the war on poverty is all about. Not just money, but quality. Here's what we're working for - for the elderly, the sick and the disabled, compassion and concern. I don't think we have much of a society that's worthy of the name unless we can provide opportunity for the young and a degree of compassion for the needy and the elderly. For the young we want an equal start in life, for all Americans the opportunity to lift themselves, not only to wealth and productivity, but to a life of satisfaction and fulfillment.

Let me therefore speak frankly to you about a concrete problem or two that you face and I know that bothers you. Your needs are increasing. Revenue is mighty hard to find, despite the fact that local taxes, sales taxes and property taxes have increased greatly in the last few years, even while federal taxes have actually gone down. Your major source of revenue, the property tax, has all but reached the saturation point. By the way, I think we ought to watch that because the minute that we tax real property to a point where it becomes a liability, you

are going to lose a quality in American life - the ownership of property - that I think gives some stability and some character to American life. Somebody once said, in talking about private property "Private property is good. In fact, I think it's so good that everybody ought to have some of it." I agree, and if there is any one tax that's becoming confiscatory, it's not the income tax, but it's the property tax. Therefore, we have to find new means of revenue, and together federal, state and local, not as enemies but as partners, we must bend our efforts to find the solution to this revenue problem. Good government requires adequate resources of money and trained personnel. You can't have good government by just somebody preaching it. You've got to pay for it, you have to train people for it. Good government demands dedication. There's as much dedication, I say, as a doctor or a minister. You have to be willing to give your life to good government or you're not going to have it. It requires integrity and modern governmental tools. The question today is not whether the Federal government is too big. It isn't going to be much smaller, even though you argue about it. The question is how it can best aid growing state and local government?

Now some weeks ago I was presented with a request sponsored by your organization and by the National Association of Counties and the International City Managers Association. This request pointed to the need for large scale research projects to be brought to bear upon problems of urban living. I'm talking now about the kind of research that we have utilized in federal government and in industry, in space

and defense. This is what we call "systems," "systems analysis." Deep research, integrated research. This is a very important proposal, and I want to commend the Association for it, and you particularly, Mayor Meyer, for your proposal to create urban observatories across this country. We must have them. Our grant and aid programs must be backed up by cooperative federal and local research because we can no longer treat urban problems with band-aids. No use of going to the drugstore and getting yourself a box of these political band-aids - go see the doctor. There's something really wrong. We need surgery - not just a little piece of tape to hold the old structure together. A creative federalism - it can produce the desired result. The fruits of partnership between Washington and local government can be great. A man that spends his time denouncing one governmental area as compared to another is wasting his time, and yours.

Two weeks ago, we held a conference in Washington at my request, and we set up and we discussed the feasibility of a program of large scale research, centrally managed, well-financed, to solve urban problems. You inspired this conference, members of the National League. Your concept of urban observatories was discussed fully at this meeting. This constructive proposal and many others will be given top priority attention by this government. An inter-agency committee will soon be put together and announced and we will seek from you your suggestions. What's needed and will soon be a reality will be a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing Development in our national government. I can tell

you that within the next week or so that department will be a law.

There will be a new cabinet officer - the voice of urban America will be heard. I submit it will be respected in the President/s cabinet.

Now we have a great opportunity today as never before to move ahead. I just love public service for that reason. I can't think of a more exciting time to be alive. But I hear a lot of people telling me about the good old days - it must have been before I was born. I'll tell you that they're a lot better than they ever were. Every generation has thought that it had the worst of all problems, but we have more things to work with, even though our problems may be complex. There is a broad national consensus now that we dedicate ourselves to work to be done. It is amazing how the American people are united. Our economy is prosperous and expanding. Why you know we can look forward to a trillion-dollar economy before 1975. No doubt about it. But I imagine all that is a rather conservative estimate. We have the means and we have the energy, and I hope we have the will. We have the leadership to fully achieve the Great Society. I said earlier that the building of that Great Society will depend upon you in the building of great communities. These communities in turn must be built by a great people. What kind of a people? A people of tolerance, of compassion and of understanding. This is the real sign of greatness. A people of education and good health. People seeking, seizing, and using opportunity. People that exemplify hope and confidence - they radiate it - and people who have faith in themselves, and faith in their country, and faith in their future. What people are these? These are the American

people --these are the people we talk about when we speak about our America. One nation under God, indivisible, neither North nor South, East nor West, neither black nor white, but one nation under God and indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. That is the promise of this land. My fellow Americans, we had better live by it, believe in it. Let it not be said that the only people who have an ideology are the tyrants, the dictators, the despots, and the Communists. I think we have an ideology too. One that embraces justice, one that embraces love of country, one that embraces personal liberty, and one that embraces conscience and personal responsibility. This is the ideology of a great free people. Let the world know it. The best way for the world to know it is for us to practice it. Where? At home. Because there we will be judged, and I think rightly so.

Thank you.



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