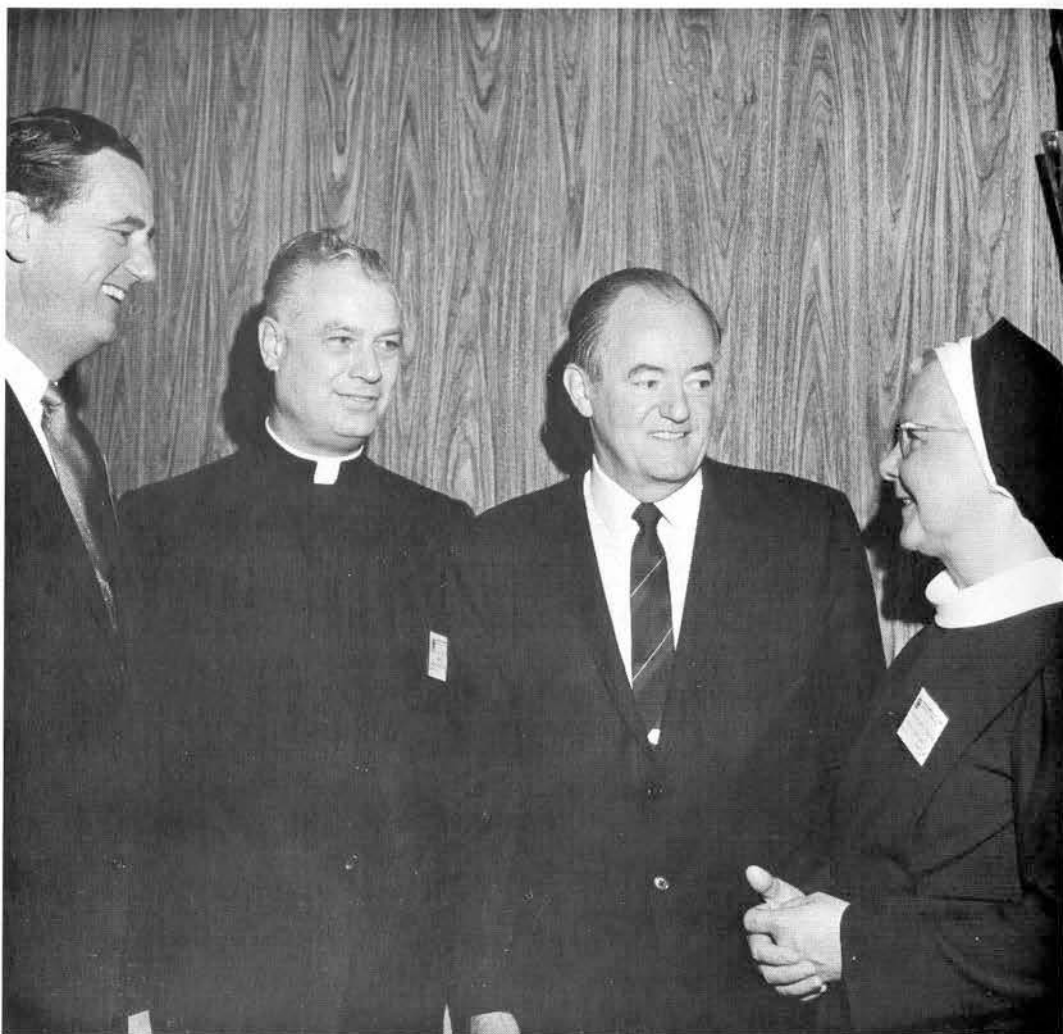


Addresses by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
at the
National Conference of Catholic Charities
and
Ohio Catholic Education Association



NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
CATHOLIC CHARITIES
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
OCTOBER 10, 1967



Left to Right:

William L. Ferdon, Chairman, Planning Committee, 53rd Annual Meeting of National Conference of Catholic Charities; Very Rev. Monsignor Lawrence J. Corcoran, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C.; Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey; Mother Mary Charles, R.S.M., President, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C.; Mother Provincial, Sisters of Mercy Provincialate, Omaha, Nebraska.

President of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Distinguished and Honored Members of the Clergy, Sisters, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very happy once again to be privileged to share in your deliberations. I know that this conference will produce some very far-reaching and, I trust, very practical suggestions relating to our cities and to programs for the development of individual opportunity.

In these days, time moves very swiftly, and it rarely allows us the privilege of looking back. But this morning I will, if you'll permit me, insist on this privilege, at least to think back over the three years since we last met.

As Sister Mary mentioned, it was in 1964 that I last talked to this great conference from this platform, only three years ago. Yet when you consider the amount of energy and effort that has gone into these three years in social progress and change in America and, indeed, in the world, doesn't it seem almost like an eternity?

Perhaps this is the more so for me because three years ago I was called to new responsibilities and began to see the sweep of events from a vantage point with a broader view. And from where I sit, the scene is tumultuous—a rapid, almost frightening pace of change.

But so it is, I'm sure, for all of us, for all men and women and for all of the human institutions. And nowhere has that change been more dramatic than in the world of Catholicism.

ECUMENICISM

I stand in awe at the new wave of ferment and vitality which you have loosed upon an admiring world. Ecumenicism is the order of the day, not only in church affairs, but in all matters. And what a prodigious dialogue you are carrying on among yourselves as well as with the rest of mankind.

As never before, Catholics, Protestants and Jews are attending each others' services, joining each others' organizations, cooperating in each others' projects, marching together in social action. And, believe me, these are not just formal or meaningless gestures. They are the very heart of our life.

I have seen this ecumenical spirit at work on the legislative front in the Congress of the United States. I've seen it at work

in the cities, as communities have sought to open up opportunities for the disadvantaged. I have seen it at work in the housing front. I've seen it at work on the job front. I've seen it at work all across the vast expanse of this land and, indeed, internationally.

I believe, of course, that all of these efforts are the natural outgrowth of a renewed brotherhood and of a deeper mutual understanding of a spirit of openness which men ardently seek.

It is a tribute, may I say, to the everlasting validity, the continuing freshness of the teachings of history's greatest revolutionary, Jesus Christ, the great architect of change.

A DYNAMO OF HOPE

During these troubled years, the response of Catholicism—indeed, of all churches—a response characterized by flexibility but rooted in the eternal, stands out as a dynamo of hope against the forces that would fragment the human race.

For me personally, one of the most remarkable episodes of the last three years was my visit with Pope Paul in the Vatican. I am sure that I speak for every American when I pray for his good health and his continued vigor.

Three years ago we were feeling the impact of two historical encyclicals. I've spoken of them many times as a layman and as a man in public life—*Pacem in Terris* and *Mater et Magistra*.

To these great letters from his predecessor, Pope Paul has now added his masterful encyclical "On the Development of Peoples," a document remarkable for the breadth of its humanity and the precision of its detail.

One of my most cherished possessions is a signed copy of this encyclical, which its illustrious author gave to me as I visited with him in the Vatican in April. Its powerful opening phrases can serve as the challenging text for today and for many tomorrows:

"Freedom from misery, the greater assurance of finding subsistence, health and fixed employment; an increased share of responsibility without oppression of any kind and in security from situations that do violence to their dignity as men; better education—in brief, to seek to do more, know more and have

more in order to be more: that is what men aspire to now when a greater number of them are condemned to live in conditions that make this lawful desire illusory."

A LAWFUL DESIRE

That desire for an equal opportunity to achieve one's highest humanity is lawful in the highest sense within the Judeo-Christian tradition, and it is equally lawful under the Constitution of the United States.

And to say that the desire for equal opportunity is illusory for a large minority of American citizens today, either because of racial discrimination or poverty, is no overstatement.

What have we done and what can we do to fulfill that lawful desire for the millions who live in our cities, that lawful desire to know more, to have more, and to be more—the lawful desire of our faith and of our law?

That is the subject of our meeting today. And since we are looking back over the events of the last three years, let me simply state that I think the Federal government, for its part, has been responsive to the need to the extent that its resources would permit.

We have not always been sure that what we were doing was the best course of action. But we're trying new things. We're experimenting in social welfare.

PRAGMATISM

We are trying to find new answers to some of our most ancient and troubling problems of mankind. Our approach is basically pragmatic. We try a particular policy or program in the hope that it will work. If it doesn't, we must have the courage to cast it aside and move on to other ways.

Both in the Administration and in the Congress, we have operated on the assumption that doing something within the limits of our knowledge and experience is better than doing nothing. Our course has involved a very simple form of trial and error, and some political risk as well. But we have been ready to accept the results with our eyes wide open, for we knew that the poor and the city dwellers could only lose by inaction and delay.

The achievements that we've made in the last three years have been achievements not for one administration or one Congress, but for all of the American people—achievements in Medicare, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Model Cities program, rent supplements, the Job Corps, Head Start, Upward Bound, Neighborhood Youth Centers.

These are achievements. These are beginnings. These are hopeful signs of recent years. They are new words in our vocabulary.

And, of course, there is more on the way, including a vitally important Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill.

I will not volunteer any detailed evaluation of these programs. I am, after all, speaking to a roomful of men and women whose life's work is ministering to the needy. The only comment I offer is that these are honest efforts to get at old problems. We have made a great decision in this country that every American shall have an opportunity to make the most of his life.

AMERICA'S PROMISE

This is the promise of America. At a time when we are the richest nation on the face of the earth—and the most powerful—at a time when we could literally have a lost weekend in our own self-indulgence, the nation by public policy, as well as by private commitment, is determined to reach deep into its social structure, to help those who desperately need help, to extend a hand to those who are almost lost, to help the needy, the deprived—help them not just to survive but rather to live with liberty and in the spirit of the pursuit of happiness.

We are trying to bring these people into the mainstream of American life. More importantly, we are trying to make them participants in a great adventure—the discovery of America. Let them make their own discovery of what this nation is all about, its promise, its hope, its excitement, its movement.

I travel from one end of this nation to the other, and I see more good things happening now than ever before. I see more of our young people doing good things than ever before.

I know those who get into the news are not always the ones who are doing the good things, but I know also that last year over 250,000 of our college students volunteered their time

freely to work in community projects. I know that this year half a million of them will do it, and I know that if you can provide some meaningful outlet for their energy, their vitality and their talent, you can get a million of them to do it. They are anxious to help.

BREAKTHROUGH

We in America have made a breakthrough in our nation about what we as a society are trying to achieve and how we should go about it.

We have, once and for all, laid to rest the idea that poverty and blighted opportunity can adequately be treated with charity, or, in more modern parlance, "welfare."

I do not want to be misunderstood. We need charity, and we need the spirit of charity. We need compassion, and we need the spirit of compassion. We have decided to seek more basic and lasting solutions, rather than contenting ourselves with palliatives.

We are not engaged in the business of trying simply to make poverty less painful. We are trying rather to find the cure for this social malignancy.

We have decided that we are going to do whatever is necessary to throw open the door of American opportunity to every resident of this nation.

A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

That's why I come to ask you to help. I do not believe that these things can all be done by public institutions. Public institutions are too circumscribed with rules and regulations. We need the social experimentation of those who are not so restrained and restricted.

We have a blend in America, this pluralistic society of ours, in education, in health and in social welfare, and I only hope that our great churches and other voluntary private groups will have a greater role to play in the days ahead, to serve our people.

We need some kind of interplay between public and private—a working partnership, not the domination of the public by the private or of the private by the public. In this complex

society of ours, with all of its challenges and its needs, we cannot rely entirely upon public bodies, public programs and public resources.

We in Washington can dispense welfare, but we cannot manage the intricate task of social growth that the permanent elimination of poverty and blight will require.

Thomas Jefferson put it this way: "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

LOCAL INITIATIVE

This is a job for governments at all levels, particularly in the cities and neighborhoods. This is where the people themselves have the greatest influence over their own destiny, and this is where they make their particular needs known most effectively.

It is a job which requires the full resources of private enterprise and private non-profit organizations.

The federal government can provide resources, and we will. But the initiative, the drive, the creative spirit and management that are going to get the job done will have to come from the communities themselves. That concept—federal support for local initiative—has been built into every piece of poverty and urban development legislation passed during the past three or four years.

Will this formula work? I think we already know that the answer is yes. Federal dollars, for example, invested under the new Model Cities Program can and will stimulate greater public effort and private investment in scores of cities.

PRIVATE ROLE

We are not planning to have the federal government rebuild our cities. We are going to have great American business firms do the job. We are going to have the help of churches and trade unions and community councils and local government.

Job Corps camps all over the country already are being successfully run by private firms under government contract. Industries have undertaken major on-the-job training programs for the hard-core unemployed, either with or without federal support.

Of course, you can't expect a corporation to act like a social worker. The head of a corporation is responsible for other people's money. If it's a publicly owned corporation, he has a fiduciary responsibility.

But it is possible to say to that corporation manager, "Americans are unemployed, they need jobs in industry, not just on government projects; jobs where skills are developed relevant to modern industrial production, to modern distribution methods, to modern retailing, to modern agriculture. And we want you to hire these hard-core unemployed.

"You recruit them. You have the personnel offices. You train them. You have a training program. You supervise them. You have supervisors on the job already.

GIVE THEM DIGNITY

"Give them the dignity of knowing that they are working for private enterprise. Give them the dignity of knowing they are standing alongside other self-sustaining, productive workers.

"Now, to be sure, those workers will not be sufficiently productive at first to earn their hourly paychecks. So we'll draw up a contract with you, Mr. Businessman. The federal government will give you the difference between their productivity and the wage that you pay them. The government is willing to pay you this money to hire those workers and to train them over a contractual period of time—six months, nine months or a year. And after that, they become productive workers, you can keep 'em."

Just two weeks ago President Johnson announced a 40 million dollar test program designed to support an intensive assault by the private sector on joblessness.

Some people said right away, "Forty million dollars, that's not enough." Of course it isn't, but it's a test program. When we build a new airplane, we don't build a thousand of them before we fly one.

A BILLION DOLLARS

The life insurance companies of America recently pledged a billion dollars to finance low-cost housing in slums, and to provide employment opportunities in high unemployment areas.

We see voluntary agencies—church groups, neighborhood committees, corporations set up by ghetto residents themselves—building housing and providing community services with grants from governments at all levels.

There is Plans for Progress, a volunteer effort by American corporate business to insure employment on the basis of merit—another example of private effort to right old wrongs and inequities.

The point is that all of our institutional resources—governmental, voluntary, business and labor—are beginning to mesh into a cooperative national effort to build cities of hope. What we are seeing is the development of a new American ecumenicism, an ecumenicism which recognizes that all of us suffer if the few are left behind.

I know that the National Conference of Catholic Charities is part—a very big part—of this picture. To say that you shared in the growth of the ecumenical spirit would be an unforgiveable understatement. In your work you were ecumenical long before Vatican II. For ten years anyway you have been working harmoniously with a widening circle of non-Catholic agencies.

ELIMINATING POVERTY

We have seen the steady growth of your concerns and your perspective. You have gone from a natural concentration on your own toward an inevitable involvement with the needs of the total community—yes, from helping the poor to eliminating poverty itself.

Your spokesmen are heard with deep respect in Washington, in state capitols, everywhere. And I want to take this occasion to express the gratitude of the President of the United States, of the Administration, for the intelligent and informed support they have given to social legislation.

I know that there has been a good deal of theoretical discussion of “relevance” among Catholics. As a friend, let me just say that I think the Catholic Church and Catholic Charities are relevant in the United States today as never before. I think that you are relevant precisely as an instrument for creating a better life in the cities, and I might add in the rural areas as well.

CHURCH'S MANDATE

You are in an excellent position to help coordinate public and private efforts because your organization transcends the boundaries of separate communities and cities. Your mandate is not limited to people of a single ethnic or racial group.

Moreover, your churches and your schools and your community centers are often in the very ghetto areas where the opportunities they afford are needed most. To put it bluntly, you are in the front line in this war on poverty, right out there where they are lobbing the shells.

But your role extends far beyond the physical or the practical sphere. No mixture of money and material well-being by itself can rekindle the hope that has flickered out for many residents of urban and rural America today—and I do not mean just the poor ones.

Our cities today are suffering from more than a lack of physical amenities. There is in them, and in many of the people who live in them, a sickness of the soul, an emptiness of the spirit. Men are deadened, frustrated, alienated and finally unhinged.

This is the poverty that is most difficult to overcome. The poverty of the purse in this rich nation is easy to overcome. Write a check. Make the welfare allowance a little larger. But what about the poverty of the spirit? What about that sense of hopelessness and despair which ultimately becomes bitterness and animosity, which boils over into hatred and violence?

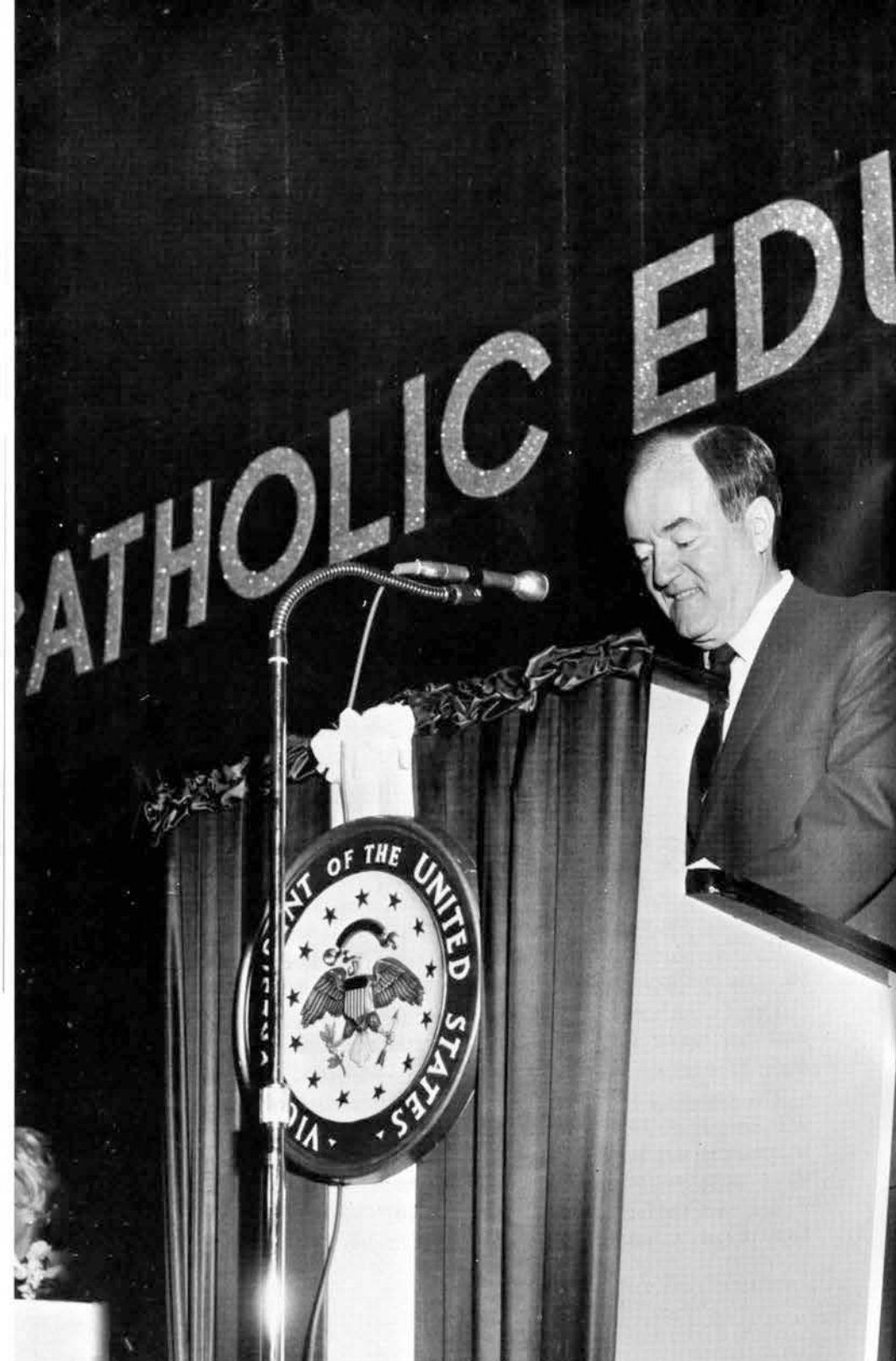
How do we put men together again?

How do we re-arouse the desire to care, to hope and to act? How do we breathe life back into a deadened spirit?

The Church, with its abiding concern for the whole man, with the inner man as well as the shell, I believe can help us find the answer.

The measure of our success, as Christians and as Americans, will be our ability to make real to men the lawful desire—in the words, again, of Pope Paul—“to do more, know more and have more in order to be more.”

The greatest of these is “to be more.” And I think you can help people to be more. More power to you in that task.



OHIO CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
CINCINNATI, OHIO
SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

Archbishop Alter and Bishop Elwell, Mayor Bachrach and Mrs. Bachrach, Reverend Fathers and Reverend Sisters, distinguished educators, and my fellow citizens:

When the Office of Education was established a century ago it was put under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, and he apparently didn't have much regard for the office or for education.

His first comment—and I believe it was his only comment—was: "There is no necessity of anyone knowing anything whatever about education."

Since that time, education has come a long, long way. I believe there is no nation on the face of the earth that has done so well in terms of its educational programs as this great republic. This does not, however, relieve us of the responsibility of trying to do better.

At the turn of this century, just sixty-seven years ago, only seven per cent of our teen-agers were receiving a secondary education of any kind. Today that figure is ninety-three per cent.

In the last twenty years alone, the percentage of American young people going to college has doubled. Six and a half million young people are in our universities this year.

A CENTRAL PLACE

Today, one American in four is enrolled in some sort of educational program. And in the last few years, education has taken a much more central place than at any other time in our history, not only in local and state government, but in national policy.

As a parent, as a former teacher and professor, as a friend of education in my sixteen years in the United States Senate, and now as your Vice President, I am happy to say that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has put into operation more educational bills in the past three years than in the

previous one hundred. We have enacted thirty-one major education and training laws, and these are laws not just in quantity but in quality. We have literally, in the last six years, tripled the total investment of the federal government in the educational systems of our nation.

I need not tell you that the most revolutionary breakthrough in education took place in 1965, with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The immediate impact of this act has been enormous. In the first year, it provided additional educational services—upgrading the quality of education—for 8,300,000 educationally disadvantaged children, no matter whether they attended a public, private, or parochial school. Our average annual educational expenditure on those disadvantaged children has increased \$119 per person—a major contribution in our educationally poor states, and an important contribution in every single community.

PRECEDENT FOR THE FUTURE

But the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is important not only because of the money; it is important because of the spirit in which it was passed, and the precedent which it has set for the future.

As a Senator, I watched good bills for federal aid to education blocked year after year by intransigent attitudes on state-church relations. I saw good educational measures killed because of racial prejudice and religious bigotry, and because state and local interests feared federal interference in their traditional educational responsibilities.

It was like a ping-pong game. We'd pass a bill in the Senate, and they'd kill it in the House. Two years later, they'd pass it in the House, and it would be killed in the Senate. The debate went on, and our children suffered.

Then the people and the Congress came to a realization that it was our children, not these long standing doctrinal disputes, that really counted. They realized that this country, if it wished to grow and to flourish, had better start making the best possible use of all of its educational resources, private as well as public, parochial as well as secular.

SUPPORT, NOT CONTROL

And they realized that the federal government is just as sensitive to human need as local government, and that federal support need not—and must not—mean federal control. For quality education depends above all on the creative initiative and competence of the local educators—public and private—who personally deal with the children we are trying to reach. Federal support for local initiative is the basis of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and I believe it's the basis of an historic first step toward the future path of education in our country.

What I hope this conference will do in its deliberation is to point the way so your government can be more helpful in the effort you're making to improve the quality of life in America. We've made the first step.

But I do want to make it quite clear that I know this is only the beginning. More things are going to happen in the last third of the twentieth century than in the preceding three centuries—in science, in technology, in human relations.

One change we will have to face is that in the next thirty-three years there will be one hundred million more Americans. Where are they going to live? Are they going to crowd into the big cities, or are we going to find some balance in America between our rural areas and our metropolitan areas? Are we going to upgrade the quality of life in the smaller community, so that people will want to live there? Or are we going to permit a migration of illiterates, a migration of ill-trained people, pouring into over-burdened cities, over-burdened social services, over-burdened school systems?

YOUNGER POPULATION

I might add that this new population is going to be younger. Fifty per cent of the people of the United States are now under twenty-five years of age. That means we will need more classroom space and more teachers. It means we're going to have to take a look at what we have in education and say this is but the beginning; we have to look down the road.

Every big business plans ten years ahead, and there's no bigger business in the world than education.

What about the new technology that we know is going to be upon us? What is this technology going to do to the educational structure of our land? We are going to have to redesign school programs, curricula, teaching methods. Are you ready to have the communications satellite become your number one teaching aid?

We have just passed through a summer of discontent, a tragic summer of unprecedented lawlessness and conflict in many of our cities.

I think you agree that we can't have a democratic society where there is lawlessness and violence. There is no room for it in our country, and it will be met by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law. This country is not going to be taken over or held for ransom by inciters or haters, white or black, who would wreck their own communities and harm their innocent neighbors to satisfy their own lust for personal power.

SYMPTOMS OF POVERTY

But every thinking American knows that the violence that we've seen, however unjustified, is at the same time symptomatic of deep social problems, of poverty, of despair, of a feeling on the part of far too many citizens that the society in which they live has nothing to offer them that is worth saving. Give a man nothing to do for his country and he will not love it. Too many Americans have had nothing to do for their country, no involvement, no stake in it.

The violence is a symptom of ghetto unemployment rates three times the national average, of poor housing and shamefully inadequate public services. And, to a very large degree, it is a symptom of grossly inadequate education in those very communities where education offers the only avenue of escape from a life at best on the fringes of America.

The education offered in our slum schools is inadequate for a great many reasons. The slum school does not equip students with skills that they need to hold a decent job, and the education it offers is not tailored to the needs of students with disadvantaged backgrounds. Much of it has been designed for the middle income family. It does not allay the fears of the slum child or offer him a sense of personal worth and success.

Education in the slum school does not succeed in making the classroom more attractive than the street corner. It is too often second or third rate in a country which can and should afford the best for its children. The best schools are in areas where people have the most money. The newer schools are in the suburbs. It's only in the most recent years that we've begun to reverse this trend.

CULTURAL POVERTY

We put most of our welfare payments into communities where people have the least financial resources. Well, these same people are also educationally bankrupt. It isn't only the poverty of culture, it's the poverty of body and mind as well. This is why we need cultural and educational facilities most in the areas where people have the least themselves.

I don't think that we can point to a single big city in America today and say that education is really working in the inner city. There are examples where it is beginning to take hold, but I don't think we can say that education is doing the job of educating and training young people in our ghetto areas for productive citizenship.

The Coleman Report for the Office of Education, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and many other groups that are concerned with urban problems have documented the story of educational failure, of dropouts, delinquency, and hopelessness in many of our ghetto schools.

It's through our schools, through our teachers, that America must help to make up for the heritage of deprivation which destroys the hopes of so many of the children of the poor. Education is the basic starting point for the child of poverty—whose family may have been in poverty for generations—in building a life of productive and satisfying labor rather than a life of pent-up frustration and despair.

So what are we going to do to make education work, to make it more meaningful for the millions of American youngsters who need it most?

KEEP SCHOOLS OPEN

First and foremost, I think we have to stop locking students out of our schools in the summers and on weekends and in the evenings. Of course, this will take more manpower; it will take more money. But the time when the school is closed is when it's needed most—the summer months when millions of young people pour out of the schools and into the streets.

In the context of our present needs, the nine month school year and the six hour school day just don't make sense.

A century ago, the school year lasted 78 days. Now it averages 162. I have suggested before, and I urge again, that every American school now become a full time, year-round community center of opportunity.

TITLE ONE FUNDS

Some communities have already adopted the twelve month school year with assistance from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

We did it in Washington, D. C., this summer. And I'm happy to tell you that a city which had only 18 illuminated playgrounds a year ago had 132 this summer. We had the challenge and we came through, in large part because of Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds under Title I and OEO funds.

Secondly, we have to make sure that school leads to something—a good job, or maybe even college. For the slum youngster, a school experience cannot be just another dead end street. We cannot promise and not produce.

Census figures for the state of Ohio tell a story which applies to every state in the nation. Some 42 per cent of the jobs in Ohio are for craftsmen or technicians. But back in 1960, when most of today's young workers were in school, only three per cent were trained for such jobs. Almost 15 per cent of Ohio's job openings today are for retail sales people, but only 1.3 per cent of Ohio's youngsters were trained for this kind of work in 1960.

Our curricula must be matched with the world as it is and as it will be, not as it was 20 or 30 years ago.

PREVENT SCHOOL DROPOUTS

My third point grows out of the second. We simply have to prevent school dropouts. A million students are going to drop out of school this year, under present estimates, unless we do something about it. And eight million will drop out in this decade.

Many of these youngsters will not be dropouts at all. They will be kickouts, or forceouts—youngsters who had to leave because they were financially or psychologically unable to stay.

We don't have any simple answer to this problem, but we've got to do something about it.

Fourth, we have to insist on quality in our schools—adequate basic training and up-to-date refresher courses for our teachers, modern laboratories and teaching aids, specialized facilities for children who need them. We must have, in short, people and facilities that will elicit and demand the best performance from our students.

PAYING FOR EDUCATION

Finally, our country must be willing to pay for education—not only with money, which is required, but with attention and commitment in proportion to its value.

Last year we spent about 32 billion dollars—five per cent of our national income—for elementary and secondary education, both public and private. America spent half that much just on alcohol and tobacco.

You know, there has never been a society or a community that became financially insolvent by investment in education. Education is the wisest investment that people have ever made. We must awaken a national consciousness to the fact that the extra dollars spent on education will be repaid by a lifetime of dividends. The Office of Education estimates that a school dropout loses \$63,000 in potential earned income because he failed to get that last year of high school. The rate of unemployment among school dropouts is three times as high as among those who finished school.

CHARTER OF OPPORTUNITY

I therefore propose that we dedicate ourselves to a fresh Charter of Educational Opportunity for every American child—a promise that he can and will get, to the best of our ability, the skills and the knowledge that he needs to make the most of himself in our fast changing and competitive society. We need not settle for less.

And I think the Catholic schools of this country have an especially great opportunity to make that charter of educational opportunity a reality. You already have over six million students, and your schools have grown twice as fast as the public schools over the last twenty years. You have a cadre of dedicated lay and clerical teachers.

You are in a unique position to experiment and to innovate, because you are not bound by political restraints and bureaucratic red tape. You can offer healthy competition for our public schools, the kind of competition—and, I might add, freedom of choice—that is the life blood of a pluralistic society.

The purpose of education is not just to pile up data but to move from mere information to wisdom.

Everything, in a very real sense, is in your hands.

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TUESDAY PM's
October 10, 1967OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
BEFORE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

San Francisco --- Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey said Tuesday (October 10, 1967) that the Catholic Church is in a unique position to help cure the "sickness" of American cities.

The task of finding lasting solutions to the problems of poverty cannot be undertaken by the federal government alone, the Vice President told the National Conference of Catholic Charities here.

Already a "new American Ecumenicism" is developing, Humphrey said -- "an ecumenicism which recognizes that all of us suffer if the few are left behind."

In programs like the Job Corps and many others, he said, "all our institutional resources - governmental, voluntary, business and labor -- are beginning to mesh in a cooperative effort.

"As a friend, let me just say that I think the Catholic Church and the Catholic charities are relevant in the United States today as never before, precisely as an instrument for creating a better life in the cities," he said.

"Our cities today," the Vice President said, "are suffering from more than a lack of physical amenities. There is in them, and in many of the people who live in them, a sickness of the soul, an emptiness of the spirit. Men are deadened, frustrated, alienated and finally unhinged.

"This is the poverty that is most difficult to overcome. It is poverty of the spirit far more than poverty of the purse that challenges this rich nation."

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

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The Vice President said the desire for equal opportunity is "illusory for a large majority of American citizens today, either because of racial discrimination or poverty."

This desire, he said, "is lawful in the highest sense "within the Judeo-Christian tradition and under the U.S. Constitution.

He said the federal government has responded to the needs for equal opportunity "to the extent that its resources would permit." But the job calls for participation by "governments at all levels, particularly in cities and neighborhoods, and the full resources of private enterprise and private non-profit organizations."

Humphrey also expressed his admiration for "the new wave of ferment and vitality" which he said the Catholic Church has spurred.

"Ecumenicism is the order of the day," he said.

"As never before, Catholics, Protestants and Jews are attending each other's services, joining each other's organizations, cooperating in each other's projects, marching together in social action."

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
October 10, 1967

In these days, time moves swiftly and rarely allows us the privilege of looking back. But this morning I will insist on this privilege -- at least to think back over the three years since we last met.

As Sister Mary mentioned, it was in 1964 that I last talked from this platform, only three years ago. Yet, when one considers all that has happened, does it not seem an eternity?

Perhaps the more so for me because, three years ago, I was called to new responsibilities and began to see the sweep of events from a vantage point with a broader view. From where I sit, the scene is tumultuous.

But so it is, I'm sure, for all of us -- for all men and for all their institutions. And nowhere has change been more dramatic than in the world of Catholicism.

I stand in awe at the new wave of ferment and vitality you have loosed upon and admiring world. Ecumenicism is the order of the day. What a prodigious dialogue you are carrying on, among yourselves as well as with the rest of mankind.

As never before, Catholics, Protestants and Jews are attending each others services, joining each other's organizations, cooperating in each other's projects, marching together in social action. And these are not formal, meaningless gestures.

They are, I believe, the natural outgrowth of a renewed brotherhood, of a deeper mutual understanding of a spirit of openness which men ardently seek.

It is a tribute, may I say, to the everlasting validity, the continued freshness of the teachings of history's greatest rebel, Jesus Christ.

During these troubled years, the response of Catholicism -- indeed of all churches -- a response characterized by flexibility but rooted in the eternal, stands out as a dynamo of hope against the forces that would fragment the human race.

For me personally, one of the most memorable episodes of the last three years was my visit with Pope Paul in the Vatican. I pray for his good health and continued vigor.

Three years ago we were feeling the impact of two historic Encyclicals, *Pacem in Terris* and *Mater et Magistra*.

To these great letters from his predecessors, Pope Paul has now added his masterful Encyclical "On the Development of Peoples," a document remarkable for both the breadth of its humanity and the precision of its detail.

One of my most cherished possessions is a signed copy of this Encyclical which its illustrious author gave me this April. Its powerful opening phrases can serve as my challenging text for today and for many tomorrows:

"Freedom from misery, the greater assurance of finding subsistence, health and fixed employment; an increased share of responsibility without oppression of any kind and in security from situations that do violence to their dignity as men; better education -- in brief, to seek to do more, know more and have more in order to be more: that is what men aspire to now when a greater number of them are condemned to live in conditions that make this lawful desire illusory."

That desire for an equal opportunity to achieve one's highest humanity is lawful in the highest sense within the Judeo-Christian tradition: it is equally lawful under the Constitution of the United States.

And to say that the desire for equal opportunity is illusory for a large minority of American citizens today, either because of racial discrimination or poverty, is no over-statement.

What have we done, and what can we do, to fulfill that lawful desire for the millions who live in our cities? That is the subject of our meeting today; and since we are looking back over the events of the last three years, let me simply state that I think the federal government, for its part, has been responsive to the need to the extent that its resources would permit.

We have not always been sure that what we were doing was the best course of action. But we, both in the Administration and in the Congress, operated on the assumption that doing something was better than doing nothing.

Our course has involved trial and error, and some political risk as well; but we have been ready to accept the results with our eyes open. For we knew that the poor and the city dwellers could only lose by inaction and delay.

The achievements we have made in the last three years have been achievements not for one Administration or one Congress, but for the American people as a whole -- Medicare... the Elementary and Secondary Education Act...the Model Cities Program...rent supplements...the Job Corps...Head Start... Upward Bound...Neighborhood Youth Centers...Community Action centers. There is more on the way, including a vitally important Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill.

I will not volunteer any detailed evaluation of these programs. I am, after all, speaking to a roomful of men and women whose life's work is ministering to the needy. You are uniquely qualified to judge these efforts, and your verdicts, I assure you, will be eagerly scrutinized in Washington.

I will point out, however, that we have made an important breakthrough in our notion about what we as a society are trying to achieve and how we should go about it.

We have, once and for all, laid to rest the idea that poverty and blighted opportunity can be adequately treated with charity or, in more modern parlance, "welfare."

We have decided to seek basic and lasting solutions, rather than contenting ourselves with palliatives.

We have decided that we are going to do whatever is necessary to throw open the door of American opportunity to every resident of this nation.

This broader task is one that the federal government cannot and must not undertake alone. We in Washington can dispense "welfare," but we cannot manage the intricate task of social growth that the permanent elimination of poverty and blight will require.

As Thomas Jefferson said, "were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

This is a job for governments at all levels, particularly in the cities and neighborhoods themselves. That is where the people themselves have the greatest influence over their own destiny, and that is where they can make their particular needs known most effectively.

And it is a job which requires the full resources of private enterprise and private non-profit organizations.

The federal government can provide resources but the initiative, the drive, and the creative management that is going to get the job done will have to come from the communities themselves. That concept -- federal support for local initiative -- has been built into every piece of poverty and urban development legislation passed during the last three years.

Will this formula work? I think we already know that the answer is yes.

Federal dollars invested under the Model Cities Program can and will stimulate greater public effort and private investment in scores of cities.

Job Corps camps all over the country are being successfully run by private firms under government contract.

Industries have undertaken major on-the-job training programs for the hard-core unemployed, either with or without federal support...and they have found that it pays economic as well as social dividends.

Just two weeks ago President Johnson announced a 40 million dollar test program designed to support an intensive assault by the private sector on joblessness.

The life insurance companies of America recently pledged a billion dollars to finance low cost housing in slums and to provide employment opportunities in high unemployment areas.

Voluntary agencies -- church groups, neighborhood committees, corporations set up by ghetto residents themselves, -- are building housing and providing community services with grants from governments at all levels.

There is Plans for Progress, a volunteer effort by American corporate business to assure employment on the basis of merit -- only another example of private effort to right old wrongs and inequities.

The point is that all our institutional resources -- governmental, voluntary, business and labor -- are beginning to mesh in a cooperative national effort to build the "Cities of Hope" you have been discussing. What we are seeing is the development of a new American Ecumenicism -- an ecumenicism which recognizes that all of us suffer if the few are left behind, together.

I know that the National Conference of Catholic Charities is part of this picture. To say that you shared in the growth of the ecumenical spirit would be an unforgiveable understatement. In your work you were ecumenical long before Vatican II. For ten years anyway you have been working harmoniously with a widening circle of non-Catholic agencies.

We have seen the steady growth of your concerns and your perspective. You have gone from a natural concentration on your own toward an inevitable involvement with the needs of the total community, from helping the poor to eliminating poverty.

Your spokesmen are heard with deep respect in Washington and I want to take this occasion to express the gratitude of the Administration for the intelligent and informed critical support they have given to social legislation.

I know that there has been a lot of theoretical discussion of "relevance" among Catholics. As a friend, let me just say that I think the Catholic Church and the Catholic charities are relevant in the United States today as never before, precisely as an instrument for creating a better life in the cities.

In a very practical sense, you are in an excellent position to help coordinate public and private efforts because your organization transcends the boundaries of separate communities and cities; because your mandate is not limited to people of a single ethnic or racial group. Moreover, your churches, schools and community centers are often in the very ghetto areas where the opportunities they afford are needed most.

But your role extends beyond the practical sphere. No mixture of money and material will, by itself, rekindle the hope that has flickered out for many residents of urban and rural America today -- and I do not mean just the poor ones.

Our cities today are suffering from more than a lack of physical amenities. There is in them, and in many of the people who live in them, a sickness of the soul, an emptiness of the spirit. Men are deadened, frustrated, alienated and finally unhinged.

This is the poverty that is most difficult to overcome. It is poverty of the spirit far more than poverty of the purse, that challenges this rich nation.

How do we put men together again?

How do we re-arouse the desire to care, to hope, to act?

The Church, with its abiding concern for the whole man, with the inner man as well as the shell, can help us find the answer.

The measure of our success, as Christians and Americans, will be our ability to make real to men the lawful desire -- in the words, again, of Pope Paul --

"to seek to do more, know more and have more in order to be more;" and the greatest of these is "to be more."

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 10, 1967

✓ IN THESE DAYS, TIME MOVES SWIFTLY, AND RARELY
ALLOWS US THE PRIVILEGE OF LOOKING BACK. BUT THIS
MORNING I WILL INSIST ON THIS PRIVILEGE -- AT LEAST
TO THINK BACK OVER THE THREE YEARS SINCE WE LAST MET.

✓ AS SISTER MARY MENTIONED, IT WAS IN 1964 THAT
I LAST TALKED FROM THIS PLATFORM, ONLY THREE YEARS AGO.

✓ YET, WHEN ONE CONSIDERS ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED, DOES
IT NOT SEEM AN ETERNITY?

PERHAPS THE MORE SO FOR ME BECAUSE, THREE YEARS AGO, I WAS CALLED TO NEW RESPONSIBILITIES AND BEGAN TO SEE THE SWEEP OF EVENTS FROM A VANTAGE POINT WITH A BROADER VIEW. FROM WHERE I SIT, THE SCENE IS TUMULTUOUS.

BUT SO IT IS, I'M SURE, FOR ALL OF US -- FOR ALL MEN AND FOR ALL THEIR INSTITUTIONS. AND NOWHERE HAS CHANGE BEEN MORE DRAMATIC THAN IN THE WORLD OF CATHOLICISM.

I STAND IN AWE AT THE NEW WAVE OF FERMENT AND VITALITY YOU HAVE LOOSED UPON AN ADMIRING WORLD.

ECUMENICISM IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY. WHAT A PRODIGIOUS DIALOGUE YOU ARE CARRYING ON, AMONG YOURSELVES AS WELL AS WITH THE REST OF MANKIND.!

AS NEVER BEFORE, CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS AND
JEWS ARE ATTENDING EACH OTHERS SERVICES, JOINING
EACH OTHER'S ORGANIZATIONS, COOPERATING IN EACH
OTHER'S PROJECTS, MARCHING TOGETHER IN SOCIAL ACTION.
AND THESE ARE NOT FORMAL, MEANINGLESS GESTURES!

THEY ARE, I BELIEVE, THE NATURAL OUTGROWTH
OF A RENEWED BROTHERHOOD, OF A DEEPER MUTUAL
UNDERSTANDING OF A SPIRIT OF OPENNESS WHICH MEN
ARDENTLY SEEK.

IT IS A TRIBUTE, MAY I SAY, TO THE EVERLASTING
VALIDITY, THE CONTINUED FRESHNESS OF THE TEACHINGS OF
HISTORY'S GREATEST REBEL, JESUS CHRIST.

DURING THESE TROUBLED YEARS, THE RESPONSE OF
CATHOLICISM -- INDEED OF ALL CHURCHES -- A RESPONSE
CHARACTERIZED BY FLEXIBILITY BUT ROOTED IN THE ETERNAL.

STANDS OUT AS A DYNAMO OF HOPE AGAINST THE FORCES
THAT WOULD FRAGMENT THE HUMAN RACE.

↳ FOR ME PERSONALLY, ONE OF THE MOST MEMORABLE
EPISODES OF THE LAST THREE YEARS WAS MY VISIT WITH
POPE PAUL IN THE VATICAN, I PRAY FOR HIS GOOD HEALTH
AND CONTINUED VIGOR.

↳ THREE YEARS AGO WE WERE FEELING THE IMPACT OF TWO
HISTORIC ENCYCLICALS, PACEM IN TERRIS AND MATER ET
MAGESTRA.

↳ TO THESE GREAT LETTERS FROM HIS PREDECESSORS,
POPE PAUL HAS NOW ADDED HIS MASTERFUL ENCYCLICAL
"ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEOPLES," ^a DOCUMENT
REMARKABLE FOR BOTH THE BREADTH OF ITS HUMANITY AND
THE PRECISION OF ITS DETAIL.

↳ ONE OF MY MOST CHERISHED POSSESSIONS IS A
SIGNED COPY OF THIS ENCYCLICAL WHICH ITS ILLUSTRIOUS

AUTHOR GAVE ME THIS APRIL, ITS POWERFUL OPENING
PHRASES CAN SERVE AS MY CHALLENGING TEXT FOR TODAY

AND FOR MANY TOMORROWS:

"FREEDOM FROM MISERY, THE GREATER ASSURANCE
OF FINDING SUBSISTENCE, HEALTH AND FIXED EMPLOYMENT;
AN INCREASED SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY WITHOUT
OPPRESSION OF ANY KIND AND IN SECURITY FROM SITUATIONS
THAT DO VIOLENCE TO THEIR DIGNITY AS MEN; BETTER
EDUCATION -- IN BRIEF, TO SEEK TO DO MORE, KNOW MORE
AND HAVE MORE IN ORDER TO BE MORE: THAT IS WHAT MEN
ASPIRE TO NOW WHEN A GREATER NUMBER OF THEM ARE
CONDEMNED TO LIVE IN CONDITIONS THAT MAKE THIS
LAWFUL DESIRE ILLUSORY."

THAT DESIRE FOR AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO
ACHIEVE ONE'S HIGHEST HUMANITY IS LAWFUL IN THE HIGHEST SENSE

WITHIN THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN-TRADITION: IT IS
EQUALLY LAWFUL, UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED
STATES.

AND TO SAY THAT THE DESIRE FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
IS ILLUSORY FOR A LARGE MINORITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS
TODAY, EITHER BECAUSE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION OR
POVERTY, IS NO OVER-STATEMENT.

WHAT HAVE WE DONE, AND WHAT CAN WE DO, TO
FULFILL THAT LAWFUL DESIRE FOR THE MILLIONS WHO LIVE
IN OUR CITIES? THAT IS THE SUBJECT OF OUR MEETING
TODAY; AND SINCE WE ARE LOOKING BACK OVER THE EVENTS
OF THE LAST THREE YEARS, LET ME SIMPLY STATE THAT
I THINK THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, FOR ITS PART, HAS
BEEN RESPONSIVE TO THE NEED TO THE EXTENT THAT ITS
RESOURCES WOULD PERMIT.

WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN SURE THAT WHAT WE

WERE DOING WAS THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION, BUT WE,
BOTH IN THE ADMINISTRATION AND IN THE CONGRESS, OPERATED
ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT DOING SOMETHING WAS BETTER
THAN DOING NOTHING.

*We have tried. We have
experimented*

↳ OUR COURSE HAS INVOLVED TRIAL AND ERROR, AND
SOME POLITICAL RISK AS WELL, BUT WE HAVE BEEN READY
TO ACCEPT THE RESULTS WITH OUR EYES OPEN. ↳ FOR
WE KNEW THAT THE POOR AND THE CITY DWELLERS COULD
ONLY LOSE BY INACTION AND DELAY.

↳ THE ACHIEVEMENTS WE HAVE MADE IN THE LAST
THREE YEARS HAVE BEEN ACHIEVEMENTS NOT FOR ONE
ADMINISTRATION OR ONE CONGRESS, BUT FOR THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE -- MEDICARE...THE
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT...THE MODEL
CITIES PROGRAM...RENT SUPPLEMENTS...THE JOB CORPS...

HEAD START...UPWARD BOUND...NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH
CENTERS...COMMUNITY ACTION CENTERS. THERE IS MORE
ON THE WAY, INCLUDING A VITALLY IMPORTANT SAFE
STREETS AND CRIME CONTROL BILL.

L I WILL NOT VOLUNTEER ANY DETAILED EVALUATION
OF THESE PROGRAMS. I AM, AFTER ALL, SPEAKING TO A
ROOMFUL OF MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE LIFE'S WORK IS
MINISTERING TO THE NEEDY. L YOU ARE UNIQUELY QUALIFIED
TO JUDGE THESE EFFORTS, AND YOUR VERDICTS, I ASSURE
YOU, WILL BE EAGERLY SCRUTINIZED IN WASHINGTON.

L I WILL POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE
MADE AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH IN OUR NOTION ABOUT
WHAT WE AS A SOCIETY ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE AND HOW
WE SHOULD GO ABOUT IT.

L WE HAVE, ONCE AND FOR ALL, LAID TO REST

THE IDEA THAT POVERTY AND BLIGHTED OPPORTUNITY CAN BE
ADEQUATELY TREATED WITH CHARITY OR, IN MORE MODERN
PARLANCE, "WELFARE."

↳ WE HAVE DECIDED TO SEEK BASIC AND LASTING
SOLUTIONS, RATHER THAN CONTENTING OURSELVES WITH
PALLIATIVES.

↳ WE HAVE DECIDED THAT WE ARE GOING TO DO WHATEVER
IS NECESSARY TO THROW OPEN THE DOOR OF AMERICAN
OPPORTUNITY TO EVERY RESIDENT OF THIS NATION.

↳ THIS BROADER TASK IS ONE THAT THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT CANNOT AND MUST NOT UNDERTAKE ALONE.
WE IN WASHINGTON CAN DISPENSE "WELFARE," BUT WE
CANNOT MANAGE THE INTRICATE TASK OF SOCIAL GROWTH
THAT THE PERMANENT ELIMINATION OF POVERTY AND
BLIGHT WILL REQUIRE.

AS THOMAS JEFFERSON SAID, "WERE WE DIRECTED
FROM WASHINGTON WHEN TO SOW AND WHEN TO REAP, WE
SHOULD SOON WANT BREAD."

L THIS IS A JOB FOR GOVERNMENTS AT ALL LEVELS,
PARTICULARLY IN THE CITIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS
THEMSELVES L THAT IS WHERE THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES HAVE
THE GREATEST INFLUENCE OVER THEIR OWN DESTINY, AND
THAT IS WHERE THEY CAN MAKE THEIR PARTICULAR NEEDS
KNOWN MOST EFFECTIVELY.

L AND IT IS A JOB WHICH REQUIRES THE FULL
RESOURCES OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE NON-PROFIT
ORGANIZATIONS.

*the great volunteer work of
the people.*

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN PROVIDE RESOURCES
BUT THE INITIATIVE, THE DRIVE, AND THE CREATIVE
MANAGEMENT THAT IS GOING TO GET THE JOB DONE WILL
HAVE TO COME FROM THE COMMUNITIES THEMSELVES.

✓ THAT CONCEPT -- FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR LOCAL INITIATIVE --
HAS BEEN BUILT INTO EVERY PIECE OF POVERTY AND URBAN
DEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION PASSED DURING THE LAST
THREE YEARS.

✓ WILL THIS FORMULA WORK? I THINK WE ALREADY
KNOW THAT THE ANSWER IS YES.

✓ FEDERAL DOLLARS INVESTED UNDER THE MODEL
CITIES PROGRAM CAN AND WILL STIMULATE GREATER PUBLIC EFFORT
AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN SCORES OF CITIES.

✓ JOB CORPS CAMPS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ARE BEING
SUCCESSFULLY RUN BY PRIVATE FIRMS UNDER GOVERNMENT
CONTRACT.

✓ INDUSTRIES HAVE UNDERTAKEN MAJOR ON-THE-JOB
TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR THE HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED,
EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT FEDERAL SUPPORT...AND THEY
HAVE FOUND THAT IT PAYS ECONOMIC AS WELL AS SOCIAL
DIVIDENDS.

Just two weeks ago President Johnson announced a 40 million dollar test program designed to support an intensive assault by the private sector on joblessness.

The life insurance companies of America recently pledged a billion dollars to finance low cost housing in slums and to provide employment opportunities in high unemployment areas.

Voluntary agencies -- church groups, neighborhood committees, corporations set up by ghetto residents themselves, -- are building housing and providing community services with grants from governments at all levels.

There is plans for progress, a volunteer effort by American corporate business to assure employment on the basis of merit -- only another example of private effort to right old wrongs and inequities.

THE POINT IS THAT ALL OUR INSTITUTIONAL
RESOURCES -- GOVERNMENTAL, VOLUNTARY, BUSINESS AND
LABOR -- ARE BEGINNING TO MESH IN A COOPERATIVE
NATIONAL EFFORT TO BUILD ~~THE~~ "CITIES OF HOPE" *the cities*
YOU HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING. WHAT WE ARE SEEING IS THE
DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW AMERICAN ECUMENICISM -- AN
ECUMENICISM WHICH RECOGNIZES THAT ALL OF US SUFFER IF
THE FEW ARE LEFT BEHIND. *TOGETHER TO SEE THAT THEY ARE NOT.*

I KNOW THAT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC
CHARITIES IS PART OF THIS PICTURE. *To say that you*
SHARED IN THE GROWTH OF THE ECUMENICAL SPIRIT WOULD
BE AN UNFORGIVEABLE UNDERSTATEMENT. *In your work you*
WERE ECUMENICAL LONG BEFORE VATICAN II. FOR TEN YEARS
ANYWAY YOU HAVE BEEN WORKING HARMONIOUSLY WITH A

WIDENING CIRCLE OF NON-CATHOLIC AGENCIES.

↳ WE HAVE SEEN THE STEADY GROWTH OF YOUR
CONCERNS AND YOUR PERSPECTIVE. YOU HAVE GONE FROM
A NATURAL CONCENTRATION ON YOUR OWN TOWARD AN
INEVITABLE INVOLVEMENT WITH THE NEEDS OF THE TOTAL
COMMUNITY ^{yes-} FROM HELPING THE POOR TO ELIMINATING
POVERTY.

↳ YOUR SPOKESMEN ARE HEARD WITH DEEP RESPECT
IN WASHINGTON, AND I WANT TO TAKE THIS OCCASION TO
EXPRESS THE GRATITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION FOR THE
INTELLIGENT AND INFORMED ^{constructive} ~~CONSTRUCTIVE~~ SUPPORT THEY HAVE
GIVEN TO SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

↳ I KNOW THAT THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF
THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF "RELEVANCE" AMONG
CATHOLICS. ↳ AS A FRIEND, LET ME JUST SAY THAT I

THINK THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES

ARE RELEVANT IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY AS NEVER BEFORE.

and PRECISELY AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR CREATING A BETTER LIFE
IN THE CITIES *and rural areas, as well,*

L IN A VERY PRACTICAL SENSE, YOU ARE IN AN
EXCELLENT POSITION TO HELP COORDINATE PUBLIC AND

PRIVATE EFFORTS BECAUSE YOUR ORGANIZATION TRANSCENDS

THE BOUNDARIES OF SEPARATE COMMUNITIES AND CITIES;

BECAUSE YOUR MANDATE IS NOT LIMITED TO PEOPLE OF A

SINGLE ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUP! MOREOVER, YOUR

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY CENTERS ARE OFTEN

IN THE VERY GHETTO AREAS WHERE THE OPPORTUNITIES

THEY AFFORD ARE NEEDED MOST.

*you are on the front
line!*

L BUT YOUR ROLE EXTENDS BEYOND THE PRACTICAL
SPHERE *L* NO MIXTURE OF MONEY AND MATERIAL WILL,

BY ITSELF, REKINDLE THE HOPE THAT HAS FLICKERED
OUT FOR MANY RESIDENTS OF URBAN AND RURAL AMERICA
TODAY -- AND I DO NOT MEAN JUST THE POOR ONES.

OUR CITIES TODAY ARE SUFFERING FROM MORE
THAN A LACK OF PHYSICAL AMENITIES. THERE IS IN THEM,
AND IN MANY OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THEM, A
SICKNESS OF THE SOUL, AN EMPTINESS OF THE SPIRIT.

MEN ARE DEADENED, FRUSTRATED, ALIENATED AND FINALLY
UNHINGED

THIS IS THE POVERTY THAT IS MOST DIFFICULT TO
OVERCOME. IT IS POVERTY OF THE SPIRIT FAR MORE THAN
POVERTY OF THE PURSE THAT CHALLENGES THIS RICH NATION.

HOW DO WE PUT MEN TOGETHER AGAIN?

HOW DO WE RE-AROUSE THE DESIRE TO CARE, TO
HOPE, TO ACT?

THE CHURCH, WITH ITS ABIDING CONCERN FOR THE
WHOLE MAN, WITH THE INNER MAN AS WELL AS THE SHELL,
CAN HELP US FIND THE ANSWER.

THE MEASURE OF OUR SUCCESS, AS CHRISTIANS AND
AMERICANS, WILL BE OUR ABILITY TO MAKE REAL TO MEN
THE LAWFUL DESIRE -- IN THE WORDS, AGAIN, OF POPE PAUL --

"TO SEEK TO DO MORE, KNOW MORE AND HAVE MORE
IN ORDER TO BE MORE:" AND THE GREATEST OF THESE
IS "TO BE MORE."

#

REMARKS

VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 10, 1967

Thank you, Mother Mary Charles. President of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Distinguished and Honored Members of the Clergy, Sisters, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You know, I'm not much of a morning speaker. I don't quite know how I got involved in the morning meeting. There are two kinds of people -- night people and day people. I'm more of a night person, but somehow or other my office, in working out these arrangements, decided that it would be good for my spirit, soul and, I gather they thought, my body -- I'm not sure about that -- if I would participate in this conference at a rather early morning hour. (LAUGHTER)

You see, political people generally don't do that. There's only one that I know that does that, and that's the President of the United States. He's up at about 6:00 a.m., to my chagrin on many a morning. (LAUGHTER) He has great affection for his Vice-President at about 6:45. (LAUGHTER) I've never been sure whether he was just testing me to see whether or not I could take it or whether he was just trying to wear me down! (LAUGHTER)

But nevertheless, I want you to know that on this occasion, as on those occasions, I readily respond. I come

1 to him immediately.

2 I am very happy once again to share some time with you
3 and be privileged to share in your deliberations. I know
4 that this conference will produce some very far-reaching and,
5 I trust, very practical and helpful suggestions relating to
6 our cities, relating to programs for the development of
7 individual opportunity.

8 Now, in these days time moves very swiftly, and it really
9 rarely allows us the privilege of looking back, and I'm not
10 one that spends much time looking back on most occasions.
11 But this morning I will, if you'll permit me, insist on
12 this privilege, at least to think back over the three years
13 since we last met. My, what has happened!

14 As Sister Mary mentioned, it was in 1964 that I last
15 talked to this great conference from this platform, only
16 three years ago. And yet when you consider what has
17 happened in those three years, doesn't it seem almost like
18 an eternity?

19 I couldn't help but note, as I walked down the aisle,
20 coming here to the podium, some of my friends that I've worked
21 with during these three years, and years before. And I know
22 they've been very busy. I think I've been.

23 So I can't help but say that, even though the time span
24 is short in days and years, the amount of energy and effort
25 that has gone into these three years in social progress and
26 change in America and indeed, in the world, does make it seem

1 almost like an eternity.

2 Perhaps this is the more so for me because three years
3 ago I was called to new responsibilities and began to see the
4 sweep of events from a vantage point with a broader view.
5 And from where I sit, the scene is tumultuous -- a rapid,
6 almost a frightening pace of change.

7 But so it is, I'm sure, for all of us, for all men
8 and women and for all of the human institutions. And
9 nowhere has that change been more dramatic than in the world
10 of Catholicism.

11 Now, I stand in awe at the new wave of ferment and
12 vitality which you have loosened upon an admiring and at
13 times almost awe-inspired world. Ecumenicism is the order
14 of the day, not only in church affairs, but in all matters.
15 And what a prodigious dialogue you are carrying on among
16 yourselves as well as with the rest of mankind.

17 As never before, Catholics, Protestants and Jews are
18 attending each others' services, joining each others'
19 organizations, cooperating in each others' projects, marching
20 together in social action. And believe me, these are not
21 just formal or meaningless gestures. They are the very
22 heart of our life.

23 I have seen this ecumenical spirit at work on the
24 legislative front in the Congress of the United States.
25 I've seen it at work in the cities, as communities have
26 sought to open up opportunities for the disadvantaged.

1 I have seen it at work in the housing front. I've seen it
2 at work on the job front. I've seen it at work all across
3 the vast expanse of this land and, indeed, internationally.

4 I believe, of course, that all of these efforts are the
5 natural outgrowth of a renewed brotherhood and of a deeper
6 mutual understanding of a spirit of openness which men
7 ardently seek.

8 It is a tribute, may I say, to the everlasting validity,
9 the continuing freshness of the teachings of history's greatest
10 revolutionary or rebel, Jesus Christ, the Architect of change.

11 Now, during these troubled years the response of
12 Catholicism -- indeed, all churches -- a response character-
13 ized by a flexibility but rooted in the eternal, stands out as
14 a dynamo of hope against the forces that would fragment the
15 human race.

16 For me personally, one of the most remarkable episodes of
17 the last three years was my visit with Pope Paul in the Vatican.
18 I am sure that I speak for every American -- and I wish I
19 could say for everyone else -- when I pray for his good health
20 and his continued vigor.

21 Three years ago we were feeling the impact of two
22 historical encyclicals. I've spoken of them many times as a
23 layman, as a man in public life -- *Pacem in Terris* and *Mater*
24 *et Magistra*.

25 To these great letters from his predecessor Pope Paul has
26 now added his masterful encyclical on the development of peoples

1 a document remarkable for the breadth of its humanity and the
2 precision of its detail.

3 One of my most cherished possessions is a signed copy of
4 this encyclical, which its illustrious author gave to me as I
5 visited with him in audience in the Vatican in April of this
6 year. Its powerful opening phrases can serve as the
7 challenging text for today and for many tomorrows.

8 Let me digress and say that I have had reporters ask
9 me, when I left the Vatican -- they put the question and say,
10 "What did you talk to the Holy Father about?" They figured,
11 you know, it would be some highly controversial, international
12 thing. Even though we did discuss the international scene
13 in some intimate detail, I said, "We went through the
14 encyclical. I got my lesson from the great teacher."

15 And we did. Because it is a very far reaching document,
16 controversial and filled with a great many thoughts and
17 ideas that some people have difficulty for the moment
18 accepting. But it represents what I think is new thought,
19 long needed.

20 When I was in the Senate, I placed it in the Congressional
21 Record. Because I thought it was so important that the public
22 documents of America include these important letters, I
23 placed the encyclicals of the late beloved Pope John, as I
24 said, *Pacem in Terris* and *Mater et Magistra* in the
25 Congressional Record, and I discussed them, too.

26 I might say that I knew everything that I was saying,

1 but that isn't necessary if you're in the Senate, you know.
2 (LAUGHTER) And as we say, we spread in the record the words
3 and the great lessons of those marvelous letters.

4 Well, I said I wanted to select from Pope Paul's recent
5 encyclical some pages that I believe can serve as the text
6 for my discussion today, and those opening phrases I use.
7 Here are the phrases I have selected:

8 "Freedom from misery, the greater assurance of finding
9 subsistence, health and fixed employment; an increased share
10 of responsibility without oppression of any kind and in security
11 from situations that do violence to their dignity as men;
12 better education -- in brief; to seek to do more, know more
13 and have more in order to be more: that is what men aspire
14 to now when a greater number of them are condemned to live
15 in conditions that make this lawful desire illusory."

16 Just ponder those phrases, as I'm sure you have. But
17 I thought that rhythmic recitation of what mankind does
18 seek -- "...to seek to do more, to know more, to have more
19 in order to be more" -- that is what men aspire to now when a
20 greater number of them are condemned to live in conditions
21 that make this lawful desire illusory.

22 Now, that desire for an equal opportunity to achieve one's
23 highest humanity is lawful in the highest sense within the
24 Judeo-Christian tradition, and it is equally lawful under
25 the Constitution of the United States.

26 And to say that the desire for equal opportunity is

1 illusory for a large minority of American citizens today,
2 either because of racial discrimination or poverty, is no
3 overstatement.

4 What have we done and what can we do to fulfill that
5 lawful desire for the millions who live in our cities, that
6 lawful desire to know more, to have more, and to be more --
7 the lawful desire of our faith and the lawful desire of
8 our law?

9 Now, that is the subject of our meeting today. And
10 since we are looking back over the events of the last
11 three years, let me simply state that I think the Federal
12 government for its part has been responsive to the need to
13 the extent that its resources would permit.

14 Now, we have not always been sure that what we were
15 doing was the best course of action. I have been told that
16 one shouldn't show such uncertainty, that it tends to weaken
17 your case. But I think this is a time for soul searching.
18 We're trying new things. We're experimenting, not only in
19 our laboratories, in our great engineering and scientific
20 establishments -- we are experimenting in education. We
21 are experimenting in social welfare. We are experimenting
22 in this war on poverty.

23 We are trying to find some new answers to some of the
24 most ancient and troubling problems of mankind. So we
25 can't always be sure that what we are doing is the best
26 course, but it is the best that we know at the moment.

1 We are rather pragmatic. We're seeking to try a
2 particular policy or program in the hopes that it will have
3 some achievement or will work as we put it and then, if it
4 doesn't, we must have the courage, the intellectual integrity
5 to cast it aside and move into other ways.

6 So I say that we, both in the Administration and in the
7 Congress, have operated on the assumption that doing something
8 within the limits of our knowledge and experience is better
9 than doing nothing. The sins of commission are surely to
10 be tolerated better than the sins of omission.

11 We have tried and we will continue to do so. I think
12 the most fascinating thing that we are doing today is this
13 experimentation with private groups, individuals, churches
14 and government in the social field.

15 Would that our people were as tolerant about our mistakes,
16 working in the matter of human engineering, as they are the
17 mistakes of the mechanical engineer and the electrical
18 engineer, the scientist and even the doctor. It would be
19 so much easier to be in public life. (LAUGHTER)

20 Our course has involved a very simple form of trial and
21 error, and it has also involved some political risk as well.
22 But we have been ready to accept the results with our eyes
23 wide open, for we knew that the poor and the city dwellers
24 could only lose by inaction and delay.

25 The achievements that we've made in the last three years
26 have been achievements not for the Administration and one

1 Congress, but for the American people, for all of the
2 people -- achievements in Medicare, the Elementary and
3 Secondary Education Act, which has been a godsend to American
4 education.

5 For the first time we are able to break out of this
6 formula for failure, where education bills were stricken
7 down time after time, either on the subject of racism or
8 the relations between church and state. I spoke to the
9 Catholic Education Association in Cincinnati, Ohio recently
10 and I reminded them from my experience of the very first
11 bill I ever voted on when I came to the Senate in 1949.

12 It was Federal Aid to Education. We passed it in
13 the Senate, sent it over to the House and they killed it in
14 the House. Two years later they passed it in the House,
15 and they sent it over to the Senate, and we killed it in
16 the Senate. It was sort of a ping-pong game with a net
17 ball every other serve.

18 And it was always destroyed on one of two issues, either
19 church or race, and finally somebody came along and said,
20 "What about the child? Isn't there some way the government
21 of the people of the United States can serve people and not
22 just institutions? Isn't there some way we can use our
23 resources to help serve young people, all people, to gain
24 a better education?" And we found a solution.

25 We almost lost it this year, but we were able to maintain
26 it, and I want to say to this audience, "Guard it jealously,

1 that Elementary and Secondary Education Act offers to the
2 educator in the public and private and parochial school -- it
3 offers for the educator an opportunity to help the deprived and
4 needy and to experiment and to make education relevant to
5 human need and to the times in which we live.

6 I hadn't intended to say quite that much about education
7 at this moment -- (LAUGHTER) -- but I'm essentially an
8 educator. I'm a refugee from a classroom. (LAUGHTER) And
9 I like to put in my licks, as we say, whenever I get a chance
10 on the subject of education.

11 Well, these achievements have been many of recent days.
12 We have the Model Cities Program, which offers a real formula
13 for neighborhood redevelopment -- not just development, may I
14 say, of the physical plant, but the rehabilitation of the human
15 being.

16 And there are such things that seem so controversial as
17 rent supplements, job corps, job training, Head Start, Upward
18 Bound, neighborhood youth centers. These are achievements.
19 These are beginnings. These are hopeful signs of recent
20 years. They are new words in our vocabulary.

21 I visited several little Head Start classes yesterday.
22 I have people say to me, "Is this all the Vice President has
23 to do?" (LAUGHTER) And I want to tell you why I think it's
24 important for public officials to see what's going on. I
25 don't believe you get a good view of America from Foggy
26 Bottom on the banks of the Potomac in Washington. I think you

1 need to get out and see what goes on from one end of this
2 country to the other, even in the fog of San Francisco,
3 (LAUGHTER) and find out what happens. (APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER)

4 And there are, of course, even other legislative
5 possibilities on the way, including a vitally important
6 Safe Street and Crime Control Bill.

7 Now, I will not volunteer any detailed, professional
8 evaluation of these programs. I am, after all, speaking to
9 a roomful of men and women whose life's work is ministering
10 to the needy. The only evaluation I offer is that these are
11 honest efforts to get at old problems. We are making a great
12 decision in this country, and we have made it, namely, that
13 every American shall have an opportunity to get the most out
14 of his or her life.

15 I oftentimes quote the remarks of the famous American
16 author, Thomas Wolfe, when he spoke of the promise of America.
17 And he said that every man should have his chance, his right
18 to live and his right to work; his right to make the most of
19 himself, to make the most of whatever his talents or his
20 vision can combine to make him.

21 This is the promise of America. Everyone has their
22 chance. And at the time when we are the richest nation on
23 the face of the earth -- and the most powerful --, at a time
24 when we could literally have a lost weekend in our own self-
25 indulgence, the nation by public policy, as well as by private
26 climate, is determined to reach deep into its social structure,

1 to be of help to those who desperately need help, to extend
2 a helping hand to those who are almost lost, to help the needy,
3 the deprived -- not just to help them to survive but rather
4 to help them to live, to live with liberty and to live in
5 the spirit of the pursuit of happiness.

6 There's a great deal of difference between living and
7 surviving. You can survive in debauchery and even in sickness
8 and despair. But you live with a spirit of vitality, a spirit
9 of participation, of being wanted and having something to
10 contribute.

11 John Stuart Mill, one of the great political philosophers
12 of the nineteenth century, said, "A man that has nothing to do
13 for his country has not love for it." I think we can para-
14 phrase that, "When you are not wanted, you are rejected." Or
15 "When you are felt not needed, you have no love, either for
16 yourself, your family, your neighborhood or your country."

17 What we are trying to do is to try to bring people into --
18 to use the phrase -- the mainstream of American life. I think
19 more importantly we are trying to bring people within the
20 adventure of America, and it is a great adventure -- the
21 discovery of America.

22 Let them make their own discovery of what this nation
23 is all about, its promise, its hope, its excitement, its
24 movement. I really believe that this is what is happening,
25 and while many people are -- they are pessimistic about our
26 times and even about our country, I'm not one of them.

1 I travel from one end of this nation to the other, and I
2 see more good things happening now than ever before. I see
3 more of our young people doing good things than ever before.

4 I know those that get into the news are not always the
5 ones that are doing the good things, but I know that last year
6 over 250,000 of our college students volunteered their time
7 freely to work in community projects. I know that this year
8 a half a million of them will do it, and I know that if you
9 can organize and if you can provide some meaningful outlet
10 for their energy, their vitality and their talent, you can get
11 a million of them to do it. They are anxious to help.

12 Young Americans today want to be where the action is, as
13 they put it. They have another way of putting it, they want
14 "a piece of the action." They want to be involved.

15 Our great universities and colleges need to become
16 active participants in community life, not meadows of medita-
17 tion alone, an island of retreat for reflection, but action
18 centers.

19 And so many of our young people are anxious to work with
20 you, to be brought in to your activities, to be involved in
21 the social action programs of church and state, of voluntary
22 agency and public agency.

23 What we need are people who understand how we can recruit
24 them, how they can be, in a sense, oriented to their new
25 responsibilities, and how they can be motivated. The motiva-
26 tion is the least difficult, because the motivation is there.

1 Well, I think you're uniquely qualified for all these
2 efforts and I think you're uniquely qualified to judge the efforts
3 that we have made thus far and to give us constructive criticism.
4 I didn't say just criticism. (LAUGHTER) There's plenty of
5 that.

6 I want constructive criticism, and I assure you your
7 efforts and your actions and views will be eagerly scrutinized
8 in the nation's capitol.

9 I always have to vent my own philosophy on these occasions.
10 There's a tendency these days -- I suppose it's always been
11 thus -- for some people to demonstrate their unique intellec-
12 tual qualities by being just critical. I do not think
13 you prove yourself to be intelligent or an intellect or a
14 philosopher by acting as if you have got a chronic case of
15 dispepsia. Not at all. (LAUGHTER)

16 Critical analysis of any problem is to be desired, but
17 those who criticize should offer alternatives and be willing
18 to have those alternatives criticized. As the former President
19 used to say, "If you can't take the heat -- " that's Mr.
20 Truman, you know, used to say, "If you can't take the heat,
21 get out of the kitchen." (LAUGHTER) Don't criticize the
22 kitchen unless you are willing to put some biscuits of your
23 own in the oven and have people criticize them.

24 Now, I will point out that we have made a breakthrough
25 in our nation about what we as a society are trying to achieve
26 and how we should go about it. That's the breakthrough.

1 You may recall, some of you -- at least I hope you do --
2 that earlier this year I traveled in Europe. Most of the news
3 about that was pickets. But that wasn't what Europe was
4 mainly concerned about. What I found out in Europe, though,
5 was a terribly -- well, a back lack of -- a lack of communication
6 between ourselves and Europe.

7 I found that what most Europeans knew -- and I went to
8 universities; I talked with social workers, government people,
9 church people, young people, old people -- I found that very
10 few of them knew anything that we were doing here except a war.

11 They hadn't heard about Project Head Start. I didn't run
12 into five people in all of the countries of Europe that I went
13 to that could tell me anything about Project Head Start.

14 They hadn't really heard about our War on Poverty. They
15 hadn't really heard about what we were trying to do for our
16 senior citizens. They didn't know we were really concerned
17 about the environment in which we lived, the polluted air
18 and polluted water.

19 They didn't know we were deeply concerned about child
20 nutrition. They had little or no information about America
21 except about two or three things -- crime, lust, corruption
22 and war. That's what they knew. We have failed in our
23 communication.

24 I came back and met with our cabinet and told our people
25 in government -- after visiting with our President -- of what
26 I thought was this incredibly difficult situation in America,

1 the incredibly impossible situation of having failed in
2 communication.

3 I'm not going to assess blame. I guess all of us are some-
4 what at fault. But I must say in all candor that it's very
5 difficult to get good news spread across the land. Very
6 difficult. (APPLAUSE) The good news in America, not just
7 a demonstration on a street, but what is the result of it.
8 The good news of the opening of opportunities to millions of
9 people that never had them. The good news of civil rights
10 legislation. The good news of senior citizens' housing. The
11 good news of the expansion of our college facilities, good
12 news of eight and one-half million children being aided under
13 the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The good news
14 of a million and a half people being trained in job-training
15 programs that were hard-core unemployed, that never had a job
16 in their lives until they got that training. The good news
17 of cooperation between public and private agencies in this
18 country.

19 So we have now sent some people over to Europe out of our
20 Poverty Program, for example, our Office of Education and a
21 few other people, to tell people there their good news because
22 America is the last best hope on earth, and this great nation
23 of ours represents for millions and millions of people the
24 hope that they have for a better life.

25 I told a little group yesterday that if this great nation,
26 with its wealth, can't wage a successful war on poverty, then

1 who can? What country can? If we with our know-how, with
2 our science, our technology, our industrial capacity, if
3 we with our food producing capacity, if we with what we have
4 can't help the needy, who can?

5 What makes you think India can do it, or Ceylon, or
6 Pakistan, with their limited resources?

7 I happen to believe that one of the greatest things that
8 we can do for our international image is to be successful in
9 every endeavor we set our hand to here at home. Precept and
10 example. If we can conquer the condition of the slums in
11 America, then there is hope in Lima, Peru; there is hope in
12 Calcutta.

13 But if we can't do it here with what we have, what makes
14 you think you can overcome the abysmal poverty of Calcutta
15 or Bombay? Or of the slums that I have seen in some of the
16 cities of Latin America, where the resources are so much less,
17 where the know-how, the science, the technology, the management
18 skills are so much less.

19 That's why we have to do a good job here. That's why
20 there is an interrelationship in what you do at home and
21 what you seek to do abroad. That's why I happen to believe
22 that the best way to build for peace is to build for it. When
23 Pope Paul said that development is the new word for peace, I
24 agree.

25 And the Scriptures say -- please read -- the "peace
26 makers," not the talkers, or the walkers, or the pickets,

1 but the "makers." And making peace is a lot different than
2 talking about it.

3 So when I address a Peace Corps group, I say, "You are
4 making peace, but it isn't instant and it isn't going to come
5 in tomorrow's headlines." It's going to take time, patience,
6 perseverance, determination, will, example.

7 We build peace every time at home and abroad when some-
8 body becomes an active participant in the good life, when
9 somebody is filled with hope and filled with the exhilarating
10 experience of being involved in community life. That is the
11 building of peace.

12 And we build peace when we feed the hungry, don't we,
13 Bishop Swannstrom? We build peace when we heal the sick. And
14 we build peace when we help people build a nation, even
15 though it takes sometimes generations to build a nation.
16 Nations are not built out of erector sets or Tinker Toys.
17 They come from people, and from precedent and tradition and
18 heritage, as well as from immediate efforts.

19 Well, I've said that we made this important breakthrough
20 of what we are out to achieve and how we should go about it.
21 We have once and for all laid to rest the idea that poverty
22 and blighted opportunityt can adequately be treated with
23 charity, or, in more modern parlance, "welfare".

24 I do not want to be misunderstood. We need charity, and
25 we need the spirit of charity. We need compassion, and we
26 need the spirit of compassion. In fact, the strong man is

1 a charitable man, the strong nation is a compassionate
2 nation.

3 Compassion and weakness are not to be confused at all.
4 The weak are generally the violent and the arrogant and the
5 belligerent. It's the strong that are the kind and the
6 generous and the compassionate.

7 So we need that spirit, but I don't think that we ought
8 to get the idea that poverty and blighted opportunity can
9 adequately be treated with just acts of charity. We have
10 decided to seek basic and lasting solutions, rather than
11 contenting ourselves with palliatives, social opiates.

12 We are not engaged in the business of trying to make
13 poverty less painful alone. We're engaged in the proposition
14 of trying to find the cure for this social malignancy called
15 poverty.

16 My original training was in pharmacy. I know how to use
17 modern chemicals and modern pharmaceutical compounds to ease
18 pain. I've seen that pain in a cancer patient. But all the
19 opiates and all the Demerol and all the other pills and the
20 injections that you give will never cure the cancer by just
21 easing the pain.

22 So we spend hundreds of millions of dollars now in the
23 search for the answer. We experiment in advanced surgery. We
24 experiment in diet, nutrition, experiment in the structure of
25 the cell. We have hundreds of thousands of projects going on
26 all over the world in the field of cancer treatment and trying

1 to find out why -- and once you find out why, then what to
2 do about it.

3 But you know what? We haven't found out what to do about
4 it yet. Oh, in some instances we have made some little
5 breakthroughs, thank goodness, but we do not condemn the
6 medical profession or the scientific community because it has
7 not found the answers, even though we have spent billions of
8 dollars looking for it, and we have spent billions publicly
9 and privately.

10 Do you know what we do when the doctor fails and
11 he has made an honest effort? We say, "Doctor, how would
12 you like another hundred million dollars and take another
13 try?"

14 Do you know why? Because one out of five in this room
15 will have cancer, and one out of three will die of it. So
16 we are interested.

17 Now, the rate of the social malignancy of poverty is not
18 quite that high, but one out of seven in America is afflicted
19 with it. It was one out of six just a year and a half ago.
20 We are doing something. We have made some progress. It's only
21 one out of seven now.

22 But I want the American body politic to be as tolerant
23 in its judgment of our efforts in trying to cure this social
24 malignancy called poverty, desperation, hopelessness, frus-
25 tration, as we are in treating and talking to and judging our
26 scientists and medical men as they try to find the answer to

1 diseases of the body called "cancer".

2 Because believe me, there are many ways to kill a person,
3 many a way to die. And there are many people today who appear
4 to have life who are for all practical purposes dead --
5 dead of soul, dead of spirit, dead of mind -- but yet they
6 have life.

7 And the spark of life is there if it can be brought back
8 into a flame. That's what we are trying to do -- and my
9 goodness, are we going to have to try and try and try!

10 And that's why I come to see you, because you can help
11 so much. You are free. I believe in a pluralistic society.
12 I believe in the American mosaic. I do not believe that these
13 things can all be done by public institutions.

14 Public institutions are too circumscribed with rules
15 and regulations. They tend to be bureaucratic. It's
16 inevitable. It's not to be critical; it's a fact.

17 We need the social experimentation of those who are not
18 restrained and restricted by government, restrained by an
19 investigation per week, by the fear that automatically comes
20 because you are afraid if you make a mistake, you will be
21 publicly embarrassed, and even worse, publicly accused.

22 So we have a blend in America of this pluralistic society
23 of ours in education, in health and social welfare, and I only
24 hope that our social agencies from the great churches and our
25 other voluntary private groups will have a greater role to
26 play in the days ahead, to serve our people.

1 We were talking a bit about this last evening, the
2 possibilities I want you to think about. How can church-
3 related social services be brought in to serve great national
4 objectives without the loss of your individualism, your identity,
5 and without in any way violating the constitutional principles?

6 I think it can be done. I believe again that we must
7 have in mind that our objective is to serve the people. To
8 serve the people! And if you can serve people, then you can
9 use many a man-made institution to give that person freedom
10 of choice, options, ways and means that they can satisfy
11 their human needs through the institutions of our society.

12 You see, America is not just its government. Too often
13 we equate everything we try to do in this country with
14 government. That's wrong. Government in this country is but
15 a small fraction of the power of this nation.

16 And the meaning of this country, even though government
17 of the people, by the people and for the people in our
18 democracy is important and vital, it does not meet all of
19 our needs.

20 To the contrary, it meets only a small proportion of your
21 needs. The needs of the American people are met through family,
22 through individual institutions, through church, through
23 fraternal orders, through a host of private agencies and
24 institutions, and we need to get some kind of interplay
25 between public and private, a partnership, a working partnership,
26 not the domination of the public over the private, not the

1 domination of the public over the private, not the domination
2 of the secular over the spiritual, but a partnership.

3 I don't know how it will come out. I'm not that bright.
4 I don't know how we are finally going to do it, but I do know
5 this -- that in this complex society of ours today, with all
6 of its challenges and all of its needs, that we have, that we
7 cannot rely entirely and alone upon public bodies, public
8 people, public programs, public resources.

9 We have to blend them. And we are. But we need to do it
10 more.

11 Now, that wasn't in this written text. I just got off on
12 that and just thought I'd share that with you. (LAUGHTER AND
13 APPLAUSE)

14 I told my friend that I mentioned here earlier, Bishop
15 Swanstrom, on your overseas aid program I saw no need many
16 times for the government to go around building a whole new
17 setup when we already had some that were ready to go to work.

18 Why hire new people? Why expand the public payroll when
19 you have people who are already geared to it, trained to
20 it, devoted to it, who can give it the personal touch, the
21 human touch, taking away the impersonality of public action
22 and substituting the personal, intimate action of your
23 individual efforts?

24 Well, we have decided we are going to do whatever is
25 necessary in this country of ours to throw open the doors
26 of American opportunity to every resident of this nation.

1 I have said many times that we seek not to build in
2 America a welfare state as some people define that welfare
3 state. What we seek in this country is to build a state of
4 opportunity for every American, an opportunity to have his own
5 life and to make it a meaningful existence.

6 Now, this broader task is one that the Federal
7 government cannot and must not undertake alone. We in
8 Washington can dispense welfare, but we cannot make the
9 intricate task of social growth or manage that intricate task
10 of social growth that the permanent elimination of poverty
11 and blight will require.

12 Thomas Jefferson put it this way: "Were we directed
13 from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we would soon
14 want bread." (LAUGHTER)

15 So you see, this is a job for governments at all
16 levels, this work of opening the door of opportunity, particu-
17 larly in the cities and neighborhoods themselves. This is
18 where the people themselves have the greatest influence
19 over their own destiny, and that is where they make
20 their particular needs known most effectively.

21 And it is a job which requires the full resources of
22 private enterprise and the private non-profit organizations,
23 a job that requires the great volunteer work of the people
24 themselves.

25 The Federal government can provide resources, and we must
26 and we will. But the initiative, the drive, the creative

1 spirit and management that's going to get the job done will
2 have to come from the communities themselves. That concept --
3 Federal support for local initiative -- has been built into
4 every piece of poverty and urban development legislation passed
5 during the past three or four years.

6 We long ago came to the conclusion that you can't rebuild
7 America out of Washington. It's impossible. (APPLAUSE)
8 A better America will come in your city, in your county, in
9 your area.

10 That's where the schools are going to be good or bad.
11 That's where the hospital and medical services will be good
12 or bad. That's where people live in your communities.

13 Unless we can somehow or other inculcate into the
14 American people the spirit of self-help, self-reliance,
15 initiative, working as a partner with your government -- not
16 as an enemy, but in partnership -- we are not going to build
17 the kind of America that we dream of.

18 I am a peacemaker. I say it is time the demagoguery
19 of the past should come to an end and some of that demagoguery
20 has been worst where men in public life -- and even in private
21 have pitted the Federal government against State, State
22 against local, church against state, Protestant against
23 Catholic, Catholic against Jew and Jew against others, white
24 against black. What kind of nonsense is that?

25 It's destructive. It is toxic. It's a virus. And our
26 America with its abilities today cannot afford that kind

1 of demagoguery and that kind of social and political poison.

2 So we are today talking about the Federal level. We call
3 it "creative Federalism," the interplay of government
4 agencies, Federal, State and local. I prefer to call it
5 this great American partnership, dipping deep into the real
6 strength of America at the local and private level.

7 Now, will this formula work? Well, I think we already know
8 that the answer is yes. In fact, it must be yes. Federal
9 dollars, for example, invested under the new Model Cities
10 Program --and you ought to study that program because it will
11 be very meaningful in your communities -- can and will stimulate
12 greater public effort and private investment in a score of
13 cities.

14 Yet many times I read that what we need in Washington are
15 billions and billions of dollars in Federal money. Now, we
16 need plenty of Federal money. We need more than we are
17 getting right now. But we have to convince the American public
18 of that, too.

19 I have been in public office quite a little while, and
20 it's one thing to say you want it, and it's another thing to
21 get it. And if you start getting it too fast, you're apt to
22 get out. (LAUGHTER) You would be surprised how most people
23 in public life like to stay there. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

24 But where is the capital for rebuilding America? Where
25 is it? It's in the hands of private individuals, businesses,
26 corporations, trade unions. That's where it is.

1 Now, you can do it two ways. You can have the demagogue
2 reach in and dip it out and take it away from you and then
3 spread some of it back, and you'll all complain about that.
4 Or you can have the Federal government have what we call "seed
5 money," basic money, money that is matched, resources that will
6 stimulate the utilization of a much larger body of resources
7 from the private sector. That's what we are trying to do now.

8 This is what I think has been necessary in our
9 foreign aid -- not just public monies but private investment.
10 This is what is necessary in our cities.

11 We are not going to have the Federal government rebuild
12 our cities. We are going to have great American business
13 firms rebuild our cities. We are going to have the help of
14 churches and trade unions and community councils and local
15 government rebuild our cities. It can't be done by Federal
16 checkbooks alone.

17 I made a statement like this at another meeting, and
18 somebody says, "That means Humphrey doesn't mean to spend any
19 Federal money." That will be the day! I have never been
20 accused of that. (LAUGHTER) Most of my life I have been
21 called a big spender, and I believe in investment, lots of it.

22 I believe that the Federal and State governments have
23 tremendous responsibility for investment in public resources,
24 in the intra-structure. But I want to say that the job before
25 us is so big that no amount of public money alone can do it.
26 It needs to be done by all of us.

1 The slummism that grips too many American cities is a
2 kind of disease that requires more than the U.S. Public Health
3 Service. It requires the American Medical Association, all
4 the private resources.

5 While Federal dollars can be helpful, the Job Corps
6 camps all over the country are being successfully run by private
7 firms under government contract. Industries have undertaken
8 major on-the-job training programs for the hard-core unemployed,
9 either with or without Federal support.

10 I am going to be meeting with a group of industrialists
11 today here in San Francisco to encourage them to do what? To
12 hire the hard-core unemployed. Will they do it? If we work
13 with them.

14 You can't expect a corporation to act like a social worker.
15 (LAUGHTER) The head of a corporation is responsible for other
16 people's money. If it's a publicly owned corporation, he has
17 a fiduciary responsibility.

18 He can't -- even if his heart is filled with Christian
19 compassion till it overflows, he has no right to go around
20 spreading other people's stocks and bonds out to alleviate
21 suffering and pain. (LAUGHTER) He's running a business,
22 and don't let him crowd in on your work. (LAUGHTER)

23 But it is possible to talk to that corporation manager
24 and say to the businessman, "Americans are unemployed, need
25 jobs in industry, not jobs alone on government projects; jobs
26 in industry that will be lasting jobs; jobs where skills are

1 developed relevant to modern industrial production, to modern
2 distribution methods, to modern retailing, to modern agri-
3 culture. And we want you to hire these hard-core unemployed."

4 "You recruit them. You have got the personnel offices.
5 You train them. You have a training program. You supervise
6 them. You have supervisors on the job already. You work it
7 out with them. Recruit a hundred in your plant.

8 "Give them the dignity of knowing that they are working
9 for private enterprise. Give them the dignity of knowing they
10 are standing alongside other self-sustaining, producing,
11 productive workers. It helps.

12 "Let them know that they are a part of what everybody
13 else seems to be a part of, this great, productive America.
14 Now, to be sure, those workers will not be sufficiently
15 productive to earn their hourly paycheck. So we'll draw up
16 a contract with you, Mr. Businessman.

17 "The difference between their productivity and the wage
18 that you pay them will be a difference that the Federal
19 government is willing to pay you into your business to hire
20 those workers and to train them over a contractual period of
21 time -- six months, nine months or a year. And after that
22 if it's a productive worker, you have 'em."

23 Can't we do that, rather than just setting up new
24 institutions, hiring new Federal supervisors? I think so.
25 We are doing it, and I want to show you what's happening.
26 We happen to think this method will pay economic dividends as

1 well as social dividends.

2 Just two weeks ago President Johnson announced a
3 40-million-dollar test program designed to support an intensive
4 assault by the private sector on joblessness. Somebody said
5 right away, "Forty million dollars, that's not enough."
6 Of course it isn't, but it's a test program.

7 When we build a new airplane, we don't build a thousand
8 of them before you fly one, particularly if the first one
9 smashes into the side of a mountain on takeoff because of lack
10 of power or lack of something.

11 No, we are testing it. We are taking five major cities.
12 We are going to test this program. And if it works, it will
13 be the wisest investment we ever made, and it will be, in
14 terms of price, cheap.

15 You see, we are experimenting. The easiest thing to do
16 is to say, "Let the Federal government hire them. If they
17 don't have a job let the Federal government hire them."
18 That's the easy thing. That's what I call checkbook intelli-
19 gence. The answer is the checkbook. Just write it out.

20 We think that the best way is to go to people who have
21 hired workers all their lives, who have managed plants; to go
22 to a plant in which there is a union, in which a worker will
23 become accustomed to a shop steward. And let that worker feel
24 a part of what other people have and let the management have
25 the supervision. Let him have his bureaucracy running it rather
26 than create a brand new one at Federal government level.

1 We think that makes sense. We'll try it. We are not
2 sure, but we think it will work.

3 Now, the life insurance companies of America recently
4 pledged a billion dollars to finance low-cost housing in
5 slums -- the first time they have ever done this. Life
6 insurance companies up to then didn't want to finance housing
7 in slums because it was too risky. And to provide employment
8 opportunities in high unemployment areas.

9 Why are they doing it? Because American business has
10 a sense of consciousness, because what you believe, what you
11 preach, what you do has finally reached the heart and the mind
12 of management of the insurance companies.

13 And they say, "All right, we'll go with you, Mr. Uncle
14 Sam. We'll go with you, my dear friends. We'll join with
15 you, a billion-dollar commitment." That's quite a little
16 money -- out in Minnesota, anyway. (LAUGHTER)

17 So we see voluntary agencies, church groups, neighborhood
18 committees, corporations set up by ghetto residents
19 themselves are building housing and providing community ser-
20 vices with grants from governments at all levels.

21 There is Plans for Progress, a volunteer effort by
22 American corporate business to insure employment on the basis
23 of merit. I work with the Plans for Progress people. It's
24 another example of private effort to right old wrongs and
25 inequities.

26 We have over 400 companies of the biggest corporations

1 today under signed contract with the Vice-President of the
2 United States, speaking for government, on voluntary merit
3 employment, upgrading on merit, hiring on merit, and now
4 providing job opportunities for the needy.

5 The point is that all of our institutional resources --
6 governmental, voluntary, business and labor -- are beginning
7 to mesh into a cooperative national effort to build cities of
8 hopes. Cities of hope -- the cities that you have been
9 discussing.

10 What we are seeing is the development of a new American
11 ecumenicism, an ecumenicism which recognizes that
12 all of us suffer if the few are left behind.

13 Now, I know that the National Conference of Catholic
14 Charities is part -- a very big part -- of this picture.
15 To say that you shared in the growth of the ecumenical spirit
16 would be an unforgiveable understatement -- and I am not
17 generally prone to make understatements. (LAUGHTER) In your
18 work you were ecumenical long before Vatican II.

19 For ten years anyway you have been working harmoniously
20 with a widening circle of non-Catholic agencies.

21 We have seen the steady growth of your concerns and your
22 perspective. You have gone from a natural concentration on
23 your own toward an inevitable involvement with the needs of
24 the total community -- yes, from helping the poor to eliminating
25 poverty itself.

26 ~~Your spokesmen are heard, and they are heard with deep~~

1 respect in Washington, in State capitols, everywhere. And I
2 want to take this occasion to express the gratitude and the
3 appreciation of the President of the United States, of the
4 Administration, for the intelligent and informed constructive
5 support they have given to social legislation.

6 We would never have been able to do what we have done
7 without you. You know, I managed the Civil Rights Act in the
8 Senate in 1964. I had been at this business quite a little
9 while. They almost didn't let me in the Senate when I first
10 came down there, because I was so pro-Civil Rights, I guess.

11 I had a little experience. I made a little talk out
12 here at Fresno State College, and a few folks got on up and
13 walked out almost before I got started. They didn't even
14 know what I was going to say. For all they knew, I might
15 have been bringing a Federal grant! (LAUGHTER) I couldn't
16 help but note as they walked out, the last time I had a group
17 walk out like that was when the Dixiecrats walked out of
18 the Democratic convention. (LAUGHTER)

19 You know, walking out, striking out, lockouts, they
20 don't get you much. That is sort of the end of the line.
21 Thank goodness for you people that walk in. Walk in to it,
22 get on, walk into the problems. Do something about it.
23 Anybody can walk away. That is the first act of a coward,
24 physical, spiritual or intellectual.

25 But it's the one that stands his ground and then moves
26 forward, walks in, engages in the dialogue, the conversation,

1 joins the fight -- those are the kind I like. These sunshine
2 patriots that retreat every time somebody comes around, I
3 don't have much time for them. I didn't plan to say that
4 either. (LAUGHTER)

5 Now, I know that there has been a good deal of theoretical
6 discussion amongst your people of the "relevance" -- I picked
7 that word out of some of your literature -- (LAUGHTER) --
8 relevance among the Catholics. Well, now, how would you like
9 a non-Catholic point of view on that? (LAUGHTER)

10 As a friend let me just say that I think the Catholic
11 Church and Catholic Charities are relevant in the United States
12 today as never before. I don't quite know what that argument
13 is all about, but I know that you're needed and you're plenty
14 relevant. Of course, I might have gotten a little bit of that
15 out of my new daughter-in-law.

16 I think that you are relevant precisely as an instrument
17 for creating a better life in the cities, and I might add
18 in the rural areas as well.

19 Just remember this, that if you can create a better life
20 in the rural areas, there won't be as much immigration in the
21 cities. These are tied together. We call it the urban-rural
22 balance. If that isn't a bad balance I have never heard of
23 one. (LAUGHTER) One thing about the Federal government,
24 there is very little poetry. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

25 I happen to be one of those Midwesterners that believes
26 if you can have a little more than just fresh air and bees and

1 flowers and sunshine, if you can make your rural communities
2 cultural centers, educational centers, provide industrial jobs
3 as well as all the blessings that God Almighty gave in terms
4 of the good air and the good water and the living space, you
5 may not have quite as many problems in your urban centers.

6 I think they kind of work together, but you figure that
7 one out, and if you get all the answers, let me tell you the
8 President has asked me to head up -- and I have -- a cabinet
9 committee on urban problems, and then, just to be sure I don't
10 get off balance, he has said, "I would also like to have you
11 head one up, Mr. Vice-President, on rural problems."

12 (LAUGHTER) Both of which should not be interpreted as making
13 me an expert on either one.

14 Vice-presidents are not experts. We're the only general
15 practitioners left. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

16 So, my relevant friends, you are in an excellent position
17 to help coordinate public and private efforts because your
18 organization transcends the boundaries of separate communities
19 and cities. You are not bound by that map, because your
20 mandate is not limited to people of a single ethnic or racial
21 group.

22 Moreover, your churches and your schools and your
23 community centers are often in the very ghetto areas where
24 the opportunities they afford are needed most. To put it
25 bluntly, you are in the front line in this war on poverty,
26 right out there where they are lobbing the shells right

1 in on you, I know. And I am one of those in government who
2 wants to help pass the ammunition to you for getting something
3 done, and you can rely on that.

4 The office of the Vice-President is open and his mind is
5 open, too. His heart has been open a long time. The other
6 two I can now assure you of as well. (LAUGHTER)

7 But I know that your role extends far beyond the
8 physical or the practical sphere. No mixture of money and
9 material well-being by itself can rekindle the hope that has
10 flickered out from many residents of urban and rural America
11 today -- and I do not mean just the poor ones.

12 Our cities today are suffering from more than a lack of
13 physical amenities. There is in them, and in many of the people
14 who live in them, a sickness of the soul, an emptiness of the
15 spirit. Men are deadened, frustrated, alienated and finally
16 unhinged.

17 This is the poverty that is most difficult to overcome.
18 The poverty of the purse in this rich nation is easy to over-
19 come. Write a check. Make the welfare allowances a little
20 more. But what about the poverty of the spirit? What about
21 that sense of hopelessness and despair which ultimately
22 becomes bitterness and animosity, which boils over into
23 hatred and violence?

24 That is the poverty we are talking about. That is
25 where you come into the act as no government person can possibly
26 do. And that is the poverty that will challenge us day in and

1 day out.

2 It is the poverty of the spirit, far more than the
3 poverty of the purse, that challenges this rich nation.

4 How do we put men together again? That's the task.

5 How do we re-arouse that desire to care, to hope and to
6 act? How do you breathe life back into a deadened spirit?

7 The Church with its abiding concern for the whole man,
8 with the inner man as well as the shell, I believe can help
9 us find the answer.

10 That's why I wanted to come to you. The measure of our
11 success as Christians and as Americans will be our ability
12 to make real to men the lawful desire -- in the words, again,
13 of Pope Paul --

14 "To make real that lawful desire to do more, to know
15 more and to have more in order to be more" -- and the greatest
16 of these is "to be more". I think you can help people be
17 more. More power to you in that task.

18 Thank you.

19 (APPLAUSE)

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