THE PRISIDENT'S MESSAGE ON CEO BILL

The following statement was issued Tuesday, November 8th, by President Johnson as he signed the Economic Opportunity.

Amendments of 1966

"Twenty-six months ago, I signed into law this nation's declaration of war against poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. At that time I said, Our American answer to poverty is not to make the poor more secure is their poverty but to reach down and to help them lift themselves out of the ruts of poverty and move with the majority along the high road of hope and prosperity."

"On that August day, there were more than 34 million Americans living in acute want and deprivation. Even though they lived among us in our cities and our rural communities, they were largely ignored and unheard. Most Americans were unaware of their existence. Between them and the America of abundance known to most of us there were almost no bridges they could cross. That was two years ago. So much has happened since then that it is almost impossible to believe so short a time has passed. Now, the majority of Americans recognize the problem of poverty in our nation and are determined to defeat it. Now, local leadership in the cities, in the counties, and in the states is moving forward in partnership with the Federal Government, to design programs for fighting this national ill. Now, some one thousand communities are mobilized through Community Action to fight the hometown battle against conditions which keep people poor."

"Now, just over two years after this declaration of war on poverty was signed, we have dynamic programs in action which have captured the imagination and the support of the largest volunteer army in our history. The Head Start program has over one million of our poor pre-school children -- and through them, their parents and families. There is the Job Corps in which more than thirty thousand young men and women are being trained for more productive lives. There is the Neighborhood Youth Corps which has provided meaningful employment to more than 750,000 poor youth. Tix re are more than 3,500 VISTA Volunteers living and working among the poor in the finest spirit of American sharing and helping. We have legal services bringing justice to the poor, and neighborhood centers -- more than 600 of them -- focusing a variety of services in the areas where they are most needed. We have Upward Bound; the Foster Grandparents program; Neighborhood Health Centers; and new activity on our Indian reservations and in migrant camps. Special loan programs are helping our rural poor. Almost one-third of our poverty funds are going to Rural America."

"Still it is not enough. We cannot rest until every man and woman and child has been helped out of the abyss of poverty. We will continue to move forward against this enemy. We will continue to mount an attack which has already helped bring more than two million people out of poverty over the past two years. I am proud of what has been accomplished under the leadership of Sargent Shriver and this Administration. We intend to continue the war against poverty with a determination strengthered by our pregress over the past two years."

ADDRESS BY SARGENT SHRIVER THE ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C. NOVEMBER 2, 1966

I had four experiences last week that couldn't have happened two years ago to any Government official anywhere in the country.

I was in Cincinnati--visiting a northside community known as the Steele Subdivision.

I met the Reverend Edward Jones, 61, a gentle-hearted man, wide of mind, who has been the Pastor 31 years of the First Baptist Church. He told me about his community.

Three years ago garbage of all kinds lay in the street in a casserole of neglect. Cars slouched in alley-ways-their wheels stripped and their insides picked clean. The scruffy houses were only a cut above shacks--no windows, no heat, no air, no nothing.

I looked around to see these sights--but the neighborhood was completely changed.

I asked Pastor Jones what happened. How could an eyesore three years ago now be a sight for sore-eyes?

"We have 285 families in the Steele Subdivision," he began, "most of them low-income. Three years ago, we decided to quit 'crying' on each other's shoulders about our poverty and instead start putting those shoulders to the wheel--to get ourselves out of poverty. We got each family to chip in a dollar. Then we hired a bulldozer to cover up the garbage dump. That was something everyone could see. They could look out the window and say, 'the dump is gone. And it went because we wanted it to go.'

"In no time, we tore down 24 houses--all of them were condemned buildings. That was another improvement we could see. The houses went because the local people wanted them to go.

"In December of 1964, we had enough community support to apply to OEO for a grant. But we made a resolution before accepting it—we didn't want the money as a substitute for our effort but only as a supplement to our initiative.

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"Since then, the Steele Subdivision has never been the same. I went over to the Sisters of Mercy Convent three blocks away from my church to ask their help. The next day, 24 of the sisters came over. They've been helping out since. They set up an adult education program--teaching the people home economics, sewing and typing.

"Last year, we petitioned the Hamilton County officials for use of the Steele Grade School, which had been abandoned. We are now using the bottom of it for our Head Start program. What's more, the Ursuline Sisters from St. Margaret Mary High School are now helping us run it."

I asked Pastor Jones to explain this turn-about in his community.

He put it this way: "The War on Poverty has worked in this community because the people were willing to work."

I asked if the community could use any more help.

"You bet we can. You supply the money and we'll supply the effort."

Later that day, I went to St. Joseph's Infant Home of Cincinnati. This is a three-story building that is 87 years old -- but it has some of the youngest and freshest ideas I have ever seen.

Sister Rose Eileen of the Sisters of Charity met me at the door. She is the supervisor of the children at St. Joseph's and has been both a nun and registered nurse for 25 years.

When we walked into the main lobby of St. Joseph's, I was greeted by 50 old people -- Catholic, Protestant and Jew -- married, unmarried-employed, unemployed.

Sister Rose Eileen told me they were all from the Foster Grandparents program of Cincinnati.

"Each one of the old people works 20 hours a week," she said. "Each grandparent takes care of two children. Nearly all the youngsters are unadoptable--because of either physical or nervous disorders."

I spoke to a few of the Foster Grandparents. One man, 78, didn't hesitate to tell me what was happening. "Ever since I've been taking care of my two little ones, I haven't had an ache or pain. I can't figure it out. I'd been taking medicine for the past 15 years and was always feeling bad. But I haven't needed a pill in the last six months. That's exactly how long I've been working with my Foster Grandchildren."

That man was now getting medicine that no doctor could ever give him: the medicine of being needed. He was wanted. He was using his hours in helping others—instead of trying to get others to help him.

As for the children, Sister Rose Eileen told me that since the old people had been coming they were crying less and enjoying life more. In fact, the children are even to the point of expressing their "felt need." Sister said, philosophically, they would probably be out on the picket lines soon—in the style of any normal American youth.

A few hours later, I was in Chicago--at the Bethany Methodist Hospital. Reverend Bert Selin, 65, a methodist minister since 1924, is the Administrator of Bethany--a job he has held for the past 25 years. His hospital has 85 beds for the acutely ill and 105 for the chronically ill.

He took me to one of the day rooms in the chronically ill section where I saw one of the most unforgettable sights I had ever seen. A short skinny girl with scraggly hair, wearing a dress too long and too loose, was feeding a patient with Parkinson's disease. His hands, arms and head shook uncontrollably.

The girl took a spoonful of soup--and somehow got it into the patient's mouth. She did it again. And again--until the soup was gone. Then she fed the patient the rest of the meal--weary spoonful by weary spoonful.

A few minutes later--after the young lady left the room--the patient told me what a beautiful girl she was. That short, skinny girl with the scraggly hair was beautiful to that man with Parkinson's. She was not only beautiful, but loveable.

Pastor Selin told me the girls were from the nearby Brunswick Job Corps Center for Women. "I don't know of any program that has been a greater boon to the hospital than the help of these girls. Not only ours but every hospital. Every hospital in Chicago wants to hire these girls when they finish their 3-month training at the Job Corps. There are more jobs than there are girls."

The next day, I was in St. Louis. I went to the Gateway Neighborhood Youth Center--which is not far from the Mississippi River--and not far, either, from the worst poverty area in St. Louis.

Outside of the center, I was stopped by Pastor David Spooner, a 31-year old minister of the United Church of Christ and ordained six years ago at the Eden Theological Seminary.

Right now, he is both the Chaplain at the St. Louis City Hospital and the Chairman of the Shouteau-Russell Council--the local citizen's coordinating group.

Pastor Spooner is an intense young man in the full flower of his days. He spoke his mind without hesitating. "I don't know how the War on Poverty is being waged elsewhere around the country, but here the fighting is heavy and the warriors are many. In only two years, we have ten Neighborhood Improvements Associations. The local citizens come together to discuss what needs to be done--how it will be done--and who will do it. We have a legal services for the poor program and a health center.

"Two years ago we only had five people show up for the first meeting of my local Improvement Association. A month later -- at the second meeting -- 60 people came. The next month we had 160 -- almost the entire neighborhood.

"These people don't see the poverty program as a political gimmick. For one thing, they are too proud to accept money from Washington on the silver platter of welfare. "The poor don't want to be 'spent-on'-- they want to be 'invested-in'." What Pastor Spooner said reminded me of an old saying: "The greatest good we can do for others is not just to share our riches with them--but to reveal their riches to themselves."

I have told you about these scenes because that's the War on Poverty.

- --We couldn't be fighting it without the Baptist Pastor Edward Jones in the Steele Subdivision.
- --We couldn't be fighting it without Sister Rose Eileen of St. Joseph's Infant Home.
- --We couldn't be fighting it without the Methodist Minister Bert Selin in Chicago.
- --We couldn't be fighting it without Reverend David Spooner in St. Louis.

Two years ago, there wasn't an official of the United States Government who could have made that trip and seen those sights. Two years ago, we believed that because church and state were separate, church and state had to be mutually exclusive. Two years ago, we believed that the money of Government could not be mixed with the currency of salvation.

I think the War on Poverty has taught us new lessons about ourselves. We have not merely created a political agency--of a political government--for political reasons. Instead, we have an agency that attacks the causes of poverty from all angles--politically, economically and morally.

But there is still opposition. One of the most common objections to the War on Poverty is that it cannot be won because Jesus Christ said it couldn't be won. Skeptics love to quote the famous biblical passage--"The poor you always have with you."

The interpretation of this passage supposedly implies that poverty is as much a law of nature as it is an unchangeable fact of society. And that Christ himself admits nothing can be done about poverty. Some people even tell me that because of this text the War on Poverty is anti-christian--we are going against Christ's prophecy.

After the biblical dust has settled, however, I think the real meaning of Christ's words are apparent. "The poor you always have with you" was a commentary not on poverty but on human nature.

Societies will always have poor people

- --because the rich will always be selfish.
- --because the poor will always be deprived of economic opportunity.
- --because the poor will always be denied equal rights to justice and liberty.
- --because some men will always hoard more goods than they need.

Although all of this is true, Christ did not say it had to be true. Christ did not suggest that we must always have poverty. He was only saying that poverty would always be the result when his followers did not live according to God's will. In effect, he was saying that if enough people lived according to the Judeo-Christian morality there would be no poverty at all in the world.

This explains why the War on Poverty is not only being fought politically but also morally. And I consider it a great tribute to the United States of America and to the Democratic Party -- especially President Lyndon Johnson -- that this nation is the first and only to establish the eradication of poverty as a national, not only a religious, goal.

The difference between politics and morality is that the political man acts for the good of the people while the moral man acts because the people are good.

At the Office of Economic Opportunity

- --We believe that the 35 million poor people in this country are basically good human beings.
- --We believe the poor are infinitely more than fringe operations, or that they are just the butter of the guns and butter equation.
- --We believe the poor need the freedom of their own ambition or else they lose their ambition to be free.
- --We believe the War on Poverty is not an act of charity, but a duty to justice.

Since the Fall of 1964, we already have enough concrete results to see that the War on Poverty is not only an act of political foresight but an act of moral insight.

Despite these successes, many Americans are still not disturbed by the presence of poverty in America. The apathetic middle-class is now joined by militant white back-lashers. These people are not disturbed that 20% of the nation is poor, while only $1\frac{1}{2}$ % of the Federal budget is used to fight poverty.

They seem to have the idea the poor are sunk in poverty because they deserve to be there--possibly because they are sinners. But they-the middle-class--enjoy wealth because of God's special blessing.

The last session of Congress was a mirror to the image of our indifference to poverty. Some Congressmen were calling the poverty program a "boondoggle," a "waste" or "Shriver's pipe dream." Back home, their constitutents were asking these questions:

- --why are the poor lazy?
- --can't they make it the hard way, like I did?
- -- aren't the poor too well off on relief?
- -- can't they at least clean up their neighborhoods?
- --why don't they move out of the slums?

One person who has answers to these questions is Pastor Arthur Simon-- a young Lutheran Minister who lives and works in the lower east side of New York at Trinity Lutheran Church. He attributes our indifference to poverty to the fact that "we have baptized middle-class respectability."

He says there is nothing wrong with being middle-class -- the trouble is that such a style of life is often "a commitment to self-promotion, exclusion and evasion of human problems."

Pastor Arthur Simon wrote recently: The middle-class

- "Is self-promoting because it places too high a value on our own comfort: it indicates an inordinate desire for earthly possessions: and it is nourished by a search for status.
- "It is exclusive because in this style of life people of similar background and circumstances are drawn together, like iron filings by a magnet, into neighborhoods which have systematically eliminated the less worthy.
- "It is evasive because it cuts us off from precisely those people whose needs are most acute and to whom the gospel recommends us most of all."

What does this clinging to middle-class values mean in actual fact? In Pastor Simon's neighborhood, it means that during a period of time when 200,000 low-income people were moving into Manhattan below 14th Street, 17 Protestant Churches were moving out. Other Churches, like Trinity, dwindled to a handful of old faithfuls.

One of the tragic paradoxes of our day is that while Christians have the means of freeing the world from poverty, it is often others who do the freeing. Christianity seems to have a case of moral hemophilia where social responsibility is bleeding away. The test of 20th Century Christianity is not how much the poor enter into the life of the Church-but how much the Church enters into the life of the poor.

This is not a new idea. A book was published 20 years ago in England called Christianity in the Marketplace by Michael de la Bedoyere. Its message was that the Church must go where the people are without fear of becoming secular. Yet, many of us still think that to be secular means to be worldly. And so, avoiding worldliness, we also avoid the secular city. And we avoid poverty.

As editors and journalists of the country's leading Protestant newspapers and journals, you might ask what is your role in the War on Poverty.

I think you have an obligation to communicate to your readers these facts:

- --Tell them who is fighting the War on Poverty -- all Americans -- rich, middle-class and the poor. Although this War can be waged by a few, it can only be won by all. It is an all out War.
- --Tell your readers why we are fighting poverty. Remind them of Albert Schweitzer's words:

Whatever you have received more than others in the way of health, in talents, in ability, in success, in a pleasant childhood, in harmonious conditions of home life--all this you must not take to yourself as a matter of course. You must pay a price for it. You must render in return an unusually great sacrifice of your life for other life.

--Tell your readers how we are fighting poverty. With Community Action programs. With Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Upward Bound, Job Corps, Health and Legal Services for the poor programs, Foster Grandparents.

--Tell your readers we need them--even the ones who picket OEO. And we need the editor whose sharp barbs can pierce like doubled-edged swords.

G.K. Chesterton once said "That a job worth doing is worth doing badly." In the War on Poverty, we have made both errors in judgment and mistakes in technique. But these have been failures in performance, not failures in motivation. We are striking out for new directions, breaking into new horizons and establishing new paths.

Some people in this country are trying to survive the War on Poverty, but this country needs the War on Poverty to survive.

In short, we are trying to fulfill the responsibility set before us by a current thinker:

We must not follow where the path may lead, but we must go where there is no path, and then leave our trail.

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

I want to talk to you today about the center of our society -- the American city.

Over 70% of our population live in urban areas. Half a century from now 320 million of our 400 million Americans will live in cities with our larger cities receiving the greatest impact of this growth.

For almost three years my administration has been concerned with the question: what do we want our cities to become?

For you and your children, the question is: What kind of place will Syracuse be fifty years from now?

A city must be more than a collection of shops and buildings; more than an assortment of goods and services; more than a place to escape from.

A city must be a community where our lives are enriched. It must be a place where every man can satisfy his highest aspiration. It must be an instrument to advance the hopes of all its citizens. That is what we want our cities to be. And that is what we have set out to make them.

One word can best describe the task we face -- and that word is immense. Until this decade, one description fitted our response: "too little and too late." By 1975 we will need two million new homes a year -- schools for 60 million children -- health and welfare programs for 27 million people over the age of 60 -- and transportation facilities for the daily movement of 200 million people in more than 80 million automobiles.

In less than 40 years -- between now and the end of this century -- urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build in our cities as much as has been built since the first settler arrived on these shores.

Our cities are struggling to meet this task. They increased their taxes by 39% between 1954 and 1963, and still their tax debts increased by 119 percent. Far more must be done if we are to solve the number one domestic problem of the United States.

Let me be clear about the heart of this problem: It is the people who live in our cities and the quality of the lives they lead that concern us.

We must not only build housing units; we must build neighborhoods. We must not only construct schools; we must educate our children. We must not only raise income; we must create beauty and end the pollution of our water and air. We must open new opportunities to all our people so that everyone, not just a fortunate few, can have access to decent homes and schools, to recreation and culture.

These are obligations that must be met not only by the Federal Government but by every Government -- State and local -- and by all the people of America. The Federal Government will meet its responsibility, but local government, private interests and individual citizens must provide energy, resources, talent, and toil for much of the task.

Many of the conditions we seek to change should never have come about. It is shameful that they should continue to exist. And none are more shameful than conditions which permit some people to line their pockets with the tattered dollars of the poor.

We must take the profit out of poverty. And that is what we intend to do.

First, I have asked the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to set as his goal the establishment -- in every ghetto of America -- of a neighborhood center to service the people who live there.

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Second, I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to increase the number of neighborhood legal centers in slums. I want these legal centers to make a major effort to help tenants secure their rights to safe and sanitary housing.

Third, I am directing the Attorney General to call a conference to develop new procedures to insure that the rights of tenants are fully and effectively enforced. We will have at that conference the best legal minds in the country to work with State and local officials.

Fourth, I will appoint a commission of distinguished Americans to make the first comprehensive review of codes, zoning, taxation, and development standards in more than two generations. I proposed the establishment of such a commission in my 1965 message on the cities. Both Houses of Congress this week agreed in conference to fund this effort. The work of the commission will begin immediately upon the enactment of this legislation.

These are steps we will take now. But let me be perfectly candid: This job cannot be done in Washington alone. Every housing official, every mayor and every governor must vigorously enforce their building, health, and safety codes to the limit of the law. Where there are loopholes, they must be closed. Where there are violations, the exploited tenant must be assured a swift and sure action by the courts.

Not even local officials, however, can change these conditions themselves. Unless private citizens become indignant at the treatment of their neighbors, unless individual citizens make justice for others a personal concern, poverty will profit those who exploit the poor.

The Federal government, of course, has a very large responsibility. And we are trying not only to fulfill but enlarge our role in the rebirth of American cities.

In 1961 we were investing \$15 billion in our cities. We have increased that nearly 100 percent -- to almost \$30 billion. For the first three years of this decade these programs increased by an average of \$1-1/2 billion per year. Since then, they have increased \$4 billion per year -- 2-1/2 times the rate of increase in the previous three years.

We have made important new starts in many vital areas: in the War on Poverty; in assistance to law enforcement; in the attack on pollution; in the training of manpower; in the education of children; and in the improvement of our health.

But not all the answers are in. Not even all the questions have been asked. We must continue to search and to probe, to experiment and to explore. We need constant study and new knowledge as we struggle to cure what plagues the American city.

This is why, for the first time in our history, our cities have a place in the Cabinet. More than a century after President Lincoln created the Department of Agriculture, we have a Department to serve the needs of the three out of four Americans who live in cities.

I have directed every member of my Cabinet who can help with our urban challenge to meet at least once a week in the White House -- or as often as necessary, to keep our cities program moving. I have asked each one of them to go out into the cities and to see the needs for themselves -- and to come back and tell me what he finds.

This is why we have brought to Washington the ablest men we could find in this country to concern themselves with the future of our cities. They have come from the universities, from business, and from labor. They are scientists, tangens, and managers -- creative men, men of vision, practical men.

This is why we have taken steps to set up summer programs for our youth, to keep the playground open later at night, to open swimming pools and open fire hydrants on hot summer evenings. These temporary steps do not take an act of Congress. Any city can take them. Every city should take them now.

There are responsibilities, however, which only Congress can meet. We need laws and new programs -- and we need them this session.

I have proposed to Congress what could become the most sweeping response ever made to our cities' needs. This is the Demonstration Cities Program which is still before the Congress. It admits for the first time that cities are not made of bricks but of men. When Congress acts -- and action is needed now -- we will be able to make the first concentrated attack on urban blight and to rebuild or restore entire neighborhoods.

As we learn more, new ideas and new courses of action to improve our cities can be fitted into the demonstration cities program. It does not freeze our strategy and inhibit future change. It does not erode the power of local governments, but on the contrary gives cities new choices and new abilities, new ideas and new spurs to action.

Congress has already acted to provide the money for the rent supplement program that will mobilize private enterprise for our poor. Every \$600 of rent supplements will encourage private enterprise to build a housing unit with 20 times that amount.

Congress gave us \$18 million less than we need, and it only acted more than a year after we proposed rent supplements. But now we can move forward to help hundreds of thousands of poor families raise their children in clean and decent surroundings.

These are only two of the programs we have laid before Congress to help solve the problems of our cities. What we need now -- and what American cities expect now -- is action. Congress can pass this program and bring new opportunities to millions.

To the Congress I say:

Give us funds for the Teachers Corps -- and let skilled teachers bring knowledge and a quest for learning to those children who need it most.

Give us more resources for rent supplements -- and let us provide better homes for so many who live in substandard housing.

Give us the Civil Rights bill -- and let us begin to break the chains that bind the ghetto by banishing discrimination from the sale and rental of housing.

Give us the means to prosecute the War Against Poverty -- and let us provide jobs and training for adults and a head-start for the very young.

Give us the Child Nutrition Act -- and let us offer breakfasts and hot lunches to needy children who can be encouraged to stay in school.

Give us the Hospital Modernization bill -- and we can build and modernize hospitals to serve our urban citizens.

Give us the legislation -- and we can help overcome a severe shortage of trained medical personnel.

Give us the money for Urban Mass Transit -- and our cities can begin to provide adequate transportation for their people.

Give us a just minimum wage -- and more American workers will earn a decent income.

Give us better unemployment insurance -- and men out of work can be trained for jobs that need workers.

Give us the Truth in Lending bill -- so that customers, especially those who are poor, can know the honest cost of the money they borrow.

Give us the Truth in Packaging bill -- so the hard-earned dollars of the poor -- as well as of every American -- can be protected against deception and false values.

We have an agenda for action. We have taken the first steps toward great cities for a great society. Now Congress must act to give us the power to move ahead on all these fronts.

This is no time to delay. This is no time to relax our efforts. We know there is no magic equation that will produce an instant solution to the blight and poverty and want deposited in our cities by decades of inaction and indifference.

But we also know there is no substitute for action.

I do not know how long it will take to rebuild our cities. I do know it must not -- and will not -- take forever. For my part, I pledge that this Administration will not cease our efforts to make right what has taken generations to make wrong.

We have started down that road. Until each city is a community where every member feels he belongs, until it is a place where each citizen feels safe on his streets, until it is a place where self-respect and dignity are the lot of each man -- we will not rest.

This is what men have always dreamed their cities would be. And this is what we seek to build.

FOR RELEASE: 2/9/67
THURSDAY AM'S

EXCERETS FROM REMARKS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

Charleston, West Virginia - Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey says the War on Poverty will be stepped up, not cut-back.

Speaking before the West Virginia AFL-CIO Legislative

Conference in Charleston on Wednesday, February &, the Vice President
said the "sums allotted to the total attack upon poverty in the

President's new budget adds up to over 25 billion dollars---an increase
of 3 billion dollars over last year."

"Of the 25 billion dollar total, "ha explained, "the Office of Economic Opportunity accounts for only two billion dollars."

The Vice President pointed to several steps being taken to expand and intensify the War on Poverty. Humphrey said, "In addition to the three thousand full-time VISTA volunteers, we are planning to recruit fifty thousand additional VISTA 'associates' -- people who will give part-time service in their communities."

"We have learned, for example, that the effects of the Head Start program--impressive as they seem at first--tend to fade away in the first few months of regular school. So, in order to maintain the mcmentum gained in Head Start, we are initiating a Head Start Follow Through Program in the primary grades."

The Vice President stressed the need to do more for the rural areas, where more than two-fifths of the nation's poor live. He said President Johnson has proposed to channel more help to rural communities.

"For millions in poverty, of course, there is only one practical remedy---more money," the Vice President stated.

"These are the aged, the disabled, the families with young children and no bread-winner---people who literally are unable to support themselves.

"To meet this need, the President is urging a substantial across-the-board boost of Social Security benefits, and the extension of Medicare to the 1.3 million permanently and totally disabled Americans under 65."

The Vice President added, "Looking ahead, the President is appointing a commission of leading citizens to look into all possible means for assuring every American a way out of poverty."

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FOR RELEASE: 2/9/67 THURSDAY AM's

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY WEST VIRGINIA AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE CHARLESTON, WEST VIRGINIA FEBRUARY 8, 1967

I have visited your Mountain State many times. But I think you can understand that my most vivid memories are of the spring of 1960, when I campaigned up and down West Virginia -- and, believe me, I do mean up and down.

A lot has happened since then. A lot of progress has been made by West Virginia and West Virginians. (And I have made some myself.)

You have been blessed with first-rate leadership:

- --with Governor Smith, whose alert and modernminded administration has done so much to spark your economic progress;
- --with Senator Byrd, whose new post as head of the Senate Democratic Conference offers him fresh opportunities for statesmanship;
- --with Senator Randolph, whose prominence as Chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee puts him in position to give even more distinguished service to West Virginia and to the nation.

Back in 1960, I remember, there were some Americans who thought that poverty was something peculiar to West Virginia. And I remember that people here strenuously objected to being singled out in this way.

How right they were. For, since then, Americans have become painfully aware that there was poverty in every state and every city in this nation. For the most part, it was hidden away in isolated rural areas or urban ghettoes, where it was all too easy to ignore it or not even see it.

To paraphrase the theme of your Governor's "State of the State Message," what has happened is this: Poverty has for the first time commanded the <u>attention</u> of the American people and spurred them into <u>action</u>.

Of course, Americans have been fighting their way out of poverty in one way or another ever since the first settlers came here to escape the poverty of the Old World. And the labor movement in particular has been battling poverty directly, by organizing men and women to get decent wages and working conditions.

The new war on poverty has been in progress for only two years. Yet there are already summer soldiers who are prepared to haul down the banners, fold the tents, and abandon the field of battle.

Let us take stock. Just how far have we come?

First, let us put the wat on poverty in perspective. It is being waged on a much wider front than the programs -- such as the Job Corps and Head Start -- initiated by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The sums allotted to the total attack upon poverty in the President's new budget add up to over 25 billion dollars -- an increase of 3 billion dollars over last year. Of the 25 billion dollar total, the Office of Economic Opportunity accounts for only 2 billion dollars.

The var on poverty includes the great social programs launched by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, such as Social Security, the National Labor Relations Act, and the minimum wage.

It includes, too, the full-employment economic policy of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations -- a policy which has created an environment in which business, labor, and agriculture could work together to achieve a sustained economic growth -- now in its seventy-first month -- unprecedented in our history.

The war on poverty includes Medicare, the Appalachian Regional Development program, the Economic Development Administration, and the new federal programs for elementary and secondary schools, which are specifically directed to helping under-privileged children get a better education and a better start in life.

What have these programs and policies achieved?

- --Five million more Americans are at work today than were at work a year ago.
- --Wages are the highest in our history and unemployment is at its lowest point in 13 years.
- --Our Gross National Product has reached three-quarters of a trillion dollars.
- --More than one million persons are receiving job training under federal programs, compared to none only six years ago.
- --Of the six million young Americans in college today, one million are there because of federal assistance.
- --More than 3.5 million elderly Americans have already received assistance under Medicare.

The war on poverty has created eleven hundred Community Action agencies, serving half the nation's poor and touching all the 50 most poverty-afflicted metropolitan areas.

- --It has enlisted more than 56 thousand citizens for community action boards, more than one-third of them from the poor.
- --It has helped prepare 1.2 million pre-schoolers for the first grade through the Head Start program.
- --It has given work and training to 5 hundred thousand young people through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.
- --It has helped 25 thousand high school youngsters through the slum-to-college Upward Bound program.
- --It has graduated 13 thousand young people from residential Job Corps centers, with 29 thousand more now in training in 113 centers.
- --It has utilized five thousand senior citizens as "foster grandparents" to ten thousand children in public and private institutions.

There are seven million fewer people living in poverty than there were six years ago.

Then, the poor amounted to almost 21 per cent of their people -- today they are less than 16 per cent.

But the very progress that we have been making has brought us closer to the hard core of poverty. And it has forced us to face the fact that there are no panaceas . . .no quick and easy solutions.

Poverty is mankind's oldest and cruelest burden, antedating recorded history. And it will not vanish overnight, even in America.

Millions of Americans <u>have</u> begun the journey toward becoming self-sustaining, tax-paying citizens. But for many the road will be long and difficult.

The important thing is that they $\underline{\text{are}}$ eager to work their way out of poverty.

We have found that people do $\underline{\text{not}}$ prefer idleness on relief to honest work. Every opportunity program that has been offered has more people lining up at the door than there are places inside.

Therefore, it would be worse than cruel -- it would be tragic -- to slem the door in their faces. For, as the Bible says:

"Hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

We have learned, too, that many of the hard-core unemployed require a great deal of direct individual training -- in matters so elementary as literacy and personal grooming -- to become employable. Many must learn how to get a bus, what kind of clothes to wear, how to apply for a job, how to punch a time clock.

It is not enough merely to open the doors of opportunity -- we must help people, through training, to step through them with confidence.

But we have also learned that there is a great potential for leadership among the poor. We have learned that, while we need public officials and professional social workers in Community Action programs, we also need the contribution that only the poor themselves can make.

They do not want things done to and for them. They want to help themselves. And that is as it should be.

Today there are thousands of poor people -- never before consulted, never heeded, never given a voice -- serving on local anti-poverty boards throughout the country. Just as the labor movement developed its own leaders -- its Villiam Greens and its Philip Murrays -- so also are the poor.

Perhaps the most exciting discovery we have made is the eagerness of Americans who are <u>not</u> poor to volunteer for service in the var on poverty. Scmething like one hundred thousand volunteers have already taken part in the Head Start program alone. And, in addition to the three thousand full-time VISTA volunteers, we are planning to recruit fifty thousand additional VISTA "associates" --people who will give part-time service in their own communities.

This is pioneering work, this war on poverty. There are no blazed trails. We are learning by experience as we go along.

We have learned, for exemple, that the effects of the Head Start program -- impressive as they seem at first -- tend to fade away in the first few months of regular school. So, in order to maintain the momentum gained in Head Start, we are initiating a Head Start Follow Through Program in the primary grades.

And I predict that the Head Start youngsters of today \underline{vill} grow up to be self-supporting heads of families of their \underline{cwn} .

We have had to learn by experience how to run effective Job Corps camps. Of course, there have been drop-outs. But the Job Corps dropout rate has been less than that in our colleges.

The average Job Corps graduate today enters industry at a starting rate of one dollar 71 cents an hour -- whereas those who had worked at all before entering the Corps averaged 70 cents an hour.

We've become keenly aware of the multiple and inter-acting causes of poverty. We've learned that even education, vital as it is, is not enough in itself. There must be improvement in the child's home and community background . . . there must be adequate nutrition and health care.

We have been aroused to our really disgraceful failure to make health services available to the poor. To cite one example: There is not a single hospital in the Watts area of Los Angeles. With the aid of poverty funds, a neighborhood health center is under construction there -- and more are underway in the slum areas of other cities.

We recognize the need to do more for the rural areas, where more than two-fifths of the nation's poor live -- and the President has proposed to channel more help to these areas.

For millions in poverty, of course, there is only one practical remedy -- more money.

These are the aged, the disabled, the families with young children and no bread-winner -- people who literally are unable to support themselves.

To meet this need, the President is urging a very substantial across-the-board boost of Social Security benefits, and the extension of Medicare to the 1.3 million permanently and totally disabled Americans under 65.

He is also urging a good, hard look at our public assistance system, which in many respects seems stuck in a deep and dreary rut. In some states, benefits are disgracefully low. In some states, the denial of relief to a family with a man in the house actually operates to break families up and increase dependency. Also, the practice of deducting a dollar from relief for each dollar earned is a disincentive rather than an incentive to work.

Looking further ahead, the President is appointing a commission of leading citizens to look into <u>all</u> possible means for assuring every American a way out of poverty.

Our ultimate objective must be to create opportunity for everyone who is capable of working. Further, I believe, our rich nation must also assure to those unable to work, or unable to find jobs, an income sufficient to provide them with the essentials of life and of human dignity.

Yes, we are learning from experience. We are improving old ways of overcoming poverty, and developing new ones.

But I can assure you of one thing. We are $\underline{\text{not}}$ going to turn our backs on the poor.

Just as we are determined to be the first nation to put men on the moon, so we are determined to be the first to put its people -- all its people -- on their feet here on earth.

And all elements of our rational community -- state and local government, business, labor, and our great voluntary organizations -- have an important part to play.

First of all, state and local governments need to put themselves in better shape in terms of both organization and personnel, to cope with the problems that face their people -- and notably the problem of poverty.

Governor Smith has noted that your constitution needs modernizing. So do those of many other states. So do many city charters.

The more effectively state and local governments can move to meet the needs of their own people -- along lines such as those set forth in your Governor's recommendations -- the less reason there will be for the federal government to step in.

The federal government does not -- and should not -- seek to supplant local initiative. What is needed is an effective working partnership between all levels of government.

Here, I know, I am preaching to the converted -- because the performance of West Virginians in this field has been outstanding.

If anyone wants to see a demonstration of the best kind of working partnership between federal and state government, let him come to West Virginia.

We in Washington have been happy to give you timely help, but you have more than matched it with your own hard work and your own hard-earned money.

Instead of merely complaining about red tape, you have slashed it by establishing a special state discretionary fund for matching federal grants -- an innovation which, I am sure, will be widely copied elsewhere.

You have played a key role, too, in the pioneering work of the Appalachian Regional Commission, this great cooperative effort of the states that share Appalachia's problems to work their way out of them. I understand that you have already received authority to spend some 21 million dollars in Appalachian Act funds -- and that it will result in 48 million dollars worth of new roads, schools, hospitals, and other facilities vital to your future.

And I want to pay special tribute here to the leadership of your state AFI:CIO president, Miles Stanley. He has put labor in the front line of the war on poverty, not only here but throughout the Appalachian region. You are setting the pace here for all of organized labor.

Let me repeat: This poverty war is not something for government alone. We need everyone.

Labor has been in the war from the start.

I am pleased that private enterprise has met its opportunity to operate Job Corps camps -- and to make money doing it.

I am pleased that we have been able to revise our public housing procedures so as to enable the private home-building industry to enter this field more fully -- and to make money for itself, while saving taxpayers' money on overall costs.

I am pleased that we are giving private enterprise more scope -- and profitable scope -- to design better schools and more economical hospitals.

For we cannot realistically expect private enterprise to involve itself in public need without profit incentive.

Profit and morality are a hard combination to beat.

I would like to see our universities enlist more fully in the war on poverty. They should be centers of action as well as study -- not pacifist observers of the struggle, but militant participants in it.

The war on poverty is, in essence, a call to action to all Americans to join in building a better America . . . an America with better education for all . . . an America free of slums . . . an America that cares for its elderly and offers opportunity to its young.

Every American has a stake in winning this war.

For the poverty of those who have least casts a dark shadow on the well-being of those who have enough.

When you volunteer in this war, you volunteer to mobilize our resources to improve our social security. . .to expand our health care . . .to train our jobless . . .to educate our children . . . to rehabilitate not only slums but the people who live in them.

You volunteer to build the strong and free and happy America that we have always sought -- the America we will one day have.

* * *

President Johnson has said this is a "time of testing."

It is a time of testing in the war on poverty. It is a time of testing in Washington, but not only in Washington. It is a time of testing here in West Virginia, as you seek to consolidate and step up your own progress out of poverty.

It is a time of testing in statehouses, in city halls, in farmers' organizations, in corporate boardrooms and in union headquarters throughout this nation.

It is a time of testing in the Congress of the United States.

There are members of the 90th Congress who have called for a halt in the war on poverty . . .who call for cuts . . .who oppose the programs of the President and of his Congressional leadership.

I ask them:

Which child would you deny education?

Which grandmother or grandfather would you deny medical care?

Which community would you leave on poverty's ragged edge?

Which city streets would you leave as breeding places for

violence and crime?

Which citizens would you leave behind the rest of us as stragglers and as second-class people?

I say that to be hard-headed, you do not have to be hard-hearted.

I say that to save money, we cannot afford to waste people.

The strength of America lies with its people -- not people on the dole, but people on the job . . .not people in despair, but people filled with hope . . .not people without education, but people with skill and knowledge . . .not people turned away, but people welcomed by their neighbors as full and equal partners in our American adventure.

We are going to stand and fight for those people. I know that the members of the West Virginia Congressional delegation are with us. And I know that you are with us.

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Where there have been mistakes, we will correct them. Where something doesn't work, we will find something that does.

But we have come too far to turn away from those who need our help to help themselves. And together we shall go forward to win the war on poverty -- the only war we seek, here or anywhere in the world.

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