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from
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cc: Stephanie A. Cutter/WHO/EOP@EOP
Subject: draft of new markets mission statement

Folks,

Loretta Ucelli asked me to draft a few paragraphs on the new markets tour to help explain the concept to press and other interested parties. Stephanie Cutter, Loretta's new deputy, can give you more details. Would you mind taking a look and giving me some feedback? (And Brian, would you pls. give a copy of this to Patrick?)

Lowell

New Markets Tour

Today, America is enjoying a time of remarkable economic expansion. Because this expansion has been so strong and so sustained, the benefits of economic growth are beginning to flow into communities once choked off from the economic mainstream.

But there are still too many communities in America where unemployment is far too high and opportunity is far too scarce. That is why the President will lead a bipartisan delegation of corporate CEOs, Members of Congress, and Cabinet Secretaries through areas of our country in great need of outside capital and support.

In our inner cities, small- and medium-sized towns, rural areas, and Indian reservations, there is an \$85 million consumer market that is grossly underdeveloped. There will never be a better time for America to develop this market and to shine the light of economic opportunity on communities that have been too long in the shadows. As the President has said, "If we can't do it now, when in the wide world will we ever get around to it? We must seize this moment."

The President's New Markets tour will help direct the flow of opportunity and investment into some of the most stubborn pockets of poverty in our nation. [Insert sites here] He will do so not with the big-government, one-size-fits-all approach of previous generations. Instead, he will expand on the innovative approach to community empowerment he pioneered nearly seven years ago: He will harness the entrepreneurial spirit and enlightened self-interest of the private sector.

During his four-day tour, the President will mobilize the largest and broadest array of private-sector investments in our untapped domestic markets ever announced. He will show the entire nation that these investments represent wise business decisions -- especially at this time of rapid economic growth, when firms are eagerly searching for new workers and new markets. He will also rally support for new tax incentives and investment tools that will make it even more attractive for corporate America to search for opportunities in places where they have rarely, if ever, looked before.

The new-markets approach is the right approach to keep our economy growing, with low unemployment and low inflation, in the 21st century. It is also the best way to leverage the enormous power of our current prosperity to help all Americans live up their full God-given potential.

THE WHITE HOUSE

LISA —

THOUGHT YOU
MIGHT WANT

TO READ THIS —

JOHN GORMAN

NEW MARKETS INITIATIVE

new
File

*ARTICLES ON THE IMPACT
OF THE NEW ECONOMY*

JUNE 17, 1999
OFFICE OF SPEECHWRITING

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The New York Times

June 13, 1999, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 1; Column 1; Week in Review Desk

LENGTH: 1309 words

HEADLINE: Trickle-Down Prosperity;
How Low the Boom Can Go

BYLINE: By MICHAEL M. WEINSTEIN

BODY:

FOR the last eight years, the nation's economic boom, which has made so many Americans rich and self-confident, has been noteworthy for those it has left out: the people at the bottom of the ladder. Suddenly, that's changed. Unemployment rates among blacks and Hispanic people, though still high compared with that for whites, are at or near record lows. Joblessness among high school dropouts has fallen to about half the rate in 1992. And wages for the lowest paid are rising faster than inflation for the first time in decades.

That's important because the last generation produced an underclass of people so poor, discouraged and alienated that they were thought to exist almost outside the general economy. The conventional wisdom has been that the country could get richer or poorer, and the number of jobs could rise or fall, but a large swath of the poor would be left out.

Until recently that wisdom held true, but now prosperity is trickling down to the underclass. Imagine that the economy continues to flourish. The question then becomes how far down the ladder economic benefits will reach. Economists aren't sure, but they are gathering statistical tidbits, tossing in some educated hunches and producing some interesting predictions, however tentative.

Start with the nation's stunning 4.2 percent unemployment rate, which is lower than at any time since the late 1960's, when the economy was artificially buoyed by Government spending on the Vietnam War.

Perhaps overall unemployment cannot fall much more, no matter how tight the labor market becomes. The number of workers who are temporarily unemployed appears to have been squeezed to a minimum. And many of the long-term unemployed -- those who persistently look for work but can't find it -- will remain unattractive to employers no matter how big the boom.

But there is another category of people, including single mothers and young black men with few skills and little education, who appear willing to seize the new opportunities that a robust economy is creating.

Even under the best economic conditions, there are people who are temporarily out of work. At any moment, some workers quit their jobs. Others get fired. Students and spouses leave school and home to find their first jobs. All these

The New York Times, June 13, 1999

people need time to find attractive jobs. Economists call this frictional unemployment and say it is a necessary feature of labor markets and nothing to fret about.

IN the super-charged economy of the 1960's, about 2 percent of the labor force was unemployed for fewer than five weeks. Today the percentage is about the same. So perhaps the time between jobs for qualified workers has contracted as much as it can, suggesting that further economic growth will produce little additional employment.

Prof. Robert Hall of Stanford University, after studying business cycles and current unemployment data, has concluded that, "Anyone who wants a job and is plausibly attractive to employers can find a job within a half-dozen weeks of searching." This may sound cavalier, given the fact that about five million people say they can't find suitable work. But economists across the political spectrum share Professor Hall's view.

THEN there are the long-term unemployed -- those who can't get hired even in the tightest labor markets. These people may be poorly educated, or have spotty work records or a history of crime. They may live in urban areas too far from suburban jobs for which they might qualify.

It is unclear how many of the long-term unemployed would find work if the economy continues to prosper. In the late 1960's, about 0.2 percent of the work force was unemployed for six months or more. Today the figure is three times higher. This suggests that a healthy economy alone may be incapable of reducing long-term unemployment to the levels achieved in the 1960's. This group might need other kinds of help like Government-provided training or subsidized jobs, though the record of such programs is hardly inspiring.

But if statistics for the temporary and long-term unemployed suggest that joblessness may have been driven as low as it can go, another jobless category appears to hold promise: the non-employed. This group includes all the unemployed plus those who don't bother looking for work and thus aren't counted among the jobless. These people may choose not to work, or may be physically or mentally incapable of holding jobs. Or they may be discouraged from seeking work because employers constantly reject their applications or because they are offered inadequate wages.

Among men aged 25 to 55, the non-employment rate is about 11 percent, compared with about 6 percent during the 1960's. Since there is no strong evidence that the rate of physical and mental disability has risen, it's worth asking whether the extra 5 percentage points -- several million people -- can be helped by a growing economy.

Robert H. Topel and Kevin Murphy of the University of Chicago think so. They say that most of those who dropped out of the labor force since the 1960's were low-skilled workers who gave up looking for jobs because of plummeting wages. Among men without a college education, wages have fallen about 25 percent over the past 25 years after accounting for inflation. But for the last two years wages for these workers have risen by 2 percent or 3 percent after inflation. Further economic expansion could bring a continued rise in pay and an attractive alternative for millions who have left the work force.

Other economists are more skeptical. A recent study by Richard B. Freeman of

The New York Times, June 13, 1999

Harvard University and William M. Rodgers 3d of the College of William and Mary found that even in areas of the country with very tight labor markets, overall non-employment rates barely budged throughout the 1990's. That might suggest that relatively few non-working Americans would be drawn to work by an expanding economy.

And Gary Burtless of the Brookings Institution notes that income and other types of support for non-working people, like disability insurance payments, are much higher now than in the 1960's.

But the Freeman-Rodgers study cites one group that has made significant gains in tight labor markets: young black men without a college education, whose non-employment rate fell from 48 percent to 36 percent between 1992 and 1998. Though adult men barely registered gains in employment or earnings in the regions with tight labor markets, the earnings of young men -- including blacks without a college education -- rose by about 10 percent.

"The implication is that a long extended boom can go a long way to resolving the African-American youth employment problem," the report said.

Mr. Burtless points to another disadvantaged group that has been helped by the robust economy: single mothers, whose non-employment rate fell from 43 percent to 31 percent from 1992 to 1998. Mr. Burtless says that sharp improvement is due in part to welfare reform but also to a healthy economy.

HERE'S one encouraging reading of the tea leaves, even if it's unlikely that overall unemployment will dip much further: Those groups in the worst economic shape -- unskilled young black men and single mothers -- respond well to tight labor markets and would benefit from future economic prosperity.

And economists note that as more young black men and single mothers are absorbed into the labor force, they will gain work experience that will prove attractive to future employers and help them weather the next recession.

The strong economy has started to do for these groups what Government training programs have not accomplished: provide substantially higher earnings and employment. And if the economic boom continues for a few years, there is a chance it will do wonders for the disadvantaged workers who need help the most.

GRAPHIC: Photo: The nation's economic boom has reached into some unexpected corners: a new Starbucks store in Harlem. (Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times)

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USA TODAY

June 16, 1999, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: MONEY; Pg. 1B

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HEADLINE: Retailers reap promise from inner-city dare

BYLINE: Melanie Wells

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

NEW YORK -- Outside the Step-Up Boutique in Harlem, Louis Powell shoves promotional fliers at passersby. He pauses only to squint at the construction site that will bring Walt Disney and Old Navy stores to this energetic but shabby urban strip.

"I just want a job," Powell says, shaking his head. "I'm tired of standing around handing out fliers. I'm waiting for the new stores to give out job applications."

When Harlem USA, a \$ 66 million development by Grid Properties, opens this fall, there'll be about 500 jobs in 12 stores for Harlem residents. And people who live in this part of Manhattan -- better known for wig stores, pawn shops and storefront churches -- will be able to go to movies and buy Mickey Mouse T-shirts and Old Navy jeans without traveling to a more affluent part of the city.

This 300,000-square-foot, inner-city mall is part of a retailing about-face taking place in some urban pockets across the USA. Mainstream companies are trickling into sections of major cities that many retailers fled decades ago. They're opening gleaming stores that offer gourmet coffee, trendy clothing and classical music in neighborhoods more identified with crumbling real estate and poverty. But the booming economy, falling urban crime and retail crowding in the suburbs have emboldened a handful of companies to set up shop in what has been retail Siberia. And some of them are thriving.

"Companies are putting their toe in the water," says Carl Steidtmann, chief retail economist with PricewaterhouseCoopers. "There's more inner-city retail development than there has been in 30 years."

What companies such as Starbucks, Rite-Aid, Gap, Sears, TGI Friday's, Blockbuster, Athlete's Foot, Kmart, Krispy Kreme, Modell's sporting goods and HMV Records are chasing is inner-city residents' \$ 85 billion in spending power. That's 7% of all U.S. retail spending and larger than Mexico's retail market, says the Initiative for

a Competitive Inner-City (ICIC).

Outside Harlem, some of the markets where large companies are setting up shop:

* Atlanta. Home Depot, TGI Friday's and Starbucks are among ubiquitous suburban retailers also opening inner-city stores in areas such as southwest Atlanta this year, as well as finding locations in underserved minority suburbs.

"There is more of an emphasis on the inner-city now than there has been," says Home Depot spokesman Jerry Shields. "We knew there was a need, but we hadn't gotten around to it. One reason we haven't been there before was the cost of land."

* Los Angeles. Mayor Richard Riordan wants to attract \$ 250 million in private capital to the city's most downtrodden neighborhoods by selling naming rights to corporate sponsors who invest in the projects. Meanwhile, Magic Johnson, basketball-star-turned-urban entrepreneur, has opened a movie multiplex and a Starbucks store in south-central Los Angeles. And Sears Roebuck has a store on 31 acres in east L.A. that the city hopes will be a magnet to other retailers.

"It's a big challenge for anyone going into an urban market," says Alan B. Stewart, president of full-line stores at Sears. "It's not like going out and building a shopping center in a cornfield. You have to have the vision to see an empty factory as a store."

* Philadelphia. Next year, the Harlem USA developer, Grid Properties, will break ground on Jump Street USA, a \$ 58 million development on land in North Philadelphia that's currently home to abandoned buildings, parking lots and gas stations. Grid Properties President Drew Greenwald says he expects it will have some of the same tenants as Harlem USA.

"These are big spaces," says Greenwald. "A lot of retailers are waiting to see how Harlem USA will do" before signing up for the Philadelphia project.

So far, so good. Near the Harlem USA site, no one seems to balk at paying \$ 4 for a latte at the new Starbucks, located down the block from The Body Shop. Starbucks opened this \$ 300,000 store last month as a joint venture with Johnson. The upscale coffee company plans to have a dozen stores in largely African-American and Hispanic neighborhoods by sometime next year.

What took them so long to expand there from the suburbs and more affluent urban corners?

"That's a good question," says Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz. "I was taken aback by the success with our first store (in inner-city Seattle) because we didn't know what to expect. We are making money in these stores. Los Angeles, Seattle and Harlem (stores)

have all met or exceeded expectations. I'm not surprised by that anymore."

Schultz, who last week opened a second inner-city store in Seattle, likes to be part of transforming poorer neighborhoods.

And so far, Harlem residents seem happy to frequent the trendy coffee shop. "Fifteen years ago this corner was dead," says Rudy Murray, a lifelong Harlem resident, sipping hazelnut coffee. "It's good to bring traffic in."

And it's traffic that, until now, was mostly outbound.

"When I go to the movie I have to travel about 70 blocks," says Murray, who says he sees as many as four movies a month. He says he's looking forward to the Magic Johnson movie multiplex that will be an anchor tenant at Harlem USA.

By ICIC's accounting, many inner-city neighborhoods have 50% lower income and 50% higher poverty and unemployment rates than their metropolitan area's average. But that doesn't mean residents don't spend money on products and services. Inner-city residents spend 75% more on men's apparel than the average U.S. shopper; they spend 50% more on kids' apparel; and they spend 20% more on women's clothing, according to a joint study by ICIC and PricewaterhouseCoopers.

"The perception is that just because there's a high concentration of low-income residents, there's no purchasing power," says Steidtmann. "But the density of the population makes up for the low levels of income." "Our inner-city store sales are not generally lower than other stores," says Yvette Venable, spokeswoman for Walgreen. "Those stores do very well, sometimes because there are not a lot of other shopping options."

A forgotten retail market rediscovered? Definitely. Even so, inner-city residents won't have a plethora of options soon. Experts say there are still a number of CEOs who are about as likely to set up inner-city shops as they are to take their family on a Sunday drive through Watts in downtown Los Angeles.

"Mainstream companies are laggards," says Steidtmann. "Nobody likes to be the innovator."

"Retailers have misconceptions about the inner city," says Rick Levin, who owns 18 Downtown Locker Room stores in inner-city Baltimore and Washington, D.C. "One is crime. I don't have any more crime in inner-city than suburban stores. The other misconception is the lack of a viable workforce. Nothing could be further from true."

Even Magic Johnson says a major reason Starbucks and TGI Friday's opened inner-city outlets is because he paved the way as a partner, putting up about \$ 20 million. "They came in because I was putting up half the money. If I were just lending my name, those businesses wouldn't be there."

Says Schultz: "I don't think we would have been there this early. You need local representation and contacts to understand what the good sites are. The name 'Magic Johnson' opens up doors in every community in America."

It also helps attract business.

"Magic is my idol," says Starbucks customer C.J. Johnson, no relation, nodding to a picture of Magic on a wall at the Harlem coffee bar. "I'd still be sitting here if Magic weren't an investor, but Starbucks wouldn't be here without him."

To be sure, not everyone approached by Magic Johnson has been interested in following him into the inner city.

"They think someone's going to tear up their store," Johnson says. "That's not happening."

Most retailers try customizing inventory in urban stores. Starbucks, for instance, will offer sweet-potato pie in these areas, Johnson says. Sears sells apartment-sized refrigerators.

"We try to come off as a local retailer rather than some big-bucks retailer going into this market," says Ken Feldman, HMV's director of marketing.

Although some inner-city experts are concerned big retailers will force out locally owned stores, many residents agree it's better to have chains and franchises than to do without.

Indeed, the inner city's newest tenants say business they get will spill over into the neighborhood.

"We deliberately try to get a tenant mix that will help local businesses," says Grid's Greenwald.

Jerome Threatt hopes it might also save a few souls.

The youth pastor expects Harlem USA will be a magnet for the United House of Prayer for All People, located across the street. He expects shoppers to pop into the corner church for services and cafeteria meals after the new development opens.

"Anything that will enhance our community and provide jobs is a good thing," he says. "That's a key concern."

Inner-city spending habits

	Pctg. of population	
	Adults in inner city	All adults
Prefer fashion/designer jeans	26%	18%
Enjoy shopping for clothes	61%	42%

Like to keep up with latest fashions	51%	37%
Watched pay-per-view in past year	29%	19%
Spent \$75 or more on a pair of athletic shoes in the past year	16%	9%

Source: Simmons Market Research

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Color, Peter Freed for USA TODAY; PHOTOS, B/W, Tim Dillon, USA TODAY (2); Community player: Ken Feldman, marketing director at HMV Records, says the company wants to be seen as a local retailer in Harlem, where a new HMV is going in. Downtown success: Rick Levin, owner of Downtown Locker Room in Baltimore, says many businesses have misconceptions about crime and available workforce in inner-city locations. Shopping spree: Dante Carter, 21, of East Baltimore shops at Downtown Locker Room.

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HEADLINE: Markets moving back to inner city

BYLINE: By GREG GATLIN

BODY:

Among the more exotic offerings at Shaw's inner New Haven, Conn. supermarket: Goat heads, a specialty used for soup in some Caribbean cultures.

"You don't miss it when you see it," said Shaw's spokesman Bernard Rogan. "Eyes and all."

That's one way Shaw's Supermarkets Inc. has catered its year-old New Haven store to the tastes of a surrounding ethnically diverse population. At it's two-year-old East Boston store Shaw's offers a "flavors of the world aisle," along with a tortilla bar, pineapple soda, and other products popular with Hispanic customers.

With few stores inside Route 128, East Bridgewater-based Shaw's hasn't been known locally as an operator of urban supermarkets. But that's changing as the 127-store chain targets Boston and other inner-city neighborhoods.

Shaw's is not alone. Supermarkets fled the inner city starting in the 1970s, driven by high crime, racial unrest, and the pursuit of a population moving to the suburbs. But in recent years, supermarket chains nationwide have been returning, some to city neighborhoods left unserved for years.

Shaw's urban focus, along with rival Stop & Shop Supermarket Inc.'s, may be driven in part by their European parent companies, J. Sainsbury Plc and Royal Ahold, respectively. Both are big urban players in Europe.

"In the Netherlands you see the same trend," said Jan Hol, a vice president with Ahold, the Dutch parent of Quincy-based Stop & Shop. "In cities like Amsterdam, supermarkets are coming in again."

Stop & Shop, with eight stores in Boston, says it never left the inner city. And spokeswoman Terry Vandewater says the chain is committed to looking for new sites in Boston, which has proven a good market.

Stop & Shop in Dorchester's South Bay Center is among the top performing stores in the chain with more than 180 stores, Vandewater said. A study

completed last year said it was the highest-grossing store.

America's densely populated inner cities account for \$ 85 billion in retail spending annually, a 1998 study by the Boston-based Initiative for a Competitive Inner City (ICIC) found. The non-profit group promotes urban investment.

ICIC's study found that 25 percent of inner-city retail demand goes unmet nationwide, a figure that rises to 30 percent in Boston.

Supermarket chains are waking up to the opportunity. With suburban markets increasingly saturated, ICIC spokeswoman Deirdre Coyle says many view urban areas as the next emerging market.

In a prolonged strong economy, cinemas, restaurants and supermarkets have followed people back, experts say. In some cases they're taking space left by the mills, factories, and auto dealers that left more than a decade ago.

Kroger, Albertsons and other supermarket titans are all targeting inner cities. Pathmark, the New Jersey chain being acquired by Royal Ahold, is adding stores in Harlem, Queens and the Bronx.

Locally, Star Markets has been an urban frontrunner. Shaw's says it will gain six Star stores in Boston when its British parent, Sainsbury, completes its purchase of Star.

Sources at both Shaw's and Star say the \$ 490 million purchase, under Federal Trade Commission review, is on track. Rogan expects it will close by the end of this month.

Meanwhile, Shaw's is vying to build a 56,000-square-foot store on a city-owned Roxbury site across from Boston Police headquarters on Tremont Street. Stop & Shop may also be eyeing the site.

Rogan and others point to the early success of the Shaw's store in the once-blighted Dwight section of New Haven. It attracts shoppers and brings together diverse groups in a neighborhood that had been known for its gangs and drug trade, they say.

"I think it's a spectacular achievement for the city, for Shaw's and for the neighborhood," said J.L. Pottenger Jr., a Yale law professor. Pottenger served as chief counsel to the Greater Dwight Redevelopment Corp., a co-owner of the shopping plaza. Shaw's is a tenant.

"It's the first and only proper supermarket in the whole city of New Haven," he said.

Market studies showed \$ 125 million a year in food dollars was leaving New Haven prior to the supermarket's opening. And food prices in the city, with mostly small grocers and convenience stores, were 18 to 22 percent higher than in the suburbs.

The shopping center is helping to revitalize the area, Pottenger said. The supermarket, along with a new video store and other smaller retailers in the

plaza, have added 200 jobs, many of them much-needed entry level jobs.

Many new inner city stores have been joint efforts between supermarket operators, private developers and non-profit agencies funded by The Retail Initiative, an equity fund created to stimulate supermarket development in inner cities.

Supermarket expansion in urban neighborhoods is not without opposition, as well as risks.

In Roxbury, some neighborhood groups have said a large superstore on Tremont could drive out smaller operators. Some have said superstore expansion in neighborhoods could produce a grocery glut, causing store failures and leaving neighborhoods where they started - without a local supermarket.

ICIC, however, found \$ 398 million goes unspent in Boston because of unmet retail demand.

Shaw's initial investments in inner city stores have also been high. It has installed closed circuit TV systems, police details, and other loss prevention efforts at urban stores.

"We're very open about it," Rogan said. "They are clear signs to customers that we have concern for their safety."

Urban stores will be worth the cost, he said.

"We feel that the urban centers of New England are grossly underserved in food retail establishments," Rogan said. "Providing we can identify locations that will serve the needs of those people, we will go."

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HEADLINE: Northline GETS AN assist;
Magic Johnson's Theatres' arrival a year ago brought shoppers to Northline Mall,
and new interest from retailers

SOURCE: Staff

BYLINE: GREG HASSELL

BODY:

A decade ago, Michelle Stewart would not have even considered setting foot inside Northline Mall.

"I had a friend who was shot at the old Northline Theater," she explained. "He was out with another guy's girl, and that guy shot him. My friend lived to tell about it, but I wouldn't come here anymore."

Northline - one of the first enclosed malls in Houston - was a retail hot spot in the 1960s. Families from as far away as Conroe routinely climbed into their cars and traveled to Northline to experience some of the best shopping in the city. In the 1970s and especially the '80s, shifting demographic winds and the construction of newer, flashier malls ushered in an era of steep decline for Northline.

The mall acquired a reputation as a dismal - and dangerous - place to shop.

Starting around 1990, Northline's owners began the long process of trying to breathe life back into the moribund mall. They spent big dollars to give its interior a face lift. They recruited new tenants willing to cater to the black and Hispanic people who now make up a majority in the surrounding neighborhoods.

The Houston Police Department also opened a substation adjacent to the mall, which helped get the crime problem under control.

But nothing seemed to change the general impression that this was a dying mall. Nothing, that is, until the Magic Johnson Theatres opened in January 1998. Mall managers and local politicians all heralded the theater's opening as the event that finally would ignite a rebirth of Northline.

"For too long, the north side has been the forgotten side of Houston. This will change that," City Councilman Felix Fraga proclaimed at the ceremony

announcing construction of the 12-screen theater.

During a visit to Houston, Earvin "Magic" Johnson, the former basketball star who is chairman of the chain that bears his name, said the purpose of the theater was to spark new investment in decaying inner-city neighborhoods like the one in Michigan where he was raised.

"I grew up in a neighborhood like this. The only theater we had was one of those raggedy, one-screen theaters," Johnson said shortly before the grand opening. "But I am coming back to help now. I am putting my money where my mouth is."

One year later, it appears Johnson's theater is making good on its ambitious mission. Several mall tenants said their business is up substantially, particularly on weekends. New development has sprung up all around the mall, including a new Blockbuster Video, a Sonic Drive-In and a Pappas Bar-B-Q restaurant.

Some of those businesses - including the Sonic and the Blockbuster - actually opened before the theater. But it's highly unlikely they would have been built without the star power of Magic Johnson.

"We went in there because we knew the theater was coming. It played a very big role in our decision," said Rick McElhaney, Sonic regional vice president. "A big part of the allure for us was Magic Johnson. He generated more enthusiasm for the mall."

A spate of new tenants and restaurants - including another new Pappas restaurant, an International House of Pancakes and possibly a new supermarket - are on the way.

Better still, long-discouraged customers such as Michelle Stewart are coming back.

"I am here all the time now," Stewart said as she lunched on pork ribs and rice at the Pappas Bar-B-Q. "The ladies at the restaurant know my name."

A revitalized mall can have vast implications for the surrounding neighborhood. In addition to creating a good place to shop, it creates jobs, improves property values and stimulates more development. Perhaps no residents feel the fate of Northline more keenly than the 200 people who live next door at a five-story retirement home called 75 Lyerly.

Without cars to drive, the elderly residents walk or ride a group van to Northline several times a week. Some venture over every day.

"When we get tired of eatin' beans and cornbread, we go to the mall and eat pizza," said 77-year-old Mary Welcome.

"I go there all the time," Angelina Acosta chimed in. "If they took it away from us, I don't know what we'd do."

"We don't drive, we don't drink, we don't smoke," Welcome said.

"And we don't have boyfriends," Acosta said.

"Who said that?" Clorinda Quiroz demanded.

When Jesse Mitchell moved into 75 Lyerly in 1984, the mall was a rough place that he didn't care to visit.

"It was hoodlum-like," the 89-year-old Mitchell said as he walked through the mall with about a dozen of his Lyerly neighbors. "It was a tough atmosphere. But it's nice in here now. It's clean and it's safe."

As they browsed the mall, the seniors saw much that they liked, especially signs heralding new tenants. They also saw a few things that provoked their disapproval.

"I don't like how they make all these dresses now. They are so short, they look like slips," Welcome said, shaking her head as she studied a store window.

The seniors also lamented the fact that there is no dime store in the mall these days, and it sure would be nice to have a grocery store back in there, too.

Northline is not and probably never will be a big regional mall with top-end department stores. Its current mission is more humble, if no less important. It serves the everyday shopping needs of the working class families living nearby.

"A tremendous number of people who live in this neighborhood depend on the mall," said Blake Tartt III, who handles all leasing for the mall.

With that in mind, Tartt has signed several new tenants in the past few weeks, moving Northline closer to fulfilling its role.

McCrory's has signed a lease to open a new dime store in the mall. The dime store - which topped the retirees' wish list - is expected to open in June. Tartt also is negotiating with supermarket chains and hopes to finalize a deal in the not-too-distant future.

"I am going to make them a deal they can't refuse," said Tartt, who also is president of New Regional Planning, the mall's leasing agent.

Tartt has signed a lease with Bugle Boy, which will open an outlet store selling jeans. Ashley Stuart, which sells professional and church clothing for women, will open in June. A game room called Tilt also will open in the coming months. Burger King will open a restaurant in the mall's food court in August.

More activity is happening in the mall's expansive parking lot, which is huge enough to accommodate the construction of several new businesses. IHOP is building a stand-alone restaurant in front of the mall.

Brothers Chris and Harris Pappas have signed a deal to open another restaurant in front of the mall. They are toying with a new concept for the eatery. It's too early to say exactly what it will be, other than it will be different from any of the established Pappas restaurants.

The Houston Chronicle April 18, 1999, Sunday

"The landlord is very much committed to improving the center and its image," said Chris Pappas, chief executive of Pappas Restaurants. "We feel like there is a lot of redevelopment taking place there, and it will be a good place for us to be."

New development isn't limited to the Northline property. Across the street, landlord Carl Zucker is building a new strip center on land he's owned since 1967. The center will have a Hollywood Video store, a tire store and one more retailer. Zucker also owns an older strip center next door, and he said business has improved since the Johnson theater opened its doors.

"The theater brings more people into this area," he said. "The theater has had a significant impact. It's a lot nicer looking over there and seeing a nice, new theater instead of a closed Joske's store."

Joske's closed the second floor of its Northline department store in 1985. After Dillard's bought the Joske's chain in 1987, it shuttered the Northline location. The store was demolished to make room for the theater. In January 1997, an accident during the demolition caused a wall to collapse, killing three people inside the mall.

The Magic Johnson Theatres opened one year after the accident. In the 14 months that the theater has been open, some mall tenants say their business has improved substantially.

"It has increased traffic, especially on weekends. Our business on weekends is up 25 to 30 percent," said Shirez Bana, manager of Gold Bazaar. "But weekdays are still so-so. I would say our weekday business is up maybe 5 percent."

Some tenants, such as Palais Royal, say the theater hasn't bumped up their business at all.

"Our business is very good there, but we don't attribute anything to the theater," said company Senior Vice President Joanne Swartz. "It doesn't seem to have much effect on our business."

Even the theater itself isn't doing as much business as its managers hoped.

"To be honest with you, it has started slower than we would have liked," said Kenneth Lombard, president of Magic Johnson Theaters. "Are we happy today? We could be happier, but we are very optimistic about its future. We need to increase our exposure and community-oriented programs, to let people know there is a beautiful new theater near their home."

While it seems clear the theater has provided a big boost for Northline, it certainly hasn't erased all of the challenges facing the aging mall.

"That mall is not going to turn around overnight. It is a slow process," said Scott Shillings, a shopping center broker with the Boyd, Page & Associates realty firm. "But the hardest part is getting the big ball rolling, and they've done that at Northline."

Houston's Gulfgate Mall - the oldest mall in the city - shows just how hard that process can be.

The Houston Chronicle April 18, 1999, Sunday

Gulfgate has lived through the same boom and bust experienced by Northline. A new developer has taken control of the nearly dead center, but he has no interest in trying to restore it as a traditional mall.

Ed Wulfe, who recently revived Meyerland Plaza, plans to rebuild Gulfgate and turn it into something akin to Meyerland Plaza. There will not be interior hallways like a mall. Instead, customers can park in front of the individual store they want to visit. Wulfe plans to recruit a home improvement store and large discounters such as Wal-Mart or T.J. Maxx.

The new Gulfgate will take on a Mediterranean look. Plans call for the shopping center to reopen in the fall of 2000.

"We need to bring quality retail back into these neighborhoods," Wulfe said. "A shopping center is an integral part of a community. People meet there, they eat there - it's part of their lives."

With extensive demolition and construction costs, Wulfe's project poses more financial risk and probably more potential reward than the more-traditional revival being attempted at Northline. Instead of a big-bang method of urban renewal, Northline's approach is more like rock climbing, scratching and clawing up a mountain one toehold at a time.

"We are now starting to bring in some better tenants for our shoppers. . . . People who wouldn't call me back in the past are now interested in what we have going over here," Tartt said. "The way I see Northline, we are now about to turn the corner."

GRAPHIC: Map: 1. Location of Northline Mall (color); Photos: 2. Earvin "Magic" Johnson speaks at the announcement of plans for the Magic Johnson Theaters at the Northline Mall in June 1996 (color); 3. May Welcome strolls through Northline recently with Vercy Murray and Angelina Acosta (color); 4. Singer Ray Frushay appearing as "Johnny Northline," helped open Northline Mall in 1963 (b/w); 5. The Pappas Bar-B-Q restaurant that opened recently adjacent to Northline Mall is one evidence of the effect the shopping center's rejuvenation is having on the area (b/w, p.8); 1. Chronicle, 2, 4. Chronicle file, 3, 5. Carlos Antonio Rios / Chronicle

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville, FL)

May 31, 1999 Monday, City Edition

SECTION: FIRST BUSINESS; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 2428 words

HEADLINE: Northside expansion;
North Jacksonville showing the signs of city's economic growth -- one business at a time

BYLINE: Chris Scribner, Times-Union business writer

BODY:

Chris Williams said he doesn't have a plan for his new shoe and clothing store on Main Street. He's operating more on intuition and the common sense that comes with his years as a shoe salesman than on any formal market study.

'I have no expectations, no forecasts, no business plan,' Williams said recently as he stood in his newly opened store, Miami Discount Shoes. 'I'm just out here to see if it works.'

'I just want to keep moving that merchandise. I don't want people walking by and saying, 'Oh, they have nothing new.''

Williams' Springfield store -- in an area where pawn shops and empty lots are as prevalent as new businesses -- may not come from any business school textbook; however, it's a street-level example of trying to fill a hole in the local economy.

And even as Jacksonville planners and economic development officials try to push growth away from crowded Southside locations, it may be the collective decisions of people like Williams, trying to fulfill a dream and make a buck, that could determine whether North Jacksonville grows along with the Southside.

City officials, developers and real estate agents say they see signs that the Northside is starting to feel the effects of the economic expansion driving Jacksonville's economy.

'Jacksonville is under a tremendous boom and we're going to get our share of the growth,' said outgoing Councilman Max Leggett, who represents a Northside district.

To some, growth on the Northside means the development of open land north of the Trout River, and for others it means rejuvenating once vital urban communities just north of downtown. Moreover, it is not yet clear if commercial development will accompany the rise of manufacturing, distribution and back office jobs in the area. SLEEPING GIANT

'Northside is really the sleeping giant' of Jacksonville, said Bruce Jackson,

an agent with CB Richard Ellis, a commercial real estate firm.

Jackson says he thinks the city government is right to try to push economic development away from the Southside into available land west and north of the St. Johns River. And like other commercial real estate agents, he said that the city's efforts along with the region's overall economic uptick have been good for the region.

'In the past six months, the Northside has been more active than it's ever been,' Jackson said.

The busiest area surrounds the airport, in particular the Jacksonville International Tradeport, which has plans for two additional distribution buildings and is beginning to run out of land, said Hobart Joost Jr., senior vice president at Walter Dickinson Inc.

The Imeson International Industrial Park off Heckscher Drive is another employment center. Chamber of Commerce officials are now in talks to try to keep America Online Inc., which employs 1,700, at Imeson. AOL may require economic incentives to remain, but Chamber officials note that AOL's technical call-center jobs are one of the city's targeted industries, making incentives a possibility.

A spate of new hotels under construction along Airport Road between Interstate 95 and Jacksonville International Airport is another indication of growth, Joost said. Three hotels -- including a Residence Inn and a Fairfield Inn -- are near complete and workers soon will break ground on a Best Western and a Hilton.

The location is a magnet for the national chains because of growing employment and travelers from the airport and the interstate. 'Everyone going to Mickey Mouse goes right by us,' Joost said.

More than 5,500 people work each day at the airport and the Tradeport, according to estimates by the Jacksonville Port Authority.

The authority and The St. Joe Co. will play a major role in shaping the development of the area by partnering to develop The Woodwings, a distribution and office complex on 700 acres southeast of the airport's passenger and air cargo terminals.

The project will take several decades to complete. Earlier this month, workers finished the modest one-building initial phase of the Woodwings.

'We're now looking for tenants,' said John Clark, vice president of the port's aviation division.

Nevertheless, port officials decided to scale back more ambitious ideas that called for a focus on office and commercial space, a plan that would have been out of character with other successful developments near the airport, according to the port's consultants.

Woodwings 'is well positioned to be a competitive industrial site. Right now it is not good for office or hotel or retail' development, Michael Conlon of Los

The Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville, FL) May 31, 1999 Monday,

Angeles-based EDAW Inc. recently told the port's board. BENEFITS AND BARRIERS

The Northside can be expected to retain its manufacturing and distribution base because of the port -- which has two terminals, Blount Island and Dames Point, off Heckscher Drive -- rail lines and existing industry, said CB's Jackson.

There are barriers on the Northside to attracting additional manufacturing. Many areas lack available water and sewer connections. But if a firm can develop its own services -- as often is the case -- then land can be bought or rented at a lower cost compared to other areas, Joost said.

Lower start-up costs also benefit small businesses. Earlier this month, David Hancock opened a motorcycle repair shop in an industrial section of Eastport Road. Hancock said the proximity to I-95 and Florida 9A should help attract customers from the south and especially points north of the city; moreover, he could get more space for his new shop, where he builds custom motorcycles and sells accessories.

Also, Hancock decided against a spot on busier Beach Boulevard with similar stores nearby because 'when you got that much competition you've got people who will drive up the street.'

For the most part, it's large employers, like Anheuser-Busch, Castleton Beverage Co., Atlantic Marine Inc., the port, paper mills and power plants, that dominate the Northside economy. And they make the region Jacksonville's manufacturing center, development officials said.

The area's job base is far different from the Southside's, a 1997 survey for the University of North Florida's College of Business shows. In one major Northside ZIP code, manufacturing and transportation-related jobs accounted for 30 percent of all employment, in contrast to 13 percent in the Butler Boulevard corridor. Moreover, the region had about 20 percent of its jobs in professional and financial services as compared to about 40 percent in the Southside area.

COMPETING WITH SUBURBS

While the city tries to direct growth to the Northside and Westside, recent statistics show how difficult it can be to go against marketplace demand. A First Business survey this month found that new or expanding companies announced that they had added 5,175 jobs in the year's first quarter; nevertheless, a majority of them went to office parks on the Southside.

Moreover, of the jobs that came to Jacksonville, fewer than 200 -- or 4 percent -- went to the Northside's inner ring, between downtown and I-295.

The number 'obviously raises some concern,' said Lovella Fowler, president of the First Coast African American Chamber of Commerce.

'We need more jobs in the area [north of downtown] so people don't have to cross a bridge to get a job,' she said. Fowler called for 'more business parks in the Northside area, and that's the Northside inside the beltway [I-295], not outside the beltway.'

Nonetheless, Fowler remains optimistic because she thinks that the city

government has taken significant steps to reverse the decline and restore Jacksonville's urban neighborhoods. She cites road improvements to Myrtle Avenue and programs in Springfield and LaVilla as examples.

Paul Krutko of the Jacksonville Economic Development Commission said the Chamber promotes a similar message when it talks to new business prospects. The Chamber 'has a very strong direction [from the JEDC] that the city's emphasis is north and west of the river,' said Krutko, director of the commission's Downtown Development Authority.

The Core City Study Area is another initiative to bring jobs to the city's inner ring, said Michael Bryant, director of the urban ministries division of Fresh Ministries, a sponsor of the study.

Only market-driven development can transform neighborhoods, said Bryant, who cited the availability of potential business sites, work-force training, and access to capital in less affluent communities as essential elements to allow urban neighborhoods to compete against suburban sites for jobs.

The Core City consultants estimated that within 10 years the downtown area could have about 11,000 manufacturing jobs, or 17 percent of the city's total.

One positive example was Inc. magazine's inclusion of Jacksonville-based Load King, which manufactures counters for grocery stores at its Beaver Street facility, in its list of the 100 fastest-growing inner city businesses. Load King ranked 64th on the list, which is featured in this month's issue.

'Job creation means homes, and when you have a concentration of people and their salaries are good, then the stores will come,' Fowler said. SMALL STEPS

The Core City program calls for a demonstration project within a year. Meanwhile, business owners such as Williams of Miami Discount Shoes are making small steps to try to rebuild Springfield.

Sarah Behari said she has a book shop in Springfield on Main Street -- Babbling Books -- because it cost less to get it started there. 'I've always wanted a book store,' she said.

Still, she's uncertain about the area's future, saying that 'I do need more customers.'

'I hope to be here a long time,' Behari said, adding that 'there's a lot to be done,' such as cleaning the streets, to make the area more viable for businesses like hers.

Nonetheless, Stacy Taylor, owner of Surfside Furniture, a fixture on the east side of Main Street between Seventh and Eighth streets since 1972, has a cautious confidence that efforts by private groups and the city could lead to an economic rejuvenation of the area.

Taylor is bullish about the chances for a residential and commercial mix in the neighborhood, the kind of self-contained community that developers are trying to create in the suburbs.

The Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville, FL) May 31, 1999 Monday,

'There's a chance that we'll go from the worst location in the city to the best location,' Taylor said. THE HOME FRONT

Similar issues about residential and retail growth concern advocates of the Northside more narrowly defined as the area north of the Trout River.

Historically North Jacksonville has been looked at as the industrial part of town, but boosters are working to change that reputation, said Dick Berry, a retired banker who is vice chairman of the EDEN Group Inc. EDEN stands for Economic Development and Enhancement of North Jacksonville.

That effort has met with limited success.

'Our problem is that we've created 6,000 new jobs but only built roughly 600 new homes' over the past three years, said Berry.

The Northside could become a 'reverse commuter' location if the job base continues to expand, said CB's Jackson.

Said Walter Dickinson's Joost, 'The only thing that we really don't have is direct rooftops' -- development slang for homes.

At a time when developers announce planned communities on the Southside and St. Johns County with thousands of homes, such as Nocatee or Bartram Park, Northside boosters measure growth in the hundreds of homes.

Nonetheless, those numbers appear to be on the upswing. There was about a 50 percent jump in 1998 in the number of new home starts compared to the prior years, Berry said.

'The growth is looking good. We have quite a few proposed projects,' said Dan Jones, who is the dean of area real estate agents. East of I-95, the Starratt Road corridor, with projects such as Saddlewoods, is a hub of activity.

For many, the area is the anti-Southside. As Jones explains, there's more open space, less traffic, and cheaper land.

'You can buy waterfront [property] for one-half to one-third the cost of it in Southside or Mandarin,' Jones said. He notes that many of the new homes sell for between \$ 100,000 and \$ 200,000; also, he said the sale of several homes for \$ 500,000 'means we've arrived.'

Commuting each day to his Talleyrand Avenue office, Alan Fickling, who runs his family's general contracting business, Fickling Construction Co., has to navigate a single traffic light from his home in The Cape, a development off Starratt Road.

Fickling and other residents of The Cape joined together several years ago and had a new walled entrance built to their community. It's the kind of step, said members of the local homeowners association, that helps to give the area a better reputation.

'This is what we need to get away from the perception that Northside is downtown,' said real estate agent Jones.

Despite signs of more building, it's not happening fast enough, said advocates. People are buying homes north of the city in the Callahan and Yulee areas, said Berry, whose group estimates that about 7,000 people each day commute from Nassau County to jobs in Jacksonville.

A historical barrier to home building in the Northside was the absence of water and sewer lines, but that has changed as JEA has taken over those services, said Berry and Jones.

Now, the lack of shopping, restaurants, and movie theaters is a drawback, said Fickling, whose family crosses the Dames Point Bridge to the Regency area to shop.

Many people expect that the long-delayed Main Street Mall, off Duval Road near the airport, will make shopping more convenient.

'A lot of people have lost faith in it; it seems like it's never going to get done,' said Northside resident Steve Leggett, an owner of Milestone Construction Co. and son of the city councilman. But as developers take action to put needed infrastructure in place, he said, 'I just really have a sense of excitement.'

As commercial development occurs, residential building should increase, said Jones. Area residents said they welcome growth but do fear becoming another Southside.

But change may be all they can expect.

'Growth comes, change happens, and we have to adjust to it,' Max Leggett said.

Information Box:

HITTING HOME

In 1997, nearly 500 homes were resold in North Jacksonville. Of those homes, 66 percent were sold for less than \$ 70,000, 18 percent sold for between \$ 70,000 and \$ 100,000, and 16 percent went for more than \$ 100,000, according to statistics from the EDEN Group.

GRAPHIC: Photo: (c) Mug: Williams Stuart Tannehill/staff Photo: (c) Chris Williams recently opened Miami Fashion Shoes -- the temporary grand opening sign is still up -- on Main Street. The building used to be a pawn shop. John Pemberton/staff Photo: (c) David Hancock, owner of Speed Specialties, chats with customer Rick 'Wrench' Tyler. Hancock opened the shop on Eastport Road after leaving another motorcycle repair shop on the Southside. Hancock said he had so many calls from old clients that he thought he could make it on his own. Will Dickey/staff Photo: (c) Real estate agent Dan Jones stands at a housing development on Starratt Road, which has had a lot of activity recently. 'You can buy waterfront [property] for one-half to one-third the cost of it in Southside or Mandarin,' he says. M. Jack Luedke/staff Photo: (c) Work proceeds on the new Residence Inn on Airport Road.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 Times Newspapers Limited
The Times (London)

May 7, 1999, Friday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 663 words

HEADLINE: Caffe latte revives Harlem

BYLINE: James Bone in New York

BODY:

IT IS now possible to order a decaf caffe latte in the heart of America's most famous black ghetto.

Starbucks, the Seattle-based chain of coffee houses that is the symbol of the "yuppification" of the United States, this week joined the throng of national retailers who are opening up shop along Manhattan's 125th Street in what is being hailed as the "second Harlem renaissance".

During its first renaissance in the Roaring Twenties, Harlem boasted jazzmen such as Fats Waller, Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong, but in recent decades it has become a byword for the ravages of inner-city life.

Beset by violent crime, crack cocaine and Aids, the neighbourhood got so dangerous that in 1990 a medical journal reported that young men in Harlem had a lower life expectancy than those in Bangladesh.

Now, however, young black professionals - known in New York parlance as "buppies" - are gentrifying the once-grand brownstones of "Striver's Row" and a bustling nightlife has revitalised streets that were once impossible to walk after dark. New clubs and restaurants have sprung up with names like the Sugar Shack and Miss Mamie's Spoonbread Too, offering stand-up comedy and poetry readings.

The neighbourhood, which covers much of the northern half of the island of Manhattan, has been designated as the nation's largest "empowerment zone" with the government pledging more than half a billion dollars in cash and loans to businessmen willing to bet on its future.

European tourists flock by the busload to attend black churches or dine at Sylvia's famous soul food restaurant, and the whites who inhabit the lower reaches of Manhattan are increasingly willing to venture uptown without fear of being mugged, even on the previously perilous subway. Over the past six years, crime in central Harlem has fallen by 60 per cent and murders by 83 per cent.

Harlem's main street, 125th Street, often referred to in the area simply as '25th Street, as though lower Manhattan did not exist, has become a magnet for big-name chain stores. Just last week, Pathmark opened what was the first supermarket in a neighbourhood with roughly the population of Atlanta.

After discovering that 60 per cent of Harlem's retail dollars are spent outside the area, investors are rushing to build the area's first multiplex cinema, a \$ 65million shopping mall called "Harlem USA" and an even larger retail project down the street that will provide 2,000 jobs.

Time Warner is looking at ways to help to revive the troubled Apollo Theatre, the site of the legendary "amateur nights" that launched the careers of such stars as Billie Holiday, Ella Fitzgerald, Gladys Knight, Aretha Franklin and James Brown. Charles Rangel, Harlem's representative in Congress and chairman of the Apollo board, says that he would like to turn the tattered theatre into a magnet for a new generation of jazz aficionados.

Starbucks opened its coffee house as a joint venture with the basketball hero Earvin "Magic" Johnson. Of its 2,100 cafes, only one other is located in a predominantly black area.

"Magic demonstrated to me that there was nothing like Starbucks in Harlem and that people here want what we have to offer," said Howard Schultz, the company's chief executive. "Our presence here is a sign to the outside world that business can be done here and done successfully."

LINKS

[http: / www.harlem-ontime.com/tour/tour.html](http://www.harlem-ontime.com/tour/tour.html) - History of Harlem and the Harlem renaissance, as well as details of historical sites.

[http: / www.hometoharlem.com/](http://www.hometoharlem.com/) - Guide to restaurants, museums and landmarks.

[http: / www.el-barrio.com/](http://www.el-barrio.com/) - The Hispanic community.

[http: / www.umez.org/UM/UCommCult.nsf/histmap](http://www.umez.org/UM/UCommCult.nsf/histmap) - The Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone, including historical maps of Manhattan, news and events.

[http: / www.ci.nyc.ny.us/nyez](http://www.ci.nyc.ny.us/nyez) - The New York Empowerment Zone is an initiative using public funds and tax incentives to encourage private investment across the city.

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May 2, 1999 Sunday, FINAL / ALL

SECTION: 'NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 2452 words

HEADLINE: APPALACHIA STILL WAITING TO SHARE AMERICA'S BOUNTY;
'THE ROADS ARE GETTING BETTER. THE EDUCATION'S GETTING BETTER. WHY, KNOTT
COUNTY'S THE BEST PLACE THERE IS TO LIVE; IF YOU DON'T NEED A JOB.'

SERIES: APPALACHIA

A Region Left Behind

BYLINE: By JOE FROLIK; NATIONAL CORRESPONDENT

DATELINE: INEZ, KY.

BODY:

Nothing has ever come easy for Pam Hurdle - or for Appalachia, the region she proudly calls home.

Hurdle grew up with seven sisters and brothers deep in a hollow of the craggy eastern Kentucky mountains. The ruts of what passed for a road ended long before they got to the house. When the creek was up, the family was cut off from the outside world.

Money was scarce, though mother's garden and the occasional hog kept them reasonably fed. Getting to school every day just didn't seem all that important. Hurdle remembers the principal finally telling her she had missed so much and was so far behind that she should not bother coming anymore.

A mom at 15, Hurdle went on public assistance. She enrolled her two sons in Head Start and took adult education classes. She helped a community group start a food bank.

She started a cleaning service and mows lawns to meet expenses on her little house in Boonesville, and she works nights at a factory 40 miles away. She says she would like to spend more time with her boys, but good jobs closer to home are hard to find.

Two years ago, she signed up with a program that encourages low-income people to save a bit each month; deposits in their "individual development accounts" are matched with foundation money. By this summer, Hurdle, 37, expects to have a nest egg of \$2,500.

The Plain Dealer, May 2, 1999

"I really want to start another business," she said one brisk spring morning as fog enveloped the lowlands of eastern Kentucky. "I was thinking about a laundromat, but I'm almost sure a laundromat alone wouldn't make enough. So I'm thinking about combining it with something else, like a video store or a fruit stand.

"It's a big dream, I know, for somebody with no money. But I keep on trying."

So does Appalachia.

Like Hurdle, the Appalachian region, which stretches through parts of 13 states down the backbone of the eastern seaboard, is isolated by geography and limited by lack of education. It's been frustrated by big promises that rarely panned out, and dependent on outsiders. Its people keep plugging, yet they lag behind the rest of the country.

"We're getting better," Kentucky state Sen. Benny Ray Bailey said one afternoon in the back office of the Knott County medical clinic he and his friend, Dr. Grady Stumbo, started in 1972. "The roads are getting better. The infrastructure's getting better. The education's getting better.

"Why, Knott County's the best place there is to live," he added, rocking back in his chair.

"If you don't need a job."

Declaration of war

It has been 35 years since Lyndon Baines Johnson came to tiny Inez, Ky., on April 24, 1964, and declared war on poverty. Sitting on a woodpile in front of an unemployed sawmill worker's three-room, tar paper house, the president promised that Appalachia, a region of abundant natural wealth and often dirt-poor people, would soon share the bounty of modern America.

In that hopeful spring, when Saigon and Watts still were unknown to most Americans, Johnson talked of building roads and schools, hospitals and sewers. He said he aimed to put to work men like his host, Tom Fletcher. His goal was to end poverty, in Appalachia and throughout America.

It never happened.

Fletcher's place got a new roof thanks to a housing rehabilitation program. He got some job training, but no permanent job. Instead, Fletcher, now a recluse in his 70s, was declared disabled and drew a government check. Most of his eight children never finished school.

Across the region, the highway system Johnson said would be done by the end of the decade remains unfinished. Getting safe drinking water is a daily struggle for thousands of households. And three decades of efforts by government, foundations and private investors have not produced widespread prosperity.

Inez is the seat of Martin County. The 10,000-plus Dow means little here.

The Plain Dealer, May 2, 1999

"This area has changed dramatically in appearance and what could be considered quality-of-life things since 1965," said Roger Recktenwald, executive director of the Big Sandy Area Development District that includes Martin County. "But unemployment, I'm afraid, hasn't changed a helluva lot."

Pockets of prosperity dot Appalachia's edges. The growth of nearby cities lifted some areas: Three decades ago, Gwinnett County in Appalachian Georgia was mostly rural and poor. Today, its struggling farms have been replaced by the tony homes, shopping centers and office parks of suburban Atlanta. Other parts of Appalachia, especially those along interstate highways or close to major metropolitan areas have also seen their fortunes rise dramatically.

But in counties throughout the heart of Appalachia - eastern Kentucky, West Virginia, southeastern Ohio and parts of Virginia and Tennessee - officials estimate that as few as a third of working-age adults have regular employment. That's half the national average.

Many who do work are like Pam Hurdle, unable to lift their families out of poverty. Much of the region's always scant industrial base has eroded, while employment in the once-dominant coal industry dropped sharply in the past decade.

"We're mining more coal with fewer people every day," said Recktenwald. "What we have is a burgeoning of the service industry. We can satisfy a Big Mac attack pretty well - which we couldn't have done 20 years ago."

'Economic basket cases'

The Appalachian Regional Commission, a federal-state partnership commissioned in 1965 to prosecute Johnson's poverty war, classifies more than 100 counties as "distressed." That's government talk for places with significantly higher rates of unemployment and poverty and lower market incomes - earnings from jobs, not transfer payments like welfare or Social Security - than the country as a whole. Places that Penn State University geographer Amy Glasmeier calls "economic basket cases."

It's places such as Ohio's Adams County, where the per-capita income is the state's lowest. For each dollar earned by the average Ohioan in 1995, people in Adams County made 59 cents.

It's places such as Owsley County, Ky., where Hurdle lives. There, 65 percent of adults have not finished high school.

It's places such as Clay County, W.Va., where, according to the 1990 census, a quarter of the households did not have telephones.

"We for sure lost that war on poverty," said Bill Weinberg, a political ally of Bailey and a lawyer in Hindman, Ky. Both have been deeply involved in a community planning effort that, with help from state government and private investors, they hope will remake their town. Similar efforts percolate throughout a region whose residents refuse to give up on it.

"We're going to get it right this time," said Weinberg. "We have to."

But Weinberg and many others in Appalachia are quick to add that the programs

The Plain Dealer, May 2, 1999

Johnson launched have made a difference.

Head Start has offered early childhood education, health care and nutrition services to hundreds of thousands of low-income families. Upward Bound has introduced Appalachian teens to college through summer campus programs. Appal Shop, a Whitesburg, Ky., multimedia center, has helped preserve Appalachian culture, a banner now embraced by many of the region's universities. And while incomplete, the regional highway system promised by Johnson has greatly enhanced transportation.

"You can get just about anyplace in Appalachian Kentucky, and that wasn't true in 1964," said Inez banker Robert M. "Mike" Duncan. "It used to take four to five hours to get to Lexington [home of the University of Kentucky]. Now it's about two hours. That changes your attitude about college, about health care, even about where you can work."

Basic needs are met

The web of social programs that grew out of Johnson's Great Society initiatives has eased the worst Appalachian poverty. Medicaid enabled poor families to get health care; that in turn, helped bring Appalachia's infant mortality rate, once nearly twice the national average, in line with the rest of the country's. Food stamps, energy assistance and more generous Social Security benefits have also helped.

"In the early '60s, eastern Kentucky had fallen into such a serious economic collapse that we had people who literally froze to death in their homes; we had people who had died because they got no medical treatment; we had people who starved to death," said Tom Gish, for 42 years the co-owner, editor and publisher of the weekly Mountain Eagle newspaper in Whitesburg. "We don't see that anymore. The basic needs of people in terms of staying alive were met by these programs. I don't know what would have happened if the programs had not come along. I think we would have been in armed rebellion."

The poverty war also stemmed the flow of people from Appalachia. Duncan recalls that until mid-1960s, the joke among young people in Inez was that they needed to learn "readin', 'ritin', and Route 23," the last being the road that led north to industrial Ohio, Michigan and Pennsylvania.

"For us in the mid-1960's, 'normal progress' was shrinkage, massive outmigration," said Marty Newell, a coal-miner's son from Letcher County, Ky., who teaches at the University of Kentucky. "'Normal progress' would have meant that nobody was living there now. The War on Poverty at least gave people some hope."

Gish agrees that Johnson sparked a wave of optimism about Appalachia's future. But he complains that for all the War on Poverty's rhetoric, it never planned to replace Appalachia's traditional extraction industries of coal-mining and timbering with something more sustainable, less prone to boom-and-bust cycles. Instead, Appalachia got more than three decades of job training programs and billions in public works.

"Basically, the War on Poverty, it helped some people, but it also made some people dependent on government support," said Jimmie Lee Herald, judge executive

The Plain Dealer, May 2, 1999

of Owsley County. "Some of the programs put people to work, but when they ran out in two or three years, there was nothing else for those people to do."

State and local governments, often competing with one another, chased branch plants, hoping for the big catch that would secure the future. But Gish and others note such pursuits often marketed the region's large pool of "available workers" - a code phrase, they contend, that Appalachians would work cheaply.

Geography impedes progress

More recently, talk grows of assisting local entrepreneurs, hoping they will start businesses that use the region's resources and are loyal to its people.

Yet any efforts to make Appalachia's economy look like the rest of the country's, popular in 1960s rhetoric, face impediments as steep and as obvious as the mountains that named the region and its character. Most of central Appalachia has little of the open land that factories and industrial parks require. Environmentalists oppose attempts to turn former strip-mine sites into industrial sites. The terrain also made road-building a longer and more costly proposition than planners imagined in 1964.

In McDowell County, W.Va., for example, 80 percent of the land is on at least a 60-degree incline.

"It's basically a place that existed for people to drill holes in the sides of mountains and pull out coal," said Jess White, federal co-chair of the Appalachian Regional Commission. "It's unbelievably difficult terrain to deal with."

"A lot of the basic blocking and tackling you take for granted in urban areas has not been done in central Appalachia," said banker Duncan. "Potable water. Sewer systems. Roads. Those are tangible, daily obstacles we have to work on."

Then there are capital and control. Much of the land and its resources belong to absentee landlords. In recent years, Recktenwald and Duncan have worked on developing an airport and industrial site at the junction of Martin and two adjacent counties - an act of cooperation many say is all too rare in the region. They had to deal with a variety of outside owners, among them Harvard University and the government of Italy.

"There's nothing poor about the Appalachian region," added Mike Mullins, executive director of the Hindman Settlement School. "We just don't control the riches."

Mullins and others say outside owners crippled it in other ways. They never had much interest in creating either a top-notch school system or a climate of citizen participation. People who lived in coal camps had their decisions made for them. So, to a great degree, did people who looked to government programs for their livelihood.

The War on Poverty encouraged people to challenge this order. The region has no shortage of organizations tackling various problems, said historian Ron Eller, director of the University of Kentucky's Appalachian Center. There are religious groups, non-profit economic development efforts, housing

The Plain Dealer, May 2, 1999

organizations, grassroots political action groups, business associations and foundations, not to mention various layers of governments.

Cooperation often lacking

"But we have not created an environment where the notion of the 'common good' brings everyone to the table and creates a notion of cooperation," said Eller, who maintains a vibrant community life is a vital foundation of economic growth. "You find very little cooperation and collaboration between these groups."

National politicians alternately dote on and ignore the area. Ronald Reagan repeatedly tried to shut down the Appalachian Regional Commission. Rep. Ted Strickland, a Democrat from Lucasville, says he and regional colleagues have tried repeatedly, with mixed success, to persuade Congress and the administration to earmark community development money for Appalachia.

"I believe there needs to be a continuing recognition at the federal and local and state levels to try and help the areas that are being left out of the national prosperity," said Strickland.

President Clinton has talked of trying to steer more private capital to the area, and Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo has pledged to fight for more rural enterprise zones.

Yet, visiting Kentucky this spring, Cuomo expressed puzzlement at why the area has continued to lag behind the rest of the country. And in recent months, both Kentucky Gov. Paul E. Patton and Rep. Hal Rogers, a Republican who represents much of eastern Kentucky, have called for "new ideas" to deal with Appalachia's woes.

For her part, Pam Hurdle's not one to worry about the big picture. Like parents everywhere, she hopes her two boys will fare better than she has. She celebrates triumphs, like getting that factory job - "I really didn't think I'd get hired because I didn't have no education" - and maintaining her house.

"It ain't been nothing like easy," she said, "but I got this far."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO BY LYNN ISCHAY / PLAIN DEALER PHOTOGRAPHER; Pam Hurdle has been struggling to escape poverty since she grew up in the hills of eastern Kentucky.; CHART 1: Economic Troubles linger in Appalachia; SOURCE: Appalachian Regional Commission; JOEL DOWNEY / PLAIN DEALER ARTIST; CHART 2: Families are living in poverty; SOURCE: Appalachian Regional Commission; JOEL DOWNEY / PLAIN DEALER ARTIST; CHART 3: Narrowing the gap; SOURCE: Appalachian Regional Commission; JOEL DOWNEY / PLAIN DEALER ARTIST

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 3, 1999

Speeches

ROBERT KENNEDY:
THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA
APRIL 9-11, 1967

Table of Contents

- I. HISTORY
- II. TRIP AGENDA
- III. STATISTICS ON MISSISSIPPI DELTA
- IV. *NEW YORK TIMES* COVERAGE OF TRIP
- V. RFK SPEECHES ON THE DELTA

I. HISTORY

Robert Kennedy: Visit to the Mississippi Delta April 1967

In 1967, the funding for many of the War on Poverty programs was due to run out. In order to generate support for further funding and to dramatize the extent of hunger in the country, the Senate's Labor Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty convened hearings on March 15, 1967. At the hearings, witnesses spoke of the worst poverty seen since the Great Depression, as agricultural mechanization eliminated the handpicking and planting jobs on which generations of Southern blacks had depended. By 1967, many Southern blacks had no income whatsoever. Unable to afford the monthly payments required for the new food-stamp program, they were malnourished, and some were dying from hunger.

As part of the larger investigation, Robert Kennedy and other members of the subcommittee traveled to Mississippi to gain first-hand exposure to the problems associated with poverty. At formal hearings that began in Mississippi on April 10, 1967, Kennedy heard tale after tale of appalling conditions. Because of Kennedy's prominence, a television crew covered the hearings and the subcommittee's earlier tour of the Delta. That night, many Americans got their first views of the rural hardship that plagued rural Mississippi.

Armed with nutritionists' reports on the exacerbated state of starvation, Kennedy and the other members of the subcommittee formally petitioned the President to declare a state of emergency in the Delta. Because Johnson never replied to their requests, Kennedy and Subcommittee Chairman Jim Clark called follow-up hearings on July 11 and 12, 1967 to pressure the Administration to release emergency funds for food.

When that maneuver proved unsuccessful, Kennedy sponsored an amendment to the reauthorization of the entire poverty program which provided emergency food money for the Delta. Congress approved the bill with the Kennedy amendment. Because of Johnson's personal dislike of Kennedy, the Administration waited until April 1968 to distribute the emergency aid.

II. TRIP AGENDA

April 9, 1967

3:45 pm Leave Washington
5:40 pm Arrive Jackson, Mississippi
6:30 pm Press Conference – Senators to brief in Victory Foyer at Heidelberg Hotel
7:30 pm Dinner Meeting: Senators, staff, civil rights group, and community leaders

April 10, 1967

9:00 am Hearings to commence in the Olympic Room-Heidelberg Hotel
12:00 pm Recess for lunch
2:00 pm Resume afternoon hearings
6:30 pm Cocktails and Dinner at the home of Dr. Paul Derian, Director of Orthopedic Surgery, University of Mississippi Medical Center
Guests: Senators: Clark, R. Kennedy, Nelson, Javits, Prouty and Murphy; Josh Moore, Dean, University of Miss. Law School; Mr. Holding Carter, editor, Delta Democrat Times, Greenville; and, other Mississippi business leaders

April 11, 1967

Tour From Jackson To Memphis

8:30 am Jackson – visit CDGM – Headstart Program
9:00 am Jackson Airport (Charter Flight to Greenville)
10:00 am Arrive in Greenville
Greenville – Visit STAR Center (Adult Literacy)
Greenville – Visit MDTA Program
12:15 pm Greenville – Lunch with Jesse Brent, a prominent business leader
Clarksdale – Coahoma Opportunities, Andy Carr
4:45 pm Leave Clarksdale (60 mile drive to Memphis)
6:30 pm Leave Memphis
9:07 pm Arrive Washington

III. STATISTICS ON MISSISSIPPI DELTA 1967

INCOME

- Mississippi ranked 50th in the nation in per capita income in 1965, \$1608 per person.
- Census survey indicated that 45% of the population, 1,039,200 people were poor. Of those, only 26.9% lived in urban areas.
- For the 36 core Delta counties the median income is only \$14,696 a year as compared with the US median household income of \$35,225 per year.

EMPLOYMENT

- In the Mississippi Delta, 9,520 people were unemployed – 3% of the population.
- 100,000 farm workers were displaced by the introduction of chemical weedkillers and mechanical cotton pickers.

EDUCATION

- Only \$273 was spent per pupil in school, the lowest in the nation, compared to a national average of \$483.

POVERTY

- Overall, rural counties in AR, LA, and MS, averaged one supermarket per 15.5 square miles, the 36 core counties of the Delta averaged one supermarket per 190.5 square miles.
- During the month of March, 1967, 405,000 people received food assistance.
- 20.2% of the population received some form of public assistance; 29.4% received food stamps.

4/11/67

Inquiry Told of 'Relatively Minor' Spending Gap by Mississippi Head Start

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., April 10—A battle scarred Head Start program, accused by critics of misusing hundreds of thousands of Federal dollars, has won an auditor's finding that "the amount of disallowance, if any, will be relatively minor in amount."

A hearing held today by a Senate subcommittee investigating the antipoverty program produced a report carrying that conclusion by Ernst & Ernst, a national firm of accountants.

The firm had audited the expenditure of two grants totaling \$7.1-million made by the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Child Development Group of Mississippi, which conducts health and the school orientation programs for five-year-olds and their parents.

New York's two Senators, members of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, read portions of the report after Senator John Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, had for 40 minutes denounced the development group as a "national scandal."

Will Seek Surplus Food

Other witnesses so impressed the Senators with testimony of starvation among Negroes, particularly in the cotton counties of the Delta, that they agreed to call upon Washington immediately for human needs in food. Senator George Murphy, Republican of California, said the appeal should be made directly to President Johnson, not to the Agriculture Department.

Dr. A. B. Britton, a Negro physician of Jackson, put education "way down the list" of immediately human needs in Mississippi. The primary needs, he said, were food, housing and jobs. Deaths of babies under one month old were twice as



Associated Press Wirephoto

Senator John Stennis as he denounced Head Start project at hearing in Jackson.

high for Negroes as for whites — 912 to 460 in 1964, he said.

Mississippi is 42 per cent Negro but only 2 per cent of the state's physicians are Negroes, Dr. Britton said. Field hands are forced out of work by mechanization and then have to leave home so their families can qualify for welfare benefits, the physician added.

Stennis Makes Charges

The hearing drew 800 to 1,000 persons, most of them Negroes, to a ballroom in the Hotel Heidelberg.

Senator Stennis, a critic of the child development group almost from its beginning in May, 1965, charged it with "throwing away money, payment of exorbitant sums for rent—three or four or five times what it should be—" and unauthorized use of automo-

biles. He has charged in the past that project cars were used to carry civil rights marchers and that payments to churches for renovation of facilities for Head Start classes were lavish.

In the fiscal year 1965, he said, more than \$500,000 could not be accounted for.

"In the second year, \$600,000 disappeared," he added.

Washington had not heard such high figures before. The highest total of unaccounted funds ever mentioned by the Office of Economic Opportunity was around \$650,000, and that figure was accompanied by the notation that that was not an accusation of theft but evidence of poor record keeping and that an audit might account for most of it.

Says Third Wasn't Recorded

The first grant made to the program was for summer classes in 1965 and amounted to \$1.5-million. According to Senator Stennis's figures today, one-third of that was unaccounted for.

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, made the first mention of the Ernst & Ernst report, which apparently had not been brought to the Senators' attention until they came to Jackson. Senator Clark, Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, had said yesterday the subcommittee did not intend to go into the development group issue on this trip.

"Minds and hearts must be kept open," Senator Javits said, until there was an opportunity to reply to Senator Stennis.

Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Democrat of New York, picked up the report and read a sentence about disallowances, if any, being minor.

"Has that been filed with the Appropriations Committee?" asked Senator Stennis. He is a member of that group. "It

has not been called to my attention."

Senator Kennedy replied that it was filed on March 15 with Mary Holmes Junior College, West Point, Miss., a United Presbyterian Church institution which sponsors C.D.G.M. the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

"Does it pass on the rights

to this spending?" asked Senator Stennis. "My information is that it does not pass on the rights to make those expenditures. It's a mighty late date if it bears out what you say."

Copies of the report were not immediately available, but a Senatorial staff employe said that Senator Stennis was right

in saying that the report did not pass on the right to make all the expenditures and that \$65,000 was still in question.

According to the staff source, the Office of Economic Opportunity disallowed \$14,000 for the fiscal year 1965, and in 1966 there was \$653 in "unbudgeted and unsupported expenditures."

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Clark and Kennedy Visit the Poor of Mississippi

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

GREENVILLE, Miss., April 11—Two Senators investigating the antipoverty program saw evidence today of extreme deprivation and malnutrition, if not the starvation they heard about in hearings yesterday.

The traveling investigators were Senators Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania and Robert F. Kennedy of New York, both Democratic members of the Subcommittee on Employment Manpower and Poverty.

At one of their stops, they saw 13 families of displaced plantation workers living a communal life in a collection of shacks they call Freedom City. The families subsist on grits, rice, soybeans, and "whatever is donated," with a serving of chicken or other meat about once a month, according to John Bradford, the director of the antipoverty project a few miles from this Mississippi Delta city.

Freedom City includes 48 children but there is "no money for milk, or eggs, or juice," said Mr. Bradford, a 26-year-old Negro who was graduated from Ohio University as a sociology major.

Mr. Clark and Mr. Kennedy flew here from Jackson and inspected training projects in a half-dozen communities as they drove north through the Delta. They headed back to Washington tonight.

Everywhere the crowd focused on Senator Kennedy. Before leaving Jackson this morning, a bystander handed him a right-wing pamphlet that carried his picture on Page 1.

The headline said "Bobby Kennedy will be murdered." Under it was a dispatch with a Chicago dateline purporting to quote a writer in some publication called National Insider.

At Clarksdale, at least 1,000 young Negroes loudly greeted Mr. Kennedy in front of an old bowling alley that had been turned into a neighborhood center under the Office of Economic Opportunity program.

Mr. Kennedy stood on the hood of an automobile and spoke briefly to the crowd, which surged forward and nearly trampled several persons while trying to touch the Senator's hand.

Senator Clark, after ending the tour, said:

"I thought that what we have seen is disturbing and challenging and we must do something to improve the conditions of these people.

"I don't want to indicate a sanguine attitude. There is plenty of poverty in both Pennsylvania and New York, but conditions here are deplorable. I don't want to blame the executives of the poverty program, but the program needs strengthening badly. It needs additional funding and that should have the highest priority.

"We have seen substantial evidence of malnutrition and hunger although we saw no persons with evidence of starvation. Back in Washington we will make an analysis and prepare a factual report for the White House."

At Freedom City the men



Senator Robert F. Kennedy, New York Democrat, chats with local residents outside general store near Greenville, Miss., during tour of poverty-stricken areas in that state's Delta region. Holding child is Kenneth Dean of Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

Associated Press Wirephoto

were in the fields working on the soy bean, wheat and vegetable crops. The 400-acre project is under the sponsorship of the Delta ministry for the National Council of Churches.

Mr. Bradford said the residents did not have enough money for the food stamps necessary to exchange for Fed-

eral food surpluses. A local clergyman said the people in Freedom City did not qualify as welfare recipients because they used common facilities instead of the traditional family stove, which he described as "the index" of welfare qualifications.

There are six buildings some

constructed of new, unpainted wood without sides.

The grounds were dirt and mud, but orderly. A woman who identified herself as Mrs. Thompson showed the visitors a clean, neat bedroom. The bed cover was fresh. "Best place I ever lived in in my life," she

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NASHVILLE PEACEFUL
AFTER RACIAL STRIFE

V. RFK SPEECHES ON THE DELTA

AUGUST 2, 1967

- ✓ REMARKS ON BILL FOR EMERGENCY FOOD AND MEDICAL SERVICES

SEPTEMBER 27, 1967

- ✓ FLOOR ADDRESS ON THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENT

MARCH 18, 1968

- ✓ REMARKS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

MISCELLANEOUS

- ✓ REMARKS WRITTEN (BUT NEVER DELIVERED) FOR ADDRESS AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

tion purposes but which might, sometime during the payout period of the loan, be used primarily to supply other types of uses due to the changing character of the area served by the project.

Applications on projects of this type have been rejected or are being held up by the Department of the Interior under its present interpretation of the law.

The holdup in the approval of projects resulted in the introduction of S. 1609 to permit Congress to clarify its intention. Applications are now being approved or disapproved on the basis of an uncertain estimate as to what type of development will take place in the future in the area in which projects are located.

Enactment of this bill would take the guesswork out of decisions as to whether or not a small reclamation project is eligible for a loan by removing from the basic act the requirement that the project be and remain primarily for irrigation to be eligible for a loan.

In its favorable report on S. 1609 the Department stated:

"The present legislation governing the program limits consideration to proposals supporting projects which are primarily for the purposes of irrigation water supply. There is a need in the program for coverage of projects in which the agricultural water supply is not the principal project purpose. Many projects, which at the time of applications for loans are primarily irrigation projects, are in areas which will probably be converted to nonagricultural use in the near future. Projects of this type present difficulty in the administration of the program.

"The Small Reclamation Projects Act is supplementary to the Federal reclamation laws and the program authorized by it is an adjunct to the regular reclamation program. In recent years, the regular program has increasingly responded to the need for municipal and industrial water supply. The proposed measure would assist the loan program in proceeding in a parallel direction."

The committee concurs in this reasoning and unanimously recommends the enactment of S. 862 as amended.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

EMERGENCY FOOD AND MEDICAL SERVICES

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2138) to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture and the Surgeon General of the United States to provide food and medical services, on an emergency basis, to prevent human suffering or loss of life.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the committee amendment. The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the purpose of S. 2138 is to authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Secretary of Agriculture to take such emergency action as may be necessary in any State, under regulations and procedures jointly issued with the Governor of State, to provide food and medical services to any individual to prevent the loss of such individual's life, to prevent an individual's physical impairment or to

avoid suffering caused by lack of food or medical attention. Regulations and procedures would be adopted by the affirmative vote of any two of these officials.

This bill was introduced by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS]. It was approved unanimously, as an emergency measure, by all 16 members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; and it is brought before the Senate in the hope that it can be passed this morning and sent to the House.

I ask unanimous consent that appropriate sections from the committee report may be reprinted in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HUNGER IN AMERICA

In a small Appalachian town near the border between Virginia and Tennessee five small children tore apart and devoured a chicken before it could be cooked. It was the first meat the family had to eat for 3 months.

In the San Joaquin Valley of California, 50 yards off a seldom-traveled road, a migrant family of seven, the youngest child not yet two, were living in a pickup truck abandoned by a small stream. They had had no breakfast and did not know where they would find food for lunch. In other years they could have fished but the stream had dried up.

In Cleveland, Miss., a middle-aged mother had signed up for food stamps but had never been able to pay the \$12 to buy \$76 worth of food stamps because she had no income. She and her six children had eaten rice and biscuits left over from surplus commodities which had been distributed the month before. They would go without lunch. Her youngest baby, a few weeks old, had never had milk.

In the village of Anatuva Pass, Alaska, the population of 114 lives almost entirely on caribou meat, shot once each year and buried in the frozen ground during the 3 days on which thousands of caribou pass through that area. Because she lacked the nutrients to sustain proper bone development, a 5-year-old girl lost all her teeth and can no longer eat caribou meat.

These are but four of the many hungry American families which the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has seen or had reported to it during the first 4 months of hearings and field inspection trips to nine States in its 8-month examination and evaluation of the war on poverty.

The subcommittee also received specific reports as to acute and serious hunger and malnutrition among rural families living in New Mexico, Arkansas, and South Carolina, on Indian reservations in South Dakota and Oklahoma, and among urban families in Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C.

Testimony was also heard of the medical effects of chronic hunger and malnutrition. One physician who recently testified before the subcommittee summarized what he and four other doctors had observed in these words:

We saw children whose nutritional and medical condition we can only describe as shocking—even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering. In child after child we saw evidence of vitamin and mineral deficiencies; serious untreated skin infections and ulcerations; eye and ear diseases; also unattended bone diseases; the prevalence of bacterial and parasitic diseases as well as severe anemia with resulting loss of energy

and ability to lead a normally active life; diseases of the heart and the lungs, requiring surgery, which have gone undiagnosed and untreated; epileptic and other neurological disorders; severe kidney ailments that in other children would warrant immediate hospitalization; and, finally, in boys and girls in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition, with injury to the body's tissues—its muscles, bones, and skin as well as an associated psychological state of fatigue, listlessness, and exhaustion.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

Eighteen months ago a Member of the House of Representatives reported to Federal officials desperate conditions of near starvation among families living in the Mississippi River Delta. Similar reports were made in the summer of 1966 to the Secretary of Agriculture by the Agriculture Department's Civil Rights Advisory Commission with recommendations for immediate action.

On April 26, 1967, the Secretary of Agriculture reported to the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty that the mechanization of agriculture and better use of chemicals has lessened the need for fieldworkers in the Southeastern United States and "has brought about a situation in which it is estimated that 40,000 to 60,000 people with little or no cash income may be living in the delta area this summer."

On April 27, 1967, the subcommittee urged the President of the United States to take immediate emergency action to provide necessary food and other assistance to families suffering from acute hunger and malnutrition. Again on June 19, 1967, the subcommittee urged the Secretaries of Agriculture and Health, Education, and Welfare and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide emergency assistance to such families.

On July 12, 1967, the subcommittee heard testimony from the Secretary of Agriculture, the Surgeon General of the United States, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. At this hearing the subcommittee sought to determine the extent of the Federal Government's knowledge of the incidence, location, and effects of serious hunger and malnutrition; the steps which had been taken to provide necessary food and medical assistance; and what, if any, additional legislative authority would be needed to provide such assistance on an emergency basis.

The Secretary of Agriculture has authority in an emergency under the Food Stamp Act of 1964 to distribute surplus commodities in areas where food stamp programs are in operation. The Secretary testified, however, that he believed such authority to be too limited to enable him to provide necessary emergency assistance to individuals, and that, in any event, the Federal Government, in such emergencies, can distribute only surplus foods available at the time.

In light of testimony given by the Secretary of Agriculture and because the record is clear that necessary food and medical attention is not or has not been made available through existing programs under present authority, the committee believes that additional legislation is required to authorize such assistance on an emergency basis.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, as the author of the bill, I am glad to see it come to the floor for consideration today, and I hope it will be passed.

I wish to make some remarks later today, as a part of the legislative history of the bill, but I understand that the majority leader wishes to proceed with some other measures on the calendar, and I am entirely willing that the bill be considered and passed at this time. I shall forego making my remarks now, with the understanding that when I do

better food and medical help are not confined within the State of Mississippi. They can and most probably do live in other areas of our country.

In the South, perhaps automation has been partly responsible for fewer jobs for cotton workers. Most probably many of these people are simply not trained for other work and therefore are unable to help themselves in this situation.

However, they are entitled to something far better than malnutrition and illness. They, and others like them, wherever they may be in the United States must receive the assistance they need.

This bill is a first step in coming to grips with such emergency situations where people are simply lacking in the means to provide necessary food for themselves and their families. The emergency will permit them to be helped through this legislation.

But, Mr. President, other action must be taken by the Congress. We must find the means by which these people can be helped to acquire some skills to become productive and self-supporting.

Mr. President, I hope the Senate will pass this bill without delay, and that the House will do likewise. Then, I hope that we can get at the larger problem of training which is absolutely necessary to eliminate the evil which we are trying to meet in emergency situations with the pending bill.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, today the Senate considers S. 2138, which will provide emergency food and medical assistance to people all over the country who have needs so urgent as to constitute an emergency.

The stark fact, which has emerged and captured public attention over the last few months, is that all over this Nation there are people who do not have enough to eat—people, especially children, who have so little to eat that they suffer from disease and have no energy, so little to eat that their lives are slowly wasting away, to end in a premature death.

The Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty focused its attention on the problem when it visited the Mississippi Delta in April. But subsequent inquiries have brought home the sad knowledge that the conditions of hunger which we observed there are not unique. Just in the last 4 months I have also seen migrant children in California, Indian children in Utah and Arizona, Negro children here in Washington, D.C., and in New York City—all of whom have one tragic thing in common—they do not have enough to eat. To some of these children, meat and milk are a rarity. In some of these places, two meals a day are a luxury. For too many, in short, one meal a day of rice or beans or grits is the rule.

As a result of their diets, children in some of these places have serious medical problems. Some that I saw had swollen bellies and sores that would not heal. Many had wasted limbs and suffered from extreme lethargy.

Nor is the incidence of hunger confined to the areas I have mentioned. There are people in every major American city, Eskimos in Alaska, mountain

people in Appalachia, Mexican Americans in rural Texas and New Mexico, Indians in South Dakota and the Southwest, who do not have enough to eat.

We know enough now to be certain that in this great, rich land of ours, we have a national hunger problem. Our Federal food programs are reaching millions, but they are failing to reach hundreds of thousands of others, and among those not being reached are some of the poorest of our citizens, those who do not know about Government programs, and have not been contacted by Federal or local officials. These are the hungry—the people who are almost invisible to the rest of us as we go about our daily lives.

The bill before us today will help us begin to reach those who have not been reached. At the present time we do not know how many people this is. But the lowest estimate far exceeds the number who can be reached with the \$25 million which S. 2138 authorizes for fiscal 1968, so there is no danger that the money we authorize today will go unused. In 6 months we will know far more about the extent of the problem. At that time the study authorized by the bill will have been completed and we will have the benefit of other information which the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Agriculture are now gathering. At that time we can reassess the matter and decide if more money is needed.

And a board of inquiry composed of distinguished citizens, organized by the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, will have reported to us by that time as well.

The funds made available by this bill will help people buy food stamps, will help get food to counties which have no Federal food program at all, and will help to improve the diet offered by the present commodity program. The funds will also help get urgently needed medical care to people who need it on an emergency basis. The bill will help pay the administrative costs of deputizing private doctors to go in on a voluntary basis to the areas of greatest need. It will help accelerate the implementation of new programs to bring organized medical care to areas where service is now nonexistent.

In short, this is constructive and urgently needed legislation. I urge the Senate to pass it today, and I hope that the other body will act expeditiously to enact it as well.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for 1 minute?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] telephoned me about becoming a cosponsor of the bill. I readily consented, of course. I am afraid that he did not understand that he had to ask consent on the floor of the Senate in this situation.

I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] be added as a cosponsor of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I yield.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask that the Senator make the same request for me.

Mr. STENNIS. I am delighted. I ask unanimous consent that the name of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] be added as a cosponsor of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK. I yield.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I want to say how gratifying it has been for me to have the privilege of joining with the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. STENNIS], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], and the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] in connection with this bill.

The bill fills a need which I was surprised existed. We found there was hunger in one area of our country, and 8 weeks later, to my amazement, we were still trying to unravel the bureaucratic maze to make it possible to take care of the hungry people. I had thought the emergency power of the President could do it; I understood the Secretary of Agriculture was involved, and that the States were involved. I think the bill provides a study so we will find where the needs exist; and also quickly and decisively, and without a waste of time, the hungry people can be taken care of.

This bill authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to provide food and medical services on an emergency basis to prevent human suffering or loss of life.

It is good and timely legislation. Moreover, it demonstrates the ability of Congress to respond affirmatively and quickly to a demonstrated need.

In recent days, the Congress has been criticized in some quarters for allegedly dragging its feet to meet problems besetting our urban areas. The critics have been misinformed. It is not Congress that has been slow to act. This legislation shows that the legislative branch can react quickly when shown that there is a need.

Along with other members of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, I was in Mississippi last April and heard witnesses testify that citizens there were suffering from malnutrition. At that time, I urged immediate Presidential action to determine whether starvation conditions did, in fact, exist and, if so, to remedy the situation at once. After a delay, the Secretary of Agriculture took only one administrative action. Responding to a letter signed by all members of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, the Secretary reduced the cost of food stamps from \$2 to 50 cents.

I must confess that I was somewhat shocked at the inability of the executive branch to resolve internal disagreements over this problem. It was therefore more pleasing to me when Senator STENNIS introduced this legislation with the aim of doing something more substantial than the minimum effort shown by the Agriculture Department.

This bill authorizes \$25 million for a

and because the Office of Economic Opportunity which initiated Headstart is not qualified to continue its direction, it must not disrupt the program by carelessly transferring it to the Office of Education.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Colorado.

On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I announce that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] are absent on official business.

I also announce that the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS] would each vote "ay."

Mr. DIRKSEN. I announce that the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BRUSKAL] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from California [Mr. LAUSCHE] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

If present and voting, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BRUSKAL] would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 54, as follows:

[No. 239 Leg.]

YEAS—35

Lausche	Ellender	Monroney
Lausche	Ervin	Morton
Lausche	Fannin	Mundt
Lausche	Fong	Murphy
Lausche	Griffin	Prouty
Lausche	Hansen	Scott
Lausche	Hartke	Smith
Lausche	Howard	Thurmond
Lausche	Jordan, N.C.	Tower
Lausche	Jordan, Idaho	Williams, Del.
Lausche	Long, La.	Young, N. Dak.
Lausche	Miller	

NAYS—54

Lausche	Lausche	Mondale
Lausche	Lausche	Montoya
Lausche	Lausche	Moss
Lausche	Lausche	Muskie
Lausche	Lausche	Nelson
Lausche	Lausche	Pell
Lausche	Lausche	Perdy
Lausche	Lausche	Proxmire
Lausche	Lausche	Randolph
Lausche	Lausche	Ribicoff
Lausche	Lausche	Spartan
Lausche	Lausche	Spong
Lausche	Lausche	Stennis
Lausche	Lausche	Talmadge
Lausche	Lausche	Todd
Lausche	Lausche	Williams, N.J.
Lausche	Lausche	Yarborough
Lausche	Lausche	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—11

Lausche	Lausche
Lausche	Lausche
Lausche	Lausche
Lausche	Lausche
Lausche	Lausche

Mr. DOMINICK's amendments were

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was rejected.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 9960) making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. EVINS of Tennessee, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. GAIANO, Mr. SHIPLEY, Mr. MARSH, Mr. PRYOR, Mr. MAHON, Mr. JONES, Mr. MINSHALL, Mr. WYMAN, Mr. TALCOTT, and Mr. BOW were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1937

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2388) to provide an improved Economic Opportunity Act, to authorize funds for the continued operation of economic opportunity programs, to authorize an Emergency Employment Act, and for other purposes.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Delaware withhold his request for a quorum call?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Yes.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, as far as the floor manager of the bill is concerned, he is ready for a third reading.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 347

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I call up my amendment No. 347 and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read, as follows:

On page 7 strike all after the period in line 20 and all of lines 21 through 25, of lines 1 and 2 on page 8, and insert in lieu thereof the following: "In the case of an individual with a history of serious and violent behavior, or a history of repetitive or serious law violation or delinquent acts, such determination must be supported by a signed

statement from the individual's local Federal or State district attorney, sheriff, or chief of police certifying that the individual, if selected, is likely to participate successfully in the program and is unlikely to engage in activities or behavior that would impede other enrollees from receiving the benefit of the program or be incompatible with the maintenance of sound discipline and satisfactory relationships between any center to which he might be assigned and surrounding communities."

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I note that the manager of the bill is temporarily absent from the floor. In deference to him, I think I should save the discussion of my amendment until he returns.

Mr. President, I therefore suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, in the course of this year, the Senator from Pennsylvania has performed a task seldom undertaken in connection with congressional consideration of legislation to renew a Federal program. With his constructive energy and flair, his usual creativity and deep commitment, Senator CLARK has conducted an examination of the war on poverty that was both just and judicious, exhaustive and, I might say, a bit exhausting. In the course of the last 8 months, the Senator has crisscrossed the country, hearing hundreds of witnesses, seeing and talking with thousands of the poor, and examining dozens of local programs.

As a member of the subcommittee, it was my privilege to join Senator CLARK on a number of his field trips—to Mississippi, to California, to Chicago, to Boston, to New York City, and to homes and programs just a few blocks from where we stand. What struck me as we visited around the country was that if other Senators—whatever their committee assignment, whatever their party, whatever section of the country they are from—had a chance to make the same kind of exhaustive investigation that Senator CLARK has chaired, there would be no opposition to the continuation of the Economic Opportunity Act and, though there might be differences of opinion on the way in which the program should be administered, there would be no disagreement that the present level of funding, and even that proposed by the committee, is grossly inadequate.

For, as one travels around the country to examine conditions of poverty and to investigate our efforts to deal with it, a national picture comes into focus, a picture which transcends one's view of poverty in his own State. We all know there is no area of our country which is totally affluent, which does not contain poverty. But I am convinced that only the exhaustive national survey which the subcommittee undertook gives one a deep, intuitive sense of the extent of the problem and the need to act. From Negro cotton choppers in Mississippi to jobless

Negro teenagers in Hough, from people of Spanish surnames in isolated northern New Mexico to Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles, from former coal miners in West Virginia to Appalachian whites who have migrated to Chicago, from Sioux Indians on their reservations in South Dakota to the Indian community in Minneapolis, from Eskimos in Alaska to Puerto Ricans in East Harlem—all over the Nation there are people in extreme poverty—men and women and children without jobs and without hope, without decent housing and without enough to eat.

I believe the experience of an investigation such as we made gives one a special sense of the magnitude of the problem and the urgency of action.

But, everywhere we went we also saw the impact of the war on poverty—Headstart programs, opening new worlds to small children and their parents, Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps programs giving new hope to young men and young women, neighborhood legal services and neighborhood health centers, providing legal protection and medical care to people for the first time.

Our study gave us a firsthand sense of what the war on poverty is, of what its possibilities are, of what it is accomplishing, of what it could accomplish if we were to give it the funds and the resources to fulfill its potential. For if there were desperate, frustrated poor people in every community we visited, there were hopeful, helpful programs as well.

In Mississippi we saw pathetically hungry children and families which had literally no cash income because the revolution in farm technology had deprived them of what little work they had. But we also saw children in Headstart centers, grown men learning to read for the first time, young men and women learning job skills, families receiving Federal food aid.

In California we saw migrant workers living in upturned cars on riverbanks, but we also saw migrant housing and education program which bring more promise to those workers than they have ever had before.

Here in Washington we saw housing within sight of the Nation's Capitol that strained belief. But we also heard what the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps have done for some of the young men and women who live here in the District.

Whatever the program—Headstart, Upward Bound, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, neighborhood health centers, and so on—the picture is really the same: These programs have made a great difference in the lives of thousands, but there are hundreds of thousands more who have not been reached.

The amount of money authorized in the committee bill is really a bare minimum—a grossly inadequate figure when compared to the scope of the problem. For as the Department of Labor stated flatly in its 1967 manpower report:

Economic and social conditions are getting worse, not better in slum areas.

So we must act. For if we do not, the violence and destruction, the fear and fury which blazed in our cities this sum-

mer will continue. But more than that, we must act not just because failure to act will bring further violence, but because we must give some encouragement to those who still believe that progress is possible within our established institutions. We cannot denounce extremists who reject our social system if we do not prove that that system is capable of helping people lead a better life.

The riots which have taken place—and which may all too easily take place in the future—are, of course, an intolerable threat to the essential interests of all of us. A violent few cannot be permitted to threaten the well-being of the many and the hopes of their fellows for progress. Those who lead others to burn and loot must feel the full force of the law.

That, however, is just the beginning, and we should not delude ourselves. The riots are not crises which can be resolved as suddenly as they arose. They are the result of a condition which has been with us for 300 years and will be with us for many years more. We can deal with the crises without dealing with the underlying problem—just as we can give novocaine to a man with a broken arm, without setting that arm in a splint; but the end result will only be more pain, pain beyond temporary relief, and permanent crippling of our society.

And until we deal with the underlying conditions, we are in grave danger: the danger of a deepening division between white and black America, that fear will breed resentment, and resentment hostility, and increasing hostility again feed mounting fear.

This division represents not a failure of compassion, or of the American sense of justice; rather it is a failure of understanding and communication. We live in different worlds and gaze out over a different landscape. Through the eyes of the white majority, the man of decent impulse and moral purpose, the Negro world is one of steady and continuous progress. In a few years, he has seen the entire structure of discriminatory legislation torn down. He has heard Presidents become spokesmen for racial justice, while Negro Americans enter the Cabinet and the Supreme Court. The white American has paid taxes for poverty and education programs, and watched his children risk their lives to register voters in Alabama. Seeing this, he asks, what cause can there be for violent insurrection, or dissatisfaction with present progress?

But if we try to look through the eyes of the young slum dweller—the Negro, and the Puerto Rican, and the Mexican American—the world is a dark and hopeless place indeed.

The chances are that this young man was born into a family without a father—often as a result of welfare laws which require a broken home as a condition of help. His chance of dying in the first year of life is twice that of children born outside the slum, and inadequate prenatal care also assures that if he survives, his chances of being mentally retarded are seven times the community average.

He begins to grow, often crowded with adults into one or two rooms, without

adequate plumbing or heat, each night trying to defend himself against marauding rats.

He goes to a school which teaches little that helps him in an alien world. The chances are 7 out of 10 that he will not graduate from high school—and even when he does, he has only a 50-50 chance of acquiring the equivalent of an eighth-grade education. At one high school which I have visited a number of times and which is not atypical—located in the wealthiest city, in the wealthiest State, in the wealthiest Nation in the world—25 percent of the freshmen read at fourth-grade level or below; half cannot read above sixth-grade level.

For the rest of his life also there are statistics: prices for the most basic commodities are far higher than in the rest of the city; 43 percent of ghetto housing is substandard and overcrowded; tens of thousands of children are treated for rat bites each year; and of a quarter of a million Puerto Rican schoolchildren in New York City, only 37 went on to college last year.

Worst of all, the people of the ghetto and the barrio live today with an unemployment rate far worse than the rest of the Nation knew during the depth of the great depression. If the unemployment of the depression was a national emergency—and it was—our cities today therefore envelop dozens of even greater emergencies. Unemployment in the poverty districts—among Negroes in Hough, Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles, Appalachian whites in Chicago, Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, Indians on reservations—in short, among groups of Americans of every race and background—is at least three times the national rate and is rising.

But even this does not measure the full extent of the problem. The Labor Department recently did a special subemployment survey which included people not in the labor force at all, people working only part time and people working but not earning a substantial wage, which showed that 28.6 percent of the working-age population in Harlem and 33.6 percent in East Harlem fall into these categories.

In other cities the subemployment rate is even worse—as high as 45.3 percent in the slums of New Orleans and 47.4 percent in the barrio of San Antonio.

The Department of Labor's 1967 Manpower Report says flatly:

Slum residents have been bypassed by the national rise in real family income. In South Los Angeles—a predominantly Negro poverty area—median family income rose by only 4 percent between 1959 and 1965 and in East Los Angeles—a heavily Mexican-American low-income area—by only 0.2 percent, despite an average rise of 8 percent in consumer prices for urban families.

In other words, real family income in these two areas of Los Angeles dropped by 4 and 8 percent, respectively—while real family income nationwide was rising by 14 percent. From June 1965 to June 1966, 950,000 new jobs were created for young men, but only 33,000, about 3.7 percent, went to Negroes. A Labor Department spokesman explained that Negro youths "just don't have the connections."

Nor is the problem confined to urban areas. Just in the Mississippi Delta, which I visited last April with the subcommittee, there are even now 40,000 to 60,000 people who literally have no cash income. And migrant farmworkers have also been left totally out of the economic mainstream, earning an average of \$1,200 a year from farmwork and \$600 from odd jobs. The conditions under which they live and work, which I have seen as I have visited them around the country, are shocking in the last third of the 20th century. Finally, the poverty on Indian reservations is severe, with unemployment ranging up to 80 percent and men dying at 42 years of age, on the average, which is 25 years below the average for the white man.

Mr. President, I might say that although poverty conditions are as bad as I have described them in this part of the United States, the conditions for the Indians, and Eskimos in Alaska are probably the worst conditions of any group. These, then, are the problems. They will not be banished with force; and they will not just go away. Thirty million poor people all over our Nation are a reality. The slums are a reality, as are idleness and poverty, lack of education and dilapidated housing. Frustrated expectations and disappointed hopes are realities. Above all, the awareness of injustice and the passion to end it are inescapable realities. No force in the world can wish these facts out of existence. Thus we have only one choice. We can face our difficulties and strive to overcome them, with imagination and dedication and wisdom and love. Or we can turn away—bringing repression, steadily increasing human pain and civil strife, and leaving a problem of far more terrible and threatening proportions to our children.

For history has placed us all, black and white, within a common border and under a common law. All of us, from the wealthiest and most powerful of men to the weakest and hungriest of children, share one precious possession: the name "American." It is not easy to know what that means. But in part to be an American means to have been an outcast and a stranger, to have come to the exiles' country, and to know that he who denies the outcast and stranger among us, at that moment also denies America.

We have begun to meet our responsibilities. The Office of Economic Opportunity has been an innovative and creative agency. It has stimulated a new partnership with private industry in the Job Corps, in other job training, and in the development of quasi-public housing corporations to use the skill of private industry in slum rehabilitation. OEO's neighborhood health centers are an experiment in new ways of delivering health services which could revolutionize health services not just for the poor but for all of us. The New York Times described Headstart as "the most significant educational advance in the past decade."

But the point about all of this is that it is only a beginning. If 700,000 children participated in Headstart this past year, there are hundreds of thousands more who need its special help. If more than

300,000 people were served by OEO legal services this past year, there are hundreds of thousands more who need legal help. If the neighborhood health centers funded this past year will ultimately serve 675,000 poor people, there are hundreds of thousands more who need decent health care. For there are still over 30 million poor people in our Nation, still over 30 million men, women, and children who have been left behind as our country has reached new plateau after new plateau of affluence.

Mr. President, the bill before the Senate today is the result of an unusually careful study by the members of the subcommittee and their staffs. I think the subcommittee staff is especially to be commended. The bill makes a number of important changes in the structure and administration of OEO. It provides a panoply of new means to assure a coordination of Office of Economic Opportunity programs with other Federal programs which have an impact on the poor. The Senator from Pennsylvania explained these new means of coordination in articulate detail the other day. It provides a new coordination role for the States, which is based on the observations we made around the country. And it provides for greater local initiative in choosing the particular OEO-financed programs which will be developed and applied in each community. For we heard again and again that the programs which worked best were the ones which people in the community themselves chose and developed themselves, and in which, therefore, they had the greatest stake.

I would mention only four major points regarding the bill today: First, that the level of funding authorized in title I of the bill—that is, in the economic opportunity amendments—not be cut; second, that proposals to spin off component programs not be heeded; third, that the 2-year authorization for OEO which was adopted by the committee not be rejected; fourth, that title II of the bill—the Emergency Employment Act, not be rejected.

First, the committee did increase the authorized funds for the Office of Economic Opportunity from \$2.06 billion to \$2.258 billion. I believe it would be unfortunate if those additional funds were eliminated. They were added to allow funding for a number of items that the committee felt especially important. One of our major findings as we went across the country was that individual programs have too often been cut back by Washington as more applicants appeared to claim a slice of a pie that has not grown fast enough to accommodate them all. These cutbacks at the local level have been extremely damaging. They cause great bitterness and great frustration. The \$198 million which the committee added would alleviate this problem somewhat, and to cut it would, correspondingly, have a most damaging effect throughout the country. I urge the Senate to reject any such proposal.

I might give an example of the kind of cutback which the committee's action might alleviate, although it will not deal with it completely. This summer we had

a job program in the city of New York, and there were comparable ones across the country, encompassing a total of 40,000 jobs. After September there was a cutback to 7,000 jobs, so that all of those who held jobs were turned into the street with no place to go. It is that kind of practice, it seems to me, which stimulates violence and lawlessness, and the dissatisfaction which many people feel about our Government and society.

We have all talked about the hot summers and we are all concerned about what is going to happen next summer. It seems to me that these problems are not going to be confined to the summers. We are going to have the same kind of difficulty 12 months a year if we continue directing these programs in the way we have been over a period of several years. That is the responsibility we must accept in Congress, as well as in the executive branch of Government, and, I might add, at the local community level as well. I do not think by any means this is the sole responsibility of the Federal Government. But one way in which we in Congress can exercise our share of the responsibility is to reject any effort to cut back the \$198 million which the committee added.

Second, there is talk that various programs—whether Headstart or Upward Bound or Neighborhood Youth Corps—should be removed entirely from the administration and control of the Office of Economic Opportunity and given to other agencies. Our hearings do not support the spin-off idea. Of over 400 witnesses before the committee, only two advocated the abolition of OEO and the transfer of its functions to other agencies. And the record is replete with the testimony of administration officials—OEO, HEW, Labor, and others—that the present distribution of programs is best and should not be disturbed.

Headstart, for example, is not just an education program. As I said earlier, it seeks to develop the child in relation to his family and the world around him, and a critical part of this is parental involvement. I think transfer to the Office of Education, with the implied presumption that this would involve about running all Headstart programs through local school systems, could cause the unique flavor of Headstart to be lost.

Similarly, there are proposals to transfer some aspects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps to Labor and others to HEW. This double transfer idea raises obvious coordination problems that do not exist now, and the very fact that two agencies are suggested as transferee implies that neither proposal is really better than the present situation.

Third, I believe the 2-year authorization for the program which the committee adopted is wise. The poverty program has proven itself sufficiently now so that annual re-examination is not required. The consequences of annual re-examination, with all the uncertainty that that causes around the country, are damaging. Competent personnel often cannot be attracted to work in a program which has promise of lasting for only a few months. Participation by the community is carried on in an atmosphere of doubt

and mistrust. And the burden on Congress is great as well. We will do both the poor and ourselves a great service if we begin now to give the program the extra year of breathing space which the committee bill provides.

Fourth, and critically important, is title II, the Emergency Employment Act. We have always known, or at least we have said to one another, that employment—useful, productive work—is the most fundamental avenue to solving poverty. Yet our actions have not lived up to our observations, as the figures which I quoted at length earlier indicate.

And the crisis in unemployment is the most critical of our failures—for it is significant far beyond its economic effects. It is both measure and cause of the extent to which the poor man is alienated from the general community. More than segregation in housing and schools, more than differences in attitude of life style, it is unemployment that sets the poor man apart. Unemployment is having nothing to do—which means having nothing to do with the rest of us.

We earn our livings, support our families, purchase the comforts and ease of life with work. More important, to be without it is to be less than a man. To be without use to one's fellow citizens is to be in truth the "invisible man" of whom Ralph Ellison wrote so eloquently.

Unemployment is truly our gravest problem. This judgment has been confirmed by every board and commission, expert and amateur, official and layman, that has examined the problem. The McCone Commission looked at Los Angeles and said that the most serious problem in Watts is unemployment. Kenneth Clark's pioneering study looked at Harlem and said that Harlem's key problem is unemployment. The Urban Coalition looked to all the cities and said that the first problem is unemployment.

Title II of S. 2388 is in direct response to the problem. With the Emergency Employment Act, the Senator from Pennsylvania has come up with a program that deals directly with the difficulty, a program which will work, a program which will provide 200,000 jobs in very short order.

Providing jobs is the one step that is in everyone's interest, no matter what his political philosophy. Placing people in the position where they can obtain productive employment is the one approach that in the end will produce higher revenues and lower welfare costs; and it means lessened costs of crime and crime prevention as well. It means the use of unused resources and greater prosperity for all.

The provision of jobs will have a direct impact on the cost of welfare. A recent analysis of Federal welfare programs showed that of 7.3 million people receiving federally supported welfare assistance, only 50,000 could work. The analysis was intended to show only that the welfare rolls are not filled with deliberate idlers. Many, however, have taken it as proof that job programs cannot reduce the welfare budgets. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Of the 7.3 million welfare recipients, 850,000 were female heads of families, and 2.6 million were minor children from

these same female-headed families. Thus, over 50 percent of the Federal welfare rolls are made up of families whose husbands and fathers have left the house. Every study of poverty and its pathology shows that the vast majority of these husbands and fathers are absent precisely because they are unemployed and unable to support their families, and because leaving their wives and children was the only way to qualify for welfare.

Thus, it is the welfare system itself, in combination with the lack of decent job opportunities, that produces the welfare families who are asserted to be permanent dependents of the Government. But providing real job opportunities—for the absent fathers and husbands, and for the fathers and husbands of the future—will enable many of these families to reunite, and others to remain together, and thus help to reduce welfare and dependency—and their costs both financial and personal.

As I have said before, I think some of the provisions of the present welfare system are very worthwhile, but there are also other provisions and a philosophy which can be catastrophic for the country. In the city of New York, welfare costs \$700 million a year. In the State it costs over \$1 billion a year. And the cost is growing by leaps and bounds. The only way to get away from the costs of welfare is not to punish those on welfare, but to provide jobs so husbands and fathers can stay with their wives and children, pay taxes, and be contributing members of society, and not welfare recipients. But the only way to do that is to provide jobs. Title II, as well as the rest of the poverty program, it seems to me, is an important step in that direction.

And employment is the only true long-run solution; only if the poor achieve productive employment will they be able to support themselves and their families, become active contributing citizens, and not passive objects of action, recipients of our charity. This does not mean that education, for example, is not critical to future employment and self-sufficiency. Of course it is. But unless we achieve employment, we will never solve the problem. People with economic security can buy or rent their own housing; people with adequate incomes can see that their children are educated; people with jobs can mark out their own relationships with their fellows of whatever color. But without employment, without basic economic security and self-sufficiency, any other help we provide will be only temporary in effect.

Title II is a sensible and practical way to begin to meet our responsibilities. Had we enacted it last year or the year before and thereby perhaps headed off the wave of fire and fury which struck this summer, it would already have saved us far more than its cost. But, tragically, all too clearly, it can still save us more than it will cost. And, if we do not enact it, the cost will be more than what we save.

Let me make clear that the kind of stimulus to employment which is contained in title II is not permanent. It is an emergency program growing out of an emergency situation. It may, and hopefully will, lead to new kinds of public

service careers, for, as commission after commission, study after study has shown, there is a vast potential for new public service in a wide variety of fields. In the end, the overall employment problem will only be solved by harnessing the great engine of private enterprise to the problem. But at the same time, there are thousands of needed tasks and works in the public sector as well.

For example, there is a growing shortage of skilled and professional help in all of our social service agencies.

In health services, for example, the National League of Nursing estimates a deficit of 344,000 registered nurses by 1970. Current deficit, 125,000. For that same year mental health services predict a deficit of 200,000 employees for State and county hospitals.

In social work, some 15,000 persons are needed yearly to replace those leaving the field and to staff new services. The total number of graduates from schools of social work throughout the Nation is only 3,500 yearly. The HEW Task Force on Social Welfare, Education, and Manpower predicts a need for 100,000 social workers plus 50,000 additional workers for HEW agencies alone by 1970.

In education, the U.S. Department of Labor foresees a deficit of 500,000 elementary and secondary schoolteachers by 1970.

Title II could and would function simultaneously to fill these shortages in the human service fields and to provide on-the-job education and training to the unskilled for effective functioning at entry-level positions and for upward mobility within the agencies hiring them.

And let me make clear that there is ample experience already with the kind of employment that is contemplated by title II.

There are now, for example, 116,000 teachers aides in the United States, most hired with funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The National Education Association has allocated funds to establish a national organization of teacher aides affiliated to the NEA, and plans a national teacher aides conference for the next school year.

The Bank Street College of Education recently made a nationwide study of teacher aides, teacher assistants, family workers and other auxiliary educational personnel employed from California to Puerto Rico. It found "great possibilities in the professional-nonprofessional team in enabling the teacher 'to meet individual needs of pupils.'" The multilevel approach was found to provide "an escape from rigid structuring in the classroom with more small groupings and independent activities possible." The report says that any classroom can benefit from "effective utilization of auxiliaries, regardless of the composition of the school population or the socio-economic background of the auxiliaries."

Oakland, Calif. has created a "ladder of skills" for its teacher aides, in line with the "job first, diplomas later" concept of new careers. A person who accepts to work as a teacher aide can, through an apprenticeship program,

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September 27, 1967

assistant teacher, then to associate teacher—with an Associate of Arts degree, combining work experience with college courses—and finally to certified teacher.

Last June the Women's Talent Corps completed its first training program. A group of women, 23 to 54 years of age, many of whom had previously been on relief, were graduated "from hard-core poverty into expanding futures," according to the New York Times. They will fill subprofessional positions as teacher assistants and guidance assistants.

In the health and welfare fields there is also useful experience to draw upon. For example, at the Lincoln Neighborhood Service Center Project of New York, six subprofessional mental health aides served more than 25,000 people. The total salary for the six aides was \$25,000. Cost of training, operation of the storefront center was an additional \$25,000. Thus, the center was able to provide vital service to 25,000 persons by spending only \$2 for each individual receiving aid. This is for a 1-year period.

Besides providing direct services for the clients of the center, the aides also organized a number of neighborhood meetings, committees, parties, and special programs. In this way another 20 to 25 percent of the neighborhood, beyond those who received direct service, were benefited by these other types of activities.

And there has been other interesting experience in working with unemployed youth.

Dramatic success was achieved by the Howard University community apprenticeship program when it motivated and trained a group of "hard-core" disadvantaged young men to become research, preschool, and recreation aides. They all bore the scars of poverty: delinquency records, functional illiteracy, broken homes, fragmented schooling, low measured IQs. As they learned and worked, they were oriented toward further attainment. They obtained more advanced jobs, returned to school, ceased delinquent behavior, went on to college, and have had significant jumps in their measured IQs.

The homework helpers program started by Mobilization for Youth produced striking benefits for both the teenage tutors and their pupils. The youths hired by the agency to tutor slow-reader grade school students significantly raised the reading levels of their pupils but also vastly improved their own abilities, picking up an average of 3½ years in reading skill.

Finally, the Community Action programs already employ 130,000 nonprofessionals. Research by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc., on a sample of 5,000 of these workers in nine cities indicated that these workers have been doing a very effective job, and that they display high morale and considerable involvement in their work, and have been well accepted by professionals.

The Emergency Employment Act is therefore, a well-conceived and practical program. There is ample evidence that there is a potential of far more than 200,000 useful, productive jobs which could be created now in the fields of health, education, police work, recrea-

tion, and welfare casework. And there is ample evidence from experience that we already have in employing subprofessional personnel under existing Federal legislation that such a program is practicable and workable. It will help in rural as well as urban areas, and will help create jobs in private enterprise as well as public service.

In summary, then, I urge the Senate to enact S. 2388 as reported. For being killed is more than dying physically. Millions of Americans are dying the slow death of despair and hopelessness. With a gross national product of over \$750 billion, we can surely afford this legislation, which would cost as much as a few weeks of effort in Vietnam. Just this week we voted—by 74 to 3—a military construction bill authorizing over \$2 billion in new barracks and other building. If we can vote \$2 billion for such a purpose without any question, we can surely enact this legislation as the committee reported it.

We cannot just pay lip service to our ideals. We must enact S. 2388 in its entirety now.

Mr. President, I think this is desperately needed legislation. I do not think it is perfect, but I think it will be important in giving to those who desperately need help a feeling that there is still hope in our society and Government and give them a sign that we do care, that there is an interest in them.

I think when we vote \$70 billion for the military budget, when we vote \$2.3 billion for military construction, and when he spend days debating this program, and then propose amendments, and even pass them, involving cuts of up to \$2 billion, it is going to be a sign to the poor in our urban or our rural areas, whether they be Indians, or Mexican Americans, or Appalachia whites, or Negroes, that the Establishment does not care; that we are interested only in our own feelings, in our own protection, that which causes us and our children protection and comfort; but, as far as those who are deprived and their children are concerned, who will carry this scar and burden for the rest of their lives, and who cannot recover unless we give them that opportunity, it will be a sign that we may make public speeches, but when it comes to taking the kind of steps that will have meaning and make a change in their lives, they must look elsewhere.

I do not see how, Mr. President, we can, then, be so concerned, upset, and disturbed when we see those who are poor become disenchanted with our society. It is hard for me to believe that we need another study, another committee or commission, or whatever it might be, to investigate what the problems are. We know that the problems exist. We know that people do not have jobs; and when they do not have jobs, they are upset, just as would be all of us in the U.S. Senate were we suddenly to find ourselves unemployed.

Without employment, one cannot support his family. If you had to leave your wife and children because you could not find a job in your neighborhood, particularly if you were unskilled and untrained because of faults in our educational system, you, too, would be upset.

The poor, through no fault of their own, are unskilled and uneducated. Through no fault of their own, there are absolutely no jobs for them. Through no fault of their own, they are forced to bring their children up in houses and tenements filled with rats. Through no fault of their own, they have little hope for the future.

What have we done for them, Mr. President, here in the U.S. Senate? We talk about the war, and about the protection of our own security. That is all worthwhile enough. We talk about the fact that we need an antiballistic missile screen. Such concerns are understandable. To want to save the physical lives of the population of this country is, of course, an important objective.

But as I have pointed out, death can be more than physical destruction; and therein, too, we have a responsibility. For if a person is so lacking in education and so lacking in training that he cannot even hold a job or there are no jobs available for him, his situation is not far from living death.

Here we have a chance, it seems to me, to deal with the problem of poverty, not in a major way, but at least to do something about it in a minor way. If we fail to meet that challenge, it seems to me we are not meeting our responsibility to this body, to our constituents, nor to our country.

Mr. President, we are responsible for handing over to the next generation of Americans, with all that that implies, their country. Will it be a country filled with difficulties, problems, and bitter hopelessness? I hope not.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I thank the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY] not only for his support of the committee bill, S. 2388, but particularly for his kind comments about me and about the study which the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty has been undertaking these past 6 months.

As much as any Member of the Senate, but with a particularly keen sense of awareness and compassion, Senator KENNEDY recognizes the serious problems which confront our Nation when tens of millions of our citizens are living in poverty.

I am especially grateful for the fact that the junior Senator from New York participated with me in most of the field hearings and field inspection trips in 13 communities around the country.

Following our field hearings and our hearings here in Washington the junior Senator from New York was extremely helpful in the drafting of the legislation which is now pending before the Senate. Many of the changes which the committee has made in existing law which resulted from our study and field inspections were proposed by the Senator from New York. For example, in order to make more specific the provisions of S. 2388 requiring evaluation of programs, Senator KENNEDY suggested and the bill contains a provision to assure that the opinions of program participants are considered as part of the evaluation.

At Senator KENNEDY's suggestion the

done scene from a Hollywood movie of a presidential campaign—the jumping girls, the screams ricocheting off the distant field house walls.”

Kennedy again galvanized his audience with self-deprecating wit and an intense attack on the administration’s policy in Vietnam, and as at KSU, Kennedy drew energy from the crowd’s reactions. In the *Los Angeles Times*, Washington bureau chief Robert Donovan wrote that “at times, his speeches at Kansas State and the University of Kansas seemed to have a spellbinding effect on the students.”

Initially, Kennedy had intended to avoid any lengthy discussion of the war while at the University of Kansas, having focused on it in the day’s earlier speech. But because the students at Kansas State had reacted with such surprising, visceral enthusiasm, Kennedy and Walinsky began (the aide remembered in a later oral-history interview) “just taking pages wholesale out of the last speech and shoving them into the new one.” Despite this, the KU address retained its focus on (and echoed the announcement speech’s images about) those Americans who were being neglected in the political dialogue and bypassed by the nation’s growing economy. Most of all, it kept its rhetorical core, exposing the hollowness of defining national progress by mere material accumulation. ♦

Delivered
University
of Kansas
3/18/68

... I have seen these other Americans—I have seen children in Mississippi starving, their bodies so crippled by hunger; and their minds have been so destroyed for their whole life that they will have no future. I have seen children in Mississippi—here in the United States, with a gross national product of eight hundred billion dollars—I have seen children in the Delta area of Mississippi with distended stomachs, whose faces are covered with sores from starvation, and we haven’t developed a policy so that we can get enough food so that they can live, so that their lives are not destroyed. I don’t think that’s acceptable in the United States of America and I think we need a change.

I have seen Indians living on their bare and meager reservations, with no jobs, with an unemployment rate of 80 percent, and with so little hope for the future that for young men and women in their teens, the greatest cause of death is suicide. That they end their lives by

killing themselves—I don't think that we have to accept that, for the first Americans, for the minority here in the United States. If young boys and girls are so filled with despair when they are going to high school and feel that their lives are so hopeless and that nobody's going to care for them, nobody's going to be involved with them, nobody's going to bother with them, that they either hang themselves, shoot themselves, or kill themselves—I don't think that's acceptable and I think the United States of America—I think the American people know we can do much, much better. And I run for the presidency because of that. I run for the presidency because I've seen proud men in the hills of Appalachia, who wish only to work in dignity, but they cannot, for the mines have closed and their jobs are gone and no one—neither industry, labor, nor government—has cared enough to help.

I think we here in this country, with the unselfish state that exists in the United States of America, I think we can do better here also.

I have seen the people of the black ghetto, listening to ever-greater promises of equality and justice, as they sit in the same decaying schools and huddle in the same filthy rooms, without heat, warding off the cold and warding off the rats.

If we believe that we, as Americans, are bound together by a common concern for each other, then an urgent national priority is upon us. We must begin to end the disgrace of this other America.

And this is one of the great tasks of leadership for us, as individuals and citizens this year. But even if we act to erase material poverty, there is another great task. It is to confront the poverty of satisfaction—a lack of purpose and dignity—that inflicts us all. Too much and too long, we seem to have surrendered community excellence and community values in the mere accumulation of material things. Our gross national product, now, is over eight hundred billion dollars a year, but that GNP—if we should judge America by that—counts air pollution and cigarette advertising, and ambulances to clear our highways of carnage. It counts special locks for our doors and the jails for those who break them. It counts the destruction of our redwoods and the loss of our natural wonder in chaotic sprawl. It counts napalm and the cost of a nuclear warhead, and armored cars for police who fight riots in our streets. It counts Whitman's rifle and Speck's knife,³

and the television programs which glorify violence in order to sell toys to our children.

Yet the gross national product does not allow for the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It does not include the beauty of our poetry or the strength of our marriages; the intelligence of our public debate or the integrity of our public officials. It measures neither our wit nor our courage; neither our wisdom nor our learning; neither our compassion nor our devotion to our country; it measures everything, in short, except that which makes life worthwhile. And it can tell us everything about America except why we are proud that we are Americans.

If this is true here at home, so it is true elsewhere in the world. From the beginning, our proudest boast was that we, here in this country, would be the best hope for all of mankind. And now, as we look at the war in Vietnam, we wonder if we still hold a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, and whether they have maintained a decent respect for us, or whether like Athens of old, we will forfeit sympathy and support, and ultimately security, in a single-minded pursuit of our own goals and our own objectives.

IT WAS NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE for Kennedy to return to his car through the throng of students; Jim Tolan, a campaign advance man, remembered: "It was the first time I was ever scared with him. Those kids were out of control. He could have got hurt, they liked him so much." ❖

THE VALUE OF DISSENT

Vanderbilt University

Nashville, Tennessee

MARCH 21, 1968

AFTER THE EXTRAORDINARY CAMPAIGN KICKOFF in Kansas, Kennedy barnstormed through Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee in one day. Campuses, long a favored Kennedy venue, were not as natural a base of

... **W**hy is the most outwardly successful nation in the world so troubled in spirit, so rent by division, so seemingly purposeless and adrift? . . .

*Not
delivered*

First, in this richest of nations, we have allowed the perpetuation of poverty and degradation which can only be described as outrageous. In the ghettos of the great cities are hundreds of thousands of men without work. . . .

But there are others from whom we avert our sight. Some of them are in the hills and hollows of [the] Appalachians. That is proud land and these are proud men, who have rallied to the nation's flag at every hour of danger. But the deep mines are closing, and the jobs have gone, leaving men without work, many of them crippled by the accidents and disease that lurk "down in the mines," their land a ruin of strip mines and stinking creeks. Their children are ravaged by worms and intestinal parasites. They eat bread and gravy and sometimes beans; and as one of them says, when another child is born "we just add a little water to the gravy."

They work, when they can, on governmental projects: projects so meager that there are often no tools to work with—nothing to help them build roads through the mountains but a forked sapling branch like that the first men may have used to till the soil five hundred centuries ago.

And there are others: on the back roads of Mississippi, where thousands of children slowly starve their lives away, their minds damaged beyond repair by the age of four or five; in the camps of the migrant workers, a half million nomads virtually unprotected by collective bargaining or social security, minimum wage or workmen's compensation, exposed to the caprice of fate and the cruelty of their fellow man alike; and on Indian reservations where the unemployment rate is 80 percent, and where suicide is not a philosopher's question, but the leading cause of death among young people.

Only a minority are poor. But poverty affects all of us . . . the facts

of poverty and injustice penetrate to every corner, every suburb and farm in the nation. Their existence is the message of every evening news broadcast, crippling our satisfaction in our ownership of one, or two, or three, of America's seventy million television sets. . . .

Our ideal of America is a nation in which justice is done; and therefore, the continued existence of injustice—of unnecessary, inexcusable poverty in this most favored of nations—this knowledge erodes our ideal of America, our basic sense of who and what we are. It is, in the deepest sense of the word, demoralizing—to all of us.

THE SPEECH WAS NEVER DELIVERED. By late February 1968, Kennedy was readying a challenge to Lyndon Johnson for the presidency, and the trip to Kansas was postponed (it became one of the first presidential campaign stops, and the draft language served as the source of the early portions of Kennedy's March 18 speech at the University of Kansas). Another journey to help the impoverished remained, for in the middle of February, Cesar Chavez began a fast to inspire the farm workers and recommit the struggle to the tenets of nonviolence.

Edelman learned from friends in Delano that the fast was going unnoticed by the national press. Some time after his second week without food or liquids, Chavez's condition increasingly concerned his doctors, who relayed to Kennedy a message that he alone might be able to urge the union leader to eat. Kennedy began to monitor the situation daily, and when Chavez agreed to end the fast (after twenty-five days) on Sunday, March 10, 1968, Kennedy flew west as the only public official invited to join in the Mass of Thanksgiving.

Chavez greeted Kennedy from his bed. The circumstances made both of them awkward ("What do you say to a man who's on a fast?" Kennedy had asked UAW leader Paul Schrade on the way to Delano. "Just say, 'Hello, Cesar,' " Schrade advised), and Kennedy was deeply moved. Accompanying the weakened Chavez to a park, Kennedy was mobbed by some six thousand emotional farm workers who crowded around a flatbed truck holding the makeshift altar. Having lost thirty-five pounds, Chavez was too weak to address the gathering. After Chavez had broken

Spencer

LYNDON JOHNSON:
APPALACHIA
APRIL 24, 1964 & MAY 7, 1964

Table of Contents

- I. HISTORY**
- II. TRIP AGENDAS**
- III. STATISTICS ON APPALACHIA, 1964**
- IV. *NEW YORK TIMES* COVERAGE**
- V. *WASHINGTON POST* COVERAGE**
- VI. LBJ SPEECHES ON APPALACHIA**

I. HISTORY

President Lyndon Baines Johnson: Visit to Appalachia April 1964

Governors of Appalachian states became concerned in the late 1950s with the depressed economic conditions in the Appalachian region. This led to the formation of the Conference of Appalachian Governors on May 20, 1960, at Annapolis, Maryland. The October 18, 1960 conference in Lexington, Kentucky, issued a resolution calling for "a special regional program of development" involving "local, state, and federal governments, and both public and private forces." At the Conference's urging on April 9, 1963, President Kennedy established the President's Appalachian Regional Commission to prepare a plan of action for economic development of the region.

Exactly one year after their creation, the body submitted a report to President Johnson detailing their recommendations for a coordinated program of federal, state, and local investment to solve the problems facing the area. This report described Appalachia as "a region apart — geographically and statistically." It said, "The most serious problems which beset Appalachia are low income, high unemployment, lack of urbanization, low educational achievement, and a comparatively low standard of living." The report served as the inspiration for Johnson's decision to visit the Appalachian region.

On April 24, 1964, President Johnson embarked on a 14-hour non-stop trip, where he traveled through Appalachia — from Pennsylvania to Indiana to Kentucky and finally to West Virginia. This tour exposed the President to various aspects of the region — including large cities, rural villages, industrial centers, and farming communities.

President Johnson's trip came on the heels of his Great Society announcement on April 23, 1964. The visit was a part of Johnson's effort to draw attention to his War on Poverty programs, which sought to include the poor and disenfranchised into mainstream American society on equal grounds.

This trip led to the introduction of Johnson's Appalachian Development Bill of 1964. It was passed in the Senate, but later failed in the House.

President Johnson returned to Appalachia on May 7, 1964. This one-day trip highlighted the anti-poverty campaign the Johnson Administration developed as a result of his first trip. Johnson chose to revisit Appalachia in order to draw attention to a specific example of the War on Poverty, which he proposed earlier in 1964.

The Appalachian Development Bill was re-introduced in 1965, but this time it was enacted into law.

II. TRIP AGENDAS

April 24, 1964

7:07 am	Departed from Washington
8:49 am	Arrived, South Bend, IN
8:55 am	Toured the Cline School to observe the retraining methods under Manpower Development
9:50 am	Traveled to and then toured Bunker Hill
11:45 am	Arrived, Pittsburgh, PA
12:15 pm	Addressed the League of Women Voters and the Pittsburgh Hilton
1:45 pm	Spoke to United Steelworkers of America at Union Hall
4:00 pm	Arrived, Huntington, WV, boards helicopter
4:30 pm	Arrived, Inez, KY, spends about 30 minutes on the porch with the Fletcher family – joined by the Bowen family. Fletcher is an unemployed lumber mill worker, age 38, has 8 children, two of whom are school dropouts
5:35 pm	Helicopter to Paintsville, KY, speaks to 1000 people
6:58 pm	Helicopter back to Huntington, WV
8:50 pm	After a meeting with the governors of the region the President speaks
9:00 pm	Departed for Washington

May 7, 1964

8:12 am	Departed for Cumberland, Maryland
9:14 am	Brief Remarks at Fort Hill High School, Cumberland, Maryland
9:41 am	Department of Employment Building. The President briefly spoke with some unemployed workers receiving their unemployment checks
9:57 am	Remarks at City Hall Plaza, Cumberland, Maryland
10:56 am	Remarks upon arrival at Martinsburg Municipal Airport, West Virginia
11:03 am	Brief Remarks to those greeting him in Lockbourne, Ohio
12:20 pm	Remarks at Ohio University, Athens, Ohio
2:47 pm	Remarks upon arrival in Knoxville, Tennessee
3:38 pm	Remarks at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee
6:05 pm	Remarks at Seymour-Johnson Air Force Base, North Carolina
7:35 pm	Remarks at Rocky Mount Municipal Building, Rocky Mount, North Carolina

III. STATISTICS ON APPALACHIA 1964

INCOME

- Almost one in three families lived on an annual income of \$3,000 or less, elsewhere in America that figure was only one in five.

EMPLOYMENT

- In 1960, there were 380,000 unemployed workers in Appalachia. This represented 7.1% of the Appalachian workforce.
- If the average proportion of Appalachians employed or seeking work equaled the national average, there would have been an additional 700,000 persons in the labor force.
- Unemployment was the result of decline in employment in mining and agriculture. Between 1950 and 1960 those two sectors combined to release 641,000 workers, or more than half of their 1950 workforce.

EDUCATION

- For every 100 persons over 25 years of age elsewhere in the United States, eight have failed to finish five years of school. In Appalachia that figure rose to more than eleven.
- 32 out of every 100 Appalachians over 25 have finished high school, contrasted to almost 42% of similar age in the balance of the US.
- Within its 25 and older population, 23% fewer high school graduates can be found than in the rest of the United States.
- Only five of every 100 people have finished four years of college.
- If the 8.4 million Appalachians over 25 years old were educated to the same degree as their counterparts in the rest of the United States, there would be almost 800,000 more high school and 226,000 more college graduates.

POVERTY

- Savings in Appalachia, as measured by the combination of deposits in commercial banks and savings and loan associations, are \$514 on a per capita basis, compared to the \$920 average for the balance of the United States, a figure almost 80% higher.
- In Appalachia, 26.6% of the homes need major repairs and 7.5% are in such a dilapidated condition that they endanger the health and safety of the families.
- In Appalachia, the percentage of total population receiving Federal assistance is 45% above the figure for the rest of the Nation.
- Between 1950-60, more than 2 million more people left the region than moved in.
- Appalachia is more than 50% rural, but less than 10% farming.

Source: Appalachia: A Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission 1964

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Associated Press Wirephoto

CENTER OF ATTRACTION: President Johnson is surrounded by crowd in South Bend, Ind. Visit to the city was one of many stops on Mr. Johnson's five-state tour.

PRESIDENT HAILED ON 5-STATE TOUR OF POVERTY AREAS

4/25/64

Sounds Appeals for Support
in Drive on Deprivation—
Visits Mountain Cabins

14-HOUR NONSTOP DAY

Police Are Upset as Johnson
Shakes Hands in Throngs
—Rights Law Pledged

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

HUNTINGTON, W. Va., April 24—President Johnson stumped through pockets of poverty today, campaigning like a candidate on election eve.

He came to talk poverty, not politics, he insisted.

But somewhere along the way, the roars of the mammoth crowds turned his scheduled poverty tour into a political triumph.

South Bend mobbed him. Pittsburgh hailed him. And people from some of the poorest areas of West Virginia and Kentucky came out of the greening hills and coves to tell him their stories of hard luck.

His five-state swing, lasting from daybreak in Chicago until after 9 P.M. in the mountains of West Virginia, left policemen and other security officers shaken. Bareheaded and smiling, the President repeatedly plunged into the screaming crowds, shaking every hand in sight.

President Renews Pledge

Speaking under a bright moon at the Huntington Airport, the President again pledged to erase poverty in America.

"Today I took a trip that should be unnecessary," he told several hundred persons gathered to see him off.

Mr. Johnson said he would soon send a message to Congress asking for action to implement the Appalachia anti-poverty program.

The President then again shook hands with all within reach—as he had been doing all day—and stepped into his jet plane, Air Force I, for the trip back to Washington, ending a 14-hour nonstop day.

In Pittsburgh, where the police estimated the crowds at a quarter million, the President left his closed car and climbed into a convertible carrying Secret Service men.

Time after time, as his motorcade crawled through 17th-

Continued on Page 10, Column 3

CITY TO FIGHT USE OF WATER UPSTATE

D'Angelo Says He Won't Let
Ruppert Draw Supply in
Carmel Despite Law

By CHARLES G. BENNETT

Water Commissioner Armand D'Angelo declared yesterday that he would fight in court every effort of the state to enforce a new law requiring the city to deliver additional water to the town of Carmel, N. Y.

In what was seen at City Hall as outright defiance of the law, the Commissioner said that he would "not connect the New York City water supply system" to the mains of Ruppert's Brewery if and when the brewery moves to Carmel.

Governor Rockefeller signed the bill on Thursday despite a city request that he veto it. In so doing Mr. Rockefeller cleared the way for Ruppert to move from Manhattan to the Putnam County town.

He Assails Governor

Yesterday Mr. D'Angelo assailed the Governor for "setting private profit ahead of the public interest."

Under the new law, Carmel would be permitted to take up to two million gallons of water daily from the city's conduits passing through Putnam County. Until now, Carmel had been taking only 275,000 gallons a day.

Mr. D'Angelo condemned the passage of the law as "immoral,

Rights Jury Plan Offered By Mansfield and Dirksen

By F. W. KENWORTHY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 24—The Democratic and Republican leaders of the Senate today offered an amendment to the civil rights bill that would provide a limited right to jury trial in cases of criminal contempt.

The amendment was introduced by Senators Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, and Everett McKinley Dirksen, Republican of Illinois. It went part way—but not very far—toward meeting Southern demands.

The amendment provides that a person accused of willfully disobeying a court order relating to the anti-discrimination provisions of the proposed law could be tried with or without a jury at the discretion of the judge.

The amendment provides also, however, that if the accused were tried without a jury and found guilty, he could not be fined more than \$300 or imprisoned more than 30 days.

Hopeful of Vote Soon

Senator Dirksen said that he and Senator Mansfield had discussed the amendment with several colleagues and with representatives of the Justice Department.

"I trust it will be agreeable to everybody," Mr. Dirksen said.

Senator Mansfield expressed the hope that the amendment could be voted on next Tuesday. This would be the first voting on the bill passed by the House on Feb. 10 after nine days of debate. The Senate has

SOME HOTELS ACT TO OUST TENANTS

Raise Rents of Permanent
Guests as Much as 50%
to Get Tourist Trade

By JOSEPH LEIYVELD

Some hotels are raising rates for their permanent guests because of the rush for rooms brought on by the World's Fair.

The increases range from 10 to 50 per cent. In some cases, according to reports, hotels have offered to pay the expenses of those who decide to move out—and thus clear the way for the more lucrative tourist trade.

The only hotel residents escaping the increases are those with leases or those who are protected by rent control. A spokesman for the City's Rent and Rehabilitation Administration explained yesterday that the controls apply only to hotel tenants who have lived continuously in the same place since Dec. 2, 1949.

For the rest, he said, "there is no legal recourse—there's no

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New York Times

April 24 —
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The New York Times

April 25, 1964

WHIRLWIND TOUR: President Johnson left Chicago (1) for South Bend (2), Peru, Ind. (3), Pittsburgh (4), Huntington, W. Va. (5), Inez (6) and Paintsville, Ky. (7). He returned to Huntington and flew to Washington.

President Is Hailed by Throngs On 5-State Tour of Poor Areas

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

burgh's South Side steel mill area, Mr. Johnson stepped out of the car to shake hands. Extra policemen, with the sirens on their vehicles wide open, rushed toward him when they feared there might be trouble.

At one point the President climbed up on the trunk of the convertible. Someone thrust a bull horn at him and he made a speech.

"We must get rid of poverty," he shouted. "I need your help."

That was his theme there, as jobless men in frayed undershirts leaned out of upstairs windows over stores to hear what he had to say. And it was his theme throughout the day, at airports and in open fields, in a plush hotel ballroom, in a courthouse square and in a hot, stuffy union hall basement.

The aim of his antipoverty program, the President told steelworkers in Pittsburgh, is quite simple:

"A little house with a picture on the wall and a rug on the floor and music in the home."

He saw for himself, as he helicoptered into impoverished eastern Kentucky, that some homes had neither pictures nor rugs.

He drove up a mountainside to visit two families living in shacks on the banks of the slow, winding Rock Castle Creek.

The Tom Fletcher family—the parents and eight children

as well as eradication of poverty, the President appealed to steel workers in Pittsburgh to try to understand the demonstrations taking place in the streets of many cities.

"There are times you may be irritated, times when you may be frustrated," he said, "but the best way to sober up from that hangover is to put yourself in the other fellow's place."

He promised a civil rights bill "if it takes all summer."

"And we don't want any Democratic label on it," he said. "We want it to be an American bill."

Mr. Johnson also declared: "The war on poverty is not a Democratic job or a Republican job. We must do it together."

The President's long day began at 5:30 A.M. in his suite at the Conrad Hilton Hotel along Chicago's lake front. Within two hours he was going full steam and he never lagged a moment all day.

Everywhere he went, with Mrs. Johnson close by his side, he drew shrieking crowds, waving campaign posters.

Thousands broke through a rope barricade in South Bend and almost swept him off his feet. One teen-age girl fainted, others in the crowd were slightly trampled.

"This is the best welcome I've had since West Berlin," the President said. He received an enthusiastic West Berlin reception in 1961, shortly after the wall went up.

SOME HOTELS ACT TO OUST TENANTS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

tion and Visitors Bureau and the fair's Housing Bureau to control the rates for transients—but not permanent guests. Mr. Inch said.

Similar increases occurred when the 1939 fair opened, he continued. "Two weeks after it opened, the hotels were crying to get their people back," he said.

The hotels involved are a cut or two below the de luxe category.

At the Claridge Hotel at Broadway and 44th Street, Herbert Muller, the manager, said the increase ranged to 50 per cent.

He cited the case of one large room where the weekly rate on the first of the month will go from \$28 to \$42. Despite rising costs, the rate on the room had not gone up in four years, Mr. Muller said.

If the permanent resident decides to vacate the room, Mr. Muller said, he would be able to get twice as much—\$12 a night—from tourists. So far, he added, two of the 35 permanent guests have moved out.

The Claridge, its manager said, lost \$50,000 last year. Its level of occupancy ranged from 26 to 50 per cent.

"All the hotels around here are in the same boat," Mr. Muller said. "I can say without fear of contradiction that there wasn't a hotel in this area that didn't lose as much as we did. Some of them are months behind on their bills from their purveyors."

Mr. Inch said he doubted that many tourists would be willing to pay \$10 to \$15 a night for some of the rooms that would be going on the market when the permanent guests move. In any case, he said, "comes October, those hotels will be missing their old people pretty badly."

In most cases, it seems, the hotels have told their guests that the increases were forced by rising maintenance and labor costs. They do not mention the fair. But when pressed, they concede that it was the fair that made it possible for them to institute the rises.

John Thomas, an actor who has been living at the Shelton Towers Hotel, 49th Street and Lexington Avenue for 12 years, said that his weekly rent would go from \$23 to \$33 on May 1. His room, he said, has no bath.

Shriver, in B A German Po

Special to THE NE

BONN, April 24 — Shriver urged university student "make your own peace" by joining German Peace.

The director of States Peace (to confer with) on the organization counterpart to aid organization Development Se

"The Peace shown itself as overcoming the religion, race differences," students.

The German ed in the present Kennedy open its first at München-Gla

had a better viewments."

"What hurts, who lives in Hotel at Broadway Street, 'is' that it's for painting when they know that they haven't to your room in

The only solution, said M be rent control. of these rooms, control," he "Thank God."

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who had offered speaker on the league's condition that he needed war on poverty. hat it was his id would ever This is not my

is goal, he said the help of races, colors, parties and "all is."

J. Stuart of is the league's Other officers y include Mrs. d of Blandens- Mrs. William S. an, Okla., first residents; Mrs. Ormond Beach, and Mrs. Hans- of Hartsdale,

**pointments
Health Posts**

(24 AP)—Dr. errence was ap- o succeed Dr. st deputy com- State Depart- l Hygiene, at

return to his or of Pilgrim t West Brent- errence has been loner for pro- tion, at \$25,000 be succeeded in r. Herman B. t Hudson River t Poughkeepsie, is \$21,500.

C. Lang, asso- ner for commu- s appointed as- loner for men- e salary in both 000. . Miller, associate ons research at stitute of Men- heads, Md., was e commissioner services, also at

He drove up a mountainside to visit two families living in shacks on the banks of the slow, winding Rock Castle Creek.

The Tom Fletcher family—the parents and eight children—were on the porch of their three-room tarpaper-covered house to greet him. The Noah Bowens and their three children came over from the shack next door.

The President sat down on a pile of lumber and talked long and hard to Mr. Fletcher, an unemployed sawmill worker who earned \$400 last year.

"Don't forget now," the President told Mr. Fletcher, "I want you to keep those kids in school."

Spectators Crowd Towns

Tired-looking men, in faded dungarees, and their families crowded into the town of Inez and Paintsville to see the President. Both towns are in Republican strongholds.

Despite the obvious political overtones of the day, President Johnson insisted that it was all nonpolitical. And in some ways it was.

Two Republican Senators, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, were in the President's party as were Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges and his Under Secretary, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony Celebrezze.

Speaking out for civil rights

slightly trampled. "This is the best welcome I've had since West Berlin," the President said. He received an enthusiastic West Berlin reception in 1961, shortly after the wall went up.

In South Bend, which was badly crippled by the shutdown of the Studebaker auto assembly plant last December, the Johnsons visited a center where adults, including many former auto workers, are being trained for new skills.

"Today," the President said later to a League of Women Voters convention in Pittsburgh, "I saw proof in South Bend that the war on poverty can be won. I saw a city that is fighting back."

His face sunburned from the long day's outing, the President conferred in the early evening in Huntington with Governors of seven of the nine states taking part in the planned Appalachia program to erase poverty.

Represented were West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia and Maryland. The Governors of Pennsylvania and Alabama were not present.

The President had swung through three of the Appalachia states—Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky—during the day.

President Lands in Capital

WASHINGTON, April 24 (UPI) — President Johnson's plane landed at Washington's National Airport at 10:30 tonight.

**House Panel Will Study
Military Commissaries**

WASHINGTON, April 24 (UPI)—The House Armed Services Committee, which thought it had settled the commissary problem more than a decade ago, will look into it again, Carl Vinson, Democrat of Georgia, said today.

The committee in 1949 laid

down ground rules supposed to limit this operation of military supermarkets in the United States to isolated stations. In 1953 Congress wrote a similar curb into law.

The General Accounting Office charged last week that the military had failed to close any of the 210 grocery stores it was operating at cut-rate prices in this country in 1953.

John Thomas, an actor who has been living at the Shelton Towers Hotel, 49th Street and Lexington Avenue for 12 years, said that his weekly rent would go from \$23 to \$33 on May 1. His room, he said, has no bath.

Mr. Thomas said he thought the Hotel Association should concern itself with the treatment of permanent guests as well as tourists.

At Rotherberg, the desk clerk at the Times Square Hotel on 43d Street and Eighth Avenue, said the rates for permanent guests there had risen 12 to 15 per cent. He said many improvements had recently been made.

A tenant at another hotel

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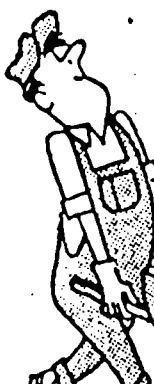
The Sierra Leone Pavilion, TI

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HOME IMPROVEMENT LOANS

**NEW
LOW RATE**

\$4.25 per year per \$100,
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SITTING IN: Former President Harry S. Truman visits with President Johnson during White House news conference. A picture of President Kennedy is behind Mr. Johnson.

United Press International Telephoto

PRESIDENT TO ASK A BILLION IN AID FOR APPALACHIA

4/26/64

Congress Will Get Program Tomorrow for Assistance to Depressed Region

PUBLIC WORKS PLANNED

Other Proposals to Include Power Plants, Training and Research on Coal Uses

Transcript of news conference will be found on Page 64.

By JACK RAYMOND
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—President Johnson will send to Congress Monday a plan to spend nearly a billion dollars to help the poverty-stricken Appalachian region.

The President, who announced the program today at a news conference, said the plan would provide \$220 million in the coming fiscal year. [Opening Statement, Question 10, Page 64.]

It will include proposals for new power plants, based on the experience of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

It will include a variety of work projects, presumably similar to those of the New Deal era.

Gives Preview of Plan

It will also include a road building program and efforts to find new uses for coal. It will provide for food stamps, retraining of workers, re-education and medical care.

The President gave a detailed preview of his plan for which, he said, legislation was urgent. He spoke of the need to help the people of the area, stressing that "the full impact" of their plight had been brought home to him in his inspection tour yesterday. The President, who returned

KHRUSHCHEV HAILS VISITING BEN BELLA

Greets Algerian President as 'Comrade' on Arrival for First Soviet Tour

By HENRY TANNER
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, April 25—President Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria received a rousing welcome today on his first visit to the Soviet Union.

Premier Khrushchev and most of the other top leaders were standing at the bottom of the ramp as the Algerian leader descended from his Soviet-built aircraft. Guns boomed a salute, an honor guard paraded and a formation of jets swished low overhead.

Greek Cypriotes Overrun Positions Of Turks at Pass

By W. GRANGER BLAIR
Special to The New York Times

KYRENIA PASS, Cyprus, April 25—Greek Cypriote security forces overran Turkish Cypriote mountain positions early today and seized vital terrain just west of the Turkish Cypriote stronghold of St. Hilarion Castle above the Kyrenia Pass.

A United Nations spokesman said at least six Turkish Cypriotes had been killed and six wounded and two were missing in the surprise night assault high in the Kyrenia Mountains. He placed the Greek Cypriote casualties at one dead and one wounded.

It was the most serious military challenge yet to Turkish

GORE FINDS FLAWS IN RIGHTS MEASURE

Liberal Sees Potential Peril —Position Disappointing to Advocates of Closure

By JOHN D. MORRIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 25—A Southern Senator who voted for the civil rights bills of 1957 and 1960 assailed provisions of the pending measure today as "seriously defective and potentially dangerous."

Albert Gore of Tennessee, long a member of the Democratic party's liberal wing, declared in a Senate speech that he could not support the bill in its present form. He concentrated his attack

erious mili- he could not support the bill in its present form.
to Turkish He concentrated his attack on Title VI of the bill. This
ie strategic authorizes the withholding of
he Nicosia- Federal funds from programs
in which racial discrimination
is practiced. The Senator said
it might be used as a form of
political reprisal.
From the nature and extent
of his criticism, it seemed un-
likely that the bill would be re-
vised sufficiently to satisfy him.

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A two-thirds majority of Sen-
ators present and voting is re-
quired to invoke closure, and
the bill's managers have so far
been unable to line up the nec-
essary votes.
If all 100 Senators partici-
pated, 67 votes would be required.
The bipartisan managers as yet
have been unable to count as
many as 60 advocates of closure.
Until today, their list of possible
recruits had included Senator
Gore. His name, however, had
a question mark affixed.
Mr. Gore opposed closure
when an unsuccessful attempt
was made to limit debate on
the 1960 bill, which was passed
when Southern opponents vol-
untarily stopped talking. De-
spite this, the civil rights

Continued on Page 41, Column 3

red

More Advertising Is Urged in Soviet

By THEODORE SHABAD
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, April 25 — Does
the Soviet Union's planned econ-
omy need advertising? An em-
phatic yes has appeared in
Izvestia, the Government news-
paper.

Reporting on a survey of ad-
vertising needs and facilities,
the newspaper called for a sys-
tem of billboards, posters and
other promotion methods to
help the consumer make up his
mind.

Izvestia said growing con-
sumer choice in the Soviet
Union pointed to the need for
a Government-run advertising
agency that would employ "not
only artists and designers but

yesterday.

The President, who returned
late yesterday from a 14-hour
tour of five states afflicted with
pockets of poverty, said he had
worked "all through the night
and this morning" on his Ap-
palachia legislative proposals.

Truman Alongside Him

At the same time, the Presi-
dent spoke with confidence and
pride of the country's general
economic outlook. He gave new
figures on various economic in-
dicators to show that business
was booming and prices were
stable.

Sitting with him behind his
desk at the White House were,
on his right, former President
Harry S. Truman, and, on his
left, J. Frank Dobie, a Texas
writer and English professor
who was a White House guest.

Mr. Dobie said not a word
throughout the conference, at
which reporters stood in a
crowd facing the desk as in the
administration of Franklin D.

Continued on Page 64, Column 7

Today's Sections

- Section 1 (3 Parts) News
- Section 2 Drama, Screen, Music, TV
Radio, Stamps
- Section 3 Financial and Business
- Section 4 Review of the Week
- Section 5 Sports
- Section 6 Magazine
- Section 7 (Part 2) Men's Wear
- Section 8 Book Review
- Section 9 Real Estate
- Section 10 Employment Advertising
- Section 11 Resorts and Travel
- Section 12 Advertising
- Section 13 Advertising
- Section 14 Advertising
- Section 15 Gardens

*Included in all copies in the New York
metropolitan area and adjacent territory.

Index to Subjects

Section	Page
Art	2
Book Review	21-23
Boating	7
Bridge	16-19
Camera	27
Chess	27
Coins	2
Dance	19
Drama	26-27
Editorials	2
Education	16
Events Today	2
Fashions	1-9
Financial and Business	6
Food	84-85
Gardens	3
Home Fashions	6
Home Repairs	89
Letters to the Editor	14
Music	6
New Summary & Index	94-95
Obituaries	14
Puzzles	11
Radio-TV	4
Real Estate	10
Records	2
Resorts	23-25

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Republican Briefings

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Q. Sir, on that point, is it possible for you to tell us some of these other areas in general terms, without saying what might happen, how you can identify—

A. Well, we have the aviation, the consular agreements, we have—I don't think any purpose would be served by talking about them. We have talked about exchanges of various kinds, and our allies, with all of whom I have talked, including the British, Germans, the Canadians, Mexicans, and many dozens of others that I have seen.

One of the first subjects on all of our minds, and in all of our conversations, is how can we secure peace in our time, in this world—what can we do about it. We are searching for ways and means to reach agreements that will lessen tensions and promote peace.

12. Trade

Q. How about trade, Mr. President? If some of our allies go ahead with long-term credits, are we ready to go into business with some of the Communist countries?

A. Our Foreign Relations Committee, I am glad to say, is now exploring the subject of increasing our trade, the extent of our trade, and the exchanges with the Soviet Union and Communist countries. I think it is a very helpful thing to have the committee do that. We are following their activity with a great deal of interest. We welcome any proposals. We will consider them, as we did the wheat proposal, and act upon them in accordance with what we believe to be the national interest, depending on the proposal and the time.

13. Submarines

Q. Mr. President, I understand that your status-of-women program is about to go under water, that you are about to name some submarines after women. I wonder if you consulted with the Navy officers about this to get their reaction?

A. No, I would have no objection, but I made no recommendation. My impression reading the story was that the wish was father to the thought. I have no objection to it, and probably would, but the last time I requested a recommendation, I made the recommendation to be named after the great Secretary of State and Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson.

Q. I wondered how the Navy men felt about it? A. I have made no recommendation since, and I was totally unaware of what I was about to do until I saw that. As I must say, I frequently am.

14. Cuba

Q. Mr. President, if we are able to expand our trade with Russia or any of the other members of the Communist bloc, will this make it more difficult for us to persuade our allies to keep the economic squeeze on Cuba? A. I can answer the second part of your question after we get the answer to the first one, and that

PRESIDENT TO ASK APPALACHIAN AID

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

Roosevelt. Mr. Truman, at the invitation of President Johnson, limited himself to some joshing remarks after confirming an earlier serious observation.

That earlier Truman comment, given as he entered the White House for a luncheon date with the President, was that he felt Mr. Johnson "takes too many chances by mixing with crowds."

The observation was prompted by the President's experience yesterday, when he was engulfed by crowds at South Bend, Ind., and pushed around somewhat.

The question of the President's safety was the first one in the news conference. Mr. Johnson, speaking softly, expressed gratitude over the concern for his safety but added that he tried to be reasonably prudent.

"Of course, if I stayed in this room all the time and it was guarded around by a section of guards there would be less danger than there is if you go out and address a public meeting," he said.

But, the President said, he "is still going to speak to the people of this country and necessarily is going to associate with them."

The President also announced the cancellation of a May 1 deadline on the choice of a manufacturer to develop the country's first supersonic transport plane. The first designs were inadequate, he said, and there will be further studies. [Opening statement.]

It was his fourth full-dress news conference in nine days, and Mr. Johnson answered questions with a flood of detail, using memorandums on his desk for amplification.

He was so expansive he continued the conference for 16 minutes after a reporter first signaled the passing of half an hour with the traditional "Thank you, Mr. President."

Even then, he introduced his daughter Lynda Bird, and jokingly suggesting she might want to answer some questions. Miss Johnson said she had come to greet President Truman.

While there was virtually no discussion of politics during the news conference—the President stressed again that he would not name his choice for Vice-Presidential nominee on the Democratic ticket until the party convention in August [Question 9: There was plenty of "off-the-record" discussion with newsmen by two of the President's aides.]

Mr. Truman, for example, was in characteristic form as he was interviewed as he entered the White House. The 79-year-old former President had walked to the mansion from Blair House, the official guest

house, where he had spent the night.

Johnson is going to be elected to a four-year term in November," he said, "maybe by 2 to 1."

Asked whom he thought the Republicans would nominate, Mr. Truman replied: "I don't know what the Republicans are doing and I don't give a damn." [Another visitor to the White House this morning was Gov. Edmund Brown of California. He told the reporters he thought that Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona probably would win the Republican primary race in his state.]

The votes that would have gone to Harold E. Stassen, ruled off the Republican primary ticket, probably will be picked up by Governor Rockefeller, Governor Brown said.

Reuther a Visitor

Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, also visited President Johnson this morning. Mr. Reuther said they had discussed the union's own program for fighting poverty in addition to the President's antipoverity program.

While he and his union support the President's program, Mr. Reuther said, it was not considered enough. Therefore, the union is organizing a "citizens' crusade against poverty" and had allocated \$1.1 million for that purpose, Mr. Reuther said.

Mr. Johnson enthusiastically supported this private program, he added.

The President was asked afterward what he thought of criticism of his antipoverity program on the ground that it was not enough. [Question 21.]

Stressing that he had Congressional critics in mind, Mr. Johnson said that he wished the recalcitrant members of Congress would help get the initial measure through, even if they considered it inadequate, and then perhaps it would be possible to achieve greater goals.

The President said also, in response to a question, that he had made no commitments to either side in the settlement of the railroad labor dispute. [Question 22.]

He had promised, he said, a "fair and reasonable" response to whatever complaints about the Government any of the participants in the dispute might have.

Yale Law School Raises \$3 Million in Fund Drive

Special to The New York Times
NEW HAVEN, April 25 — Yale University Law School has raised \$3,070,000 in its capital funds campaign, Roger M. Blough, chairman of the drive, announced today at the Alumni Day luncheon. The goal is \$5,100,000.

The funds are to be used to increase student scholarships and faculty salaries and to expand the law library in books and facilities.

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PRESIDENT'S TOUR DRAMATIZED ISSUE

Campaigning, Too, Played
Role in Poverty Journey

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

HUNTINGTON, W. Va., April 25—His place in history was apparently very much on President Johnson's mind as he moved out among the people yesterday.

"I don't want to be remembered as a can't-do man," he told a crowd in Pittsburgh. He had gone out to see for himself what he had been talking so much about—the poverty in the midst of plenty.

He saw the poverty—some ragged, weary men slouched in front of pool halls in Pittsburgh's South Side; a family of 10 living in a three-room shack, perched on wooden pilings, deep in mountainous eastern Kentucky.

By seeing, he dramatized the issue in a way that he could not have done sitting in his oval office at the White House. Everywhere he went, among the comfortably well-off and among the poor, he hammered home his message: "We must work together to rid America of poverty."

Hears Frenzied Cheers

But more than poverty, he saw people and heard their frenzied cheers and he knew that his efforts to create a Presidential image all his own had succeeded.

The five-state tour was not his first foray into the country since becoming President last November. He had been home to Texas many times and had been to California and New York, St. Louis and Chicago.

But this was the first time he had spent a full day campaigning among the people. For campaigning it was, despite his insistence that he was not politicking.

"This is not a political trip," he told a crowd at Pittsburgh. "We'll talk a little politics in Atlantic City [scene of the Democratic National Convention this summer] and then have a speech or two between now and November."

It was the understatement of the day.

More Like October

"My calendar must be wrong," Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz commented, as he watched the President impulsively shaking off worried Secret Service agents and plunging into teeming crowds to shake hands. "This looks like October, not April."

With no attempt to pace himself, he had time for only a hamburger from early morning until late at night. The President raced by airplane, automobile and helicopter across five states: Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky.

Alternately exuberant, homespun, sentimental, humble, determined and quietly reflective, he spoke without notes everywhere he went. And, everywhere, he spoke of poverty.

"We are going to drive poverty underground."

"One unemployed worker is one too many in this rich, great society."

"No American family should settle for anything less than three warm meals a day, a right to criticize."

warm house, a good education for their children, a house of worship where they can go and worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and sometimes simply to plain enjoy life."

Talks of Achievements

But he talked of other things, too. He recited his achievements in getting bills through Congress. He frequently mentioned the settlement this week of the five-year-old railroad dispute. He pledged to get the civil rights bill through Congress if it took all summer.

"I am trying so hard," he plaintively told a crowd of steelworkers in Pittsburgh.

And later: "I would give anything I have not to be here in the position that I am in here today, but since I have this awesome responsibility, I am going to do the best I can by it."

It was in the same reflective, introspective mood that he made clear that the cheers of the day's crowds were not enough to assure him of a place in history. "If my Administration thinks only of yesterday and today," he told a Pittsburgh crowd, "I shall have been a failure. What I want to think of and what I want to be remembered for is that every child whether he is born of poor parents, in a poor neighborhood, will have good opportunities."

NEWSPAPER CLEARED OF LIBEL ACCUSATION

MARSHALL, Mich., April 25 (UPI)—Calhoun County Circuit Judge Creighton H. Coleman dismissed today a \$1 million libel suit against The Battle Creek Enquirer & News and upheld the right of a newspaper to criticize.

It was believed to be the first case decided since the United States Supreme Court last March 9 ruled that public officials must prove that statements by publications were made with malice.

The suit was filed by former Battle Creek City Commissioners Stanley L. Brock, Raymond M. Turner and Jack Wilson and Commissioner Harry Wilkins Jr. against Federated Publications, Inc., publishers of the Enquirer & News; Hobart Chipman, its editor, and an editorial writer.

They charged that the newspaper defamed them in a series of editorials criticizing city liquor policy. The commissioners approved a liquor license application over the objections of its own liquor committee and the city police, only to have the application later rejected by the State Liquor Control Commission.

Mr. Coleman cited the Supreme Court decision in The New York Times v. Sullivan case.

"The New York Times case decided as a matter of thorough constitutional law that a public official may not recover for a defamatory falsehood relating to his official conduct unless it was proved the statement was made with actual malice, with knowledge it was false and with reckless disregard to whether it was false or not," he said.

"The editorial did imply that plaintiffs 'discredited' themselves and did criticize plaintiffs as to their vote on the issues in this question. This language, however, and implication is not libelous."

"Certainly a newspaper has a right to criticize."

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PRESIDENT SPURS DRIVE ON POVERTY IN SIX-STATE TOUR

Says Conscience of Nation
Must Become Aroused to
Conditions of Poor

By TOM WICKER

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 7 — President Johnson, echoing Franklin D. Roosevelt at every stop, paraded his antipoverty campaign through six Appalachian states today. But he aimed his message at the nation.

Mr. Johnson got an overwhelming reception, particularly in Knoxville, Tenn. His visit to that state was only his second trip into the South since he became President.

But there was nothing regional about the message Mr. Johnson gave everywhere he went today.

"We will not win our war against poverty until the conscience of the entire nation is aroused," he said in a speech from the steps of the Cumberland, Md., City Hall. "We will not succeed until every citizen regards the suffering of neighbors as a call to action."

'Poverty Hides Its Face'

Later, in a campus speech at Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, he said:

"Poverty hides its face behind a mask of affluence. But I call upon you to help me go out there and unmask it, take that mask off of that face of affluence and let the world see what we have, and let the world do something about it."

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CAMPUS SPEAKER: President Johnson discusses the antipoverty pro-

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Malcolm X Pleased
By Whites' Attitude
On Trip to Mecca

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a New York friend in a letter from Saudi Arabia that he will return to the United States in two weeks with new positive insights on race relations.

The Black Nationalist leader said he had gained them from his religious experience in Mecca, the holy city of Islam. He said that for the first time in his life he had felt no racial antagonism to

JOB-RIGHT ACCORD
GAINS IN SENATE

Change in Bill Would Allow
Suits by U.S. if 'Massive
Resistance' Is Evident

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 7 — The outlines of a satisfactory compromise on the controversial fair employment practices section of the civil rights bill began to take shape today.

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'Poverty Hides Its Face'

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"Poverty hides its face behind a mask of affluence. But I call upon you to help me go out there and unmask it, take that mask off of that face of affluence and let the world see what we have, and let the world do something about it."

In the same speech, he urged the young people who made up most of his audience "to go out of here with great resolve."

"I know we live in an age when it is considered correct to play it cool, when it is right to be reserved, when it is not good form to show great faith," the President said. "But I believe with Emerson that no great work is ever achieved without enthusiasm."

"Our challenge, not tomorrow, but today, is to accomplish objectives which have eluded mankind since the beginning of time."

Lists His Objectives

These objectives, Mr. Johnson said, include the rebuilding of cities, clean air, pure rivers, insuring "equal justice to all our citizens," the elimination of poverty or illiteracy or disease.

The President moved quickly through stops at Cumberland, Martinsburg, W. Va., Athens, Knoxville, and Rocky Mount, N. C.

One of the most tumultuous welcomes given him was at an unscheduled stop at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville.

Mr. Johnson flew here tonight to rest before two appearances in Georgia tomorrow.

The President saw no politics, heard no politics, and spoke no politics on this day of jet flights, helicopter leaps and mo-

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

Malcolm X Pleased By Whites' Attitude On Trip to Mecca

By M. S. HANDLER

Malcolm X has informed a New York friend in a letter from Saudi Arabia that he will return to the United States in two weeks with new, positive insights on race relations.

The Black Nationalist leader said he had gained them from his religious experience in Mecca, the holy city of Islam. He said that for the first time in his life he had felt no racial antagonism toward whites nor had he sensed any antagonism on their part against him.

The letter from Mecca, dated April 25, described how he had arrived at his new insights on race relations while on a pilgrimage.

'All Colors and Ranks'

"There are Muslims of all colors and ranks here in Mecca from all parts of this earth," he wrote.

"During the past seven days of this holy pilgrimage, while undergoing the rituals of the hajj [pilgrimage], I have eaten from the same plate, drank from the same glass, slept on the same bed or rug, while praying to the same God—not only with some of this earth's most powerful kings, cabinet members, potentates and other forms of political and religious rulers—but also with fellow-Muslims whose skin was the whitest of white, whose eyes were the bluest of blue, and whose hair was the blondest of blond—yet it was the first time in my life that I didn't see them as 'white' men. I could look into their

Continued on Page 38, Column 1

JOB-RIGHT ACCORD GAINS IN SENATE

Change in Bill Would Allow
Suits by U.S. if 'Massive
Resistance' Is Evident

By E. W. KENWORTHY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 7—The outlines of a satisfactory compromise on the controversial fair employment practices section of the civil rights bill began to take shape today.

The essence of the compromise — if it can be agreed upon — would be a provision authorizing the Attorney General or the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity to initiate legal proceedings to obtain compliance with the law where there was an evident pattern of "massive resistance."

This was the fourth consecutive day that Senate leaders, the floor managers and captains of the bill and officials of the Justice Department had met in the office of Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen to discuss the proposed amendments of the Republican leader.

Today's conference was devoted to the 11 amendments Mr. Dirksen has offered to Title VII, which bans discrimination by employers and unions.

The most controversial of these amendments goes to the heart of the title. It involves the crucial question of enforcement.

Under the provisions of the House-passed bill, the five-member Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity is empowered to initiate a suit

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PRESIDENT SPURS DRIVE ON POVERTY

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torcades over the Eastern half of the nation.

Nevertheless, as he shook hands with thousands, drove through crowded streets, and offered his pledges to end poverty, the tour took on a campaign atmosphere.

Without mentioning Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the favorite for the Republican Presidential nomination, or former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, another Republican possibility, President Johnson jabbed at both.

With effortless ease, he evoked cheers by quoting former President Roosevelt—still an idol in most of these states—and identifying the poverty program with the New Deal.

Those who opposed the New Deal and his own plan to improve the economic conditions of Appalachia, Mr. Johnson said in Knoxville, are men "who would turn the American dream into a nightmare."

The six states Mr. Johnson appeared in today have a total of 79 electoral votes. All 10 Appalachian states have 139 electoral votes.

It was in Knoxville that Mr. Johnson saw the face of poverty today.

On Riverside Drive, in the city's blighted Mountain View area, he stopped at No. 224 for a chat with the family of Harrison Moore, who is disabled and no longer works. Mr. Moore, his wife and several neighbors sat on the front porch as the President got out of his car and walked up to shake hands.

"There's the President!"

A man standing on the sidewalk ran up and down, shouting excitedly:

"There's the President! There he is! There's the President!"

Next door to No. 224, the President went up on the porch of the Riverside Apartments. He spoke there to an elderly woman who was holding a baby in her arms. The woman told

Johnson's Daughter Proves a Deft Campaigner

*She Goes on Poverty Tour,
Shaking Hands and Giving
Talks Like a Veteran*

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 7.—Political blood runs deep in the Johnson family of Texas and it began to appear today that there was plenty in the veins of Lynda Bird Johnson, aged 20.

Wearing springlike green and a constant smile, Miss Johnson was at her father's side today as he spoke in six poverty-scarred states. At most stops she spoke briefly, evoked big cheers, and shook hands like a veteran campaigner.

She stood with her father on the back of a convertible at a stop before thousands of students at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville. The President introduced her as follows: "I've been teaching her for about 19 years now and she's supposed to know how to talk to you college boys."

As Miss Johnson, a pretty brunette, took the microphone, a stentorian male voice shouted: "Here's where the boys are!"

She then observed that the University of Tennessee and the University of Texas have lots in common, including the colors orange and white.

Except for Football

"I don't know about your football team . . ." she said. At this point a great laugh went up, since the University of Texas was the top-ranked football team in the nation last year.

At the first appearance of the day, in a football stadium at Cumberland, Md., Miss Johnson tossed off a speech so easily that her father appeared to be telling her to cut it short so he could go on.

The stands were filled primarily with high school students and she explained to them why she was not in class at George Washington University.

She is getting, she said, "a

husband worked "on and off" said she received \$44 a week for her family of three children. She was holding 6-month-old



United Press International

Lynda Bird Johnson offers one of her flowers to Little, 6, at the City Hall in Cumberland, Md., stop in President Johnson's tour of Appalachia.

cram course in economics, in Johnson fans, lined sociology, in history and geography. They wanted Mr. raphy, not the least to say hand to shake but physical fitness trying to keep minutes his daughter up with my father." an adequate substitute

At Lockbourne Air Force Base near Columbus, Ohio, while her father busied himself pumping the hands of local politicians, Miss Johnson walked alone, except for a security guard, to the airport fence and started shaking hands.

A crowd of about 3,000 Ohioans, all apparently devout

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But the closest Mr. Johnson with him said it had himself came to the political used in a recent spe

wife and several neighbors sat on the front porch as the President got out of his car and walked up to shake hands.

'There's the President!'

A man standing on the sidewalk ran up and down, shouting excitedly:

"There's the President! There he is! There's the President!"

Next door to No. 224, the President went up on the porch of the Riverside Apartments. He spoke there to an elderly woman who was holding a baby in her arms. The woman told the President and Gov. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee that the baby had been born with a birth defect.

Governor Clement told her that if she would send her name and address to his office in Nashville, he would see that the child received "the best medical care."

Mr. Johnson shook hands with and spoke to several persons who apparently lived in the neighborhood. Mountain View is a section that soon will be razed to make way for an urban-renewal project in Knoxville. Riverside Drive is on a high bank of the Tennessee River.

A few minutes later, in Knoxville's glistening new Coliseum, Mr. Johnson referred to the sad faces of Riverside Drive.

"Not a stone's throw away," he told a crowd of about 8,000 overflowing the stands onto the basketball court, he had seen "people as poverty-ridden as I have seen anywhere in the United States."

He pledged, to the applause of the audience:

"We are going to clear up these places around us."

'Because We Care'

Everywhere he went, Mr. Johnson repeated what he said was the purpose of his trip:

"We came because we care."

He said it to Joe Click, 49, a one-legged former coal miner he encountered in the employment-security office in Cumberland, Md. He said it to Mrs. Mary Mallow, mother of three, who sat nearby waiting for her husband.

Mr. Click told the President he was receiving \$21 dollars a week in unemployment compensation.

Mrs. Mallow, who said her

son tossed off a speech so easily that her father appeared to be telling her to cut it short so he could go on.

The stands were filled primarily with high school students and she explained to them why she was not in class at George Washington University.

She is getting, she said, "a

husband worked "on and off," said she received \$44 a week for her family of three children. She was holding 6-month-old Johnny Mallow on her lap, and her older children sat beside her.

"I hope everything works out," Mr. Johnson told her. To the small crowd jammed into the employment-security building, Mr. Johnson said of his program to end poverty:

"I know of no greater challenge to this decade and to this generation and to this system."

A few minutes later, in the square in front of the Cumberland City Hall, he recounted some of his own experiences with poverty.

"I know what poverty means to people," he said. "I have been unemployed. I have stayed waiting in an employment office, waiting for an assignment and a placement. I have shined shoes as a boy. I have worked on a highway crew from daylight until dark for \$1 a day, working with my hands and sweating with my brow."

This taught him, Mr. Johnson said, that poverty "means waiting in a surplus-food line rather than in a supermarket checkout."

"It means going without running water," he continued, "rather than worrying about whether you can afford a color television. It means despairing of finding work, it means coming home each night empty-handed to look at the expectant faces of your little children who lacked the things that they need. It means a lonely battle to maintain pride and self-respect in a family that you cannot provide for."

Governor Clement of Tennessee was one who scuttled nonpartisanship during the day. He introduced Mr. Johnson in Knoxville as "not only the President of the United States

up with my father.

At Lockbourne Air Force Base near Columbus, Ohio, while her father bustled himself pumping the hands of local politicians, Miss Johnson walked alone, except for a security guard, to the airport fence and started shaking hands.

A crowd of about 3,000 Ohioans, all apparently devout

an adequate substitute.

Throughout the day the President's daughter displayed a touch of her father's ability to identify with the crowds.

"I wanted to get out here today," she said in Cumberland, and learn not from the books but from the people." Mr. Johnson himself couldn't have said it better.

but the next President of the United States."

But the closest Mr. Johnson himself came to the political wars were several veiled jabs at Senator Goldwater and Mr. Nixon.

The President referred with biting scorn at Knoxville to those who wanted to sell the Tennessee Valley Authority a proposal advanced by Senator Goldwater.

With even greater sarcasm, the President rejected the view that the poor are poor because they are lazy. A speech by Senator Goldwater to the Economic Club of New York was interpreted, at least by his opponents, as making such an allegation.

"I believe," Mr. Johnson said in a speech at Rocky Mount, "the reason most people are poor is that they never got a decent break. They never had a fair chance when they were young and they never got it later on."

Some had not gotten that break, he said, because of "the wrong color of skin." But he insisted:

"The time has come for us to see that every American gets a decent break and a fair chance to make good."

At Knoxville, Mr. Johnson also derided those who referred to his poverty program as a "cruel hoax." He said the Republicans had called President Roosevelt's Social Security program the same thing 30 years ago.

Mr. Johnson said the phrase had been used last week by a

member of the House of Representatives. Persons traveling with him said it had also been used in a recent speech in Ohio by Mr. Nixon.

The President was accompanied on his various stops by what the White House called "appropriate" political companions. In Maryland, Senator Daniel B. Brewster, who is running as a favorite son against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the Maryland Democratic Presidential primary, was permanently on hand.

In Knoxville, Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, a Democrat seeking re-election, wrapped his arms around the President's legs and helped to hold him up on the back of a convertible when he spoke at the University of Tennessee.

Republicans were also included. Senator J. Glenn Beall of Maryland, also up for re-election, was in the President's party in that state. In Ohio, Gov. John A. Rhodes, a Republican, introduced the President.

Mr. Johnson wound up a long and exhausting day with a visit to a tobacco farmer near Rocky Mount, N. C., and

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Going to the World's Fair?

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mother dear mother

In Tampa, a woman became a mother and a grandmother on the same day.

On April 22 a woman in Phoenix had her fourth child, all born on the same day a year apart.

In Jacksonville a 4-year old took his mother's purse and passed out \$36 in bills, not one of which was recovered.

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a speech to thousands standing in the darkness before the City Hall.

It was his 11th speech of the day and his voice frequently cracked. But there was no let-up in the energy and force with which he spoke. In a speech of mounting excitement, Mr. Johnson shouted at the cheering crowd:

"Let us leave this land a better land, wiser than we knew it, and better than we ever dreamed it could be!"

He made it clear to the North Carolina audience that he meant to be "the President of all the people" and that "all the people" included Negroes as well as whites.

His visit to the tobacco farm gave him a chance to talk to David Marlow, his wife, her mother, and their seven children.

One of the Marlow boys had been rejected yesterday for service in the Army because of a deficient education, and Mr. Johnson pointed to this fact in his Rocky Mount speech to show the need for greater educational opportunities for all.

"I would go broke in a year," he said, "if one out of every two calves I produce had to be cut back by the packer. And yet, in this rich country, that's what happens to our young men."

He told the Rocky Mount crowd that, despite his long trip and the number of speeches he had made, "this has been one of the most rewarding days of my life."

After his appearance in North Carolina, the President boarded his Air Force jet and flew on to Atlanta to spend the night.

Johnsons Get a Silver Urn Once Owned by John Adams

WASHINGTON, May 7 (UPI)—A silver coffee urn used by the first couple to occupy the White House has been given to President and Mrs. Johnson, the President's wife announced today.

The 23-inch-high coffee urn was used by President John Adams and his wife, Abigail, when they moved into the still uncompleted White House in 1800. It was bought by Adams in England sometime in the late 18th Century and bears his and his wife's initials.

The urn remained in the Adams family until about 20 years ago, when it was bought by a New York dealer. Mr. and Mrs. Mark Bortman of Newton Center, Mass., purchased it and offered it to the Johnsons for

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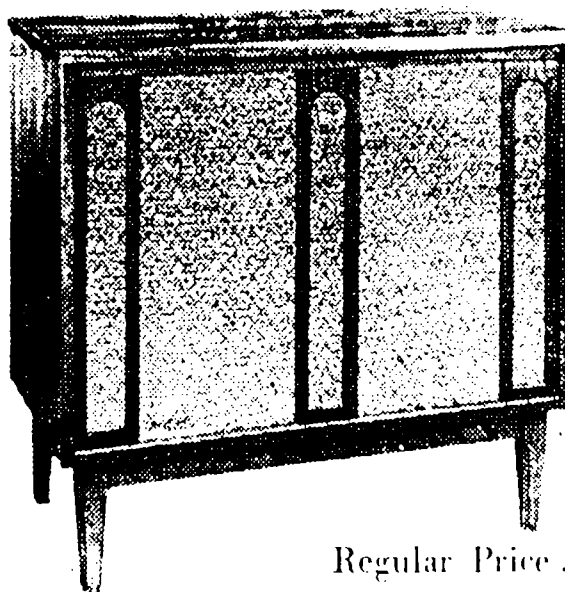


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150 EAST 42ND STREET (new Soreny Bldg.), N.Y. ■ 795 MADISON AVENUE AT 67TH STREET, N.Y. } PLAZA 3
197 EAST FORT ROAD, WHITE PLAINS ■ WHITE PLAINS R-3030

LIBERTY Music Shop

Johnson Calls on Party To Build 'Great Society'

By Carroll Kilpatrick

CHICAGO, April 23.—President Johnson told 6,000 cheering Democrats here tonight at a mammoth fundraising dinner that their Party must "build a great society of the highest order."

"If the Democratic Party serves that purpose," he said, "we do not have to worry about success at the polls."

Mr. Johnson hailed Wednesday night's railroad settlement as a historic accomplishment as he prepared to embark early Friday on another major Administration objective: the war on poverty.

Daybreak Departure

He will leave here about daybreak on a 1,000-mile, four-state tour of Appalachian areas to see for himself the job that must be done to win the poverty war.

Mrs. Johnson accompanied her husband to Chicago this afternoon as did most of the Illinois congressional delegation. Having already made a tour of Pennsylvania poverty areas, she will travel with the President on his 15-hour tour Friday.

They plan to return to

Washington late Friday.

Tonight the President emphasized the problems of the cities. He said the Nation had to solve the problems of the manpower and the money to realize our greatest dreams.

In this connection he said he was "never prouder of my country" than when the railroad conflict was settled "after 4 1/2 dreary years."

Declaring that the agreement demonstrated the Nation's "strength and substance," he said "the world will long remember how reasonable and responsible men respond to challenge and to need."

"Last night proved the lively spirit of the democratic process," Mr. Johnson told the assembled Democrats in McCormick Place, at what was one of the largest fund raising dinners in history.

\$500,000 Into Coffers

The Party was enriched by an estimated \$500,000 at the dinner, sponsored by Cook County Democrats and Mayor Richard J. Daley, a longtime Johnson friend.

Pride over the railroad settlement "does not lessen our concern for other problems," the President said. He promised to continue the attack on

prejudice, unemployment, and illiteracy.

"Much depends on what we do to solve the problems of our great cities," Mr. Johnson said.

He summoned Democrats to think "not only of the next election but of the next generation."

'Good Life' a Mockery

"The good life is a mockery," Mr. Johnson said, as long as there are inadequate homes and schools, second-class citizenship and unemployment.

Mrs. Johnson told the fund-raising dinner that in a country as rich as America "no one should be held back because he was born to a poor family, or in a poor neighborhood, or because of the color of his skin."

This is not an idea that belongs to one party, or one region, she said. "It is simply what the America you and I believe in—the America I believe in—is all about," she declared.

Mr. Johnson announced plans for the inspection trip at a White House news conference before leaving Washington.

'Need Special Attention'

"I do not intend we should lose sight of those Americans who do not share in the general prosperity of this country," he said. "I plan to visit several areas which suffer from heavy unemployment and poverty, or need special attention for the relief of economic distress," the President said.

He will visit South Bend, Ind.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Knoxville, Tenn.; and Huntington, W. Va., returning to Washington Friday evening.

The President invited the Governors of the Appalachian states to meet him in Huntington to discuss the area's problems.

Accompanying the President will be Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze and others.

Curbing 'Tax Eaters'

The President said he had discussed the poverty program at 7:15 a.m. by telephone with the program's director, R. Sargent Shriver, who was in New York.

In discussing the economy Council



Associated Press

Heads ANPA

Gene Robb, publisher of the Albany, N.Y., Times-Union and Knickerbocker News, was elected president of the American Newspaper Publishers Association yesterday, succeeding Irwin Mazer of Milwaukee.

Mr. Johnson said one of his objectives was to "take the kids off the streets, put them in useful endeavors and make taxpayers out of them instead of tax eaters."

After his news conference, the President spoke informally about his objectives in the poverty program. With 14 of 15 per cent of teenagers unemployed, he said, he wants to see, first hand, what is happening and what needs to be done.

He said he hoped the poverty proposals before Congress could be enacted "without a lot of politics."

Friday's trip "is for people—Democratic people and Republican people," the President said.

A lot of excuses will be made to do nothing about poverty," Mr. Johnson said, "but I want to do something about it."

Methodists Elect Negro Bishop

PITTSBURGH, April 23 (AP)—A Negro was named President Delegate today of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church.

He is Bishop Prince A. Taylor Jr., 57, a native of Oklahoma, who for the last eight years has been head of the Methodist area of the church.

Bishop Lloyd C. Wick of New York City, President Delegate for the past year, was elected President of the

Council

CORRECTION

Due to a mechanical problem, it was impossible to clearly read the prices in our advertisement in this paper, Wednesday, April 22nd on the items below.

They should have read:

THE FINEST BOURBON OUT OF KENTUCKY

MAGRUDER'S "86" 34 PROOF \$3.35 FIFTH

100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS

GILBEY'S GIN 34 PROOF 2.87 FIFTH

STRAIGHT KENTUCKY BOURBON

ANCIENT AGE 34 PROOF 3.59 FIFTH

PREPARED—A FINE BLEND—100% G.M.I.

FLEISCHMANN'S 34 PROOF 3.29 FIFTH

EXCLUSIVELY AT MAGRUDER'S—IMPORTED

R.A. SCOTCH 34 PROOF 4.66 FIFTH

Magruder's

UNDER THE SAME FAMILY OWNERSHIP SINCE 1875
FREE PARKING BOTH STORES WITH MINIMUM PURCHASE

STORE HOURS: 9 A.M. to 6 P.M.
CHARGE ACCOUNTS WAITED—FREE DELIVERY
1000 DEPT. AT CORN AVE. ONLY 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.
PRICES EFFECTIVE THROUGH SATURDAY, APRIL 23TH

24

4/24/64

DATE:

American Airlines

Cuba Puts U-2 Protest Before U.N.

Soviet Joins Havana In Attack on U.S. Flights Over Island

By Murray Marder
Staff Reporter

The Soviet Union yesterday joined Cuba in denouncing "illegal" United States reconnaissance overflights, while Havana put its protests before the United Nations.

As the Cuban-United States clash widened, it was still viewed by the Johnson Administration as a verbal battle, not a pressing danger. But its potential implications are growing.

Cuba appears to be laying the groundwork for a legal fight in the United Nations, rather than a shooting fight, American sources said.

The Soviet Union, supporting Cuba, warned that "there can be no real improvement in Soviet-American relations at the expense of the lawful interest of our friends."

"Will Side With Cuba"

These were the new developments:

• The Soviet government newspaper *Izvestia* condemned United States surveillance flights over Cuba as an "unconcealed violation" of sovereign rights, international law and the U.N. Charter. "If Cuba is subjected to a treacherous attack," *Izvestia* said, "the Soviet Union... will side with Cuba."

• In a 10-page note to U.S. Secretary General U Thant, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa asked him to act personally to halt the American overflights. Roa charged that U-2 spy planes had flown over Cuba some 600 times, including 69 flights this year, that U.S. Marines at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base had committed 1141 "provocations," and that "hundreds" of U.S. aircraft were in Florida, "apparently only waiting for orders to bomb Cuban targets."

• At the United Nations Trade and Development Conference POLICY, A6, Col. 1

Clocks Go Ahead An Hour Sunday

Daylight Saving Time becomes official at 2 a.m. Sunday and everyone in the Washington area is expected to turn his clock one hour ahead.

None of the officials in the

Shows Dext Touch

Budding Veep Timber Seen in McNamara

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Staff Reporter

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara greeted newsmen at his press conference yesterday in a windowless Pentagon room by cracking that "I'm sorry I don't have a rose garden to receive you in."

By the time it was over 35 minutes later newsmen had added McNamara to the list of those ready and willing to be tapped for the Vice Presidential spot on the ticket to be led by the chief political rose gardener, President Johnson.

The 47-year-old McNamara had called in newsmen to talk about some new trimmings

from the defense budget. But he ended up by proving he has a certain dexterity in the world of politics as well.

After a rash of facts and figures about the budget cuts, a reporter asked about GOP Presidential hopeful Barry

Goldwater's renewed attacks on McNamara. The smiling Secretary replied that "I think we are in a political campaign and I suspect between now and

See McNAMARA, A5, Col. 1

Sen. Engle Undergoes Second Operation Here

By Gardner L. Bridge
Associated Press

Sen. Clair Engle (D-Calif.) underwent an operation yesterday and was reported resting comfortably last night.

Paul Green, Engle's press aide, announced it was a successful operation but said he was not informed of any details.

The 62-year-old Engle has been suffering from partial paralysis and difficulty in speaking since he underwent brain surgery last Aug. 24.

On Wednesday, Engle denied that he was withdrawing his bid for re-election this fall. That same night it became known that he had entered Doctors Hospital here for what his office described as additional tests.

[Though Green at the time denied that Engle had taken a turn for the worse, a Congressman who lives near Engle said that he had seen Engle being removed from his house in a stretcher and placed in an ambulance.]

Gov. Edmund G. Brown of California, visiting here in Washington, said when told of yesterday's development, "I pray for his quick and complete recovery."

The Governor, who has endorsed State Controller Alan Cranston for nomination to succeed the ailing Engle, said he had heard "only rumor" as to the nature of Engle's illness. He declined to repeat what he had heard.

Describing Engle as a "fine man," Brown said he would support him for re-election "in the event Clair gets well or even if he gets to the place where he can make a speech." Engle has made several appearances in the Senate since

in and introduced the bill for him.

Aides of the Senator denied recent reports that he had been injured in a fall or that he was considering withdrawing from the election contest.

On Wednesday he sent a telegram to a California supporter saying "You can deny I am withdrawing. I continue

Supreme Court rejects plea of Harold Stassen to get on California ballot. Page A6.

to remain a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. Keep fighting."

The telegram was sent to State Assemblyman Thomas Carrell, cochairman of his campaign committee, after the Long Beach, Calif., Independent reported in a copyrighted story that friends of Engle were saying he would withdraw from the campaign within a matter of hours or days.

Engle announced last January that his doctors had given him the "green light" to go ahead and run for re-election. He was elected to the House in 1943 and has been in the Senate since 1959.

Low-Yield Test Fired in Nevada

Takes War On Poverty To People

Help Is Promised To Jobless During Four-State Visit

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Staff Reporter

HUNTINGTON, W.Va., April 24—President Johnson took his war on poverty to the people today and received a rousing political reception in the heart of the Appalachian area.

In a visit to depressed areas that took on the aspects of a campaign opener, Mr. Johnson spoke, shook hands, rode in motorcades and conferred with governors, all for a total of 14 uninterrupted hours.

He returned to the White House late tonight more than 16 hours after he arose in a

Picture on Page A6. Republicans divided on strategy to splinter anti-poverty bill. Page A7. President says he expects women to be first to join in war on poverty. Page B4.

Chicago hotel early this morning.

Big crowds turned out to welcome the President at almost every stop, and he responded with homespun and impromptu speeches and with many formal friendly if often unruly crowds to shake outstretched hands.

Meets With Governors

For the first time since President Kennedy's assassination, Mr. Johnson drove in an open car through crowded city streets.

That was in Pittsburgh, the scene of his largest and most enthusiastic welcome.

After conferring here tonight with seven of the nine members of the Appalachian Governors' Conference and with Gov. Matthew E. Welsh of Indiana, Mr. Johnson announced that he would have an announcement to make in the next few days on plans to strengthen the poverty program.

He said he also hoped to send a new message to Congress on the results of today's findings.

Among the governors conferring with the President here were Albertus S. Harris. See PRESIDENT, A6, Col. 4.

Hospital Gets Johnson Gift

OSLO, April 24 (AP)—U.S. Ambassador Clifton R. Wharton presented full authority

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in Inez, Ky., as he described some of the problems of

the town. Fletcher is the father of eight children, one of whom seems unimpressed as he plays with the post.

PRESIDENT—From Page A1

Johnson Tours Depressed Areas

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son of Virginia and J. Millard Tawes of Maryland.

Govs. George Wallace of Alabama and William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania, both members of the Appalachian Conference, were absent.

During the day the President visited depressed areas in Indiana, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky.

While he repeatedly said that he was not on a political tour and frequently praised Republicans like Sens. Hugh Scott (Pa.) and John Sherman Cooper (Ky.) who accompanied the trip had powerful political overtones.

"My calendar must be wrong," Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz commented. "This looks like October, not May."

In Pittsburgh, where the United Steel Workers helped turn out thousands to welcome him, the President's motorcade took nearly 50 minutes to wind through 14 blocks on the way to a USW meeting hall.

Frequently stopping to greet his well-wishers, Mr. Johnson used a bull-horn to make brief, impassioned speeches for his congressional program and to pledge unrelenting war against poverty.

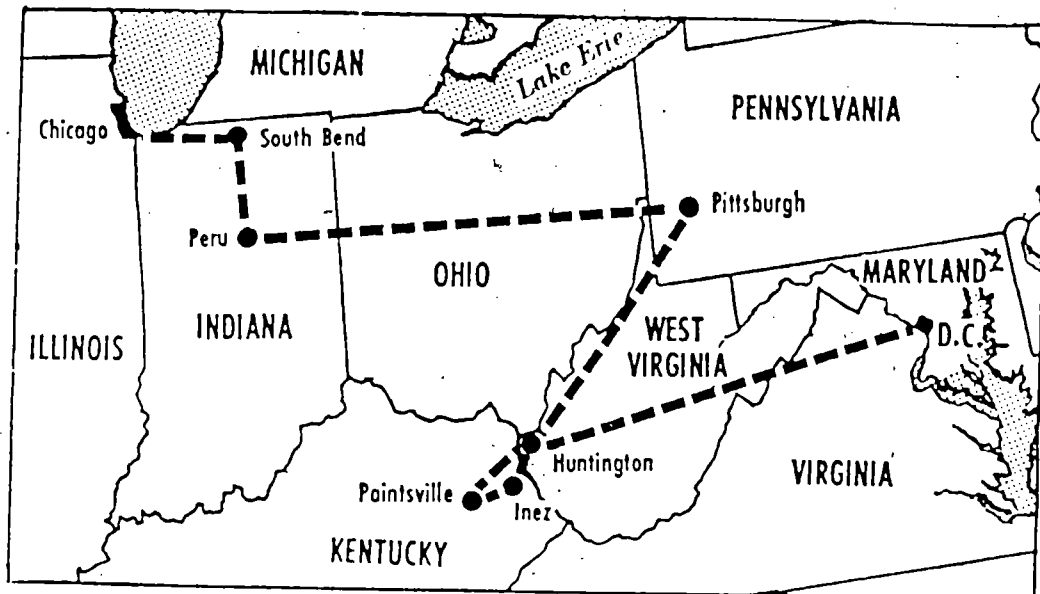
On the day's first stop, in South Bend, Ind., a crowd broke through a rope barricade to surround the President and Mrs. Johnson and almost swept them off their feet.

"I'm not going to shake hands until you behave yourselves," the President said sternly to youngsters trying to get close to him.

After police got the crowd under control, the President continued his hand-shaking and then inspected the federally-sponsored manpower training program in the Indiana city that was hard hit last winter by the closing of the Studebaker plant.

Unemployment reached 9 per cent of the labor force in South Bend during the winter but is now down to 8.3 per cent, it was reported.

In Pittsburgh, the President told a meeting of the League of Women voters that although 8700 men had been put out of work in South Bend on Christmas Eve, "I saw a city that is fighting back. It is retraining its



President Johnson visited areas in four states—Indiana, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky—yesterday to press the Administration's war against poverty.

The Washington Post

in the other fellow's shoes," Paintsville, Ky., the President know more about what we're he said.

"Then you will find the answer in your heart," said he had had "a marvelous there in Washington for, and day."

After touring Inez and "We go back feeling like we said.

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Fashion

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SATURDAY SPECIAL!

At the same time, SDA withdrew its previous approval of such use of the insecticide.

Illness Attributed

Heptachlor has been a popular agricultural pesticide for the past five years. In testing on rats it has been shown to cause liver damage. No human death or illness has been attributed to its residues in milk. Pasteurization does not remove it, nor does any other process now known, according to William C. Ry, state health director in charge of environmental health of the D.C. Health Department.

Inspectors also inspected District's six pasteurization plants. In all, 18 samples taken, and 17 passed the test. The one sample of statutory significance was of three from the same plant. The average for those samples, the report said, was below the tolerance.

Grant said the suspensions were made on April 11 and April 13, the days the results were reported to District Health Department from FDA analytical laboratories in Baltimore.

Testing program will be continued at a rate of about one truck daily.

Pesticide Firm Denies Irrigating PHS

producer of a pesticide with fish kills in the Mississippi River yesterday reported that local health inspectors refused entry to his company's Memphis plant.

Edward Loran, vice president and research director of Velsicol Chemical Co., said records show that in control officials of the local health service admitted to our plant samples taken by county officials were to Federal pollution tests.

The pesticide, endrin, has been identified by PHS in fish as the most likely cause of the massive fish kills.

Loran said PHS investigators have not advised us of contamination which has been caused by endrin in Memphis.

Of the accusation, Loran said, "ough the press" of his firm had "of cooperation" in the matter, "only to be partisan quarreling and said samples and data on he did not want the civil conclusions could be drawn."

He charged that the tests reported by the PHS were not corroborated by work of other re-

torade took nearly 50 minutes to wind through 14 blocks on the way to a USW meeting hall.

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Unemployment reached 9 per cent of the labor force in South Bend during the winter but is now down to 8.3 per cent, it was reported.

In Pittsburgh, the President told a meeting of the League of Women voters that although 8700 men had been put out of work in South Bend on Christmas Eve, "I saw a city that is fighting back. It is retraining its workers and attracting new industry."

"We are not going to rest until unemployment is out of date in every city of America," the President declared.

"I don't want to be remembered as a can't-do president."

When he reached the Steel Workers hall, the President, apparently thrilled by the big reception, said he was going away "with inspiration and stimulation."

In nearly all his speeches, the President pointedly reminded his listeners that "we averted a railroad strike this week that would have led to the loss of 6 million jobs."

"There is a lot of talk about free enterprise," he added, "but not many people do anything about it. We did something about it."

In his speeches, the President combined an almost religious fervor with jabs at his political opponents and homey stories to illustrate his points.

In an obvious reference to former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, he said, "one of my friends who drinks Pepsi-Cola went out to Viet Nam and said we ought to have a little more war."

Nixon is an attorney representing the Pepsi-Cola Co. At the same time, the President appealed for an end of the partisan quarreling and said he did not want the civil rights bill to bear a Democratic label.

Those who feel "frustrated and even angry" because of some civil rights demonstrations should put themselves

in the other fellow's shoes," Paintsville, Ky., the President said he had had "a marvelous there in Washington for, and what we're working for," he said.

"Then you will find the answer in your heart."

After touring Inez and "We go back feeling like we said."

A 6-2

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at House & Herrmann

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- Hostess Wear Gowns by Selma, f.

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Open Daily 9:30 to 6 Free Parking

Appalachia Funds Sought of Congress

Apr 17, 1961 A1-1

Hope Given for Soviet Records

Johnson Expects Establishment of Consulates Soon

By Warren Lunn
Staff Writer

Hope for further Soviet-American agreements yesterday from President Johnson at an early news conference in the White House office. Johnson outlined the consular arrangements, aviation agreement, exchanges of various possibilities to last week's Soviet-British agreement to on the production of weapon material. Johnson did not volunteer the information, but instead responded to questions under questioning.

Johnson leader pre-argued Civil war
Page A26.

Johnson. And he made it clear that no new agreement had been buttoned up.

Johnson constantly searching for elements that can be used to ease tensions between our national interests. Johnson said he would promote better relations.

Johnson said several of those in the on stage. We are enough to predict just what will be. Johnson said that while Mr. Johnson is been searching for elements of Soviet-American relations, he quite possibly had been to did in the summer.

Johnson said that the Soviet Union was less recent in saying that about increasing American trade in the recent sale to the Soviet Union.

Johnson said that the Foreign Relations Committee, I am glad to be exploring the subject of our trade and with the Soviet Union. Johnson said that the Soviet Union is welcome any President de-

Johnson said that the Soviet-American relations, the President said that these agreements that establishment of consulates in various cities in various parts of the Soviet Union, and the venerable organization of



Johnson to Ask \$220 Million as Starter Monday

By Laurence Starr
Staff Writer

Fresh from his visit to poverty-afflicted Appalachia, President Johnson announced yesterday that he will send Congress on Monday a \$220-million program for the coming year to begin curing the region's economic misery.

The President said his view of the spot viewing of conditions in the one-state region convinced him of the need for immediate action on his anti-poverty legislation.

He outlined his plan as part of Appalachia at the latest in his series of Saturday press conferences. Former President

Text of news conference
Page A

Truman was at his side in the Oval Office of the White House.

The hale-looking former Chief Executive subsequently beside the President during most of the press conference, interjecting only one comment expressing his concern for Mr. Johnson's safety at public appearances.

Johnson said that the Appalachian region is economically depressed.

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March Music for Hiking Justice

Gene Castleberry of Bethesda piped Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas to the starting line for yesterday's phase of the tenth reunion hike of the C and O

Canal Association at Paw Paw, W. Va. Justice Douglas and his walking associates tramped 15 miles along the Canal to Little Orleans. Story on Page B1

With a Dash of Love, Gridiron Club Roasts Politicians, World Leaders

For once in Cupid's life, his newsmaker guest list was for sole toast by the Club, came little arrows boomeranged last night. President Truman, back at the group with a few night as the famed Gridiron. Seated at the head table, Texas-style barbs of his own Club lambasted him lightly at with the Presidents were in all of the record rebuttal. More than 500 distinguished court the Cabinet principal membership of the Gridiron Club guests were on hand in the officials of the Executive branch. The Gridiron Club is a venerable organization of

Johnson to Ask \$220 Million as Starter Monday

By Laurence Stern
Staff Reporter

Fresh from his visit to poverty-afflicted Appalachia, President Johnson announced yesterday that he will send Congress on Monday a \$220-million program for the coming year to begin curing the region's economic misery.

The President said his on-the-spot viewing of conditions in the nine-state region convinced him of the need for immediate action on his antipov-erty legislation.

He outlined his omnibus bill for Appalachia at the latest in his series of Saturday press conferences. Former President

Text of news conference.
Page A8.

Truman was at his side in the Oval Office of the White House.

The hale-looking former Chief Executive sat quietly beside the President during most of the press conference, interjecting only one comment expressing his concern for Mr. Johnson's safety at public appearances.

Call It 'Must' Legislation

Speaking of his visit to economically depressed towns in Appalachia, Mr. Johnson said:

"I am certain that if those members of Congress who are questioning our anti-poverty program were to have been on the tour yesterday that they would today be bending their every effort to pass our program."

"It is 'must' legislation," he declared.

The Appalachian antipov-erty bill unveiled by the President yesterday embodies the recommendations of a special commission headed by Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.

Its main ingredients are authorization of a 2150-mile highway system at a cost of \$840 million; stop-



March Music for Hiking Justice

of Bethesda piped Sup-
ice William O. Douglas
ne for yesterday's phase
on hike of the C and O

Canal Association at Paw Paw, W. Va.,
Justice Douglas and his walking associ-
ates tramped 15 miles along the Canal to
Little Orleans. Story on Page B3.

Dash of Love, Gridiron Club Politicians, World Leaders

life, his newsmaker guest list was for-
maged last mer President Truman.
Gridiron Seated at the head-table
ighly at with the Presidents were
r here. members of the Supreme
nguished Court, the Cabinet principal

sole toast by the Club, came
back at the group with a few
Texas-style barbs of his own
in an off-the-record rebuttal.
Rounding out its limited

acket

Associating with

No Wedding in Offing at White House:

LBJ Poverty-War Bill Is Ready for Congress

participating States by telegram yesterday of his intentions to introduce the program in Congress on Monday. He told the Governors:

"The opportunity to visit with families in Appalachia and to see at first hand the magnitude of the difficulties in the region has convinced me of the need for prompt action."

Urges Stamp Plan, Medicare

President Johnson also put in a strong appeal for such general anti-poverty measures as the food stamp plan, which has already passed the House, and medicare.

He recalled that at one of

the homes he visited Friday a man with eight children told me he had stayed up to three or four o'clock the morning before with a neighbor who was 85 years old, who couldn't go to the hospital.

"That brings home to us the need of medicare," the President said, "because if he had hospital insurance he could be taken to the hospital."

The issue of Presidential safety was raised during a prepress conference interview with Mr. Truman, who remarked that he hoped Mr. Johnson would "protect himself."

When newsmen relayed this expression of concern to the President during the press conference, Mr. Johnson replied that he was glad of the concern for his safety.

"Very much concerned, Mr. President," interjected the former President.

Comments on Own Safety

Mr. Johnson then went on to give this opinion on the question of presidential safety:

"They can harm you if they want to while you are talking just as easy as they can while you are shaking hands... I am exercising all the precautions that prudent men, responsible for my safety, recommend. But the President is still going to speak to the people of this country and necessarily is going to associate with them.

Concern about the President was occasioned by Mr. Johnson's proclivity, demonstrated during the recent whirlwind tour, for mixing with crowds and pressing the hands of voters. In South Bend, Ind., a group of students broke through police lines and gave the President a well-intentioned but rough jostling.

"I remain convinced," said the President, "that it will be possible to develop an American supersonic transport which will be economic to operate, will find a substantial market among the airlines of the world and will help to maintain American leadership in the air."

France and Britain are joint entrants in the supersonic transport race with a plane expected to be ready for use by 1970.

Denies Rail Commitments

Turning to another major transportation issue, the President said he made no commitments to either side as a condition to settlement of the railroad dispute, other than promising a "fair and just hearing."

He was commenting on reports that he promised tax relief to the railroads as an inducement to settle their differences with unions in the five-year battle over work rules.

J. E. Wolfe, chief negotiator for the railroads, said Friday that the President had promised to review the industry's request for the right to depreciate its \$4-billion investment in tunnels and grading. The Internal Revenue Service has opposed such tax benefits. The President said yesterday he promised both sides a hearing "on any problems, involving legislation, involving taxes, involving work rules, regarding cases in the courts, and so forth."

Other points covered in the news conference:

Other Conference Topics

Other points covered in the news conference:

- Asked about Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's prospects as a candidate for national office, the President said he has "never applied the elective yardstick to any of my Secretaries, or anyone else for that matter, including myself."

- The President announced that the Government is taking steps to dispose of contracts for purchase of raw uranium. The action is in line with Mr. Johnson's order to cut production of enriched uranium by 40 per cent.

- Mr. Johnson reported new Federal Reserve figures show-

Johnson to Address Union at N.Y. Fair

NEW YORK, April 25 (UPI)—President Johnson will address a union convention May 9 at the New York World's Fair, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America said today.

Mr. Johnson is scheduled to speak at the opening session of the union's 50th anniversary convention in the Singer Bowl at the Fair.

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United Press International

Johnson Likes Scranton Appalachian Program

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Staff Reporter

Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania yesterday won President Johnson's support for a proposal to increase the Federal contribution to the Appalachian program by \$10 million.

The additional money would be used to reclaim coal areas that have been damaged as a result of mining operations. The damage helps perpetuate unemployment in the region, Scranton said.

Calling the Republican Governor's arguments "meritorious and persuasive," the President announced that he would have aides telephone other Appalachian governors to seek their approval of the program.

If they approve, the President will include the Scranton plan in his legislative proposals. He had planned to send them to Congress yesterday but held them up at the last minute to confer with Scranton.

The Pennsylvania was one of two Governors unable to confer with the President on the program last Friday at Huntington, W. Va.

Total cost of the program in the 1965 fiscal year would be about \$220 million, the President said Saturday. If Scranton's plan is included, the cost would be \$230 million.

Scranton told reporters after the White House meeting that he had not talked politics with the President.

Insisting again that he is not a candidate for any national office, he said he was for "anybody but me" for the GOP presidential nomination.

The Governor said he did not attach much importance to the effort of his friends to write his name on the ballot as a favorite son in today's Pennsylvania primary.

The President and Governor conferred for more than 45 minutes. When photographers were admitted to Mr. Johnson's office, the President was listening intently and the Governor was talking animatedly.

Scranton reported later that the President was "most cooperative" and was like "Johnnie on the jump in tackling the job and getting to it" when he heard his proposal.

Asked whether he had not opposed part of the Johnson proposals for Appalachia, Scranton said he had opposed a proposal for a cooperative set-up as had the Budget Bureau and that the proposal was eliminated. Otherwise, Scranton said he had supported the program from the beginning.

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Greets Workers

Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs yesterday greeted the Westinghouse plant workers. Miss Blatt is running for U.S. Senate today. The workers are unidentified.

Porter Leader in Hearing

Edstrom, Reporter, of the rural and poverty measures during questioning of yesterday's sole witness, Howard Bertsch, Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration.

Asks Tightening
After the session, Poage said there was no question that the farm provisions must be "tightened up" or they might result in a "break-down" of existing successful programs that help low income farmers.

He also scored the "unlimited authority" that would be given to Shriver to make farm grants and loans.

"We're concerned with the integrity of the Department of Agriculture," he said.

Poage said he did not know whether he would offer amendments.

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VI. LBJ SPEECHES ON APPALACHIA

APRIL 24, 1964

- ✓ REMARKS AT MAYO STATE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, PAINTSVILLE, KENTUCKY
- ✓ REMARKS AT THE JOHNSON COUNTY COURTHOUSE, PAINTSVILLE, KENTUCKY
- ✓ REMARKS AT THE AIRPORT, HUNTINGTON, WEST VIRGINIA, UPON DEPARTING FOR WASHINGTON

APRIL 25, 1964

- ✓ THE PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE

MAY 7, 1964

- ✓ REMARKS AT CITY HALL, CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND
- ✓ REMARKS UPON ARRIVAL AT LOCKBOURNE AIR FORCE BASE, OHIO
- ✓ REMARKS AT OHIO UNIVERSITY, ATHENS, OHIO
- ✓ REMARKS AT THE COLISEUM, KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE
- ✓ REMARKS AT SEYMOUR-JOHNSON AIR FORCE BASE, GOLDSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA
- ✓ REMARKS IN CITY HALL, ROCKY MOUNT, NORTH CAROLINA
- ✓ REMARKS OUTSIDE CITY HALL, ROCKY MOUNT, NORTH CAROLINA

MARCH 9, 1965

- ✓ REMARKS UPON SIGNING THE APPALACHIA BILL

[290] Apr. 24

Public Papers of the Presidents

General Eisenhower for 8 years when he was President and I was the majority leader of the Senate and the minority leader of the Senate. We tried to find out what was good for America and then do it, regardless of which party advocated it. That is what I want to do.

Now I am having a little trouble finding out exactly who to talk to in the Republican Party. One of my friends that drinks Pepsi-Cola went out to Viet-Nam and said we ought to be doing a little more, we ought to be moving forward, and taking in a little more territory, and having a little more war.

We have a great Republican out there, Ambassador Lodge, and we have tried to get our judgments together, and he agrees that we ought to step up our activity in South Viet-Nam. We have a program that he and the Government and all of us have agreed on.

Some of our people want us to pull out altogether. I assume after the convention that we can sit down, whoever the Democratic nominee may be, and the Republican nominee, and try to see what is best for our country and agree on it. Then stop the mudslinging and go out and present our own programs to the people. When we do, I am going to be like the little country boy that didn't get the invitation to the dance. I am going to sit down and write myself one, and come right back here to Pittsburgh.

Thank you.

I can't recall all the names, because I've made several speeches today, but I just want to say that this congressional delegation in the House of Representatives has been among our most loyal supporters. Dr. Morgan here is chairman of the great Committee on Foreign Affairs. You people have sent us some of the best and finest Congressmen that we have.

I want to leave this little story with you. The reason Pennsylvania has such a wonderful delegation, I think, is because you copied Texas. They asked Mr. Rayburn one time why it was that Texas had the chairmanship of several committees—we never did get Foreign Affairs, like Doc Morgan, of Pennsylvania, has—and why they had such power in the Congress.

He said, "A very simple reason," and I want you people to remember this answer, "We pick them young, we pick them honest. We send them there and we keep them there."

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:20 p.m. to Local 1272, United Steelworkers of America, at Union Hall in Pittsburgh. In the course of his remarks he referred to Joseph M. Barr, Mayor of Pittsburgh, David L. Lawrence, Special Assistant to the President, Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, and former Governor of Pennsylvania, David McDonald, president, United Steelworkers of America, Senator Hugh Scott and Representative James G. Fulton of Pennsylvania, Roger Blough, chairman of the board of directors, United States Steel Corporation, Leslie B. Worthington, president of the United States Steel Corporation, and Senator Frank M. Clark and Representative Thomas E. Morgan of Pennsylvania.

291 Remarks at Mayo State Vocational School, Paintsville, Kentucky. *April 24, 1964*

I AM very sorry that we are late. We have enjoyed our day immensely. We started it this morning at 5:30 in Chicago. We left

there about 6:50 and we have been a lot of places and seen a great many fine people. But nowhere have we been and no place

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964

Apr. 24 [292]

have we seen better people or more friendly faces than here in the great State of Kentucky.

I know your heart must swell with pride when you see your brilliant young Governor taking such an interest in advancing this State. I know you must be deeply grateful to your own fine Congressman Perkins for all the good work that he has done for this District.

The only thing that I am sorry about is that I can't spend longer with you and learn more about the conditions here. I have with me the very able Under Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. I would like for him to come up here and take a bow. The distinguished Secretary of Labor, Mr. Willard Wirtz. The very fine Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Secretary Celebrezze. Your own progressive, patriotic Senator, Senator John Sherman Cooper.

Now I have saved the best to the last. Since I have made about 10 speeches already today and she hasn't made but 11, I am going to let Lady Bird conclude this one.

[At this point Mrs. Johnson spoke briefly. She expressed her thanks for the wonderful welcome and said it was a thrilling sight to see the retraining programs in automobile mechanics, secretarial work, and cosmetology in operation. "All these women in this group," she said, "felt that they wanted to go right in and be customers by the end of the day." The President then resumed speaking.]

We want to commend you again on the fine work that is going on in this great institution. We want to thank you for your hospitality. We want to tell you that we appreciate your friendship and the encouragement that you have always given us, the support we have had in Kentucky. We hope that sometime we can come back again. If you ever happen to be in the Nation's Capital, come over to your White House. We would like to see you.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: During his remarks the President referred to Governor Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., and Representative Carl D. Perkins of Kentucky, Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze, and Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky.

292 Remarks at the Johnson County Courthouse, Paintsville, Kentucky. April 24, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:

In the early part of the 19th century my grandmother's people all lived in Kentucky. We just came over here from Martin County and that was a family name. Now we are in Johnson County, and I hope to meet any Johnsons that are still around here.

My mother told me that my early ancestors reached Kentucky and were told that there were two ways to go up: they could either go up in the world or they could go to Texas. This branch of the Johnsons went to Texas. Some of them stayed here and

I guess you named the county for them.

I am here to look over this area of the State because of your fine Congressman Perkins, your able Senator Cooper, your brilliant young Governor, who have asked me to come here and learn something about the fine work that you are doing in retraining people for jobs, to learn something about the coal industry, and the problems that face it.

I know something about poverty. I have worked with my own hands. I have done everything from shine shoes to work on a

[292] Apr. 24

Public Papers of the Presidents

highway crew for a dollar a day. I am here to pay tribute to Carl Perkins, who has held many distinguished posts. He was once counsel of the Kentucky Highway Department.

I remember one time as a boy I went in to the State capital to get some supplies for my road job. I sought out the district engineer. I told him what I needed for my tractor. The next day the engineer was out and nearly fired everybody on our job. My father said to me, "Lyndon, I don't know what will happen to you, but I will tell you right now I don't believe that you are smart enough to talk to a highway engineer."

I believe it is time for this great and strong and good-hearted and rich Nation to give attention to the needs of its own cities who have been passed by, and to give needs to its own people. We are just not willing to accept the necessity of poverty. We in the Johnson administration, we hope with the support of Johnson County, have already declared war on poverty in all of its forms, in all of its causes, and we intend to drive it underground and win that war with your help.

We are making some efforts in eastern Kentucky under our winter relief program. We have \$8,700,000 going into vocational training of 3,000 persons for 50 occupations. We have \$4 million in loans and grants for housing. We have surplus food distribution in all the eastern Kentucky counties. We have 360 schools, 10,000 pupils, participating in the school lunch program. Under our community work and training program, we have 48 programs going, 1,400 men in action.

I am very proud that the absentee rate in eastern Kentucky is only 1 percent, and for the first month not a single absentee on 46 of the 48 projects. That is a record that all of you ought to point to with pride.

The people of America are not asking for handouts. They want a chance to support themselves. They want a fair chance to get ahead. That is what we are going to try to provide for them, for everybody, wherever they live. Poverty isn't a matter of partisanship. I am very proud of all of those in all parties who work together on this important work. I am particularly proud that I could be here with your Congressman and your Senator, both of whom always work and fight and give in order to help people.

Eastern Kentucky has produced some giants of our times. One of the greatest Chief Justices was Fred Vinson. He was born in an adjoining county of Lawrence. My hope and my aim in life is to keep that road open and to make it wide and make it smoother, and make it straighter for all Americans. I would like to think out in that crowd today, here in Johnson County, is a future President, a future Chief Justice, future members of the Cabinet.

Kentuckians have a glorious history. You are walking in the tradition of that history. We have brought to you today some of the men who want to see some of the conditions in Kentucky so we can listen and learn and know firsthand what your Government can do, working with you, to help make this a better land.

I now want to present to you the distinguished Secretary of Labor, Mr. Willard Wirtz, who helped us settle the railroad strike day before yesterday. He is probably settling another strike somewhere now.

I also have with me Secretary Celebrezze, Secretary of the Health, Education, and Welfare Department. Secretary Celebrezze, will you come up and take a bow?

And here is Secretary Wirtz.

And now I am going to ask your Gov-

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964

Apr. 24 [293]

ernor to say a word before we conclude our ceremonies.

At this point Governor Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., spoke briefly, following which Mrs. Johnson expressed her thanks for the warm welcome accorded them. The President then resumed speaking.]

We want to thank all of you for coming and waiting so long. We are very sorry that we were late.

But we have talked about our program, I would say, 8 or 10 times in various places today. The crowds have just been magnificent and overwhelming. We are not going to be satisfied in this administration until we drive poverty underground and until we find jobs for all people who can and want to work.

We are not going to be satisfied in this country until we have a home for every family. We are not going to be satisfied until we have an opportunity for education of

all of our children, and when our people have the equality of jobs and the equality of opportunity. We are not going to be satisfied until we have medical care for our aged. We are not going to be satisfied until we pass some kind of an equal rights bill that will take the demonstrations out of the streets and put them in the courts where they belong.

So we want to ask all of you good people to try to support our program and let's have an administration of the people, by the people, for the people, giving the greatest good to the greatest number all the time.

Thank you and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke from the steps of the courthouse. During his remarks he referred to Representative Carl D. Perkins, Senator John Sherman Cooper, and Governor Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., all of Kentucky, and to Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze.

293 Remarks at the Airport, Huntington, West Virginia, Upon Departing for Washington. *April 24, 1964*

Governor Barron, Governors of visiting States in the Appalachia area, ladies and gentlemen:

This has been a marvelous day. I am so grateful to all of you who would come here and be present with us this evening. I wish I could look into every face and shake every hand. I wish I could tell you how proud I am of the faith and the hope that I have seen in your eyes as I have traveled over five States since daylight this morning.

The trip has been inspiring. We have been in large cities. We have been in small villages. We have been out in humble homes. We have been in great industrial areas. We have been in areas where indus-

try is virtually unknown. We have seen workers who do have jobs; we have seen workers who do not have jobs.

We have seen workers who are training for new jobs to replace old jobs. We have seen some willing and able men who barely remember the last time they had a paycheck. Today I saw a father with 11 children who had worked 4 days last month. I saw another father with 8 children who had worked only 5 days last month.

But everywhere we have gone, the thought has inspired us: What a wonderful spirit there is among the people. The enthusiasm and the determination of all these people have been to join us all tonight in a great

[293] Apr. 24

Public Papers of the Presidents

national effort to wipe out the causes of poverty. No one says and no one expects that this curse of centuries can be wiped out in a few days, or a few weeks, or a few months, or even years.

But that is not the point. I believe that good Americans of all parties, in all States, in all stations of life, are responding as they are for just one reason: It is a source of pride and gratification to me in doing the kind of work here at home that made America the great and strong and good Nation that it has been and that we want it to be for our children.

Today I took a trip which should be unnecessary. I took a trip which, in our times, should become impossible, for I visited among the victims of American poverty, as I told you. I do not go simply to see what poverty is like and what it means to be poor. I already know that, for I have seen this face of poverty many times in many years. I saw it around me in my early years in Texas soon after I discovered America, as the son of a tenant farmer. I have seen it on campaign trips across the country.

I remember when poverty engulfed the Nation in 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal began, when 12 million people were out of work, when 25 million people had no income at all.

Yes, I remember the day the Bonus Army was driven down the streets to the mud flats of Anacostia. I remember standing out there as a young secretary to a Congressman and seeing that great man march up and hold onto that podium and say, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," and it gave me an inspiration that has carried me all through the years since. I remember the little poor housewife who said, "I have forgotten how to cook, for I have nothing to cook."

But those were not just years of despair; they were years when we had faith and we had hope. In the angry bitterness of the depression, we forged the vision for America. It is an America in which every man has an equal chance for the well-being that is essential to the enjoyment of this freedom that we brag about and this liberty that we treasure so much. I come to you in pursuit of that vision again, tonight.

This is one of the oldest and proudest regions of our land. President Roosevelt talked of the one-third that were ill clad and ill fed and ill housed. In 30 years of effort, we have brought that group down to one-fifth that are now in the poverty group, from one-third to one-fifth in 30 years.

Won't it be a great blessing, won't it be a great achievement, won't it be a great satisfaction for you Governors and the rest of you here tonight to pass on to your children to know that young Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., has been with us all day, trying to do something to move this one-fifth down to where it is one-tenth, and that all of us have had some little part in starting this movement to drive poverty underground and to say to the child that is born poor, in the poor neighborhood, "If you have the will and if you have the determination, we will try to provide the system where someday you can grow up to be a great leader, you can be a Senator, or a President, or a head of an industrial corporation, or a great leader on your own"?

That is the kind of a legacy that we want, that is the kind of a hope that we plan. But our challenge and our clear and present challenge is to cure what needs to be cured, correct what needs correcting, set the people of this region out on the bright highway of hope as free men, living in dignity and with the promise of opportunity.

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964

Apr. 25 [294]

No Governor here tonight has the blush of shame come to his cheek. Each one is proud to represent a great constituency. But they are realistic men, and a very fine effort, they know, has been made to develop programs for their States that we need in this Appalachian area. That program has been under the chairmanship of young Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., who has done a great job.

I have received the report of that Commission, and I have received the report of the Governors' Conference. The Governors have again tonight renewed their interest in that report and again indelibly stamped their approval on it. I have gone over it in some detail with them and I will have an announcement to make in a very few days concerning further implementing of that report, or supplementing it.

It is my hope that in a matter of days, I can send a message to the Congress in con-

nection with the work that we have done today and in connection with the work of this commission. I hope that I shall be able to come back here some time and visit in this area again.

In the meantime, please know that we are going to be united in our efforts to bring not only peace to our country and the world, but to bring unequalled prosperity to the Appalachian area and to all the people of this wonderful land.

Good luck and good night. And God bless you all.

NOTE: The President's opening words referred to Governor William W. Barron of West Virginia. During his remarks he referred to Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Chairman of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission. The Commission's report is entitled "Appalachia, a Report by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission, 1964" (Government Printing Office, 93 pp.). The report to the President by the Conference of Appalachian Governors was made orally.

294 The President's News Conference of *April 25, 1964*

[1.] Q. Mr. President, Mr. Truman has been quoted as expressing concern about your safety in crowds.¹ I wondered how you felt about that?

THE PRESIDENT. Let's wait until the boys² get through here and we will start.

[2.] As you know, yesterday was spent seeing firsthand and hearing directly from those people in the Appalachian region who unfortunately have not shared in the recent general economic growth this country has experienced. The reports that have been

submitted and the discussions that we have had in the White House convinced me long ago that there was a serious problem in this region that needed the attention of the Government at all levels and of private citizens and organizations as well.

However, the full impact was truly brought home in conversations with the people of the area yesterday—first at South Bend, then Pittsburgh, eastern Kentucky, and Huntington, W. Va.—and I believe we must secure congressional action without delay.

I shall send to the Congress early next week my legislative proposal for the Appalachian region based on the recommendations of the Commission, made up of the

¹Mr. Truman, who was attending the President's news conference, had met earlier with the newsmen at which time he had remarked that he hoped President Johnson would "protect himself."

²The photographers.

[294] Apr. 25

Public Papers of the Presidents

Governors of the area and top Federal officials. Basically, this legislation rests on the following:

1. Appalachia is a relatively isolated region which requires vastly improved access and communication. It is a relatively isolated region.

2. The abundant rainfall of the area must be made to benefit rather than injure its people through improved flood control and by providing recreational and industrial water supplies.

3. The area's great natural resources of coal, timber, and tillable land must be better adapted to the needs of the 1960's and the decades to come.

4. The human resources must be better developed through appropriate social and economic programs.

The interest of the State governments and local governments demonstrated in our visit yesterday convinced me that together we can—and must—make tremendous strides in bringing the development of Appalachia up to that of the rest of the Nation.

I am certain, too, that if those members of Congress who are questioning our anti-poverty program were to have been on the tour yesterday they would today be bending their every effort to pass our program. It is "must" legislation.

The principal elements of the legislation are 2,150 miles of highways, at a cost of \$840 million; acceleration of water resources facilities at a cost of \$35 million, in FY 1965; \$10 million for sewage and water treatment; a pasture improvement program with Federal grants of 80 percent, maximum of 25 acres per farm, \$22 million; initiation of technical assistance program, \$6.7 million for fiscal 1965; expanded research in promoting uses of coal and land restoration after mining, \$3 million in fiscal 1965.

We will take another look at that and see if, in accordance with the suggestions from some of the Governors, that appropriately can be expended, and, if so, when.

Stepped-up human resources, \$71 million extra for fiscal 1965. That is to be administered by the poverty program under Sargent Shriver.

Establishment of Federal-State Appalachian Commission for comprehensive planning, recommendations to be made by the Federal, State, and local bodies.

The total fiscal year 1965 cost is approximately \$220 million, which was included in the item in the budget submitted in January under "Contingencies." The total cost of proposals cannot be accurately calculated today throughout the period of the program.

The specific points that I gained from the Appalachia trip yesterday, and the impressions, are these:

I think we have a demand that we act on this bill immediately and that is why I worked through the night and the morning with other officials, and it will go to Congress on Monday.³

I am now announcing it today.

We have need for early action on the poverty program. We have delayed our hearings, and there are some delays that have occurred that I think have not been particularly helpful, and we hope that we can get action on that at an early date.

Everything I saw justified our speeding up action on the poverty bill yesterday. There is need for careful scrutiny of the development of power resources, looking toward action. That would mean specifically the possibility of steamplants, TVA, in some of that area.

Need for the food stamp program, which has already passed the House, but which will

³ See Item 300.

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964

Apr. '25 [294]

be of great value in that area.

Need for work projects to take care of people who are only working a few days a week, which some of this Appalachia program could cover.

Need for retraining projects in addition to what they have now. We have talked that over with the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce. We will talk to others that are involved and try to build some other public projects there.

Need for basic educational projects.

Need for Medicare bill.

Need for careful scrutiny of coal problems.

On the Medicare bill, one of the men that I talked to, whose home I visited yesterday, the man that had the eight children, told me he had stayed up to 3 or 4 o'clock the morning before with a neighbor who was 85 years old, who couldn't go to the hospital. He was sitting up with him. That was at the home of Mr. Fletcher we went to yesterday. That brings home to us the need of Medicare, because if he had had hospital insurance, he could be taken to the hospital.

Need for careful scrutiny of our coal problems, to be sure that we find any new uses for coal and that we try to revive the coal industry in any way possible that we can.

Need for development of an adequate road system.

Therefore, I have sent the nine Governors concerned the following telegram this morning:

"This is to inform you that I will submit my legislative proposals implementing the major recommendations of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission report to the Congress early next week."

That means Monday if the House or Senate is in session.

"The program should be considered by Congress without delay, and I hope that

you and the other area Governors will be able to assist in explaining the program to the Congress.

"The opportunity to visit with families in Appalachia and to see at first-hand the magnitude of the difficulties in the region has convinced me of the need for prompt action."

There is basically one difference between their recommendations and our program. They recommend \$1.2 billion for roads over a period of time that we recommend \$840 million for. Instead of four lanes, some of them may be two lanes. It amounts to the same mileage of road but we estimate that they will cost less than the Governors estimate they will cost, after we have taken it over to our roads department.

If you care to have copies of the telegram and copies of the 10 specific points that I gained yesterday, and a copy of this statement, that will all be available. The Appalachia report is available, and here is a copy of the bill that is available.

[3.] Another new note: corporate profits. We have a report this morning. For the first 311 corporate profits, Federal Reserve tabulated for the January-March quarter show after-tax profits in manufacturing to be 23 percent above a year ago.

For wholesale prices, April weekly figures thus far suggest there will be no increase in April from March in the overall price index nor in the index for industrial products, which we believe to be very good news.

[4.] Administrator Batt has made a report to me today in reducing unemployment in depressed areas. He says 73 major labor markets approved in 1961 for ARA assistance had achieved the following gains by 1963: Unemployment in these 73 major markets fell about 32 percent compared to the

321 Remarks at City Hall, Cumberland, Maryland.

May 7, 1964

Mayor and Mrs. Chaney, Senator Brewster, Senator Beall, Congressman Sickles, Congressman Mathias, my good friend Attorney General Tom Finan, ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:

They tell me other Presidents have been here, but I don't think any of them brought along most of their Cabinet. I want all of you boys and girls to have a chance to meet the Cabinet that sits with me in the Cabinet Room in the White House in Washington.

I first want to introduce Secretary Orville Freeman, Secretary of Agriculture. Secretary Freeman.

Next I want to introduce Secretary Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Next I want to introduce the Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz.

The Under Secretary of Commerce, representing Secretary Hodges, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Mr. Robert Weaver.

The head of the Tennessee Valley Authority that will be traveling with us in 5 States today, Mr. Aubrey Wagner.

I asked these men to come here with me to see these problems and to see these people. They came because I asked them, and they came because we care. We not only want to know something about the problem, but we want to do something about it.

For many years I have heard Maryland called the "Old Line State." Not until this week did I know that it got that name because of the courageous service of the Maryland line that was under fire during the American Revolution.

That revolution is not over. Lynda Bird told you something about the revolution that

is just beginning with our Appalachia program and with our poverty program. So we begin to fight to finish in the 20th century what our forefathers started in the 18th. And Maryland, again today, as we meet here, is once again on the front line.

Your courage and your will to fight are as needed now as they were then, and I think you have just as much of it now as they had then.

Ever since 1634, when the *Ark* and the *Dove* landed 200 settlers on your shores, Maryland has played a vital role in building America. Those pioneers were men with a cause. They had suffered from unjust government at home. They came to find justice in a new land. They came—heedless of hazard—seeking new opportunity, new chance.

Those who came later often differed in habits and in custom, and in language and in religion. But they all came seeking a society that was free of the prejudices, the injustice, the rigid barriers to advancement which had disturbed their lives in the old world.

They came looking for freedom and tolerance, and that is what we look for today. They came looking for opportunity and abundance, and that is what we are trying to provide today. They came looking to free the human spirit from the bonds of the old society which thought a man's birth and station more important than his ability and his dedication.

They came looking for a government that they did not have to fear, because they wanted their government to be their own.

They faced grave difficulties and dangers on these untamed shores. The Piedmont was a wild frontier. But they knew that

although the hazards were high, the rewards were rich.

From this wilderness they carved clearings and they gave those clearings names which ring today with their fears and their toil. "Trouble Enough" was one of them, "Scared From Home" was another, "All That's Left," and "Discontent." One Maryland farmer called his place "I'm Glad It's No Worse."

But they never lost sight of the desires which brought them across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1638 their representatives won the right to initiate legislation in the Maryland assembly. This was a landmark in American history. No other colony had made a more dramatic effort to achieve self-government.

And Maryland also became a fountain-head of religious freedom. In 1937 Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.'s father, the President, wrote congratulating Maryland, he said, for "its noble service in the cause of religious toleration," and in that letter he warned that "we must recognize the fundamental rights of man."

He wrote that letter because he knew that this was a State which has always fought for the rights of man, and that that battle takes place on different fronts today than it did 300 years ago. Maryland and Marylanders must help to win it.

Because that same spirit still lives in Maryland, I came here this morning to ask your help in carrying forward the American Revolution. In many ways, today's battles are even more difficult. Then the enemy was clear. Today the enemies which menace our people are more complex. We are preparing to fight these enemies.

Our first objective is to free 30 million Americans from the prison of poverty. Can you help us free these Americans from the

prison of poverty? And if you can, let me hear your voices.

We are going to do these things for those who are poor, aren't we? We are going to do it for those generations who will be condemned to poverty unless our generation provides a way out. We are going to provide the way out, aren't we?

President Franklin Roosevelt said, "It is not the pinch of suffering, the agony of uncertainty that the adults are now feeling that counts the most—it is the heritage our children must anticipate"—the heritage they must anticipate. "It is not just today that counts. Undernourishment, poor standards of living and inadequate medical care will make themselves felt for 50 years or more."

So the inadequacies of today will be felt in your life and in your children's lives 50 years from today. Here in Appalachia, one family in three lives on an income of less than \$3000. Here in Appalachia the 1960 per capita income was a meager \$1400 a year. In the rest of the country it was \$1900.

Here in Appalachia, employment went down 1.5 percent between 1950 and 1960. In the rest of the country it did not go down—it rose 15 percent.

Here where you meet this morning only 32 out of every 100 people finish high school. Five out of every 100 finish college. More than 2 million people have migrated to join the unemployed in other places.

But statistics do not tell the story.

I know what poverty means to people. I have been unemployed. I have stayed waiting in an employment office, waiting for an assignment and a placement. I have shined shoes as a boy. I have worked on a highway crew from daylight until dark for \$1 a day, working with my hands and sweating with my brow. This has taught me the meaning of poverty and poor.

It means waiting in a surplus food line rather than in a supermarket check-out. It means going without running water rather than worrying about whether you can afford a color television. It means despairing of finding work rather than wondering when you can take your vacation. It means coming home each night emptyhanded to look at the expectant faces of your little children who lack the things that they need. It means a lonely battle to maintain pride and self-respect in a family that you cannot provide for—not because you don't want to and not because you don't try to, but in a Nation where so many seem to be doing so well you seem to be finding it difficult.

Poverty not only strikes at the needs of the body. It attacks the spirit and it undermines human dignity.

It is not enough for the Congress to pass laws. We will not win our war against poverty until the conscience of the entire Nation is aroused. We will not succeed until every citizen regards the suffering of neighbors as a call to action. We will not overcome until every child in every city, in every town, joins its parents and helps us to mobilize its resources.

This can be done, and you can help do it, and you are going to do it, aren't you? We won the first American Revolution because we were a people in arms. We mobilized every resource of a new and weak country. Every citizen had a role to play in that revolution. In this way, we defeated a great empire.

Today America is richer and stronger. We have the resources and we have the knowledge to win this war. The battle will not be a spectacular one. It will consist of thousands of small efforts that add up to a vast national effort.

For example, this week, just Tuesday, we

approved a new program to train 50 machine-tool operators here in Cumberland. These 50 men will have new skills and they will be put to work in local industries. Fifty more men will have a chance for a decent wage and a productive job, and a better family life. So they will leave the ranks of poverty. Let's let these 50 just be the beginning of what we are going to do for all America all the time.

In this way, with small beginnings, do we move toward the great goal that Franklin Roosevelt set before us when he said, "The great objective we are demanding for the sake of every man, woman, and child in this country is a more abundant life."

That is our objective today. We strive for this goal by attacking the causes of poverty, and we are not trying to give people more relief—we want to give people more opportunity.

That is what the people want. They want education and training. They want a job and a wage which will let them provide for their family. Above all, they want their children to escape the poverty which has afflicted them.

They want, in short, to be part of a great Nation, and that Nation will never be great until all of you people are a part of it.

So I came here to Maryland this morning, to this wonderful place and these smiling faces, this seedbed of American liberty—I came here to call upon the pioneer spirit which made this a free country. From these hills again goes forth today a call to battle.

This is the first appearance that we will make today, here at your stadium, and here in front of your City Hall, here at your employment office, and here on your streets. This will go forth, our first call to battle in our effort to drive poverty underground, in

our effort to improve our program through the Appalachia recommendations that I have made to Congress. This time it is a battle to open the gates of the great society, to open those gates to all who seek to enter.

We don't ask much. The average American does not demand much. But we have a right to expect in this rich country, if we are willing to work from daylight to dark, we have a right to expect a job, to provide food for our families, a roof over their heads, clothes for their bodies, and opportunity to have our children educated, and the right

to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience.

With your support and with your help and with your faith and with your confidence and with God's help, we will have it in America.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m., following brief remarks by Lynda Bird Johnson. His opening words referred to Mayor and Mrs. Earl D. Chaney of Cumberland, Senators Daniel B. Brewster and J. Glenn Beall, and Representatives Carlton R. Sickles and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., all of Maryland, and Thomas B. Finan, Attorney General of Maryland.

322 Remarks Upon Arrival at Lockbourne Air Force Base, Ohio. May 7, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen, boys and girls:

We appreciate very much your coming here on this beautiful day to welcome us to your great State. Governor Rhodes, you have certainly turned out a warm and enthusiastic group of people. I always enjoy coming to Ohio. I know that we will profit from what we see and what we hear today.

Our time is limited. I wish I could shake hands with each of you, but since I can't, I want you to know that we wish you the very best, that we have come here to try to make this a better State, to try to build this into a better Nation. We must do that with the support of good people like you who love your country, men and women like you who supply the boys who wear the uniform that keeps our country safe.

We are doing reasonably well in the prosperity picture today and we have to keep it up in the future. We have an Appalachia program we presented to the Congress which includes your great State of Ohio. We think it will bring benefits to your State and to your people. We have come here to learn firsthand something about the conditions.

We will report back to Washington tomorrow and we hope before this session of Congress is over we can have passed an Appalachia bill, a poverty bill, a medical care bill, a civil rights bill, a food stamp bill, a housing bill, and measures that will take care of the people generally. When you have a program that will do the greatest good for the greatest number, you have a program that is for the people.

Today I have brought with me several members of my Cabinet so we could get away from Washington so we could learn something about conditions out where the people live. It always gives me strength and stimulation and inspiration to come and meet the people, and this can truly be called a trip to meet the people, because when you look in their eyes and shake their hands, you know they are honest, God-fearing people who are going to support what's right.

Today I want to present to you the distinguished Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman. Your own beloved Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Celebrezze. The distinguished Secretary of

Labor, Mr. Willard Wirtz. Mr. Wagner, who is head of the Tennessee Valley Authority and will be traveling with us through five States today. Mr. Robert Weaver, the head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

And finally, the man in charge of all of the Appalachia program who is going to help

make these dreams come true, the Under Secretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Thank you for coming out to say hello. Goodby, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. following brief remarks by Lynda Bird Johnson. In his opening remarks he referred to Governor James A. Rhodes of Ohio.

323 Remarks in Athens at Ohio University.

May 7, 1964

Dr. Alden, Mr. Galbreath, Governor Rhodes, Mrs. Rhodes, and Mrs. Alden:

I am glad to be in Ohio once again and to come to your historic campus in this 160th anniversary year with my good friends the two Senators from the State of Tennessee, Senator Gore and Senator Walters.

Please stand up, Senator Gore and Senator Walters.

I am pleased that I should have this opportunity to be in the home State of Congressman Hays, Congressman Harsha, Congressman Bolton, Congressman Abele, and Congressman Ashley. I am honored that they would be present today. Please stand up, gentlemen.

Not only because we care, but because we intend to listen and learn and do something about it, I have brought a good many members of my Cabinet out here. I would like for all of you young people to take a look at them.

First of all, your own Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Celebrezze.

And the very youthful and able Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman.

A man who is very much in the headlines these days because he works day and night and keeps all the strikes down, Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor.

The very delightful fellow who heads our

Housing and Home Finance Agency in Washington, Dr. Robert Weaver.

And the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mr. Wagner.

I know that from the welcome you have given them they will appreciate the opportunity to be here today and to visit with you.

Since this began as a poverty inspection tour, I want to clarify our presence here. The faculty opinion notwithstanding, I do not believe that Ohio University has any poor students. As the father of a college daughter dressed in green and white today, if I wanted to inspect pockets of poverty, I would go and inspect the parents instead of coming here.

After my recent experience with my beagle dogs, it is wonderful to be back here with all these Bobcats. I have looked forward to this opportunity to thank publicly Governor Rhodes, Mr. Galbreath, and the Board of Trustees for lending to us, to plan and formulate the Job Corps, your able and impressive president, Dr. Vernon Alden.

Mr. Galbreath, I might say that Sargent Shriver and I are as happy to have Dr. Alden as you would be if the Pittsburgh Pirates won the pennant this year.

Under Dr. Alden's leadership, Ohio University is setting a national standard leadership in attacking the problems of area

economic development, and I am proud to announce today that a contract has been signed by the Area Redevelopment Administration to establish a regional development institution here. This will make Ohio University the focal point of economic development for the southeastern Ohio area.

I am told that this section has been "surveyed to death" in recent years. But this is not another study program; it is an action program. We have convincing evidence that action gets results.

In 1961, 10 out of 11 major industrial areas in Ohio were in the substantial unemployment category. Governor Rhodes and members of the Ohio delegation, I know that we are all proud today to announce that only one area remains in that category, because the Lorain-Elyria area is being removed from the list today.

This is good news for Ohio and it is good news for the country.

This is a young land and it is a land of young people. There are $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more Americans under the age of 25 than our total population 100 years ago. By the end of the next decade, in 1980, one-half of our people will be younger than 25. So to you of this student body, I say merely as a statement of fact, America is yours, yours to make a better land, yours to build the great society.

I know that we live in an age when it is considered correct to play it cool, when it is right to be reserved, when it is not good form to show great faith. But I believe with Emerson that no great work is ever achieved without enthusiasm. I would urge you—and call upon you now—to go out of here with great resolve, because we have great works to achieve. But we cannot succeed without the enthusiasm and the courage which are the legacy of our history.

Our challenge, not tomorrow but today, is to accomplish objectives which have eluded

mankind since the beginning of time. We must bring equal justice to all our citizens. We must abolish human poverty. We must eradicate killing and crippling disease and lengthen the span of life to 100 or 200 years. We must eliminate illiteracy among all of our people. We must end open bias and active bigotry and, above all else, we must help to bring about a day "when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Not in a day, and not in a year, will these goals be reached. But if we begin the effort, if we approach the task with great enthusiasm and not with cynicism, these achievements will be the glory, the glory of your generation.

There is in front of you young people today the promise of a greater tomorrow. It is a tomorrow that is brighter than yesterday, and it is a tomorrow that is more challenging than today. This is not a time for timid souls and trembling spirits. We have it within our power to find the best solutions to the worst of problems, and we intend to do just that.

So let your young hearts armed with new weapons join in an old battle against ancient enemies—the enemies of poverty, disease, illiteracy, strife, and bigotry.

And with your courage and with your compassion and your desire, we will build the Great Society. It is a Society where no child will go unfed, and no youngster will go unschooled. Where no man who wants work will fail to find it. Where no citizen will be barred from any door because of his birthplace or his color or his church. Where peace and security is common among neighbors and possible among nations.

This is the world that waits for you. Reach out for it now. Join the fight to finish the unfinished work in your own land and in the rest of the world. I know as

that it is going to do something about it. We have put in our budget, funds for a poverty program that is headed by Sargent Shriver.

We have put in our budget, funds for the Appalachia program that is headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. And we, today, will visit 5 States in the Appalachia area, making a total of 9 of the 10 States in that area that we shall have visited.

We want to listen and to learn. We want to observe firsthand.

I think it is extremely gracious of you and typical of your courtesy and your friendliness to come out here and pay us such a warm welcome. We thank you for the presents. We thank you for the beautiful weather. We know our visit here will be

fruitful. I hope that I may be able to get to see you again between now and November.

NOTE: The President spoke upon arriving at the McGhee-Tyson Field in Knoxville in midafternoon. His opening words referred to Mayor John J. Duncan of Knoxville and to Governor and Mrs. Frank G. Clement. Senator Albert Gore, Senator Herbert S. Walters, Representative and Mrs. Ross Bass, and Representative Richard H. Fulton, all of Tennessee. During the course of his remarks he referred to Aubrey J. Wagner, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps and later designated Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

The President was presented with a key to the city by Mayor Duncan and with a Proclamation of Welcome which proclaimed May 7, 1964, as Lyndon B. Johnson Day.

325 Remarks at the Coliseum, Knoxville, Tennessee.

May 7, 1964

THANK YOU, Governor Clement. I appreciate the gracious welcome that you and Mrs. Clement have given us today in Tennessee—and the most generous introduction that you have given me at least three or four times since we crossed the border of your State.

I believe this introduction you just gave me is about the best introduction I have ever had in all my public life, except one that I had down in Texas one time when my County Judge was supposed to introduce me and he didn't show up and I had to introduce myself!

I am delighted to be here in the great State of Tennessee with my friends, Senator Gore, Senator Walters, Congressman Bass, and Congressman Fulton. I am very indebted to Judge Bozeman for his most generous statement. I want to thank Reverend Mattingly

for being here today and leading us in prayer.

I want all of you to know that we came to listen and learn, but not just listen and learn, but to do something about the things that need something done about them. For that reason, I brought most of the Cabinet with me—Secretaries Freeman, Celebrezze, and Wirtz—and Mr. Wagner, Mr. Weaver, and Mr. Roosevelt.

As Governor Clement told you, Tennessee gave the Republic of Texas its first President, Sam Houston, and it has taken more than a hundred years, but I am glad to come back here today to Tennessee to thank all of you for that favor. I don't know whether you know it or not, but all of us Texans know that there never would have been a Texas if there hadn't been a Tennessee. There are times when you won't want to admit that,

but it is true. Sam Houston was Governor of Tennessee before he came to our State and became President of Texas.

I want to assure you, however, that I have not come back here to run for Governor of Tennessee. I already have my hands full, at least for the time being.

Tennessee is full of warm memories. Not far from here, one of the greatest Americans of all times and one of the best friends that I ever had was born in Roane County, the late, beloved Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sam Rayburn. Sam Rayburn left Roane County a long time ago, but the migration of your young people to other States is still bleeding Tennessee of some of its best talent and some of its most precious resources. You should be disturbed by the fact that of the 100 graduates of LaFollette High School in 1952, only 3 still live in Campbell County. They left not because of any love lost for Campbell County but because of lost opportunities. They moved on, searching for jobs and searching for the security and the dignity that comes from having a job and being able to work.

They are not alone. Two-thirds of the membership of an electrical union headquartered in Knoxville has been forced to seek work outside of this area. And someone told me of the unemployed railroad worker here at Jellico who said to a reporter, "Up in my part of the country things are so rough that the river only runs twice a week, and you cannot get a job unless somebody else dies."

Our society cannot tolerate a situation where a man cannot work unless somebody else dies. And yet 6 percent of the working force of Tennessee's Appalachian area are unemployed.

But statistics tell only part of this story. They do not describe the harsh picture of

despair and want in communities like Clairfield, where more than 200 children meet and study in two crumbling buildings heated by coal stoves and lighted by weak light bulbs, and where the only hot meal most of them get a day is the free lunch at school.

Figures could not tell the painful hopelessness of the Tennessee miner who works 8 to 10 hours in a treacherous dog hole for a week's profit of \$30.¹ In a rich and in a great society I find it hard to believe that one-fifth of our population has been left behind in misery and in want. Surely the wealthiest and the most powerful country in the world should be able to give every man who wants to work a chance to find a decent job, a chance to earn a decent wage, and a chance to provide a decent living for his family.

This can be done, and this administration is going to do it. This administration has declared war on poverty and unemployment, and we have asked Congress to approve a major assault on the problems of the Appalachia area which concern you people here so much. We have come here today to tell you that we need and we ask for your help in Tennessee and in Knoxville. We intend to fight both of these battles, and we intend to fight them until victory is ours.

Those who oppose us are determined people. They have already last week, on the Floor of the House of Representatives, called

¹ On January 28 the White House released a summary of a report by the Secretary of Labor on the bituminous coal industry. The release stressed the fact that in the Appalachian coal fields the depression had grown steadily worse as competitive and technological changes made older skills useless and left entire communities stranded. The report showed that employment during the first half of 1963 reached the lowest average since the early 1920's while productivity was rising to the highest level in the industry's history.

The report "Bituminous Coal Mining, Labor Market Developments," Industry Manpower Surveys No. 106, is dated December 1963 (18 pp. processed).

this war on poverty a cruel hoax. Well, that is an old, familiar phrase—cruel hoax. The first thing I want to observe is the man that coined that phrase must have had a job for a long time working for the Republican National Committee, because I first heard that phrase in the 1936 campaign when they called Social Security a cruel hoax.

If those men had had their way 30 years ago, the TVA would not be the world's shining example of how Government and free enterprise can work hand in hand to help people. If those men had had their way, the "For Sale" sign would be on TVA this very hour and Knoxville would not be nearly as well off as it is.

I take great pride in looking in this most beautiful building that is filled with fine, happy faces today. But only a moment ago, and a stone's throw from this building, I saw people as poverty ridden as I have seen in any part of the United States. And with your help and with God's help, we are not only going to enjoy this beautiful center that we meet in this afternoon, but we are going to clean up these places around it.

The TVA has already demonstrated what freedom can do by the collective action of the people, and by the vision of leadership. Now we must do it again. This time in fighting the war on poverty and carrying the Appalachian program to a successful conclusion, we can demonstrate that when the need is here, people will act.

I have come here today not as a sightseer of poverty, although I have seen some of it. I have not come with promises of plenty, although I am willing to make some promises, for there is no such thing as instant prosperity. There is no pat formula that will bring superfast relief to this section of the Nation.

But I have come to say that fighting together, we can and we will win this war on

poverty in all this Nation. So help us fight this war and help us win this victory, and let us not wait for the day when the prophet will say that the harvest is past and the summer is ended, and we are not yet saved.

Let us, instead, work together so that one day we may hear the benediction, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

I know that you have had your dreams. I know that you have had your visions and your hopes. But I wonder if for just a moment, as we conclude, you would not engage in just a little introspection and ask yourself if you applied the Golden Rule and did unto others as you would have them do unto you; if you signed your name on the cornerstone of this building, and you demonstrated that you met here on this afternoon at the hour of 5 o'clock or 5:30, that you enlisted in the war on poverty, I wonder if in the decades and centuries to come the fact that your name was on that honor roll wouldn't be one of the proudest things that your descendants could point to.

So I ask you, and I appeal to you, to come and say that we can fight together. When President Roosevelt came here in 1934, he said what is true in 1964: "The good people of this valley will be known as veterans of a war to improve the living conditions of millions of Americans."

So I ask you today, please come help us do those things which need doing for the benefit of those who need help, to make sure that in this abundant land no child goes unfed; to make sure that in this abundant land no youngster goes unschooled; to make sure that in this abundant land no sick baby goes unattended; to make sure that there are jobs for those who want them, and sustenance for those in need; to make sure, and to be sure, that regardless of race or religion, or how we spell our name, or the country that our ancestors came from, or the color

of our skin, that we have equal opportunity in this land we love, this land we are proud to call America.

Yes, let us here dedicate ourselves this afternoon so that every man can live with dignity and decency, no matter where he was born or the color of his skin or the church of his choice. How well you and I and all Americans finish this work that is today unfinished will determine and will measure the kind of society that we build, and will determine and will measure the kind of world that we leave to our children. So I appeal to you as your President to enlist your hearts and volunteer your hands.

America will be a better land for you

and your families when the battle for a better life for all Americans is finally fought and is finally won.

Thank you and goodbye.

NOTE: The President spoke in midafternoon. In his opening remarks he referred to Governor and Mrs. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee, Senators Albert Gore and Herbert S. Walters, and Representatives Ross Bass and Richard H. Fulton, all of Tennessee, Judge Howard Bozeman, County Judge of Knoxville, and the Reverend T. J. Mattingly, of the First Christian Church in Knoxville. Later he referred to Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority Aubrey J. Wagner, Housing and Home Finance Administrator Robert C. Weaver, and Under Secretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

326 Remarks Upon Arrival at Seymour-Johnson Air Force Base,
Goldsboro, North Carolina. May 7, 1964

Governor Sanford, Senator Ervin, Senator Jordan, Members of the Congress, ladies and gentlemen:

We are so happy to be here in your great progressive State that has for so many years attracted the attention and set the example for all this great section of the United States.

I apologize to you for being so late. We didn't anticipate when we left Washington this morning to cover five States that we would get the opportunity of seeing so many people, shaking so many hands, looking into so many friendly faces. This has been truly a stimulating and inspiring experience for me.

If you ever need pepping up a little bit in Washington, all you have to do is get on the plane and go out and see the people. They are the optimistic group. They know we have much in this country to preserve, much to protect. They love our country, and they want guidance and leadership in what we can do to make a better land.

In the Congress we have a program pending which we are working on, and we hope to discuss that with you later in the day. I have two more appearances that I must make. Any of you that happens to be here when I return, I will be glad to have another little visit with you.

In the meantime, I want you to know that we deeply appreciate the outstanding service that your congressional delegation has rendered, that we thank you for sending them to Washington, that we want to cooperate with you in doing everything we can that is for the good of America, that we believe in protecting every person's constitutional rights, that we believe in giving every child an education, we believe in seeing that people have an opportunity to work and earn their living, we want to make this a country of taxpayers instead of a country of taxeaters, that we have a progressive and prudent administration that is trying to move ahead and still keep both feet on the ground.

We are honored that so many of you would come here to welcome us. I am sorry Mrs. Johnson can't be with us today, but I brought her fill-in, my oldest daughter, Lynda Bird. And although as far as today is concerned she is a school dropout, I am mighty happy to have her along and I would like to introduce her at this time.

Lynda Bird.

[At this point Lynda Bird responded briefly saying she did not feel as though she had lost a day of school because she had had "a cram course in geography, history, as well as physical education" trying to keep up with her father. The President then resumed speaking.]

I want to thank your fighting Governor and his wife, your two able Senators, and the Members of your delegation for meeting us here and for going on with us to where we are going now. I want to tell you that when we come to see conditions in the country and on a trip to meet the people, we also bring the people who can get the job done.

I want to present to you some members of

my Cabinet who came along to see firsthand today the conditions in the interior of the United States.

First of all the Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Orville Freeman.

Next the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Anthony Celebrezze.

Next the very distinguished Under Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Next the Director of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Dr. Robert Weaver.

And next the head of the TVA, Mr. Wagner.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am going to come out and say howdy to a few of you. We need to be gone from here in 5 minutes. We'll be back as soon as the sun lets down. It has been wonderful to see you.

Thank you for your gracious welcome.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:05 p.m. His opening words referred to Governor Terry Sanford and Senators Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan, all of North Carolina.

327 Remarks in the City Hall, Rocky Mount, North Carolina. May 7, 1964

Governor Sanford, Senator Ervin, Senator Jordan, my oldtime friends in the Senate, Congressman Harold Cooley, Congressman Fountain, Congressman Kornegay, Congressman Bonner, Congressman Taylor, ladies and gentlemen:

This has been one of the most rewarding days of my entire life. Everywhere I have gone I have met good people who wanted to do something about the problems that face our country. Everywhere I have gone I have seen men and women who wanted to leave this country a better place to live in than they found it.

I was just looking at the program the

Governor handed me, and a brief summary, and I thought how wonderful it must be to have been a part of a program that would present a proposal for adult education; to give people who are already grown—to still give them an opportunity to acquire more education, some of them to learn to read and write; vocational training, in cooperation with the local school boards, to provide training so that the boys and girls can equip themselves for life's responsibilities; a Negro nursing school, pre-school nurseries, student volunteer committee.

I commend you on the leadership and the progressive spirit that North Carolina has

shown. This year, after that fateful day of November 22d, I had 37 days to make up a budget that appeared to involve some \$103 billion. The question was how we would spend that money and how much we would spend.

I called in my Cabinet and all the heads of independent agencies, and I asked for their counsel and their advice. We concluded that we would try to cut that projected budget from \$103 billion to under \$100 billion; that we would try to cut our deficit from some \$10 billion last year to \$4.5 billion this year.

And we carefully examined with a fine-toothed comb every expenditure that was proposed. We had several billion dollars for space, we had more than \$50 billion, more than half, to defend this country by keeping prepared so that no enemy would ever dare attack us. We had several billion dollars for agriculture, to try to keep the agricultural economy healthy. We had several billion dollars for health and education and welfare, and for the Labor Department.

Then came the question of whether we were willing to undertake a program to do what President Roosevelt did in the early thirties, to try to make war on poverty and attack the causes of poverty, and try to do something about it.

I have just left a tenant farmer's home. I talked to the father and the mother, and the 7 children in that home, and the grandmother. They are good, honest people. They love their country. They want to do right by everybody. They are trying to eke out an existence with 9 acres of tobacco and 10 or 11 acres of cotton, working on the "halves," with no money, a little old-age pension check and a little advance—seven hungry mouths to feed. But they want to do what is right.

That is not much different from the situation that I found myself in after I discovered America. My father was a tenant farmer; he worked on the "halves." He had a cotton crop that usually ran from 8 to 12 bales a year. He had 5 children. We lived 4 miles from the nearest post office, 4 miles from the nearest school. He wanted his children to have an education. He wanted them to have an opportunity. He wanted to prepare them to assume the responsibilities of the 20th century. With the help of the Government, with the leadership of his neighbors, and with the cooperation of many good men, I was able to go through high school. I pushed a broom and helped myself go through college, and my brothers and sisters had a chance to do so, too.

So I came out on this trip today thinking about the blessings that had come to me, and hoping that somehow or other I could have the strength to transmit them to other people.

I came here to see what you are doing. I am running late. I am usually a dollar short and an hour late. But my intentions are good.

The reason we are late is we have seen so many more people than we anticipated. It is hard to leave when you are talking to the kind of people that I am talking to now. The heartland of America is made up of men and women like you. Most of you believe in the Golden Rule and I hope all of you practice it. I hope you do unto others as you would have them do unto you. That is what we thought about when we made up that budget.

So we decided that we would take 1 percent, less than \$1 billion out of a \$100 billion budget, and try to do something about poverty in 1964. In 1934 President Roosevelt said that one-third of the people were ill clad and ill fed and ill housed in this glorious, bountiful land of ours.

In 1964 we have made some progress in that 30 years. We no longer have a third of our population at the bottom of the heap. We have it cut down to one-fifth of our population.

But we decided we would do something about that one-fifth. We would establish agricultural credit, grants, and loans. We would provide some community projects, such as you have outlined here. We would have some work camps, where young men and young women could go and receive training and improve their physical fitness and their mental training.

We realize it is not a very complimentary thing to say about America, to realize that mothers and fathers produce young men and when they go and register for the service, 1 out of every 2 that they have produced has to be cut back because they are mentally unqualified or physically unqualified. I would go broke in a year if 1 out of every 2 calves I produce had to be cut back by the packer as unfit for use.

Yet that is what happens in our country. Here in the midst of plenty, here when corporation profits are \$31 billion more than they were in January 1961, here in the first quarter of this year, from the first 1,000 corporations we have heard from, their profits are up 23 percent over the first quarter of last year, here when the laboring man has taken more than \$50 billion more in wages than he took in 1961, labor wages having increased \$50 billion in income, since 1961—here in the midst of the plenty, we find that 1 out of every 2 of our young men is not equipped to enter the service.

So this morning I asked Secretary Celebrezze, who heads our Health, Education, and Welfare Department, to come and go with me and let's see how we are going to spend this billion dollars. Let's go into the tenant farmers' homes, let's go into the small

communities. Let's look at some of the work camps that we could use in our forests and in our parks. Let's get out and, if you please, meet the people, because I never go and meet them that I don't return to Washington stronger and better fitted for the responsibilities that I have.

So Secretary Celebrezze is here with me, not because he likes to tour around the country, but because he cares about human beings and because I am going to ask him not only to care about them, but to do something about them. I want to introduce him. Secretary Celebrezze.

We have a young man who loved his country enough to get his jaw shot off in the Marines during World War II. He has now risen to the high position of Secretary of Agriculture. While he still carries the scars of battle, defending the flag of this country, he is out today waging a war for the underprivileged, trying to do the greatest good for the greatest number, as fine a yardstick as you can ever apply. Secretary Orville Freeman, the distinguished Secretary of Agriculture.

Dr. Robert Weaver, the head of our Housing and Home Finance Agency, will play an important part in this program. He is one of our ablest public servants. Dr. Weaver.

The head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the admiration and the envy of every country in the world, Mr. Wagner.

And last, but not least, a man who rightly wears and proudly wears a great name in American history, one that has done so much for the people of this country, the "p-e-e-p-l-e," Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Now, we have come to listen and to learn and to see, and I hope to ultimately conquer in this war on poverty. We are not speaking to you as poverty stricken people. We are speaking to you as our beloved fellow citi-

zens who occupy the same place that we do. We are saying that one-fifth of our families in America, 30 million of our population, still have an income that is way below normal standards. True, it exceeds the income of most other nations in the world, but it is not enough to meet the kind of life that we would like for Americans to live.

This family that I just visited, their oldest boy had to drop out of school to help his father, when in the seventh grade. The father and mother had to drop out of school early in their lives and they have had no education. He wanted to get into the Army. He went the other day and they accepted his physical, but because of his lack of education, he couldn't qualify.

I don't know how many members of that family will wind up as being recipients of welfare instead of taxpayers, but I hope that as a result of our visit today, and as a result of the bills we now have in the Congress, as a result of the work of your fine Senators and Congressmen—and there is no finer delegation in the Congress than the North Carolina delegation, no more honorable one, no more dependable one, no more respected one—I hope there is a work that we can do so that none of those children will wind up as public charges, but all of them will wind up as healthy, taxpaying citizens instead of taxeating charges. Now that is what we are doing here. That is what we are trying to learn about.

We are going back to Washington and try to take 1 percent of that budget, one penny out of every dollar. We saved it by cutting out more than \$2 billion, more than twice as much, in obsolete military establishments alone, and the economies that we effected in the Defense Department.

Now we are going to try to take that money that we saved there and put it to helping people, doing the greatest good for

the greatest number, hoping that every boy and girl that is born in this land has a chance to grow up and hold a job that they are trained for and they are equipped for, hoping that every boy and girl that is born in this land can have a roof over their head and food in their bodies and clothes on their backs, and can have a chance to have an education, without regard to their race or their religion or the region of this country in which they live.

We would like to be an example for the rest of the world, and we have a great opportunity to be that example. But we must not just change from one-third to one-fifth in 30 years, but we must move that one-fifth down to one-tenth and to one-twentieth until poverty is finally driven from the face of the United States.

So I say to you folks tonight, I appreciate your coming here. I am glad to learn of what you are doing under the North Carolina Fund. I am proud of the progressive spirit that you have evidenced in legislation and in education through the years. You have led the South by your progressive works, and we know that.

I am hopeful that you can find your way to do more of this good work and that when our poverty bill is passed, when our Appalachia bill is passed, all of which is already in the budget, all of which has already been recommended to Congress, that you will make yourself one person that enlists for the duration of the war, the war on poverty, so that our children will be healthier, they will be better fed, they will be better housed, they will be better educated. And if they are, we will be a better people and have a happier Nation.

Can you think of anything under the sun that would give you more satisfaction than to feel that you met here tonight in the City Hall and you had a part, with your Presi-

dent, in planning a program that will ultimately drive poverty from the face of the United States? That will ultimately educate all those 7 little children we saw out there this evening? That will ultimately make it possible for every boy that is examined to be fit for the service instead of 1 out of every 2 being cut back? Can you think of a more noble or worthy undertaking to be a part of than this undertaking?

So I have come to North Carolina to enlist your cooperation, to ask your help, to plead with you to give me your heart and give me your hand, and try to leave this a better land for our children than we found it for

ourselves. We are mighty proud of the kind of country we have, but we want to make it better than it is.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:35 p.m. in a courtroom at City Hall. His daughter, Lynda Bird, also spoke briefly.

The President's opening words referred to Governor Terry Sanford, Senators Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan, and Representatives Harold D. Cooley, L. H. Fountain, Horace R. Kornegay, Herbert C. Bonner, and Roy A. Taylor, all of North Carolina.

Early in his remarks the President referred to experimental antipoverty programs made possible by funds donated to the State of North Carolina by the Ford Foundation.

328 Remarks Outside City Hall, Rocky Mount, North Carolina. May 7, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am happy to have with me tonight your fighting Governor, Terry Sanford; two of the ablest statesmen, my close friends, in the United States Senate, Sam Ervin and Everett Jordan; Congressman Harold Cooley, the distinguished Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and the untiring champion of the food stamp plan that will give every child a chance for a healthy diet; my old and good friend, L. H. Fountain, in whose district I am appearing; my good friend, Congressman Herb Bonner, Congressman Horace Kornegay, and Congressman Roy Taylor.

Ladies and gentlemen, I salute the North Carolina delegation and thank them for the courtesy in coming here with me.

I want you to know the members of the Cabinet that I also brought with me: Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Anthony Celebrezze; Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman; the head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Dr.

Robert Weaver; the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Mr. Wagner; the distinguished Under Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

In the past 2 weeks I have visited nine States in the Appalachian area. I have seen two kinds of people: those who have a chance to earn a decent living, and those who don't. There are a lot of people in this country who deserve a better chance. There are more than 30 million Americans who live below the poverty line. They deserve a better break.

There is a difference between being poor and being in poverty—a big difference. Many of us grew up poor. I was born the son of a tenant farmer in a family of seven. But while we were poor, we were not the prisoners of poverty; we were not caught in the backlash of an industrial revolution as the people of Appalachia are today. We had a chance to break out and to move up, a chance many Americans don't have tonight.

Right here in North Carolina, the State

where I stand, poverty has left its mark. Some people say that if these Americans are poor, it is their own fault. I have even heard others say that God ordains poverty for the poor. Well, I don't believe them, and I don't believe God believes them either. I believe the reason most poor people are poor is that they never got a decent break. I believe the reason most people are poor is they never had a fair chance when they were young, and they never got it later on.

Some people never got that break because they were born in the wrong part of the country. Some people never got that break because they were born with the wrong color of skin. Some people never got it because they went into farming and they couldn't get enough land to make a decent living when farm prices were too low and operating costs were too high.

One major objective of our bill is to help low-income farmers. The tax of poverty has fallen heavily on a lot of farmers in America, and we are determined to help lift it from their shoulders. I just came from a home that has used the food stamp plan, that lives off an old-age pension, that tries to feed a grandmother and seven children and a mother and a father—a family of 10—off of 9 acres in tobacco and 10 acres in cotton, on an advance of \$20 a week, with a charge of 10 percent interest.

I just came from that home where the 17-year-old boy had gone to enlist in the Army, and while he met the physical standard, he had to be cut back and sent home because of an inadequate education. No, the planes we fly, the missiles we prepare, and the defenses of this country today cannot get along with an Army, an Air Force, and a Navy made up of second-class boys.

I often hear people ask, "Why help people stay on the farm? Why not let poor farm families give up and go to the city instead?"

Well, if we don't do something for fellows like I saw this afternoon, they are all going to be in the cities and they are all going to be on the relief rolls, and they are all going to be taxeaters instead of taxpayers. That is why our great cities are already becoming more congested while our small towns are dwindling away.

Many of the young people will leave the farms, but that is another matter. If they have been well schooled, they may find great opportunity. But the older families deserve a decent break, a chance to make a go on the farm. All they seek is a chance to earn enough to live on in their home communities among their friends and their neighbors.

I do not propose to give up on the small family farm as long as I am President of this country. I do not propose to abandon the small villages and the small cities and the trading centers of North Carolina as long as I am President of the country. I do not propose that America's small communities become ghost towns as long as I am President of the United States.

And I want to tell you frankly and candidly, and aboveboard, and put it on the table, I want economic opportunity to be spread across this land—north, south, east, and west—to all people, whatever their race, whatever their work, wherever they live. We must give to all Americans, those on the farms and those in the cities, a chance to drink from the cup of plenty.

A tragic twist of fateful sorrow has made me President. From that awful day on November 22d, when our President was assassinated, I have had but one thought and one conviction, but one objective, to be the President of all the people, not just the rich, not just the well fed, not just the fortunate, but President of all of America.

So I have gone to five States today saying the same thing to the same kind of people,

all good Americans: I want for every family what my mother wanted for me, what every mother wants for her child—the chance for an honest living, an honorable job, a decent future.

I have come here tonight with this fine congressional delegation of yours and looked into the faces of all these patriotic people up and down the roads that I have traveled—I have come here to ask you to join the fight to build a great society in our land. Do something we can be proud of. Help the weak and the meek. Lift them up. Help them train and give them an education where they can make their own way instead of having to live off the bounty of our generosity.

So I say to you tonight, wherever you live, whatever you do, whatever your I.Q. or however big your bank deposit, there is a place for you in the army, in the army of Americans that are fighting the war—fighting the war against poverty and disease, fighting the war against illiteracy and against bigotry.

Yes, I have come to this great State of North Carolina that has led the way in so many progressive movements. I stand here with your fighting Governor and your two able Senators, and your fine congressional delegation, and I ask you to give me your heart, and give me your hand, and stand up with me and be counted. Stand with your country. Stand for courage and compassion and stand together, you and I, and all citizens of good will, and let us leave this land a better land than we found it, wiser than we knew it, and greater than we ever dreamed it to be. Wouldn't that be a fine objective? So let's all join in working toward that goal.

I have put in the congressional budget of \$97,900 million, \$1 billion for poverty, just

less than 1 percent. One cent out of every dollar to try to do something about work camps, community projects, education, building roads, helping those who want to help themselves—one cent out of every dollar. That program is pending and we are going to pass it through the Congress, and when we do, we are going to start the war that we want you to enlist in.

You can teach children to read and write who don't know how to read and write. You can join in and have scholarship programs. You can have adult education classes. The stronger a nation, the wiser the nation, the better educated the nation, the better future we will have in this world in which we are competing.

Now that is a laudable undertaking, that is a worthy goal, that ought to give you an outlet for the desire that you have to achieve something for yourself and your family. You ought to want to put your name on that cornerstone in that roll of honor that we are now enlisting people for.

Franklin Roosevelt said in 1934 that one-third of the people are ill clad and ill housed and ill fed. In 1964, 30 years later, we moved that one-third to one-fifth, from 33 percent to 20 percent. Now let's move it to 10 percent in the next 10 years and to 5 percent in the next 5 years, and then wipe it completely from the face of the United States of America.

Think about what a glorious feeling it will be, and what a great land we will have when every child can grow up and have an education, when every child can have food for his body and clothes to cover his back, a roof over his head, and be his own keeper and earn from the sweat of his brow what he needs to provide the essentials of life.

That is all I am asking you to do. I am asking you to help me to start a program

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that will win this war. And with your help and God's help, we are going to win it.

Thank you very much.

I am sorry that Lady Bird couldn't be with me today, but for several months she has had a project of preserving the White House. She is meeting with some distinguished Americans today, all day long, on that project. We have a project—preserving the people of this country, preserving America.

I brought a stand-in for her, my daughter Lynda Bird.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:55 p.m. on a platform erected outside City Hall. In his opening remarks he referred to Governor Terry Sanford, Senators Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan, and Representatives Harold D. Cooley, L. H. Fountain, Herbert C. Bonner, Horace R. Kornegay, and Roy A. Taylor, all of North Carolina. The text of brief remarks by the President's daughter was also released.

329 Remarks at the Air Force Base in Goldsboro, N.C., Upon
Departing for Atlanta. May 7, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen:

I am sorry that we are so late. I appreciate so very much your coming out here and giving us this great welcome. I don't know when I have ever spent a day that I have enjoyed more than the day that I have spent in the great State of North Carolina, with the fine people who have met us at every place that we have stopped.

I am sorry that we are running about 2 hours late. I had a dinner engagement in Atlanta, Ga., at 8:40, so we are going to have to move along.

But I do want you to know that I have enjoyed being with you. I think we have made some progress on our problem. I have had a long and fruitful, encouraging talk with your great Governor, Terry Sanford, with your able Senator, Sam Ervin, and

Senator Jordan, with the Members of your congressional delegation, and I look forward to having them work with me and with members of my Cabinet in bringing about a program that will give the greatest good to the greatest number of all of our people.

I think that you are wonderful folks; you have been extremely gracious to me and my party, and my family. I thank you from the bottom of my heart. I wish I had the time, because I do have the strength—I get strength from looking at you and from seeing you, and from shaking your hand—but I am late and I must run away.

Thank you so much, and I hope to see you in North Carolina before November.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. During the course of his remarks he referred to Governor Terry Sanford and Senators Sam J. Ervin, Jr., and B. Everett Jordan, all of North Carolina.

330 Remarks in Atlanta at a Breakfast of the
Georgia Legislature. May 8, 1964

Governor and Mrs. Sanders, Mayor and Mrs. Allen, my dear friend and your distinguished Senator, Herman Talmadge, my longtime friend and Chairman of the House Armed

Services Committee, who, together with Senator Russell, helped make Georgia the arsenal of military strength in the world, Carl Vinson—and Lynda Bird is a little sen-

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965

Mar. 9 [103]

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 modestly 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