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New Markets 7/99 Remarks by Johnson [Lyndon] on Development [2]

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he shall not stand before mean men." I can promise you that if you are diligent in your business, this President will always be pleased to stand with you—anywhere, anytime!

NOTE: The President spoke in the State Dining Room at the White House. In the course of his

remarks he referred to Henry Ford II and Stuart T. Saunders, who served as Cochairmen of the Business Committee for Tax Reduction in 1963, Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury, William McC. Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, and Robert V. Roosa, Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs.

As printed, this item follows the prepared text released by the White House.

300 Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Transmitting the Bill for the Appalachian Region. April 28, 1964

Dear Mr. ———:

I am today sending to the Congress for its consideration a bill designed to make possible the economic development of the Appalachian Region.

Appalachia straddles a ten-state area of more than 165,000 square miles, with more than 15 million Americans in residence. The general economic progress of the nation has passed Appalachia by—for reasons which are cheerlessly clear:

(1) Difficult—and in some instances—impossible access.

(2) Inadequate control of water—which breeds both floods and scarcity of water for industrial and recreational purposes.

(3) A mineral base of coal, timber and agriculture sorely in need of creative attention.

The visible lag of Appalachia justifies the special programs I respectfully request you to consider.

But behind the description of the need of a region lies the desolation of a people.

I have seen the despair and the hopelessness in the faces of these citizens. What exists in this area is a challenge to the ingenuity as well as the compassion of the Congress.

The roll-call of deficiencies in Appalachia is not a happy catalogue. In this region too little human potential is realized. Too ineffective a use of physical resources is a result. There is a shortage not only of promise, but of hope.

The investment I ask the Congress to make is as rooted in fiscal common sense as it is in human compassion.

The Federal government alone spends over \$41 million in welfare relief in this area every month—nearly one-half billion dollars a year. With some 8.5% of the U.S. population, Appalachia receives 17% of all surplus commodity foods distributed to the needy throughout the country.

This bill I submit to the Congress is the result of a year's study by the state governments and top Federal officials. It aims not merely at the symptoms of economic malnutrition, but at its causes. To label the region luckless or unblessed is no answer. Our response must be to put to this task the planning, the priority and the money required to assist those who want and need help for themselves and their families. To this bill I attach a copy of the report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, appointed by President Kennedy.

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APPALACHIA

The initiative and concern demonstrated by state governments is encouraging. They came together, bound by a common problem and allied in a common goal. They approached the solution without regard to partisan politics.

I met with the Appalachian governors. I was witness to their sincerity—and their determination—to commit state resources to this attack on inadequacy. The Federal government should not stand aloof from their efforts.

The governor of Ohio has advised me that his State which was originally tendered an invitation by the Council of Appalachian Governors and the President's Appalachian Regional Commission to join with the other nine States of the Region in a joint effort to lift the economy of the area has decided to participate in the program. It is both appropriate and desirable that those portions of Ohio lying within Appalachia join with the remainder of the Region and accordingly the bill I am sending to the Congress reflects this.

The programs are basic. They focus on clear and primary needs—such as access to the land—construction of public works—and improvement of mineral and land use:

1. A developmental highway system of 2,350 miles, with a total cost of \$920 million and fiscal year 1965 cost of \$90,000,000. Although the Federal and State contribution would be on a 50-50 basis, where the States are unable to meet this formula, the Federal share could rise to 80 percent.

2. An acceleration of water facilities construction with emphasis on flood control, industrial, and recreational impoundments and sewage treatment. Fiscal year 1965 cost would be \$45.8 million.

3. A pasture improvement program to convert marginal farm land to pasture for livestock production. Fiscal year 1965 cost

would be \$22 million.

4. An assistance program for timber management, manufacturing and marketing. Fiscal year 1965 cost would be \$6.7 million.

5. Expanded programs for promoting new uses of coal, improved mining practices and land restoration following mining operations. Fiscal year 1965 cost would be \$13 million. This figure includes a \$10 million increase over the amount originally recommended by the Appalachian Regional Commission, based on my strong views in which I am joined by the Council of Appalachian Governors that the \$10 million should be added.

6. Stepped-up human resources programs, with those programs administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity to be handled by that Agency when it is established. Fiscal year 1965 cost would be \$71,000,000 of which \$34,000,000 would be administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

7. Establishment of a Federal-State Regional Commission for comprehensive planning to guide all levels of government and private agencies in their continuing attack on the economic distress in the region.

This entire program—estimated at \$228 million plus \$34 million included in the anti-poverty program—was included in the contingency item of \$500 million in my 1965 budget submitted to the Congress last January.

This is an active beginning to end an old problem in Appalachia. It is the judgment of both the experts who labored on the details of the program and the governors who monitored the plan every step of the way that this program will work visible improvements in a very short time.

I strongly urge the Congress to attach to this bill the urgency and the need that is so plainly written on the faces of Appalachian

citizens. They are looking to you and to me for help so they can help themselves.

Sincerely, LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: This is the text of identical letters addressed to the Honorable Carl Hayden, President pro tem-

pore of the Senate, and to the Honorable John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The report submitted with the draft bill is entitled "Appalachia, a Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, 1964" (Government Printing Office, 93 pp.).

301 Remarks to a Group of Civil Rights Leaders.

April 29, 1964

Archbishop O'Boyle, Reverend Blake, Rabbi Miller, and Bishop Smith:

We are delighted to welcome you to this, your house, the first house in the first land of the world, because from the time of the ancient Hebrew prophets and the dispersal of the money changers, men of God have taught us that social problems are moral problems on a huge scale. They have demonstrated that a religion which did not struggle to remove oppression from the world of men would not be able to create the world of spirit. They have preached that the church should be the first to awake to individual suffering and the church should be the bravest in opposing all social wrongs.

This tradition is deeply imbedded in America's history. During the middle of the 19th century, men of God, men of all faiths, men of the North, men of the South, took to pulpits, to press, yes, even out into the public squares to demand an end to the moral evil of slavery. As a consequence, we took the chains off the slaves.

Many who followed this path suffered for it. Many were then condemned by their congregation. Many were deprived of their positions. Churches were burned and physical violence was often the reward of those who in that time spoke freely and provided leadership. But long ago their efforts were a significant force in not only ending slavery in this country, but in re-

shaping our society. By their actions they not only restored dignity and hope to millions of Americans, they immeasurably elevated and strengthened the churches which they served.

Today, as we meet here a century later, we are faced with and we are given another great opportunity. Today, as we meet here, again the problem of racial wrongs and racial hatreds is the central moral problem of this Republic. Today, as we meet here in the first house of the land, again hostility and misunderstanding and even violence awaits the man who attempts to translate the meaning of God's love into the actions and the thoughts of this world and this time.

Today, again the hope for happiness of millions of Negro Americans is going to be profoundly affected by your efforts. And today, again, religion has one of those rare, historical opportunities to renew its own purpose, to enhance the dignity of its own social role, to strengthen its institutions, and its heritage.

Our most immediate need is to pass the civil rights bill now before the Congress. A hundred years ago Lincoln freed the slaves of their chains, but he did not free the country of its bigotry. A hundred years ago Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but until education is unaware of race, until employment is blind to color, emancipation will be a proclamation, but it will not be a fact.

As long as I am in a position to do so, I will try to contribute what I can to what all of you have envisioned as a most worthwhile and public project.

Thank you for this. I will treasure it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:40 p.m. in the Terrace Room at the Dupont Plaza Hotel in Miami,

Fla. His opening words referred to Governor Farris Bryant, Senators George A. Smathers and Spessard L. Holland, and Representative Dante B. Fascell, all of Florida.

The book presented to the President contained an illustrated description of "Interama," a cultural and trade center for Latin American countries, under construction in Miami.

711 Executive Order 11186 Establishing the Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia. *October 25, 1964*

WHEREAS representatives of the Federal Government and of the Governors of the States in the Appalachian region have been cooperating in the preparation of plans and programs for the long-range development of Appalachia; and

WHEREAS such plans have provided for coordinated action by Federal, State, and local agencies in carrying out programs to further the development of Appalachia and to facilitate and encourage private investment in that area; and

WHEREAS the Governors of various States of the Appalachian region have requested that such cooperation be continued; and

WHEREAS the proper discharge by the Federal Government of its responsibilities to the people of the Appalachian region requires that such cooperation be continued and that related planning activities of the Federal Government be effectively coordinated:

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Establishment of Committee.

(a) There is hereby established the Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia (hereinafter referred to as the "Committee").

(b) The Committee shall be composed of the following: (1) a Chairman, who shall be appointed by the President, (2) members,

one of whom shall be designated by and represent each of the following-named officers, respectively: the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of the Army, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and (3) a member who shall represent the Tennessee Valley Authority and shall be designated by the board of directors of the Authority.

(c) The Chairman may request any Federal agency head not referred to in subsection (b), above, to designate a representative to participate in meetings of the Committee concerned with matters of substantial interest to such agency head.

SEC. 2. Functions of the Chairman. (a) The Chairman shall cooperate with representatives designated by the Governors of States in the Appalachian region in:

(1) Fostering surveys and studies to provide data required for the preparation of plans and programs for the development of Appalachia;

(2) Preparing coordinated plans for the development of Appalachia deemed appropriate to carry out existing statutory responsibilities of Federal, State, or local agencies. Such plans shall be designed to promote

optimum benefits from the expenditure of Federal, State, and local funds and to facilitate and promote private investment in the development of Appalachia; and

(3) Preparing legislative and other recommendations with respect to both short-range and long-range programs and projects for Federal, State, or local agencies.

(b) With the approval of the agency head concerned the Chairman may arrange for recommended surveys and studies to be made by any Federal agency with respect to matters falling within the existing statutory authorities and responsibilities of that agency.

SEC. 3. Functions of the Committee. The Committee shall:

(a) Advise the Chairman with respect to (1) surveys and studies needed for the preparation of development plans, (2) the concrete proposals for surveys and studies developed by the Chairman in cooperation with the representatives of the Governors, and (3) desirable development objectives and programs for the Appalachian region.

(b) Receive, review, and comment on all tentative development plans or other tentative recommendations developed by the Chairman in cooperation with the representatives of the Governors; and

(c) Receive and consider final plans and recommendations and transmit them, with its own comments, to the President and the heads of interested Federal agencies.

SEC. 4. Administrative arrangements. (a) If the Chairman of the Committee does not concurrently hold other compensated office or employment under the United States, he shall receive such compensation under this order as shall be fixed in accordance with the standards and procedures of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

(b) The Department of Commerce is hereby designated as the agency which shall

provide administrative services for the Committee and for the Chairman.

(c) Each Federal agency the head of which is referred to in Section 1(b) of this order shall, as may be necessary, furnish assistance to the Committee in accordance with the provisions of Section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134; 31 U.S.C. 691).

(d) Each Federal agency shall, consonant with law and within the limits of available funds, cooperate with the Committee and with the Chairman in carrying out their functions under this order. Such cooperation shall include, as may be appropriate, (1) furnishing relevant available information, (2) making studies and preparing reports pursuant to requests of the Chairman, (3) in connection with the development of programs and priorities of the agency, giving full consideration to any plans and recommendations for the development of Appalachia, including recommendations made by the Committee, and (4) advising on the work of the Committee as the Chairman may from time to time request.

SEC. 5. Construction. Nothing in this order shall be construed as subjecting any Federal agency, or any function vested by law in, or assigned pursuant to law to, any Federal agency, to the authority of the Committee or the Chairman, or as abrogating or restricting any such function in any manner.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House,

October 23, 1964

NOTE: On the same day the White House, in announcing the establishment of the Federal Development Planning Committee for Appalachia, made public a portion of the President's letter to John Sweeney, Special Assistant to Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., appointing him Chairman of the Committee. In his letter the President said: "From your previous work in connection with the problems of Appalachia, you are

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take a more meaningful role in meeting the whole spectrum of problems posed by crime.

It means that the Federal Government will seek to exercise leadership and to assist local authorities in meeting their responsibilities.

It means that we will make a national effort to resolve the problems of law enforcement and the administration of justice—and to direct the attention of the Nation to the problems of crime and the steps that must be taken to meet them.

This effort will involve great difficulties.

It will not produce dramatic, visible results overnight. But it is an effort we must begin now.

I ask the help of Congress. I believe that these actions and proposals are soundly based and give promise of meeting urgent needs of a growing nation. I commend them to the American people and to the Congress and urge their prompt enactment.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 8, 1965

NOTE: See also Items 382 and 526.

103 Remarks Upon Signing the Appalachia Bill.

March 9, 1965

OVER the past 15 months it has been my privilege to receive from the Congress a rare number of unusually significant legislative measures. This measure today may well outlive many others in its lasting contribution to the well-being of our Nation.

The objectives of this Appalachian bill are important. But the origins of the measure are equally important. Originated by the Governors of the Appalachian States, formed in close cooperation with the Federal Executive, approved and enacted by the Congress of all the people, this is the truest example of creative federalism in our times. But it is more.

This legislation marks the end of an era of partisan cynicism towards human want and misery. The dole is dead. The pork barrel is gone. Federal and State, liberal and conservative, Democrat and Republican, Americans of these times are concerned with the outcome of the next generation, not the next election. That is what the provisions of this legislation clearly reflect.

It is fitting that such landmark legislation

should be identified with the Appalachia region of our Nation. In our history no region has contributed more to the shaping of our destiny.

The Appalachian Ranges were the first challenge and the first test to the settlers of this seaboard. Through the Cumberland Gap Americans found their way to the promise and the plenty of a continent that is united.

It is not too much to suggest that today we may again find our way to new promise and new fulfillment by taking up the human challenge of modern Appalachia.

A great President, Theodore Roosevelt, once said, "It is not what we have that will make us a great nation, it is the way that we use it."

We have much in Appalachia. The area is larger than all but one of the 48 contiguous States, a State which modesty impells me not to identify by name. Only two States of the Union have larger populations. Yet the nearly 17 million Appalachian residents, more numerous than residents of New Eng-

land or the farm States or the mountain States, lag far behind in their participation in our prosperity.

Our national per capita income has reached \$2,300. In Appalachia it is estimated near \$1,400. Family poverty is half again higher than the national ratio. So also is the percentage of persons over 25 with less than a fifth grade education.

The percentage of Appalachia's population receiving some form of Federal assistance is 45 percent above the rest of the country. The 10 year cost of such assistance would amount to almost \$5 billion. These are the facts of our challenge, and also of our opportunity.

America today has many responsibilities, more diverse, more far flung, more vital to all mankind than any other nation has ever in history willingly assumed. Wherever we have our commitments, whether to the old and the strong or to the young and the weak, we shall match our words with deeds. But we recognize realistically that our strength abroad rests upon our strength at home. And that is why we must and we do labor in unity to perform together tasks that have been too long neglected in every region east and west, north and south.

This Nation is committed not only to

human freedom but also to human dignity and decency. That is not a Federal commitment alone but a compact of our States as well. I believe it is the will of the American people that this commitment shall be fulfilled in all regions and flouted in none.

The bill that I will now sign will work no miracles overnight. Whether it works at all depends not upon the Federal Government alone but the States and the local governments as well.

I am so proud that so many of the Governors and State officials from the States concerned could be here this morning, to join their able Senators and Congressmen who helped make this legislation possible at this ceremony. But I sign this bill in the belief that we can and that we shall add strength for all America by renewing the strength of this old and this honored region of Appalachia.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

As enacted, the bill (S. 3) is Public Law 89-4 (79 Stat. 5).

On March 25 the President issued Executive Order 11209 "Establishing the Federal Development Committee for Appalachia and Prescribing Other Arrangements for Coordination With the Appalachian Regional Commission" (30 F.R. 3909; 3 CFR, 1965 Supp.).

104 Statement by the President on the Situation in Selma, Alabama. *March 9, 1965*

EVER SINCE the events of Sunday afternoon in Selma, Ala., the administration has been in close touch with the situation and has made every effort to prevent a repetition. I am certain Americans everywhere join in deploring the brutality with which a number of Negro citizens of Alabama were treated when they sought to dramatize their deep

and sincere interest in attaining the precious right to vote.

The best legal talent in the Federal Government is engaged in preparing legislation which will secure that right for every American. I expect to complete work on my recommendations by this weekend and shall dispatch a special message to Congress as

554 Remarks to Officials and Chambers of Commerce Representatives of the Appalachian Region of Tennessee. *October 6, 1965*

Governor Ellington, and my beloved friend, Joe Evins, Mr. Johnson, distinguished guests:

Lady Bird and I are most grateful for these beautiful carvings, for this lovely rug, for these other examples of the craftsmanship and the artistry for which Tennessee, that great State, is so justly famous.

I thank you also for this very splendid scroll expressing your support for the Appalachia program.

We will treasure these presentations, we will remember them, and we have a very special place for memories of this kind. We are going to have an exhibit in the memento room at the University of Texas Library, where we will have these on display for children of Tennessee and other States who may from time to time visit that library.

I remember how much pleasure I received when President Eisenhower took me on a tour of the Oval Room—now what we call the Yellow Room—in the White House, which President Roosevelt once used for his office, and I saw all the mementos that President Eisenhower had received when he was our European Commander.

And I am keeping these pictures and mementos that are brought to me from time to time.

I want to thank you for what you have said about the Appalachia program, because, as you have presented from the people of Tennessee, your President accepts these little items in behalf of all the people of our land who have made the Appalachia plan really possible.

Now we are moving behind the planning stage.

I have just been receiving in the next room some of the cartoonists who take care of

our military boys, and who are being honored today over at the Press Club. I hope that I can go over there and join them. They presented me with a cartoon, which I will put in this room with your presents. Bill, if you will get it. It is in my room in there, that chart, the cartoons they presented me.

They also presented Mrs. Johnson one, and since you referred to beautification, I thought you would enjoy this.

This is almost a prize-winning cartoon. I'm not sure that either Lady Bird or Liz Carpenter would approve of this display, but our good friend Bill Mauldin has this beautiful interstate highway. We signed a bill the other day involving billions of dollars in the years ahead that we will spend on interstate highways through the country, and here is the highway, with its very carefully designed, its winding beautification scheme here. And then, here are the signs along it: "Smoke El Smello," "Drink El Fizzo," "Eat Here," "Gas Here," "Try Here," and "Use Here."

And then, most prominent, is found one little spot left for a billboard there on the curve before you go over the divide, and that one says: "Impeach Lady Bird"!

Here is one they drew in the office this morning. They have put a Navy cap on me, that is supposed to represent all the services, though. These were done by the cartoonists who were here.

But with our Appalachia program, we have charted our course with care and with vision. We are so happy that it has attracted your cooperation, and we just must make that vision come true.

To do this, we are going to need the cooperation of your spokesmen in public

life, particularly your Representatives in Congress, your able Governor, your mayors, your Senators; all of your public officials, particularly your teachers, your doctors, your nurses, and all public-spirited groups represented here today.

I want to thank the State of Tennessee for furnishing me one of the best minds, one of the most able men in this administration, and certainly one of the closest friends I have—Governor Ellington. He has been a tower of strength to me, and in the days and hours ahead when I'll be out of pocket for a little bit, I am going to rely on men like Buford Ellington to be sure that the Government continues to operate at a high state of efficiency. And to you people in Tennessee who lent him to me temporarily, I want to say thank you.

This job cannot be done, however, just by the Government alone. Only the toil and the efforts of all the people in all the 373 counties of the Appalachia area can produce the miracles that we need.

So, the future in that area of the country rests in your hands. I have seen what you can do with the great Tennessee Valley, and I have seen the pioneering leadership that the great State of Tennessee has always supplied.

You know, it's just a common garden variety expression in my State that every schoolboy has at the end of his tongue: There never would have been a Texas if there hadn't been a Tennessee. You gave us Sam Houston, you gave us Sam Rayburn, and you have given us the men who fought at the Alamo and San Jacinto. You have given us our independence, and you are still supporting us. And what you have given us today in these little tokens are representative symbols of the spirit of the people of Tennessee, and the kind of hard work that you believe in.

They will be memorials to you in our little memorial room.

Americans have always been dedicated to the proposition that tomorrow can be whatever we wish it to be, and for millions in the Appalachia area, tomorrow is going to be better.

We are planting trees by the rivers of water, and in the words of the Psalm, "They will bring forth fruit in their season."

We are going to have a big test tomorrow—a test whether the Federal Government, that spends the money in building the roads of the country, will have any right to determine what kind of places and how the scenery on those roads will be preserved.

We believe that the people are going to win.

We believe that we are going to take the necessary precautions to preserve the scenery of our land for the enjoyment of our children.

You don't know how happy I am that the people of Tennessee would come here today and share their generosity with me and their vision with me, and I am going to look forward to the day when I can come back to your great State, and Joe Evins' district, and see some of your people building and working and making the things that will make life happier for all of us.

Thank you so much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Buford Ellington, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning and former Governor of Tennessee, Representative Joe L. Evins of Tennessee, and William Johnson of Sparta, Tenn.

During his remarks the President referred to, among others, Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, Mrs. Elizabeth S. Carpenter, Press Secretary and Staff Director for Mrs. Johnson, and Bill Mauldin, political cartoonist.

The group included representatives from the Upper Cumberland area of Tennessee, among them members of the Upper Cumberland Development Association, who came to the White House to express their appreciation for the President's interest

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over the Nation, I participated in the meeting and in the conference that gave America leadership in preparing the minds of her little ones. And we inaugurated, we were there to see this first train run that would never get started, and if it did we'd never get it stopped.

Well, we are going to get it started, but we are not ever going to stop it.

NOTE: The President spoke at 5:40 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, and the following officials of the National Education Association: Dr. Lois V. Edinger, President, Dr. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary, and Dr. Robert E. McKay, Chairman of the Legislative Commission. During the course of his remarks he referred to W. T. Donaho, former Superintendent of the Cotulla (Tex.) Public Schools.

About 200 officials of the National Education Association attended the conference.

90 Special Message to the Congress on the Nation's Cities. March 2, 1965

To the Congress of the United States:

Throughout man's history, the city* has been at the center of civilization. It is at the center of our own society.

Over seventy percent of our population—135 million Americans—live in urban areas. A half century from now 320 million of our 400 million Americans will live in such areas. And our largest cities will receive the greatest impact of growth.

Numbers alone do not make this an urban nation. Finance and culture, commerce and government make their home in the city and draw their vitality from it. Within the borders of our urban centers can be found the most impressive achievements of man's skill and the highest expressions of man's spirit, as well as the worst examples of degradation and cruelty and misery to be found in modern America.

The city is not an assembly of shops and buildings. It is not a collection of goods and services. It is a community for the enrichment of the life of man. It is a place for the satisfaction of man's most urgent needs and his highest aspirations. It is an instrument for the advance of civilization. Our

task is to put the highest concerns of our people at the center of urban growth and activity. It is to create and preserve the sense of community with others which gives us significance and security, a sense of belonging and of sharing in the common life.

Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live. They remain together in order to live the good life."

The modern city can be the most ruthless enemy of the good life, or it can be its servant. The choice is up to this generation of Americans. For this is truly the time of decision for the American city.

In our time, two giant and dangerous forces are converging on our cities: the forces of growth and of decay.

Between today and the year 2000, more than 80 percent of our population increase will occur in urban areas. During the next fifteen years, thirty million people will be added to our cities—equivalent to the combined population of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit and Baltimore. Each year, in the coming generation, we will add the equivalent of 15 cities of 200,000 each.

Already old cities are tending to combine into huge clusters. The strip of land from southern New Hampshire to northern Vir-

*In this message the word city is used to mean the entire urban area—the central city and its suburbs. [Ed. note: Footnote in original.]

ginia contains 21 percent of America's population in 1.8 percent of its areas. Along the West Coast, the Great Lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico, other urban giants are merging and growing.

Our new city dwellers will need homes and schools and public services. By 1975 we will need over two million new homes a year. We will need schools for 10 million additional children, welfare and health facilities for 5 million more people over the age of sixty, transportation facilities for the daily movement of 200 million people and more than 80 million automobiles.

In the remainder of this century—in less than forty years—urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build in our cities as much as all that we have built since the first colonist arrived on these shores. It is as if we had forty years to rebuild the entire urban United States.

Yet these new overwhelming pressures are being visited upon cities already in distress. We have over nine million homes, most of them in cities, which are run down or deteriorating; over four million do not have running water or even plumbing. Many of our central cities are in need of major surgery to overcome decay. New suburban sprawl reaches out into the countryside, as the process of urbanization consumes a million acres a year. The old, the poor, the discriminated against are increasingly concentrated in central city ghettos; while others move to the suburbs leaving the central city to battle against immense odds.

Physical decay, from obsolescent schools to polluted water and air, helps breed social decay. It casts a pall of ugliness and despair on the spirits of the people. And this is reflected in rising crime rates, school

drop-outs, delinquency and social disorganization.

Our cities are making a valiant effort to combat the mounting dangers to the good life. Between 1954 and 1963 per capita municipal tax revenues increased by 43%, and local government indebtedness increased by 119%. City officials with inadequate resources, limited authority, too few trained people, and often with too little public support, have, in many cases, waged a heroic battle to improve the life of the people they serve.

But we must do far more as a nation if we are to deal effectively with one of the most critical domestic problems of the United States.

Let us be clear about the core of this problem. The problem is people and the quality of the lives they lead. We want to build not just housing units, but neighborhoods; not just to construct schools, but to educate children; not just to raise income but to create beauty and end the poisoning of our environment. We must extend the range of choices available to all our people so that all, and not just the fortunate, can have access to decent homes and schools, to recreation and to culture. We must work to overcome the forces which divide our people and erode the vitality which comes from the partnership of those with diverse incomes and interests and backgrounds.

The problems of the city are problems of housing and education. They involve increasing employment and ending poverty. They call for beauty and nature, recreation and an end to racial discrimination. They are, in large measure, the problems of American society itself. They call for a generosity of vision, a breadth of approach, a magnitude of effort which we have not yet brought to bear on the American city.

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965

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Whatever the scale of its programs, the federal government will only be able to do a small part of what is required. The vast bulk of resources and energy, of talent and toil, will have to come from state and local governments, private interests and individual citizens. But the federal government does have a responsibility. It must help to meet the most urgent national needs; in housing, in education, in health and many other areas. It must also be sure that its efforts serve as a catalyst and as a lever to help and guide state and local governments toward meeting their problems.

We must also recognize that this message, and the program it proposes, does not fully meet the problems of the city. In part, this is because many other programs, such as those for education and health, are dealt with separately. But it is also because we do not have all the answers. In the last few years there has been an enormous growth of interest and knowledge and intellectual ferment. We need more thought and wisdom and knowledge as we painfully struggle to identify the ills, the dangers and the cures for the American city. We need to reshape, at every level of government, our approach to problems which are often different than we thought and larger than we had imagined.

I want to begin that process today.

We begin with the awareness that the city, possessed of its own inexorable vitality, has ignored the classic jurisdictions of municipalities and counties and states. That organic unit we call the city spreads across the countryside, enveloping towns, building vast new suburbs, destroying trees and streams. Access to suburbs has changed the character of the central city. The jobs and income of suburbanites may depend upon the opportunities for work and learning offered by the central city. Polluted air and water do not

respect the jurisdictions of mayors and city councils, or even of Governors. Wealthy suburbs often form an enclave whereby the well-to-do and the talented can escape from the problems of their neighbors, thus impoverishing the ability of the city to deal with its problems.

The interests and needs of many of the communities which make up the modern city often seem to be in conflict. But they all have an overriding interest in improving the quality of life of their people. And they have an overriding interest in enriching the quality of American civilization. These interests will only be served by looking at the metropolitan area as a whole, and planning and working for its development.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

To give greater force and effectiveness to our effort in the cities *I ask the Congress to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development.*

Our urban problems are of a scope and magnitude that demand representation at the highest level of government. The Housing and Home Finance Agency was created two decades ago. It has taken on many new programs. Others are proposed in this message. Much of our hopes for American progress will depend on the effectiveness with which these programs are carried forward. These problems are already in the front rank of national concern and interest. They deserve to be in the front rank of government as well.

The new Department will consist of all the present programs of HHFA. In addition it will be primarily responsible for federal participation in metropolitan area thinking and planning. This new department will provide a focal point for thought

and innovation and imagination about the problems of our cities. It will cooperate with other federal agencies, including those responsible for programs providing essential education, health, employment and social services. And it will work to strengthen the constructive relationships between nation, state and city—the creative federalism—which is essential to progress. This partnership will demand the leadership of mayors, Governors and state legislatures.

INCENTIVES TO METROPOLITAN AREA
COOPERATION

The federal government cannot, and should not, require the communities which make up a metropolitan area to cooperate against their will in the solution of their problems. But we can offer incentives to metropolitan area planning and cooperation. We can help those who want to make the effort but lack the trained personnel and other necessary resources. And the new Department should have regional representatives in our metropolitan areas to assist, where assistance is requested, in the development of metropolitan area plans.

We already have federal programs in which assistance depends upon the completion of soundly conceived metropolitan area plans, such as the mass transportation program passed by the 88th Congress. This program strikes at the heart of one of our most critical and urgent needs—a transportation system which can relieve congestion and make it possible for people to travel with comparative ease to places of work, learning and pleasure.

I am proposing other programs which will also require sound, long-range development programs as a condition of federal assistance. Wherever it can be done without leaving vital needs unmet, existing programs

will also be keyed to planning requirements.

Among the most vital needs of our metropolitan areas is the requirement for basic community facilities—for water and sewage. Many existing systems are obsolete or need major rehabilitation. And population growth will require a vastly increased effort in years ahead.

These basic facilities, by their very nature, require cooperation among adjacent communities. *I propose a program of matching grants to local governments for building new basic community facilities with an appropriation of 100 million dollars for fiscal 1966.* These grants will be contingent upon comprehensive, areawide planning for future growth; and will be made only for projects consistent with such planning.

One of the greatest handicaps to sound programs for future needs is the difficulty of obtaining desirable land for public buildings and other facilities. As growth is foreseen it should be possible to acquire land in advance of its actual use. Thus, when the need arises, the land will be there. *I recommend a federal program for financial assistance to help in this advance acquisition of land.* Federal grants would be made available to cover the interest charges for five years on loans obtained by public bodies. Thus we will cover the costs during the period before the facilities are constructed.

Last year alone one million acres were urbanized. As our cities spread, far too often we create the ugliness and waste which we call urban sprawl. At times we find we have built new slum areas in our suburbs. Some of our programs are designed to stem this tide by helping city governments to plan their growth. But we must continue to depend upon the private developer and lender for most of our construction. And they sometimes lack the economic resources to ensure high standards of development. *I*

therefore recommend a program of federally insured private loans, backed by Federal Mortgage purchases where necessary, to finance the acquisition and development of land for entire new communities and planned subdivisions.

This program should enable us to help build better suburbs. And it will also make it easier to finance the construction of brand new communities on the rim of the city. Often such communities can help break the pattern of central city ghettos by providing low and moderate income housing in suburban areas.

This program will be complemented with a program of federal financial assistance to state land development agencies. Under this program public bodies would acquire land, install basic facilities, and then re-sell the improved land to private builders for the construction of suburbs or new communities.

All of these programs would be dependent upon the existence of area-wide planning for growth to which the aided developments must conform. They are designed to stimulate the farsighted planning for future growth which is necessary if we are to prevent sprawl and new slums, and to create standards which will guarantee a decent environment for our future city dwellers whatever their race or income. In addition, these programs should enable us to build better suburbs, since it will be possible to acquire land and improve it before the imminent approach of the city has sent costs skyrocketing upward.

RESOURCES FOR PLANNING

To plan for the growth and development of an entire metropolitan area takes a wide range of skills and a large number of trained people. These vital human resources are in short supply. They are beyond the com-

mand of many of our cities. To help meet this need I propose to establish an Institute of Urban Development as part of the new department.

This Institute will help support training of local officials in a wide range of administrative and program skills. It will administer grants to states and cities for studies and the other basic work which are the foundation of long-term programs. And it will support research aimed especially at reducing the costs of building and home construction through the development of new technology.

TEMPORARY NATIONAL COMMISSION

Good planning for our metropolitan areas will take not only determination, the spirit of cooperation and added resources. It will also take knowledge, more knowledge than we have now. *We need to study the structure of building codes across the country:* their impact on housing costs, how building codes can be simplified and made more uniform, and how housing codes might be more effectively enforced to help eliminate slums.

Zoning regulations also affect both the cost and pattern of development. We must better learn how zoning can be made consistent with sound urban development.

Few factors have greater impact on cost, on land speculation and on the ability of private enterprise to respond to the public interest, than *local and federal tax policies.* These too must be examined to determine how they can best serve the public interest.

Finally, *we must begin to develop better and more realistic standards for suburban development.* Even where local authorities wish to prevent sprawl and blight, to preserve natural beauty and ensure decent, durable housing they find it difficult to know

what standards should be expected of private builders. We must examine what kind of standards are both economically feasible and will provide liveable suburbs.

To examine all these problems I *recommend the establishment of a Temporary National Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation and Development Standards*. I predict that the body masked by such an unwieldy name may emerge with ideas and instruments for a revolutionary improvement in the quality of the American city.

This entire range of programs is designed to help us begin to think and act across historic boundaries to enrich the life of the people of our metropolitan areas. We do not believe such planning is a cure-all or a panacea. It can sometimes be a slender reed. It must be flexible and open to change. And we cannot wait for completed plans before trying to meet urgent needs in many areas. But it will teach us to think on a scale as large as the problem itself, and act to prepare for the future as well as to repair the past.

I hope that, as time goes by, more and more of our federal programs can be brought into harmony with metropolitan area programs. For in this approach lies one of our brightest hopes for the effective use of local as well as federal resources in improving the American City.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

We owe the quality of American housing to the initiative and vitality of our private housing industry. It has provided the homes which have made most of our citizens the best housed people in the world. Our federal housing programs are designed to work in support of private effort, and to meet the critical needs which can only be met through government action.

After World War II we worked to revitalize the housing market and provide homes for a growing number of our people. This effort has been successful far beyond our initial hopes. However, the problem now has a different shape. It is not enough simply to build more and more units of housing. We must build neighborhoods and communities. This means combining construction with social services and community facilities. It means to build so that people can live in attractive surroundings sharing a strong sense of community.

To meet new objectives we must work to re-direct, modernize and streamline our housing programs. I will ask the Congress to begin the process this year, while continuing those programs which are providing necessary assistance.

We hope to achieve a large increase of homes for low and moderate income families—those in greatest need of assistance—through an array of old and new instruments designed to work together toward a single goal.

—To insist on stricter enforcement of housing codes by communities receiving federal aid, thus mounting an intensified attack on slums.

But such insistence is not realistic, and often not desirable, unless we can provide realistic alternatives to slum housing. We will do this by:

—providing rent supplements for families across a wide range of lower and moderate income brackets so they can afford decent housing.

—providing rent supplement assistance to those forced out of their homes by code enforcement and all forms of federally assisted government action, from highways to urban renewal.

—using both urban renewal funds and public housing funds to rehabilitate exist-

ing housing and make it available to low and moderate income families. There is no reason to tear down and rebuild if existing housing can be improved and made desirable.

—emphasizing residential construction and rehabilitation on a neighborhood-wide scale in the urban renewal program.

These instruments, combined with existing public housing and direct loan programs, will greatly strengthen our existing effort. *They should offer direct assistance to the housing of one million families over the next four years.* Moreover they will immensely add to our flexibility in the process of building neighborhoods.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

The most crucial new instrument in our effort to improve the American city is the rent supplement.

Up to now government programs for low and moderate income families have concentrated on either direct financing of construction; or on making below-the-market-rate loans to private builders. *We now propose to add to these programs through direct payment of a portion of the rent of needy individuals and families.*

The homes themselves will be built by private builders, with Federal Housing Administration insurance, and, where necessary, mortgage purchases by the Federal National Mortgage Association. The major federal assistance will be the rent supplement payment for each eligible family.

This approach has immense potential advantages over low-interest loan programs:

First, its flexibility will allow us to help people across a much broader range of income than has hitherto been possible. And it will therefore make it possible significantly to increase the supply of housing available to those of moderate income.

Second, the payment can be keyed to the income of the family. Those with lower incomes will receive a greater supplement. Under present direct loan programs the amount of the subsidy is the same for all who live in a federally assisted development regardless of individual need.

Third, the amount of assistance can be reduced as family income rises. It can be ended completely when income reaches an adequate level. Thus we will not end up, as is sometimes the case, helping those who no longer need help.

Fourth, it will be unnecessary to evict from their homes those whose income has risen above the point of need. This will eliminate what is often a great personal hardship.

Fifth, since the supplement is flexible it will permit us to encourage housing in which families of different incomes, and in different age groups, can live together. It will make it unnecessary for the government to assist and even require the segregation by income level which detracts from the variety and quality of urban life.

In the long run this may prove the most effective instrument of our new housing policy. In order to give it a fair chance we are limiting it to carefully designed categories of need.

—in a program of rental and cooperative housing for those low and moderate income families displaced by government action or now living in substandard housing. The subsidy will help them pay rent or meet payments on a federally insured mortgage.

—in a program of home ownership for those displaced or living in substandard housing who display a capacity for increasing income and eventually owning their own home.

—in a program to provide a broader range of housing for the elderly with inadequate

incomes. The existing direct loan program for the elderly will continue at its existing level with the funds already provided by the Congress. I intend to ensure a steadily increasing supply of federally assisted housing for older Americans.

On this basis our rent supplement program should finance more than 500,000 homes over the next four years, while improving our ability to make these homes serve the social needs of those who live in them. If it works as well as we expect, it should be possible to phase out most of our existing programs of low-interest loans.

REHABILITATION

We have concentrated almost all our past effort on building new units, when it is often possible to improve, rebuild and rehabilitate existing homes with less cost and less human dislocation. Even some areas now classed as slums can be made decent places to live with intensive rehabilitation. In this way it may often be possible to meet our housing objectives without tearing people away from their familiar neighborhoods and friends. Sometimes the same objective can be achieved by helping local authorities to lease standard homes for low rent families.

I recommend a change in the public housing formula so that we can more readily use public housing funds to acquire and rehabilitate existing dwellings—and to permit local authorities to lease standard housing for low-rent families. This will assist particularly in providing housing for large families.

I recommend the use of urban renewal funds to permit low-income homeowners to repair their homes and non-profit sponsors to rehabilitate and operate homes for low-income families at rents they can afford.

I have recommended the appropriation of funds for low-interest rehabilitation loans

under urban renewal, designed to help rescue our existing housing from blight and decay.

EXISTING PROGRAMS

I ask Congress to continue, on a modified basis, the existing housing programs which have proven their ability to meet important needs. But I also wish to state my intention to reduce or eliminate these programs whenever new and more flexible instruments have shown they can do a better job.

The public housing program should be continued with an authorization ample enough to permit an increase in the number of new units as well as to conduct a program of rehabilitation.

I ask the continuation, at the rate of 40,000 additional units for fiscal 1966, of the program of below market interest rate mortgage purchases for housing for moderate income families. At the same time we must recognize that the benefits of this program are decreasing as the rising costs of federal borrowing narrows the difference between the interest we ask and that demanded in the private market.

I urge continued support for our college housing program which is struggling to keep up with the needs of a rising volume of students.

I ask that our urban renewal program be increased to a level of 750 million dollars a year by 1968. This program has done much to help our cities. But we have also learned, through hard experience, that there is more to eliminating slums and building neighborhoods than knocking down old buildings and putting up new ones.

Through using funds for rebuilding existing housing and by providing more and better assistance to families forced out by urban renewal, we can make this program

better serve the people it is meant to help. We will continue to use urban renewal to help revitalize the business and industrial districts which are the economic base of the central city. *But this program should be more and more concentrated on the development of residential areas* so that all our tools—from the poverty program, to education and construction—can be used together to create meaningful and liveable communities within the city.

To accomplish this purpose cities must develop long-range programs which take into account human as well as construction needs. *Therefore I recommend that every city of 50,000 or larger develop a Community Renewal Program as a condition of federal help for urban renewal.* These programs will provide an orderly schedule and pattern for development of areas of blight and decay—combining social and educational services with the planning of physical construction.

NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES

A community must offer added dimensions to the possibilities of daily life. It must meet the individual's most pressing needs and provide places for recreation and for meeting with neighbors. *I therefore recommend a new program of matching grants to help local governments build multi-purpose neighborhood centers for health and recreation and community activity.* Related to our housing programs these centers can help urban renewal and public housing meet the goal of creating a meaningful community.

At the same time these centers must not be isolated expressions of interest. They should be a part of an overall program for improving the life of people in disadvantaged areas. Therefore, I am recommend-

ing that in cities participating in the War Against Poverty these grants be made only when they are consistent with an approved community action program.

BEAUTIFYING THE CITY

In my message on natural beauty I pointed out that much of the effort of the new conservation would be directed toward the city. *I recommend changes in the open space program, broadening its authority to help local governments acquire and clear areas to create small parks and squares, malls and playgrounds. In addition I recommend special grants to cities for landscaping, the planting of trees, the improvement of city parks and other measures to bring beauty and nature to the city dweller.*

But beauty is not simply a matter of trees and parks. The attractiveness of our cities depends upon the design and architecture of buildings and blocks and entire urban neighborhoods. I intend to take further steps to ensure that federal construction does not contribute to drab and ugly architecture. But in this field, as in so many others, most of our hopes rest on the concern and work of local governments and private citizens.

CONCLUSION

This message can only deal with a fragment of the effort increasingly directed toward improving the quality of life in the American city. The creation of jobs, the war against poverty, support for education and health, programs for natural beauty and anti-pollution are all part of an effort to build the great cities which are at the foundation of our hopes for a Great Society.

Nor can we forget that most of our programs are designed to help all the people,

in every part of the country. We do not intend to forget or neglect those who live on the farms, in villages, and in small towns. Coordinated with the Department of Agriculture, the programs I have outlined above can do much to meet rural America's need for housing and the development of better communities.

Many of these programs are intended to help the poor and those stripped of opportunity. But our goal is more ambitious than that. It is nothing less than to improve the quality of life for every American. In this quest the future of the American city will play the most vital role. There are a few whose affluence enables them to move through the city guarded and masked from the realities of the life around them. But they are few indeed. For the rest of us the quality and condition of our lives is inexorably fixed by the nature of the community in which we live. Slums and ugliness, crime and congestion, growth and decay inevitably touch the life of all. Those who would like to enjoy the lovely parks of some of our great cities soon realize that neither wealth nor position fully protects them against the failures of society. Even among strangers, we are neighbors.

We are still only groping toward solution. The next decade should be a time of experimentation. Our cities will not settle into a drab uniformity directed from a single center. Each will choose its own course of development—whether it is to unite communities or build entirely new metropolitan areas. We will seek new ways to structure our suburbs and our transportation; new techniques for introducing beauty and improving homes. This is an effort which must command the most talented and trained of our people, and call upon administrators and

officials to act with generosity of vision and spaciousness of imagination.

I believe today's proposals are an important start along that road. They should help us to look upon the city as it really is: a vast and myriad complex of homes and communities, people and their needs, hopes and frustrations. It can liberate the expectations of men, or it can crush them in body and spirit.

For underneath all the rest, at the very bottom of all we do, is the effort to protect, under the conditions of the modern world, values as old as this nation and the civilization from which it comes. We work in our cities to satisfy our needs for shelter and work and the ability to command a satisfying way of life. We wish to create a city where men and women can feed the hunger of the spirit for beauty and have access to the best of man's work; where education and the richness of diversity expands our horizons and extends our expectations. But we also look for something more.

The American city should be a collection of communities where every member has a right to belong. It should be a place where every man feels safe on his streets and in the house of his friends. It should be a place where each individual's dignity and self-respect is strengthened by the respect and affection of his neighbors. It should be a place where each of us can find the satisfaction and warmth which comes only from being a member of the community of man. This is what man sought at the dawn of civilization. It is what we seek today.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 2, 1965

NOTE: For remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 415, 503.

in liberating men from tragic want, disease, and oppression.

NOTE: The Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1966, was approved by the President on October 20, 1965 (see Item 570).

503 Remarks at the Signing of Bill Establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development. September 9, 1965

Mr. Vice President, Members of the Congress, most distinguished mayors, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a very rare and a very proud occasion. We are bringing into being today a very new and needed instrument to serve all the people of America.

This legislation establishes the 11th department of our Federal Government—the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

When our Nation was born, the only departments of Government were State and Treasury and War. Our country and our Government have grown greatly since that time. But we have been sparing in creating new and additional departments except when the need has been clear and compelling and continuing. That is clearly the case for this, the newest department.

The America of our Founding Fathers was, of course, a rural America. The virtues and values of our rural heritage have shaped and strengthened the American character for all of our 189 years. Our debt to this heritage is deep and abiding, and we shall honor it always.

When Thomas Jefferson spoke of rural virtues, cities were insignificant on the countryside of this continent. Only 5 percent of our people lived then in cities or villages. America was the land of the farmer, the woodsman, the hunter and mountaineer. Even a century ago when Abraham Lincoln asked the Congress to create a Department of Agriculture, fewer than 20 percent of our people then lived in cities.

Now that day is gone. It never will return.

In less than a lifetime—in less than my own 57 years—America has become a highly urbanized Nation, and we must face the many meanings of this new America.

Social change in our country is often faster than the mind of a generation can comprehend. But the pace of our urbanization has been stunning. It will move still faster in the immediate years ahead.

Between now and the end of this century our urban population will double. City land will double.

In the next 35 years we must literally build a second America—putting in place as many houses, schools, apartments, parks, and offices as we have built through all the time since the Pilgrims arrived on these shores.

The physical challenge is awesome. But there is a challenge to the spirit that is even greater and more demanding.

It is not enough for us to erect towers of stone and glass, or to lay out vast suburbs of order and conformity. We must seek and we must find the ways to preserve and to perpetuate in the city the individuality, the human dignity, the respect for individual rights, the devotion to individual responsibility that has been part of the American character and the strength of the American system.

Our cities and our new urban age must not be symbols of a sordid society. The history of every civilization teaches us that those who do not find new means to respond to new challenges will perish or decay.

Unless we seize the opportunities available now, the fears some have of a nightmare society could materialize.

Unless we match our imagination and our courage and our affluence, we could fail both our past and our posterity.

So the enactment of this legislation, and so many other measures of this Congress, represents the unified determination of this generation to preserve the best of the past by preparing to make the future better still.

With this legislation, we are—as we must always—going out to meet tomorrow and master its opportunities before its obstacles master us.

In the days of our population's westward movement, we created the Department of Interior. The rise of great industry brought the response of a Department of Commerce and a Department of Labor. The growth of our world responsibilities made it necessary to unify our security forces in a Department of Defense. President Eisenhower saw that the magnitude of our health and education and welfare programs required a new department devoted to their fulfillment.

So today we are taking the first step toward organizing our system for a more rational response to the pressing challenge of urban life. This is a historic action and

this is a historic occasion. All who have been a part of it can forever be proud of it.

I am grateful, particularly to those Members of the Congress whose energies and efforts have made this ceremony possible today: the distinguished Vice President; Senator Ribicoff; Senator Muskie; Senator Clark; the dedicated Chairman of the House Committee, Congressman Bill Dawson; his colleagues, Congressman Fascell and Congressman Reuss; and a dozen more Congressmen and Senators I do not have time to mention. They all, the Congress, all of them, had a vital bipartisan support from a host of their fellow Members.

This is a wise and this is a just and this is a progressive measure for all America, and I am honored to sign it this morning.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey.

During his remarks he referred to Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania, Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois, Chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations, Representative Dante B. Fascell of Florida, and Representative Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin.

As enacted, the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act is Public Law 89-174 (79 Stat. 667).

504 Remarks at the Unveiling of the Design for a Commemorative Stamp Honoring Adlai Stevenson. *September 9, 1965*

Members of the Stevenson family, Mr. Vice President, the distinguished leadership and Members of the Congress, Postmaster General Gronouski, friends and associates of Adlai Stevenson, ladies and gentlemen:

We meet here today to share an act of remembrance. Less than 2 years ago, Adlai Stevenson took part in a ceremony honoring

the memory of Eleanor Roosevelt with a commemorative stamp. He said of her that she was a symbol of man's humanity to man.

So, today, in honoring him we honor another whose life speaks to us of the brighter side of man's nature—the side of service and the love of our fellows.

I will not now add to the many words

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to make those decisions and started hearing from the Congress, that the Presidency looked a little different when you are in the Presidency than it did when you are in the Congress, and vice versa.

Mr. Lawrence: Mr. President, Thomas Jefferson referred to the office as a splendid misery.

Harry Truman used to talk about it as if it were a prison cell.

Do you like it?

THE PRESIDENT. I am doing the best I can in it, and I am enjoying what I am doing.

Thomas Jefferson said the second office of the land was an honorable and easy one. The Presidency was a splendid misery.

But I found great interest in serving in both offices, and it carries terrific and tremendous and awesome responsibilities but I am proud of this Nation, and I am so grateful that I could have an opportunity that I have had in America that I want to give my life seeing that the opportunity is perpetuated for others.

I am so proud of our system of government, of our free enterprise, where our incentive system and our men who head our big industries are willing to get up at daylight and work until midnight to offer employment and create new jobs for people, where our men working there will try to get decent wages but will sit across the table and not act like cannibals, but will negotiate and reason things out together.

I am so happy to be a part of a system

where the average per capita income is in excess of \$200 per month, when there are only six nations in the entire world that have as much as \$80 per month. And while the Soviet Union has three times as many tillable acres of land as we have and a population that's in excess of ours and a great many resources that we don't have that if properly developed would exceed our potential in water and oil and so forth, nevertheless we have one thing they don't have, and that is our system of private enterprise, free enterprise, where the employer, hoping to make a little profit, the laborer hoping to justify his wages, can get together and make a better mousetrap.

They have developed this into the most powerful and the leading nation in the world, and I want to see it preserved. And I have an opportunity to do something about it as President.

And I may not be a great President, but as long as I am here, I am going to try to be a good President, and do my dead level best to see this system preserved because when the final chips are down, it is not going to be the number of people we have or the number of acres or the number of resources that win, the thing that is going to make us win is our system of government.

Mr. Brinkley: Thank you, Mr. President.

NOTE: This is the text of the interview as broadcast over the major networks on March 15. It is based on a video tape recorded in the President's office the preceding day.

219 Special Message to the Congress Proposing a Nationwide War on the Sources of Poverty. March 16, 1964

To the Congress of the United States:

We are citizens of the richest and most fortunate nation in the history of the world.

One hundred and eighty years ago we

were a small country struggling for survival on the margin of a hostile land.

Today we have established a civilization of free men which spans an entire continent.

With the growth of our country has come opportunity for our people—opportunity to educate our children, to use our energies in productive work, to increase our leisure—opportunity for almost every American to hope that through work and talent he could create a better life for himself and his family.

The path forward has not been an easy one.

But we have never lost sight of our goal: an America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capacities.

We have come a long way toward this goal.

We still have a long way to go.

The distance which remains is the measure of the great unfinished work of our society.

To finish that work I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective: total victory.

There are millions of Americans—one fifth of our people—who have not shared in the abundance which has been granted to most of us, and on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed.

What does this poverty mean to those who endure it?

It means a daily struggle to secure the necessities for even a meager existence. It means that the abundance, the comforts, the opportunities they see all around them are beyond their grasp.

Worst of all, it means hopelessness for the young.

The young man or woman who grows up without a decent education, in a broken home, in a hostile and squalid environment, in ill health or in the face of racial injustice—that young man or woman is often trapped in a life of poverty.

He does not have the skills demanded by

a complex society. He does not know how to acquire those skills. He faces a mounting sense of despair which drains initiative and ambition and energy.

Our tax cut will create millions of new jobs—new exits from poverty.

But we must also strike down all the barriers which keep many from using those exits.

The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to make them dependent on the generosity of others.

It is a struggle to give people a chance.

It is an effort to allow them to develop and use their capacities, as we have been allowed to develop and use ours, so that they can share, as others share, in the promise of this nation.

1) We do this, first of all, because it is right that we should.

From the establishment of public education and land grant colleges through agricultural extension and encouragement to industry, we have pursued the goal of a nation with full and increasing opportunities for all its citizens.

The war on poverty is a further step in that pursuit.

2) We do it also because helping some will increase the prosperity of all.

Our fight against poverty will be an investment in the most valuable of our resources—the skills and strength of our people.

And in the future, as in the past, this investment will return its cost many fold to our entire economy.

If we can raise the annual earnings of 10 million among the poor by only \$1,000 we will have added 14 billion dollars a year to our national output. In addition we can make important reductions in public assistance payments which now cost us 4

billion dollars a year, and in the large costs of fighting crime and delinquency, disease and hunger.

This is only part of the story.

Our history has proved that each time we broaden the base of abundance, giving more people the chance to produce and consume, we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings and better income for all.

Giving new opportunity to those who have little will enrich the lives of all the rest.

Because it is right, because it is wise, and because, for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty, I submit, for the consideration of the Congress and the country, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Act does not merely expand old programs or improve what is already being done.

It charts a new course.

It strikes at the causes, not just the consequences of poverty.

It can be a milestone in our one-hundred eighty year search for a better life for our people.

This Act provides five basic opportunities.

It will give almost half a million underprivileged young Americans the opportunity to develop skills, continue education, and find useful work.

It will give every American community the opportunity to develop a comprehensive plan to fight its own poverty—and help them to carry out their plans.

It will give dedicated Americans the opportunity to enlist as volunteers in the war against poverty.

It will give many workers and farmers the opportunity to break through particular barriers which bar their escape from poverty.

It will give the entire nation the opportunity for a concerted attack on poverty

through the establishment, under my direction, of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a national headquarters for the war against poverty.

This is how we propose to create these opportunities.

First we will give high priority to helping young Americans who lack skills, who have not completed their education or who cannot complete it because they are too poor.

The years of high school and college age are the most critical stage of a young person's life. If they are not helped then, many will be condemned to a life of poverty which they, in turn, will pass on to their children.

I therefore recommend the creation of a Job Corps, a Work-Training Program, and a Work Study Program.

A new national Job Corps will build toward an enlistment of 100,000 young men. They will be drawn from those whose background, health and education make them least fit for useful work.

Those who volunteer will enter more than 100 Camps and Centers around the country.

Half of these young men will work, in the first year, on special conservation projects to give them education, useful work experience and to enrich the natural resources of the country.

Half of these young men will receive, in the first year, a blend of training, basic education and work experience in Job Training Centers.

These are not simply camps for the underprivileged. They are new educational institutions, comparable in innovation to the land grant colleges. Those who enter them will emerge better qualified to play a productive role in American society.

A new national Work-Training Program operated by the Department of Labor will provide work and training for 200,000

American men and women between the ages of 16 and 21. This will be developed through state and local governments and non-profit agencies.

Hundreds of thousands of young Americans badly need the experience, the income, and the sense of purpose which useful full or part-time work can bring. For them such work may mean the difference between finishing school or dropping out. Vital community activities from hospitals and playgrounds to libraries and settlement houses are suffering because there are not enough people to staff them.

We are simply bringing these needs together.

A new national Work-Study Program operated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will provide federal funds for part-time jobs for 140,000 young Americans who do not go to college because they cannot afford it.

There is no more senseless waste than the waste of the brainpower and skill of those who are kept from college by economic circumstance. Under this program they will, in a great American tradition, be able to work their way through school.

They and the country will be richer for it.

Second, through a new Community Action program we intend to strike at poverty at its source—in the streets of our cities and on the farms of our countryside among the very young and the impoverished old.

This program asks men and women throughout the country to prepare long-range plans for the attack on poverty in their own local communities.

These are not plans prepared in Washington and imposed upon hundreds of different situations.

They are based on the fact that local citizens best understand their own problems,

and know best how to deal with those problems.

These plans will be local plans striking at the many unfilled needs which underlie poverty in each community, not just one or two. Their components and emphasis will differ as needs differ.

These plans will be local plans calling upon all the resources available to the community—federal and state, local and private, human and material.

And when these plans are approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the federal government will finance up to 90% of the additional cost for the first two years.

The most enduring strength of our nation is the huge reservoir of talent, initiative and leadership which exists at every level of our society.

Through the Community Action Program we call upon this, our greatest strength, to overcome our greatest weakness.

Third, I ask for the authority to recruit and train skilled volunteers for the war against poverty.

Thousands of Americans have volunteered to serve the needs of other lands.

Thousands more want the chance to serve the needs of their own land.

They should have that chance.

Among older people who have retired, as well as among the young, among women as well as men, there are many Americans who are ready to enlist in our war against poverty.

They have skills and dedication. They are badly needed.

If the State requests them, if the community needs and will use them, we will recruit and train them and give them the chance to serve.

Fourth, we intend to create new opportunities for certain hard-hit groups to break out of the pattern of poverty.

Through a new program of loans and guarantees we can provide incentives to those who will employ the unemployed.

Through programs of work and retraining for unemployed fathers and mothers we can help them support their families in dignity while preparing themselves for new work.

Through funds to purchase needed land, organize cooperatives, and create new and adequate family farms we can help those whose life on the land has been a struggle without hope.

Fifth, I do not intend that the war against poverty become a series of uncoordinated and unrelated efforts—that it perish for lack of leadership and direction.

Therefore this bill creates, in the Executive Office of the President, a new Office of Economic Opportunity. Its Director will be my personal Chief of Staff for the War against poverty. I intend to appoint Sargent Shriver to this post.

He will be directly responsible for these new programs. He will work with and through existing agencies of the government.

This program—the Economic Opportunity Act—is the foundation of our war against poverty. But it does not stand alone.

For the past three years this government has advanced a number of new proposals which strike at important areas of need and distress.

I ask the Congress to extend those which are already in action, and to establish those which have already been proposed.

There are programs to help badly distressed areas such as the Area Redevelopment Act, and the legislation now being prepared to help Appalachia.

There are programs to help those without training find a place in today's complex society—such as the Manpower Development

Training Act and the Vocational Education Act for youth.

There are programs to protect those who are specially vulnerable to the ravages of poverty—hospital insurance for the elderly, protection for migrant farm workers, a food stamp program for the needy, coverage for millions not now protected by a minimum wage, new and expanded unemployment benefits for men out of work, a Housing and Community Development bill for those seeking decent homes.

Finally there are programs which help the entire country, such as aid to education which, by raising the quality of schooling available to every American child, will give a new chance for knowledge to the children of the poor.

I ask immediate action on all these programs.

What you are being asked to consider is not a simple or an easy program. But poverty is not a simple or an easy enemy.

It cannot be driven from the land by a single attack on a single front. Were this so we would have conquered poverty long ago.

Nor can it be conquered by government alone.

For decades American labor and American business, private institutions and private individuals have been engaged in strengthening our economy and offering new opportunity to those in need.

We need their help, their support, and their full participation.

Through this program we offer new incentives and new opportunities for cooperation, so that all the energy of our nation, not merely the efforts of government, can be brought to bear on our common enemy.

Today, for the first time in our history, we have the power to strike away the bar-

riers to full participation in our society. Having the power, we have the duty.

The Congress is charged by the Constitution to "provide . . . for the general welfare of the United States." Our present abundance is a measure of its success in fulfilling that duty. Now Congress is being asked to extend that welfare to all our people.

The President of the United States is President of all the people in every section of the country. But this office also holds a special responsibility to the distressed and disinherited, the hungry and the hopeless of this abundant nation.

It is in pursuit of that special responsibility that I submit this Message to you today.

The new program I propose is within our means. Its cost of 970 million dollars is 1 percent of our national budget—and every dollar I am requesting for this program is already included in the budget I sent to Congress in January.

But we cannot measure its importance by its cost.

For it charts an entirely new course of hope for our people.

We are fully aware that this program will not eliminate all the poverty in America in a few months or a few years. Poverty is deeply rooted and its causes are many.

But this program will show the way to new opportunities for millions of our fellow citizens.

It will provide a lever with which we can begin to open the door to our prosperity for those who have been kept outside.

It will also give us the chance to test our

weapons, to try our energy and ideas and imagination for the many battles yet to come. As conditions change, and as experience illuminates our difficulties, we will be prepared to modify our strategy.

And this program is much more than a beginning.

Rather it is a commitment. It is a total commitment by this President, and this Congress, and this nation, to pursue victory over the most ancient of mankind's enemies.

On many historic occasions the President has requested from Congress the authority to move against forces which were endangering the well-being of our country.

This is such an occasion.

On similar occasions in the past we have often been called upon to wage war against foreign enemies which threatened our freedom. Today we are asked to declare war on a domestic enemy which threatens the strength of our nation and the welfare of our people.

If we now move forward against this enemy—if we can bring to the challenges of peace the same determination and strength which has brought us victory in war—then this day and this Congress will have won a secure and honorable place in the history of the nation, and the enduring gratitude of generations of Americans yet to come.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

NOTE: The draft bill and a section by section analysis were released with the President's message. They are printed in House Document 243 (88th Cong., 2d sess.).

For the President's remarks upon signing the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, see Item 528.

ples have been laid aside, or that convictions have been diluted.

The opposite is much more nearly the case.

But from full debate, from advocacy of principles, from devotion to convictions, strength has been forged into the laws that have been enacted. This Congress has expressed on the record the commitment of the American people to the pillars on which our system and our society stand.

Our economic system of private enterprise has received the most significant vote of confidence in our times with the enactment of the legislation reducing taxes for both individuals and corporations. Eleven and one-half billion dollars have been returned to the pockets of American families and American enterprise—in the confidence that private initiative would put these dollars to work creating jobs, creating opportunity, and creating greater effectiveness in competition with the world.

For 100 years, emancipation was a proclamation but it was not a fact.

This Congress with the help and the support and the votes from both sides of the aisle brought into being the most comprehensive Civil Rights Act in the last century. This act wrote into the book of law the equality of opportunity for all of our people.

Our Nation's great commitment to universal education has received more support from this Congress than from any other.

The 88th Congress will be always remembered as the Education Congress.

And I know how much pride and satisfaction that our late, beloved President John F. Kennedy would get tonight if he could only be here and see you and thank you for helping him to see that his dreams came true.

You have responded to the needs of our cities with the mass transit legislation. The beauty and the values of our countryside will be conserved by the wilderness bill, and many more measures.

For classroom, city, and countryside, you have made long strides toward meeting the needs of our times and toward building a great society.

As your former colleague, as your President now, as an American first and a partisan second, I am proud and privileged tonight to salute the Congress one and all.

Mrs. Johnson and I are indeed privileged to have a chance to say thanks to all of you this evening.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke in the evening on the South Lawn at the White House at a reception for Members of the 88th Congress. In his opening words he referred to Representative John J. McCormack of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House, and Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, Majority Leader of the Senate. Early in his remarks he also referred to Walter Cronkite of the Columbia Broadcasting System, Mrs. Nancy H. Dickerson of the National Broadcasting Company, and Howard K. Smith of the American Broadcasting Company, who had served as narrators for a musical program featuring songs used in earlier political campaigns.

528 Remarks Upon Signing the Economic Opportunity Act. August 20, 1964

My fellow Americans:

On this occasion the American people and our American system are making history.

For so long as man has lived on this earth poverty has been his curse.

On every continent in every age men have

sought escape from poverty's oppression.

Today for the first time in all the history of the human race, a great nation is able to make and is willing to make a commitment to eradicate poverty among its people.

Whatever our situation in life, whatever our partisan affiliation, we can be grateful and proud that we are able to pledge ourselves this morning to this historic course. We can be especially proud of the nature of the commitments that we are making.

This is not in any sense a cynical proposal to exploit the poor with a promise of a hand-out or a dole.

We know—we learned long ago—that answer is no answer.

The measure before me this morning for signature offers the answer that its title implies—the answer of opportunity. For the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 is to offer opportunity, not an opiate.

For the million young men and women who are out of school and who are out of work, this program will permit us to take them off the streets, put them into work training programs, to prepare them for productive lives, not wasted lives.

In this same sound, sensible, and responsible way we will reach into all the pockets of poverty and help our people find their footing for a long climb toward a better way of life.

We will work with them through our communities all over the country to develop comprehensive community action programs—with remedial education, with job training, with retraining, with health and employment counseling, with neighborhood improvement. We will strike at poverty's roots.

This is by no means a program confined just to our cities. Rural America is afflicted deeply by rural poverty, and this program

will help poor farmers get back on their feet and help poor farmers stay on their farms.

It will help those small businessmen who live on the borderline of poverty. It will help the unemployed heads of families maintain their skills and learn new skills.

In helping others, all of us will really be helping ourselves. For this bill will permit us to give our young people an opportunity to work here at home in constructive ways as volunteers, going to war against poverty instead of going to war against foreign enemies.

All of this will be done through a program which is prudent and practical, which is consistent with our national ideals.

Every dollar authorized in this bill was contained in the budget request that I sent to the Congress last January. Every dollar spent will result in savings to the country and especially to the local taxpayers in the cost of crime, welfare, of health, and of police protection.

We are not content to accept the endless growth of relief rolls or welfare rolls. We want to offer the forgotten fifth of our people opportunity and not doles.

That is what this measure does for our times.

Our American answer to poverty is not to make the poor more secure in their poverty but to reach down and to help them lift themselves out of the ruts of poverty and move with the large majority along the high road of hope and prosperity.

The days of the dole in our country are numbered. I firmly believe that as of this moment a new day of opportunity is dawning and a new era of progress is opening for us all.

And to you men and women in the Congress who fought so long, so hard to help bring about this legislation, to you private

citizens in labor and in business who lent us a helping hand, to Sargent Shriver and that band of loyal men and women who made up this task force that brings our dream into a reality today, we say "Thank you" for all the American people. In the days and years to come, those who have an opportunity to participate in this program will vindicate your thinking and vindicate your action.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke in midmorning in the Rose Garden at the White House. Among those attending the ceremony were Members of Congress

who sponsored the bill and other supporters of the antipoverty program. The President specifically referred to Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, who was later appointed Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As enacted, the bill (S. 2642) is Public Law 88-452 (78 Stat. 508).

Earlier, on August 12, the White House released the text of a letter from the President to the Speaker of the House requesting appropriations to support activities authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act, together with a letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget outlining details of the appropriation. The Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1965 (Public Law 88-635, 78 Stat. 1023), authorizing the appropriations, was approved by the President on October 7, 1964.

529 Special Message to the Congress on U.S. Participation in the United Nations. *August 20, 1964*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act, I transmit herewith the eighteenth annual report covering United States participation in the United Nations during 1963.

This report describes in detail the day-to-day, month-to-month work of the United Nations system of agencies on behalf of peace and security, economic and social development, the trust territories, human rights and legal and constitutional developments. It also reports on administrative and financial matters.

The 18th General Assembly was concerned with many of the most urgent problems of our times: peace and disarmament, national independence and human rights, and international cooperation along a broad spectrum of human endeavor.

As in other years and with other institutions, the U.N. record for 1963 was an amalgam of progress and problems as the Organization sought to cope with many of the world's most basic and difficult issues. This report is a factual accounting of what

was accomplished on the United Nations agenda for mankind—and of its unfinished business.

In transmitting this report to the Congress I should like to add two observations which go beyond the scope of the objective record of U.N. activities during the year.

First, the extraordinary importance which this Government attaches to the United Nations was underscored by the fact that two Presidents of the United States addressed the same Assembly.

On September 20, President Kennedy went to the rostrum of the General Assembly to tell the delegates of more than a hundred countries that:

"... the badge of responsibility in the modern world is a willingness to seek peaceful solutions.

"... if either of our countries [the United States and the Soviet Union] is to be fully secure, we need a much better weapon than the H-bomb—a weapon better than ballistic missiles or nuclear submarines—and that better weapon is peaceful cooperation."

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1967

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Industry and the Secretary of Commerce meet annually for this purpose. He also assured the Prime Minister that the United States would cooperate with the Republic of Korea to bring promptly to the attention of American private business interests the opportunities and possibilities for investment in Korea, both through commercial loans and joint business ventures.

President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung reaffirmed the conviction of their two governments that existing regional organizations and institutions in the Pacific area should be strengthened and developed, with the ultimate objective of creating a new Pacific Community, open to all nations prepared to live at peace and to cooperate and work for the welfare of the people of Asia and the Pacific, as agreed by Presidents Johnson and Park in their joint statement in Seoul in November, 1966. President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung recalled the goals of freedom as declared by the seven heads of state at Manila last October and Prime Minister Chung reaffirmed the determination of the government of the Republic of Korea to

continue its efforts towards accelerating the growth of a Pacific Community. President Johnson expressed appreciation for the initiative and important contributions made by the Republic of Korea in the evolution of the Pacific Community. He stressed the importance of solidarity and mutual support among the countries in the region and expressed the readiness of the United States Government to play its part in developing the Pacific Community.

President Johnson and Prime Minister Chung reaffirmed the strong ties of friendship and mutual interest between the Republic of Korea and the United States and pledged themselves anew to the maintenance and strengthening of those ties and to continued cooperation between their two governments in the economic, political, and military fields.

On behalf of the members of his party and the Korean people, Prime Minister Chung expressed his deepest appreciation to President Johnson for the warm reception and for the hospitality extended to him by President Johnson and the United States.

114 Special Message to the Congress: America's Unfinished Business, Urban and Rural Poverty. *March 14, 1967*

To the Congress of the United States:

I. THE CHALLENGE

"The slum is as old as civilization. Civilization implies a race to get ahead. In a race there are usually some who for one cause or another cannot keep up, or are thrust out from among their fellows. They fall behind, and when they have been left far in the rear they lose hope and ambition, and give up. Thenceforward, if left to their own resources, they are the victims, not the masters,

of their environment; and it is a bad master. . . . The bad environment becomes the heredity of the next generation."

These are the words of Jacob Riis, the Danish immigrant and American reformer, written in 1902. We may wish that those words applied only to the America of 1902—but clearly they apply to the America of the 1960's as well. They describe conditions in parts of every large American city and in pockets of poverty throughout rural America where 43 percent of the Nation's poor live.

It was years after Jacob Riis spoke before Americans realized that poverty was an urgent public dilemma—from which the only escape was to change the basic conditions of human life.

Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Roosevelt in their times, began the necessary process of change:

- The Children's Bureau, proposed in 1909 and established in 1912, spearheaded broad efforts to improve maternal and infant care and to provide better services and protection for our youth.
- The public housing program, begun in 1934, today affords more than 2 million low-income Americans decent housing.
- The benefits of the Social Security Act of 1935 will provide \$25.8 billion in old age, disability and survivorship benefits in fiscal 1968, if my recommendations are adopted by the Congress.
- The federally-aided public assistance programs, authorized in 1935, will provide \$5 billion in Federal, State and local aid to more than 7 million needy individuals in fiscal 1968.
- The Fair Labor Standards Act, enacted in 1938, now provides minimum wage and hour protection for some 40 million workers.

A STRATEGY AGAINST POVERTY

In the 1960's, we have begun to devise a total strategy against poverty. We have recognized that public housing, minimum wages and welfare services could not, standing alone, change the bleak environment of deprivation for millions of poor families.

A successful strategy requires a breakthrough on many fronts: education, health, jobs and job training, housing, public assistance, transportation, recreation, clean air

and adequate water supplies. The basic conditions of life for the poor must, and can, be changed.

We must deal with a wide range of physical and human needs. On the human side alone, the strategy must respond to a variety of problems.

Some of the poor—the aged and the hopelessly disabled—are unable to make their own way in this world because of conditions beyond their control. For them, social security, veterans pensions and public assistance can assure a life at minimum levels of human decency and dignity.

Others in our society are working at very low wages or are unemployed. But they are capable of helping themselves if given an opportunity to do so. To launch them on the road to a self-sufficient life, special education, training and employment opportunities will be necessary.

Our strategy requires programs that respond to the human needs of each of these groups. And we have proposed such programs:

- To give disadvantaged children healthy bodies and the chance to learn.
- To give the teenagers in our ghettos and pockets of rural poverty the training and skills they need to get jobs.
- To give our young the chance to develop their minds in college, through Federal grants and loans.
- To give the old and the disabled, who are incapable of helping themselves, increases in Social Security and the personal security of being able to see a doctor or obtain hospital care, without losing their entire life savings.

We also must have programs to improve the surroundings in which the disadvantaged live—the physical and social environment of America which has too long entrapped the poor. We have made proposals for:

- Model Cities, to rebuild entire blighted neighborhoods in cities, large and small.
- Rent Supplements, to bring the genius of private industry and private capital to the problem of housing the poor decently.
- Civil Rights legislation, to remove arbitrary barriers of discrimination which prevent a man otherwise qualified from getting a job or a home because of his race.

Our strategy against poverty relies on:

- The private initiative of every citizen and on the self-help efforts of the poor themselves.
- The resources of city, county, state and metropolitan agencies.
- Federal programs to supplement private and local activities and often to supply the vital thrust of innovation.

We have made substantial gains. But we have also come to see how profound are the problems that confront us, how deeply ingrained are the customs and practices that must be changed, how stubbornly the heritage of poverty persists from generation to generation.

Many of our early efforts have revealed the dimensions of the work that remains to be done. For some, this has inspired a pessimism that challenges both the value of what has been accomplished and the capacity of our Federal democracy to complete the task. For others, it has inspired a sober determination to carry through with programs that show great promise, to improve their administration and to seek still more effective instruments of change.

I have already submitted to the Congress my budget recommendations for fiscal 1968.

I have recommended \$25.6 billion for the programs directly aiding the poor—a \$3.6 billion increase over fiscal 1967.

Many of the programs underlying these

budget recommendations have been discussed in previous messages to the Congress this year—on Education and Health, Children and Youth, Older Americans, Crime in America and Equal Justice. The programs described in this message are part of our strategy to change the depressing conditions of poverty now facing millions of our fellow men.

II. POVERTY—AND OPPORTUNITY

Few undertakings in our time have generated as much hope, produced as many immediate and beneficial results, or excited as much controversy, as the anti-poverty program I first submitted to the Congress on March 16, 1964.

The controversy was inevitable: what is being attempted is a fundamental change in the way government responds to the needs of the poor.

That there would be some confusion and mistakes was inevitable. The need was for action. America could not wait for a decade of studies which might not even show precisely what should be attempted. New programs had to begin in our cities and rural communities, in small towns and in migrant labor camps. America had to pull the drowning man out of the water and talk about it later.

This experience has led to progress and great accomplishment. We have learned more than some of the most enthusiastic supporters of the anti-poverty program had hoped.

Greater opportunities for millions of Americans depend on how we build on our experience:

- On enlarged resources for the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen and expand programs that have shown great promise and to continue the de-

velopment of new and better techniques.

- On tightened administration of those programs so that the poor receive the maximum benefits, at the lowest cost to the American taxpayer.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1967

I recommend that the Economic Opportunity Act be amended:

1. To help local community action agencies define their purpose more precisely and improve their planning, auditing and personnel systems.

- The purpose and functions of community action agencies should be made more explicit: in their relationship to state, county and municipal authorities, in planning, coordinating and providing services, and in community involvement and innovation.

- Strict rules should be established to govern the pay, selection and accountability of community action personnel. Personnel systems should embody merit features and set the highest standards of conduct and efficiency.

- The provisions in existing law prohibiting partisan political activities should be retained and strengthened wherever possible.

- Auditing requirements now in the law should be expanded and improved.

2. To give public officials and other interested groups in the community voice in forming policy for community action agencies.

- There should be a requirement for representation of local public agencies on community action boards, as well as representation for the neighborhood groups to be served.

- Standards should be set specifically defining the powers and duties of Community Action Boards.

- The responsibility of the Boards for policy formulation and control of community action programs should be made explicit.

3. To strengthen the role of the States, especially in rural areas.

- States should be encouraged to assist in establishing regional community action agencies in rural areas.

- The joint funding of anti-poverty programs by Federal and State agencies should be encouraged.

- Federal funds should be provided so that States may give increased planning assistance to rural communities.

4. To encourage more participation by private enterprise.

- The obligation of community action agencies to design and conduct programs with full participation by the private sector should be made explicit.

- A closer relationship should be developed between employers, unions and the new work-training programs, with more individual attention to trainees in on-the-job training programs.

5. To use the Economic Opportunity Act to encourage welfare recipients to become self-sufficient.

- Job Corpsmen, Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen and others engaged in work and training under this Act should be given greater incentives to work, by allowing them to earn more without a corresponding loss of welfare assistance to their families.

6. To give new direction and momentum to the programs in rural areas.

- A new position of Assistant Director for rural affairs should be established to coordinate and strengthen programs affecting the rural poor.

7. To strengthen the Economic Opportunity Council in the coordination of

anti-poverty activities of Federal agencies.

—The Council's role in helping to improve coordination among federal programs related to the anti-poverty effort should be more clearly spelled out.

These changes will make the administration of the program more effective. But improved administration is not enough. More people must be reached. The gap between promise and real opportunity is still broad. Additional funds must be provided if we are to make genuine progress in attending to our unfinished business.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate \$2.06 billion for the Office of Economic Opportunity for fiscal 1968—a 25 percent increase over fiscal 1967.

COMMUNITY ACTION

The purpose of community action is to encourage those who need help to help themselves.

A Community Action Agency should provide a voice in planning programs to mayors, local business and labor leaders, the citizens to be helped, teachers, lawyers, physicians—all those who give their time and efforts to relieve poverty in their communities and who know well the needs of their neighbors. It may be established as a private, non-profit corporation or created by local government. Each agency analyzes the problems its community faces and develops a strategy for its anti-poverty, self-help effort. This strategy may include any combination of Federal, State and local programs which will assist the poor in their fight against poverty.

Community action agencies should devote their energies to self-help measures and new initiatives that will advance their communities in the war against poverty. To be effective, it is essential that they be non-partisan

and totally disengaged from any partisan political activity. This Administration, the National Advisory Council on Economic Opportunity and, I am confident, the Congress, will be constantly alert to the danger of partisan political activity and will take the necessary steps to see that it does not occur.

Legal Services

To be poor is to be without an advocate—in dealing with a landlord, a creditor, or a government bureaucrat. It is to be subjected to the hostility or indifference of society, without redress. It is to be exposed to frustration and delay, without relief.

The Legal Services Program offers free legal assistance in civil matters to people who otherwise could not afford an attorney. The program provides—in ghettos, on Indian reservations, in migrant camps and in rural counties—lawyers for the poor in eviction and consumer credit cases, in administrative actions and in hundreds of other encounters involving their legal rights.

The program has the wholehearted endorsement of the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association and the National Trial Lawyers Association. With the help of these Associations, legal services are now being provided in 44 of the Nation's 50 largest cities and in some rural areas.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to strengthen these efforts and to expand the services available to smaller towns and rural areas.

NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS

Multi-Service Centers

To be poor in a city is to spend long hours and precious dollars for carfare in search of assistance. The employment service may be in one part of town, the social security

office in another, welfare offices, veterans assistance, adult literacy training, medical care or housing aid in others.

To be poor in a rural area is to travel many miles in hope of finding assistance—often fruitlessly. The services needed are too often in another county or only in a big city.

The fragmentation—and the unavailability—of services imposes great hardship upon the poor. Often it denies them the comprehensive help that can provide security, and the chance to stand on their own two feet before their fellow men.

We are trying a variety of methods for providing these services more effectively. Hundreds of neighborhood centers have been created: some are referral agencies, others house a complex of services drawn from existing programs. In rural areas centers have been established to serve multi-county areas. Our goal is to develop within each community the most effective means to deliver the services so desperately needed at the lowest cost to the taxpayer.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and other federal departments, to expand and strengthen the development of Neighborhood Multi-Service and Multi-County Centers in the coming fiscal year. These Centers have become the focal point of many local efforts in their attack on poverty, and I expect that local communities will seek some \$120 million for them in fiscal 1968.

Health Centers

To be poor is to be without adequate medical care:

—One-half of all women who have their babies in public hospitals have received

no pre-natal care at all.

—More than 60 percent of poor children with disabling handicaps are not receiving any medical care.

—60 percent of all poor children never see a dentist.

—The chance of a child dying before the age of one is 50 percent higher for the poor.

—The chance of dying before reaching the age of 35 is four times greater for the poor.

The poor man, making two thousand dollars a year or less—in many cases because of previous illness—will lose twice as many working days from illness as the man who makes seven thousand dollars or more.

In Health Centers, located where the poor live, medical care can be effectively provided for those who need it most. Where appropriate, the Health Centers are linked to Neighborhood Multi-Service Centers so that the individual citizen can obtain in one place a wide range of needed services.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will encourage local communities to establish additional Health Centers in the coming fiscal year, so that up to 50 will be in operation by the end of fiscal 1968.

UPWARD BOUND

When a child's potential for success in life is lost, the nation as well as the child is the loser. When a bright mind is dimmed by successive failures in school, and the despair failure brings, the community suffers as much as the student himself.

Upward Bound seeks out poor rural and urban youngsters whose talents are unde-

veloped. They are given intensive individual attention and the best training our education system can offer so that they can develop their talents to the full reach of their individual capacity.

Two hundred and twenty-four public and private universities and private secondary schools are taking part in Upward Bound this year. More than 20,000 poor young men and women are today headed for high school graduation and college study through Upward Bound. We estimate that 78 percent of these youngsters—as compared to 8 percent of poor youth generally—will go on to college.

Applications for Upward Bound far exceed the funds presently available. Those funds must be increased—for America needs the trained and competent citizens these poor children can become.

My budget includes sufficient funds for Upward Bound to benefit more than 30,000 young men and women in fiscal 1968.

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

Children in orphanages and homes for the retarded need the patient care of older men and women. Older Americans need the sense of usefulness that a child's dependence can bring.

The Foster Grandparents program meets these needs for more than 2,000 older Americans and 5,000 children. These Foster Grandparents are given training and relatively substantial increases in their incomes for visiting, teaching and caring for children who need them.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, will expand this program next year.

HEAD START AND HEAD START FOLLOW-THROUGH

I have already submitted to the Congress my recommendations to improve educational opportunities for children who need them most of all—the children of the poor.

For thousands of children in ghettos and pockets of rural poverty, in migrant labor camps and on Indian reservations, the Head Start Program has “replaced the conviction of failure with the hope of success.” This fiscal year, Head Start will provide summer opportunities for about 500,000 children and a full-year program for nearly 200,000 children.

We must not lose the precious momentum children gain from Head Start by returning them to substandard schools. We must provide the Follow-Through necessary to vitalize the first years of their grade school experience. We must involve more parents and increase the services of teachers, teachers aides, doctors and counselors for disadvantaged children in the early grades.

For this reason, I have recommended the Head Start Follow-Through Program. My budget recommendations to the Congress include \$472 million for Head Start, including funds for the new Head Start Follow-Through Program to sustain the progress Head Start has made.

With these funds, we will strengthen the year-round Head Start Program and begin to plan and operate Head Start Follow-Through programs for up to 200,000 children coming into the first grades.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

At a critical period in their lives, the Neighborhood Youth Corps has given some 800,000 young men and women from both

rural and urban America a chance to succeed as adults. It has helped them work their way through school, return to school, or prepare for useful employment.

My budget recommendations provide \$321 million for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in fiscal 1968 to:

- Give 195,000 young people the chance to stay in school.
- Help 90,000 young people return to school or prepare for jobs.
- Provide summer jobs for 190,000 young people.

JOB CORPS

If the attack on poverty is to mean anything, it must reach all the poor—including those whose educational experience and past behavior make them difficult to teach, motivate and discipline.

The Job Corps is a response to that moral imperative. Its success must be measured against the difficulties of its task.

There are 113 Job Corps centers in America. More than 60,000 youths have passed through them in the last two years.

For some, the Job Corps experience was too short to matter significantly. For others, there was only time enough to have a physical examination, or to learn to read a little or to add a column of figures. But even this was a gain for the young who, on the average, enter the Job Corps at a fourth grade reading level and have never seen a doctor or dentist.

For most, the Job Corps has meant a chance to be a productive—and taxpaying—citizen:

- 26,000 hold jobs earning an average of \$1.71 per hour.
- 4,500 are back in school to complete an education they have been motivated to seek.
- 3,500 are in the armed services. Many

of them had been previously rejected because they failed to meet medical or educational standards.

The Job Corps does not benefit only those it serves. It has developed educational materials now being used by 84 schools across America. Its volunteers have worked on conservation and beautification projects, and public facility improvements. The Job Corps youths, who are themselves poor, send more than \$1 million home to their families each month.

While the Job Corps has used the best talents of industry and of universities to design the program and operate the centers, many problems remain. Costs must be reduced and discipline improved. In fiscal 1968, the estimated full-year cost for a Job Corpsman in established centers will be about \$6,700—down from an average cost of about \$8,400 during the last half of fiscal 1966. This sum will cover food, clothing, transportation, medical and dental care, pay and allowances, as well as the cost of training and education.

The experience we have gained thus far will permit tighter cost controls, firmer discipline, and more effective recruitment and placement. The Job Corps in fiscal 1968 will be even more effective in reaching those young people for whom the road to productive and responsible lives is the longest and hardest.

My budget recommendations include \$295 million for the Job Corps Program in fiscal 1968—to educate, train and renew the hopes of some 50,000 young men and women.

VISTA

By this June, more than 4,000 Volunteers in Service to America—VISTA volunteers—will be in the field. They will be living and working in the hollows of Appalachia, on

Indian reservations, in migrant camps and city slums—to teach skills, care for the sick, and help people to help themselves.

My budget recommendations for fiscal 1968 include \$31 million for the VISTA Program.

No matter how dedicated or skillful, 4,000 volunteers cannot accomplish the thousands of tasks that require attention in America's poor neighborhoods. Neither can a massive flow of dollars and new programs. We will continue to search for ways to enlist still more Americans in part- and full-time service to their fellowman.

OPERATION GREEN THUMB

Hundreds of older unemployed and retired farmers and rural workers have gained in income and in dignity, while contributing to the safety and beautification of State highways, schools, parks and rural towns through projects like Operation Green Thumb. They have assisted their disadvantaged neighbors to improve their homes and have added their skills to enhance neighboring communities.

I have asked the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in cooperation with the Secretaries of Labor and Agriculture, to expand this activity and to develop new ways to provide meaningful public service opportunities for the elderly in rural areas.

RURAL LOAN PROGRAM

The special rural loan program of the Office of Economic Opportunity will assist 13,000 families this year to improve their farms and carry on small businesses. Hundreds of other poor families will be helped to increase their production and marketing capacity by loans made to rural cooperative associations.

My budget recommendations provide for

\$32 million in loans under this program in fiscal 1968.

A CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

A thriving national economy is critical to our anti-poverty effort. Through private initiative and wise economic policy, our economy is meeting its fundamental test of producing revenue and employment.

It has not always been so. In the period from 1957 to 1959, 1.9 million Americans, new to the job market, sought work. One million of them could not find jobs. Despite prosperity, unemployment increased.

In the last three years, four million Americans joined the work force for the first time. 5.25 million jobs were added to the economy. Unemployment was reduced by 1.25 million.

But economic policy and unprecedented prosperity have not reached thousands of men and women who live in the nation's slums. The Secretary of Labor has investigated the unemployment situation in slums and found that:

- Unemployment rates in the slums are three times the national average.
- Large numbers of people work a few hours of the week, unable to find the full-time work they seek.
- Large numbers work full-time at poverty wage levels.
- Nearly one-third of those who should be employed at self-supporting wages are not.

Neither a high performance economy nor traditional training and employment services have been able to reach these men and women. Some need special counseling and training. Others need special health and educational assistance. All need follow-up assistance until they are permanently placed in a stable job. Even after that, they may

need special attention during their first weeks of employment.

I have directed the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, with the assistance of other Federal agencies, to begin immediately a special program using all available resources to provide concentrated assistance to those with the greatest need.

This program will

- Enlist the active support and cooperation of business and labor organizations at the local level.
- Provide a wide range of counseling, health, education and training services on an individual basis.
- Provide the follow-up assistance necessary to insure that a job once obtained will not quickly be lost.
- Use local community action agencies as the focal point wherever practicable.

I recommend that the Congress appropriate \$135 million under the Economic Opportunity Act to support this program to train and put to work up to 100,000 slum residents next year. These funds, together with existing programs, will enable us to provide the special counseling and personal attention necessary to reach these impoverished Americans.

This will be a tough objective to meet. But we pledge to make every effort to achieve it.

WAGE GARNISHMENT

Hundreds of workers among the poor lose their jobs or most of their wages each year as a result of garnishment proceedings. In many cases, wages are garnished by unscrupulous merchants and lenders whose practices trap the unwitting workers.

I am directing the Attorney General, in consultation with the Secretary of Labor and the Director of the Office of Economic Op-

portunity, to make a comprehensive study of the problems of wage garnishment and to recommend the steps that should be taken to protect the hard-earned wages and the jobs of those who need the income most.

PERSEVERANCE

Poverty cannot be eliminated overnight. It takes time, hard work, money and perseverance.

It has been only two years and three months since we decided to embark upon a concentrated attack on poverty. We have made progress. But victory over poverty will not quickly or cheaply be won.

We do not have all the answers. But we have given a great many people—very young children, restless teenagers, men without skills, mothers without proper health care for themselves or their babies, old men and women without a purpose to fill their later years—the opportunity they needed, when they needed it, in a way that called on them to give the best of themselves.

Millions more Americans need—and deserve—that opportunity. The aim of this Administration is, and will be, that they shall have it.

I urge the Congress to examine these programs carefully, to evaluate their accomplishments, and then to support them fully with the funds necessary to do the job.

III. IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF URBAN LIFE

The needs for jobs and job training, for special education and health care, for legal assistance, are all urgent in the life of the poor. Most often they exist together in the urban slum—isolated from the city of which they are a part.

I shall not elaborate on these conditions.

They are familiar to everyone who has looked candidly at the American city. So are some of the things that should be done about them.

In the past few years, we have made a heavy investment in improving the conditions of life in the cities. Federal aid to cities and their citizens has been steadily rising—from grants and direct loans of \$3.9 billion in 1961 to \$10.3 billion in 1968.

But some of the most promising urban programs are today only authorizations on the statute books. The 89th Congress made them law. It remains for the 90th Congress to give them life.

MODEL CITIES

The Model Cities program, enacted last year, is an attempt to focus a variety of aids—physical and social—on the problems of the slums and to enlist private and local support to rebuild the blighted areas of America's cities.

It is a comprehensive approach to human problems—involving jobs, education, health facilities, housing.

Fulfilling the purpose Congress proclaimed last year is a necessity. We have inspired the hopes of large and small cities in every State. We have generated in local communities a commitment to excellence as they plan for the future.

I strongly urge the Congress to appropriate the full amount it has authorized for Model Cities in fiscal 1968:

- \$12 million for additional planning grants.
- \$400 million for supplemental grants to be used in carrying out local model city programs.
- \$250 million for urban renewal projects in the Model cities.

RENT SUPPLEMENTS

The 89th Congress authorized the Rent Supplement Program to enable poor families to live in decent, privately-owned housing.

Only families whose incomes are so low that they are eligible for publicly-owned housing can receive rent supplements—and then only if they are displaced from their homes by governmental action or a disaster, are elderly or physically handicapped, or occupy substandard housing.

With low-rent housing in short supply, it is more important than ever to stimulate construction by private enterprise and non-profit organizations. The Rent Supplement Program authorizes payments that make the construction of low-rent units attractive for builders.

Last year the Congress provided funds to get this program underway. This year it must be expanded.

I urge the authorization of an additional \$40 million for the rent supplement program in fiscal 1968.

HOME OWNERSHIP

For many American families, home ownership is a source of pride and satisfaction, of commitment to community life.

Some families with low but steady incomes have become the owners of decent, modest homes. Their well-maintained homes are often in the midst of slum areas. They are frequently surrounded by substandard homes owned by absentee landlords, where poor families pay rent in amounts much higher than would have been required for ownership of a modest home.

We must learn how best to help low-income families own their own homes.

I have directed the Secretary of Housing

and Urban Development to carry out, within existing authority, a low-income housing-ownership pilot program, so that these lessons may be learned and converted to public policy on a broad scale.

I am authorizing the Federal National Mortgage Association to use \$20 million of its funds to support this program.

The Program will:

- Identify low-income families with the potential to build an ownership equity in a home.
- Provide guidelines to assure the economic soundness of their investment.
- Explore a program to insure low-income families against mortgage defaults and foreclosures that result from loss of health or economic recession.
- Encourage ownership equity to be acquired through self-help in the construction of homes.

New and rehabilitated housing, single-family homes and apartment structures should be included in the program. All forms of ownership should be explored—single-family homes, cooperative and individual apartments.

PROTECTING THE SLUM CHILD

The knowledge that many children in the world's most affluent nation are attacked, maimed and even killed by rats should fill every American with shame. Yet, this is an everyday occurrence in the slums of our cities.

There is no excuse for this national disgrace. The rats' food supply can be eliminated. Garbage can be collected. Harborage can be eliminated. Buildings can be made rat-proof. As this can be done, it must be done.

To help America's cities wipe out this threat to their people's health and safety, *I recommend the Rat Extermination Act of*

1967, to launch a major program of rat control and eradication. I will ask the Congress to provide \$20 million to initiate this effort in fiscal 1968.

Under this Act, as part of the broader program of community development, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, will help cities:

- Establish house-by-house, block-by-block extermination programs in rat infested neighborhoods.
- Provide special concentrated code enforcement assistance to eliminate rats from city slums.
- Provide public education campaigns for residents of slum areas.
- Help provide better garbage collection, eliminate harborage, and take on the necessary self-help measures to protect against rats.
- Build on the experiences in Chicago and Detroit, where slum residents were trained, mobilized and given the tools to conduct a major attack on rats in their infested tenements.

URBAN HOUSING REHABILITATION

Franklin D. Roosevelt said long ago what is still true today: "American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had."

Rehabilitation is the key to many of our successful urban renewal programs. It is crucial to the success of the Model Cities Program.

I intend to call together an outstanding group of private citizens from across the country—from business and labor, govern-

ment and the building industry—to examine every possible means of establishing the institutions to encourage the development of a large-scale efficient rehabilitation industry.

I will ask this group of outstanding Americans to find the best ways to tap the enormous market that exists in rebuilding our cities and to bring the most modern systems and the most advanced technology to this urgent task.

GRANTS FOR METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

Unless metropolitan development is orderly, the public's money will be wasted on public facilities—schools, hospitals, police and fire stations—that are obsolete before they are even completed.

Last year the Congress authorized a new program of twenty percent grants to support orderly development by local communities, working cooperatively in metropolitan areas. These Federal incentive grants supplement ten other Federal grant-in-aid programs that help finance transportation facilities, water and sewer facilities, recreational and other open space areas, libraries and hospitals.

I urge the Congress to provide \$30 million in Fiscal 1968 for this essential program.

URBAN TRANSPORTATION

The life of a city depends on an adequate transportation system.

Inefficient transportation increases the costs of local industry, and the prices paid by consumers in local stores. It robs the community's citizens of their leisure time and comfort. It penalizes the physically handicapped and those too poor to own a car.

I recommend that the Congress provide \$230 million in advance funds for fiscal 1969 for the construction and improvement of urban mass transportation systems.

To improve public transportation systems and to reduce traffic congestion, *I recommend legislation to authorize the Secretary of Transportation, under the Federal highway program, to participate in the cost of acquiring land and developing public parking facilities on the outskirts of large cities.* This authority would enable the Secretary to promote the multi-purpose use of space over and under expressways and to develop areas alongside of highways for parking terminals.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Less than one-tenth of one percent of our total research and development expenditures in government have been devoted to the field of housing and urban affairs. Yet, 70 percent of our citizens live in urban areas.

This failure to apply scientific resources and methods to an area of such vital importance to American life cannot be permitted to continue.

Today, we can give only partial, insufficient answers to such basic questions as how to build better housing at lower cost, how to move people more rapidly at less cost in congested urban areas.

This year, I ask that we move to build a basic foundation of urban knowledge—in three ways:

First, I recommend legislation to authorize a new Assistant Secretary in the Department of Housing and Urban Development for research, technology and engineering.

Under the new Assistant Secretary, an office for urban research, technology and engineering will be established along lines that have proven successful in other agencies of government. The new office will also serve as a source of information for State and local governments and for private industry.

Second, I am asking the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to encourage

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the establishment of an Institute of Urban Development, as a separate and distinct organization. Such an organization would look beyond immediate problems and immediate concerns to future urban requirements, and engage in basic inquiries as to how they may be solved.

Third, I recommend:

—\$20 million in fiscal 1968 in funds appropriated to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for general research.

—An increase from \$13 to \$18 million for other studies and experimentation in the fields of housing, urban development and urban transportation.

IV. PROGRAMS FOR THE RURAL POOR

Men have argued the merits of providing jobs in rural areas to stem the flow of people into the cities, as against providing jobs and training on arrival or training for jobs prior to departure. Whatever the "correct" answer may be to this argument, it seems clear to me that conditions of impoverishment in rural America continue to exist and must be relieved to the extent we know how to relieve them.

We have taken a number of actions that will, in time, produce effective results:

—A National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty has been established and will submit its report and recommendations to me at the end of the year.¹

—I have asked the Secretary of Agriculture and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget to review all existing Federal programs to insure that rural

areas receive an equitable share of their benefits.

—The Secretary of Agriculture has been given responsibility to identify development problems in rural areas which require the cooperation of various Federal departments, so that these programs may be better coordinated and duplication eliminated.

But much more needs to be done.

PLANNING AIDS FOR MULTI-COUNTY AREAS

This is no longer a nation of small towns and communities which can develop independently. Improved transportation and modern communications have created a larger concept of community. Its boundaries are not marked by any arbitrary political lines, but by the commuting distance to available jobs.

Many states have recognized this, and have established multi-county planning and development areas. Others are doing so. In many cases, rural community action agencies—organized on a multi-county basis—serve the same purpose.

But many rural communities lack the means to form multi-county development districts. Many lack the personnel trained in planning broad social and economic programs. Others lack the resources to enable them to plan effectively.

I recommend that the Congress amend the Housing Act of 1954 and authorize \$20 million to provide:

—Grants to States by the Department of Housing and Urban Development of up to two-thirds of the cost of technical assistance to and comprehensive planning by official multi-county planning agencies in non-metropolitan areas, including multi-county community action agencies.

¹ A letter to the President from the Secretary of Agriculture transmitting the Commission's report was made public by the White House Press Office on December 9, 1967 (3 Weekly Comp. Pres. Docs., p. 1686).

—Technical assistance to the multi-county planning agencies by the Department of Agriculture.

INCREASING OUR PUBLIC INVESTMENT

For many rural areas, a relatively small public investment will return substantial increases in opportunity for the local people.

I recommend legislation to remove the annual ceiling on insured loan authority for rural community water and waste disposal systems.

Eliminating the existing \$450 million limitation on lending authority for this program will permit more rapid completion of the water and waste disposal systems rural America needs for economic development.

I also recommend legislation to expand the provisions of the existing loan programs to permit farm owners or their tenants to shift the entire use of farm land with adequate recreation potential from agricultural production to income-producing recreation enterprises, as part of comprehensive land-use plans for rural and neighboring urban areas.

This program would permit better use of scarce land resources, provide better opportunities for some farmers now using poor farm land for crop purposes and furnish urgently needed recreation facilities for our population.

MIGRANT FARM WORKERS

Migrant farm workers are among the forgotten Americans. Their wages are low, their employment uncertain, and their housing and working conditions deplorable. Though their needs are great, they often find it impossible to obtain social services available to other poverty-stricken Americans.

Because of residency requirements, migra-

tory farm workers are barred in many States from receiving public assistance, vocational rehabilitation, and other welfare services. Disabled workers and their families are often not served—even when otherwise eligible—because of their relatively brief period within a State.

I recommend a five point program for these forgotten Americans:

1. *Legislation to provide 90 percent Federal reimbursement for vocational rehabilitation services for disabled migratory farm workers.* The Secretary of Labor will develop a system for identifying migratory farm workers who would be considered for benefits under this program.

2. *Amendments of the public assistance law to authorize pilot projects to provide temporary public assistance and other welfare services for migratory farm workers and their families, who are now barred by residence requirements from receiving these services.*

3. *A 25 percent increase—from \$28 to \$35 million—in funds to provide:*

—Special educational services for more than 170,000 migrant children.

—Health services for about 280,000 migratory workers and their families.

—An expanded self-help housing program for the construction of 2,000 housing units.

4. *Amendment of the Unemployment Insurance laws to provide benefits for workers employed on large commercial farms.*

5. *Extension of social security benefits to 500,000 farm workers by reducing from \$150 to \$50 the amount which must be earned from a single employer each year.*

V. FINISHING THE NATION'S BUSINESS

It is difficult for most Americans to understand what it is to be desperately poor in

today's affluent America. More than half our population was born after 1940. Less than half can remember the depression on the farms of the twenties, or the bread-lines of the thirties. "The Grapes of Wrath" is ancient literature—not a living record—to most Americans.

Yet for more than 31 million Americans, poverty is neither remote in time, nor removed in space. It is cruel and present reality. It makes choices for them. It determines their future prospects—despite our hope and belief that in America, opportunity has no bounds for any man.

Poverty was universally tolerated until a century or so ago. But like disease, war and famine, it gained nothing in acceptability because it was prevalent. As soon as men saw that they might escape it, they fought and died to escape it.

Poverty denies to most of those born into it a fair chance to be themselves, to be happy in life. Federal funds or services, and the opportunities they provide, cannot permanently free a man from the trap of poverty if he

does not want to be free. He must use the ladders that circumstance, native ability, and his Nation may create.

Let it be said that in our time, we pursued a strategy against poverty so that each man had a chance to be himself.

Let it be said that in our time, we offered him the means to become a free man—for his sake, and for our own.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 14, 1967

NOTE: For statements or remarks upon signing related legislation, see Items 285, 359, 413, 427, 517, 520, 568.

Other related legislation was approved by the President as follows: Mental Health Amendments of 1967, appropriating funds for community mental health centers, approved June 24, 1967 (Public Law 90-31, 81 Stat. 79); Appalachian Regional Development Act Amendments of 1967, granting Federal loans to rural communities, approved October 11, 1967 (Public Law 90-103, 81 Stat. 257); Independent Offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development Appropriation Act, 1968, providing funds for model cities programs, urban assistance, and community development programs, approved November 3, 1967 (Public Law 90-121, 81 Stat. 341).

115 Remarks at the Hermitage at Ceremonies Marking the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Andrew Jackson. March 15, 1967

Governor and Mrs. Ellington, Mrs. Gore, Secretary Gardner, Congressman and Mrs. Fulton, Mrs. Buntin, distinguished Mayor, Reverend Horn, ladies and gentlemen:

Two hundred years ago, Andrew Jackson was born in the obscure poverty of the Carolina frontier.

Seventy-eight years later this man—who had only hearsay knowledge of his birthplace—died here at his beloved Hermitage, having left an indelible mark on American society and its political institutions.

In the course of his long and stormy life, Andrew Jackson taught school, practiced law,

led armies, served as State judge and territorial governor, and was elected to both the House of Representatives and the United States Senate by his grateful Tennessee neighbors.

But his greatest contribution to the life of the young Republic was the political transformation of our democracy—through what we now call the "Jacksonian Revolution."

It affected every aspect of the national life—the nature of the Union, the function of the President, the character of American politics.

To Jackson, the Federal Union was far