

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JANUARY 31, 1967

*Mr Kreeger  
Mr Chief Justice  
members of Cabinet  
Congress  
Federal  
Govt*

I am privileged to accept this National Brotherhood  
Citation on behalf of President Johnson, and to express to  
you his profound appreciation of this honor and his regret  
that he was unable to be with you tonight. (Et cetera)

President Johnson said in his State of the Union  
Message that this was a time of testing for Americans.

*gather that*  
~~I think~~ many people applied this just to Vietnam,  
or to our international responsibilities.

But this is <sup>also</sup> a time of testing here at home too.

Again, in the President's words, "the question is  
whether we will continue working for better opportunities for  
all Americans, when most Americans are already living better  
than any people in history."

I read a document the other day that suggested we cut back in our efforts toward better opportunities.

There is no question that Vietnam, and our other international obligations, do require resources which might otherwise be devoted to building wider and better opportunity here in America. - *The Horrible Cost of war.*

*But* (And may I say, parenthetically, that our efforts to resist aggression and defend the principle of national independence in Vietnam also have a great deal to do with the building of human opportunity *there and elsewhere.*

But I wonder: Should we cut back here at home *as some suggest,*  
What are the facts of our American economy?

The fact is that we have gone 70 straight months without interruption of our economic expansion -- the longest and strongest expansion in our history -- and that 1967 will be another year of balanced growth.

↳ The fact is that our nation's output, last year, grew more than 5 per cent for the third straight year -- and that's another record for length and strength.

↳ The fact is that the average American's real purchasing power is today almost one quarter higher than it was only six years ago.

↳ The fact is that our Gross National Product is today approaching three quarters of a trillion dollars.

↳ The fact is that some 10 million Americans have been reached in the past two years by our national programs for opportunity, <sup>their first opportunity</sup> and have begun their journey toward becoming self-sustaining, taxpaying citizens.

My friends, the fact is that we can afford to continue our efforts toward full opportunity for all Americans ... toward social justice ... toward making every American citizen a positive and productive citizen who contributes something to his society. ~~and doesn't take away from it.~~

*The fact is we cannot afford not to continue!  
The only question is, how shall we go about it!*

The fact is we cannot afford not to continue.

How shall we go about it?

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the 19th century:

"These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world. In a local community in their country, a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? He goes across the street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence. Then the committee begins functioning on behalf of that need ..."

This was the spirit of private voluntarism which existed in America a century before the National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded.

and This is the spirit of voluntarism that we must preserve and nourish today.

For it is as true now as when Alexis de Tocqueville wrote it that "the health of a democratic society may be measured by the qualities of functions performed by private citizens."

*But* It is not sufficient to place laws upon our statute books  
*We may satisfy our conscience, but not our needs*  
These laws must be enforced and observed, in spirit  
and in letter, or they remain mere words on paper.

What is needed is action by all elements of our  
society -- government, business, labor, the university, the  
religious and voluntary organization, and the individual citizen --  
without regard for old jurisdictions and animosities ... a  
partnership of free men, working through free institutions,  
for a common goal.

As Ralph Waldo Emerson warned long ago:

"God offers to every mind its choice between truth  
and repose. Take which you please; you can never have both."

Most of us here tonight live or work in Washington, D. C. --  
a community where today there exists the overwhelming need for  
action.

This is, in most ways, a magnificent city. It is, in  
fact, a city planned for magnificence. *in beauty.*

↳ most of us here tonight live or work in Washington  
Dc. This is in many ways a magnificent city -

↳ Our public buildings and monuments shine forth  
in the sun for the eyes of the visitor. ↳ Our streets are lined  
with trees planted by farsighted men. ↳ The houses and homes  
of Washington have grace and charm.

Washington, too, is a city with ~~unmatchable~~ <sup>great</sup> resources --  
material resources and <sup>rich</sup> resources, ~~too~~, of human talent. It is  
a city, among all American cities, which should be the model  
city of our nation.

↳ Yet we must see not only its magnificence, but its  
inadequacies. <sup>not only its beauty, but its</sup>  
<sup>ugliness.</sup>

↳ We who are here tonight live well. But the hard fact  
is that, for many of this city's citizens, unemployment and  
under-employment are harsh daily realities.

↳ The fact is that in many neighborhoods there is  
de facto segregation in schooling and housing.

↳ The fact is that thousands of children are growing up  
in our capital city without decent housing + neighborhoods  
enough breathing space or fresh air ...

without enough playgrounds or recreational areas ... with a <sup>yes, I thought by now</sup>  
shortage of teachers, too-few and <sup>often</sup> outdated school books and <sup>in some</sup>  
<sup>areas</sup> crumbling school buildings ... with inadequate health care ... and  
<sup>without adequate</sup> ~~with not enough~~ youth services and youth workers.

↳ The fact is that the safety of Washington's citizens,  
and of their property, leaves much to be desired ... that the  
poor and underprivileged are crime's most frequent victims ...  
and that the District police department needs more and better-  
trained people, modern equipment, and increased pay.

↳ The fact is that we are still without adequate, regional  
mass transit.

↳ The fact is that our majestic Potomac River flows  
polluted and poisonous ~~along its banks~~.

↳ The fact is that the citizens of our capital -- among  
all the citizens of our country -- do not possess the right of  
self-government.

Home  
Rule

And here I would remind you of the words of  
Thomas Jefferson who wrote more than 146 years ago:

"I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers  
of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them  
not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a  
wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them,  
but to inform their discretion."

And regrettably, the fact also is that far too many  
who live or work here remain complacent about all of this.

For year after year, it has been fashionable to say  
that the federal city could be America's first city if it were  
not for the political "realities" which kept it from being so.  
And it has been equally fashionable for those who could do  
something about it to tuck their children safely into private  
schools and/or to move their homes and businesses to the suburbs.

I say it is time for a change.

And, now what to do about it?



well L President Johnson has proposed an action program to lift our capital to its rightful place in our nation. ~~He has put forth a budget which can help to do it.~~

L He has called once ~~more~~ <sup>again</sup> for Home Rule.

We have, in the report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, a charter for justice and civic peace which clearly points the way to our "domestic tranquility." ~~It must be implemented~~

And I say 1967 is the year when the people who live or work in Washington, D.C. -- and that includes most of us in this room -- should prove that de Tocqueville was not wrong... that we neighbors are still capable of pulling together to look after the unmet needs of our community.

L I ask each one of you, on his own and through whatever organizations he may belong to, to make it his business this year to stand up and be counted for a better and safer and self-governing District of Columbia.

I ask your support for the President's budget proposals and those of his Crime Commission. I ask your support for Home Rule. I ask you to organize, to write, to lobby in the offices of the Congressmen ~~involved~~ -- in short, to stand up in this community for the same things we have fought for in the rest of our country.

Yes, if this is a time of testing elsewhere, it is also a time of testing right here in this city for all of us.

If this is a time when we cannot cut back, in our nation, ~~on programs for growth and opportunity~~, or in the federal city, it is also There can be no retreat. a time when we must go forward with those programs in our national capital.

Now, before closing, I would like for a moment to place in proper perspective the tasks we face ahead.

All the problems I have cited are clear and present in this community.

now, let me place in proper perspective the tasks we face ahead. all the problems I have cited are clear + present here in this community -

Yet, in the past few years and months, we have

begun to challenge all of them. And I believe, from our efforts thus far, we recognize that they can be overcome.

We can win!

If nothing else, this community today acknowledges and recognizes that they exist. And that is something in itself.

yes We are beginning to slowly move away from ghetto

housing and schooling.

I saw last summer what could be done by volunteer

efforts in Washington for Youth Opportunity -- finding jobs

for young people who otherwise would have been in the streets --

and on behalf of better playgrounds and playground lighting for

young people.

We saw what a swimming pool

We had some misadventures in trying to obtain and

could mean to children longing for install neighborhood swimming pools for these same young people.

wholesome recreation.

But we'll do far better this summer, I can assure you.

I am pleased to see that our local colleges and universities, up until now largely pacifist observers and removed from community affairs, are beginning to take their part.

militant  
whites

We can change the food!

We are moving from protest to progress!

Jobs

Lighting

I saw what could be done for

I assure you that the same will be increasingly true  
of the federal government.

I believe Washington can be the "model city"  
of America. *But it w. // require a Partnership!  
It w. // require our community to go to work!*

I believe that our neighborhoods can once more be  
places filled with neighbors ... where the streets are safe ...  
where people care about each other.

I believe the "other" citizens of Washington -- those  
citizens who live too largely in a sealed-off world a million  
miles distant from upper Massachusetts Avenue -- can become  
participants, and not spectators, in this community's daily life.

I believe we can clean the filth from our air and water,  
and the trash from our slum alleys.

I believe we can make this a community where people  
of all races, creeds, colors, ages and occupations can live  
together in harmony and in peaceful diversity.

For if we, in our shining federal city, cannot do it ...  
what American city can?

If it can't happen here, ... how can it happen elsewhere?

We have begun. But we have only begun. Let us  
get on with the job. — So much to Do

Churchill -

So much to do - so little  
time to do it.  
###

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

While I regret that I cannot be with you tonight, I am deeply grateful for this award. It comes from an organization which, in my opinion, represents the very highest ideals of American Society.

The magic of America is not that we are all alike, but that we are all different. I cherish the ideal of an America where our differences are not dissolved in a "melting pot," but where our diverse peoples join together like the members of a great orchestra. The individual instruments play their separate parts, and the result is -- not bland conformity -- but a brilliant symphony which none could have played alone.

Such a symphony of understanding and common purpose is one of the ideals of your organization. You have done much to encourage

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and preserve both the diversity and the harmony of American life.

Brotherhood, in America, means a society where every citizen owes to others, and asks for himself, only the right to worship according to his beliefs, to live his own life, to speak his own mind -- in short to be himself.

Respect for those rights has caused our Democracy, not only to endure, but to become the wonder of the world.



FOR RELEASE: February 1, 1967  
Wednesday AM's

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
January 31, 1967

I am privileged to accept this National Brotherhood Citation on behalf of President Johnson, and to express to you his profound appreciation of this honor and his regret that he was unable to be with you tonight.

President Johnson said in his State of the Union Message that this was a time of testing for Americans.

I think many people applied this just to Vietnam, or to our international responsibilities.

But this is a time of testing here at home too.

Again, in the President's words, "the question is whether we will continue working for better opportunities for all Americans, when most Americans are already living better than any people in history."

I read a document the other day that suggested we cut back in our efforts toward better opportunities.

There is no question that Vietnam, and our other international obligations, do require resources which might otherwise be devoted to building wider and better opportunity here in America.

(And may I say, parenthetically, that our efforts to resist aggression and defend the principle of national independence in Vietnam also have a great deal to do with the building of human opportunity.)

But I wonder: Should we cut back here at home?

What are the facts of our American economy?

The fact is that we have gone 70 straight months without interruption of our economic expansion -- the longest and strongest expansion in our history -- and that 1967 will be another year of balanced growth.

The fact is that our nation's output, last year, grew more than 5 per cent for the third straight year -- and that's another record for length and strength.

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The fact is that some 10 million Americans have been reached in the past two years by our national programs for opportunity, and have begun their journey toward becoming self-sustaining, taxpaying citizens.



My friends, the fact is that we can afford to continue our efforts toward full opportunity for all Americans . . . toward social justice . . . toward making every American citizen a positive and productive citizen who contributes something to his society, and doesn't take away from it.

The fact is we cannot afford not to continue.

How shall we go about it?

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the 19th century: "These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world. In a local community in their country, a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? He goes across the street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence. Then the committee begins functioning on behalf of that need . . ."

This was the spirit of private voluntarism which existed in America a century before the National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded.

This is the spirit we must preserve and nourish today.

For it is as true now as when Alexis de Tocqueville wrote it that: "The health of a democratic society may be measured by the qualities of functions performed by private citizens."

It is not sufficient to place laws upon our statute books.

These laws must be enforced and observed, in spirit and in letter, or they remain mere words on paper.

What is needed is action by all elements of our society -- government, business, labor, the university, the religious and voluntary organization, and the individual citizen -- without regard for old jurisdictions and animosities . . . a partnership of free men, working through free institutions, for a common goal.

As Ralph Waldo Emerson warned long ago: "God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose. Take which you please; you can never have both."

Most of us here tonight live or work in Washington, D. C. -- a community where today there exists the overwhelming need for action.

This is, in most ways, a magnificent city. It is, in fact, a city planned for magnificence.

Our public buildings and monuments shine forth in the sun for the eyes of the visitor. Our streets are lined with trees planted by farsighted men. The houses and homes of Washington have grace and charm.

Washington, too, is a city with unmatched resources -- material resources and resources, too, of human talent. It is a city, among all American cities, which should be the model city of our nation.

Yet we must see not only its magnificence, but its inadequacies.

We who are here tonight live well. But the hard fact is that, for many of this city's citizens, unemployment and under-employment are harsh daily realities.

The fact is that in many neighborhoods there is de facto segregation in schooling and housing.

The fact is that thousands of children are growing up in our capital city without enough breathing space or fresh air . . . without enough playgrounds or recreational areas . . . with a shortage of teachers, too-few and outdated school books and crumbling school buildings . . . with inadequate health care . . . with not enough youth services and youth workers.

The fact is that the safety of Washington's citizens, and of their property, leaves much to be desired . . . that the poor and underprivileged are crime's most frequent victims . . . and that the District police department needs more and better-trained people, modern equipment, and increased pay.

The fact is that we are still without adequate, regional mass transit.

The fact is that our majestic Potomac River flows polluted and poisonous along its banks.

The fact is that the citizens of our capital -- among all the citizens of our country -- do not possess the right of self-government.

And here I would remind you of the words of Thomas Jefferson who wrote more than 146 years ago: "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves: and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion."

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Yet, in the past few years and months, we have begun to challenge all of them. And I believe, from our efforts thus far, we recognize that they can be overcome.

If nothing else, this community today acknowledges and recognizes that they exist. And that is something in itself.

We are beginning to slowly move away from ghetto housing and schooling.

I saw last summer what could be done by volunteer efforts in Washington for Youth Opportunity -- finding jobs for young people who otherwise would have been in the streets -- and on behalf of better playgrounds and playground lighting for young people.

We had some misadventures in trying to obtain and install neighborhood swimming pools for these same young people. But we'll do far better this summer, I can assure you.

I am pleased to see that our local colleges and universities, up until now largely pacifist observers and removed from community affairs, are beginning to take their part.

I assure you that the same will be increasingly true of the federal government.

I believe Washington can be the "model city" of America.

I believe that our neighborhoods can once more be places filled with neighbors . . .where the streets are safe . . .where people care about each other.

I believe the "other" citizens of Washington -- those citizens who live too largely in a sealed-off world a million miles distant from upper Massachusetts Avenue -- can become participants, and not spectators, in this community's daily life.

I believe we can clean the filth from our air and water, and the trash from our slum alleys.

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For if we, in our shining federal city, cannot do it . . .what American city can?

If it can't happen here. . .how can it happen elsewhere?

We have begun. But we have only begun. Let us get on with the job.

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[Transcript]

# Educating for Brotherhood

National Capital Area  
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.  
735 Southern Building, Washington, D. C. 20005 • Telephone 628-4620

DONALD F. SULLIVAN  
Executive Director

August 8, 1967

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Mr. Julius Cahn  
Special Assistant to the Vice President  
Room 911  
1800 G Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C.


Dear Julius:

At long last we can send you a rough transcript of the Vice President's address at our Brotherhood Citation Dinner on January 31, 1967. I thank you again for your wonderful cooperation.

Please do give our very best to Mrs. Cahn. We had hoped to get together with you long before, but unfortunately a number of crisis and other situations have intervened.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

  
DONALD F. SULLIVAN  
Executive Director

DFS: ph

Enc.



Transcription of Address by Vice President  
Hubert Humphery at 1967 Brotherhood Citation  
Dinner of the National Conference of Christians  
And Jews, Delivered at the Sheraton Park Hotel  
In Washington, D.C. January 31, 1967

Thank you very much Mr. Kreeger.

Mr. Chief Justice, and in the style of Sam Levenson, ladies and gentlemen.

I hope that you can imagine tonight how I feel. It's tough enough just to be Vice President, but to have to follow Sam Levenson! The only relief that I get is the fact that he's my friend and I feel at least, he didn't do it intentionally. But after I say to you how I feel following Sam Levenson, I now think about how you feel when you only get the Vice President when you were expecting the President. So we're even.

Just a week ago, I was in a samiliar situation when I was attending what is knows as the Alpha Club. They had a chap there that people said ~~were~~ <sup>WAS A</sup> the humorist, name was Bob Hope. And he spoke just before I did. I don't know whether somebody in this country is trying to develop my character to adversity or not, but I want to say to my friends ~~who~~ <sup>OF</sup> the Reverend Clergy, if they are, they're making a powerful impact, I can assure you. Because I'm beginning to feel now that humbleness and humility are qualities which if I don't like, I'll have to have.

First may I say, how honored I am to stand-in this evening for the President of the United States to accept this National Brotherhood Citation, ~~On~~ behalf of President Lyndon Johnson, and to express to you his profound and deep sincere appreciation for this high honor. And I can tell you he very sincerely regrets that he was unable to be with you tonight. But our President has had a very hard day. He's had some difficult days before this one. And I had to do a little rearranging of schedule the last couple of days. And I know he had to do more than that today. So I'm going to take the liberty this evening of reading to you a little message that I have here. This was placed in my hand just before I left to come to this dinner, and it is a statement by the President that he asked me to read to you on his behalf. The President says:

~~gratefully~~ While I regret that I cannot be with you tonight, I am deeply grateful for this award. It comes from an organization which in my

opinion, represents the very highest ideals of American Society. The magic of America is not that we are all alike, but that we are all different. I cherish the idea of an America, where our differences are not desolved in a melting pot, but where our diversified people join together like members of a great orchestra. The individual instruments play their separate parts, and the result is not bland conformity, but a brilliant symphony, which none could ~~not~~ have played alone. Such a symphony of understanding and purpose is one of the ideas of your organization. You have done much to encourage and to preserve both the diversity and the harmony of American life."

"Brotherhood in America means a society where every citizen owes to others, and asks for himself only the right to worship according to his belief, ~~To live~~ to live his own life, to speak his own mind, in short, to be himself. Respect for those rights has caused our democracy not only to endure, but to become the wonder of the world." The message of the President of the United States.

Now I've fulfilled my responsibility to you and to the President. And, I haven't made a speech today, I'm about to take off right now and say some things that I've wanted to say, which I keep saying in some different adaptation from time to time, but pretty much the same theme that has been talked about from this <sup>lecture</sup> night. The theme of opportunity, of individualism, of human indignity, of personal integrity, of self respect. And I think these are the qualities that we seek to make living fact for every citizen of this republic. And I want to talk tonight to people from this community primarily.

I know that this audience is graced by the presence of our fellow Americans from many parts of the United States. But about 90 per cent, I believe, of this audience would come from the Federal City and its immediate surrounding area. And because I sense that, and I checked that figure with the program chairman. He tells me that's about accurate. I'm going to talk to you as citizens of the Federal City, of the District of Columbia, and good neighbors to this area.

First may I say to Mr. Kreeger that your reference to my work is deeply appreciated. I couldn't help but think as you were speaking about my experience as Mayor for employment practices, that unknown to you I am sure and to others, that a young man that was then working through the city of Minneapolis at my request, for nothing, but was full with idealism and good judgement, and just graduated from

law school, is on this platform with us tonight. And it is a fact that I was Mayor when the first fair employment practices ordinance in this nation was enacted. But the man that wrote the legislation, and worked with me <sup>15</sup> ~~to be~~ the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman, who's sitting here tonight.

And I think I know why we did what we did. Not because we had been indoctrinated by book learning, so to speak, but because we felt that way about people. And as I listened to Sam Levenson talk about his Pop, his father, his dad, I couldn't help but think about mine, and about others that maybe've had much more influence on our lives than all the college degrees that you can pile on. And surely all the honorary degrees you can obtain. Because there is no substitute for being brought up to believe in your God, in yourself, in your self-respect, and in your country, respect for others, respect for your nation, respect for your religion. And I have a feeling most Americans feel that way.

We're a gay people, and sometimes we seem almost perilous and care-free. But we're really not. And I sensed that the other evening when the President of the United States give his State of the Union Message. A message that, I believe, was his finest presentation to the American people. Because he spoke with such sincerity and depth of feeling. Soberly! And I think he spoke to us of what we know to be a fact. That this is a time for testing for America. As other days have been too.

You know this America of ours is really the great success story of ordinary people. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons that I am sure we can win the war on poverty is because we've been winning it. Every generation, every decade, every century. The people that came to the shores, the ones that Sam Levenson spoke about tonight, they came here poverty-stricken in worldly goods, most of them, but rich in spirit. And I believe the greatest task that we have tonight is not to meet the poverty of the person, but the poverty of the human spirit. The poverty that is so evident in so many of our people that, tonight are filled with hopelessness and frustration and bitterness and almost a lack of desire for life itself. So I want to talk with you about this kind of testing.



I think that many people, when they heard President Johnson use those words, thought he was talking only of Viet Nam or our international responsibility. But if you listen carefully you knew that he was talking about a time of testing here at home, too. The testing that this great Citation refers to. The testing of himself as well as of the nation. In the President's words, he said the question is whether we will continue working for better opportunities for all America when most Americans are already living better than any people in history.

I remind you that there is a word that has come into our current dialogue in conversation that hasn't been used as much as it has in the past as of recent date. And that word is Opportunity. We heard it tonight, opening the gates of opportunity. We speak of opportunity for all America. We not only speak of rights and duties now, but of opportunity. And I was so pleased, so pleased to know that we not only speak of providing opportunity, but also in a sense, of making opportunity a reality by helping others that help themselves walk through those gates of opportunity.

I know that there isn't any doubt that Viet Nam and other international obligations ~~due~~<sup>do</sup> take resources, ~~due~~<sup>do</sup> require resources which might otherwise be devoted to building wider and better opportunity here in America. This is a tragic, agonizing cost in these struggles. But may I say quite frankly to you that our efforts to resist aggression and to defend the principal of national independence in self determination in Viet Nam and elsewhere may very well have a great deal to do with the building of human opportunity there and elsewhere.

Because man is not an island unto himself, surely we know that. This world of ours is a smaller world in size every day because of communication. There is no place to hide in the space age of the Nuclear Age. And one man's tyranny is yours. The loss of another persons freedom is your loss. Freedom is indivisible, and its defense is a burden and a responsibility that comes to free men. But I have to ask myself in light of the questions that ~~oppose~~<sup>are posed</sup> every day in this city by some people, should we cut back here at home? Because the suggestion is often made. And I have to ask with you tonight, what are the facts about this economy? Who are we? What are we? What are we capable of doing? Before we sell ourselves short, or before we undertake more than we can handle.

But I think the facts are well known. The Secretary of the Treasury is here tonight, and he can <sup>recite</sup> ~~recount~~ them with staccato-like precision. Seventy straight months, without interruption of vast economic expansion, unprecedented prosperity, the longest and strongest expansion in our history. I wonder if we are prayerfully grateful for that? Or have we accepted it as just a happy accident? I don't think it's accidental, but I do think we've been blessed as no other people. And I am just simply old-fashioned to believe that when a person or a nation is blessed with more than he richly or more than he deserves, that he has an obligation then more than any other time to be of help to others.

The fact is that our Nation's output has been growing at more than 5% a year. At least for the last three years. And that another record. The fact is that the average American's real purchasing power, with all the price increases and all of the other factors you can put in, is almost 25% higher today than it was six years ago. The fact is that the gross national product of this country is practically at three-quarters of a trillion dollars, and on its way to the trillion billion.

The fact is that some ten million Americans have been reached in the past two years, that were not reached before by our new National Program for Opportunity. And for those ten million it was their first opportunity. The first time in their lives that their citizenship meant real first-class citizenship. And they have begun their journey toward becoming self-sustaining, self-respecting, tax-paying, productive citizens.

I think; the fact is that we can afford to continue our efforts toward full opportunity for all America. The fact is that we can continue our efforts toward social justice, toward making every American a positive and productive citizen who contributes something to his society. Or to put it another way, the fact is we cannot afford not to continue. We have no choice but to move ahead.

Now the only question is to practical people-how? How do we do it? Well most of us here tonight live or work in Washington D.C. I believe that if you're going to try to save a world, you start where you are. This does not deny you or in any way excuse you from broader responsibility. I heard tonight from this platform the need of our rich and

powerful nation, and it is fantastically rich, the need of this nation to help close the gap in this world between the rich and the poor. The wage war on hunger and pestilance to help those who need help. And I happen to believe, my fellow Americans, that America's foreign policy is no more creditable, it is no better than it's domestic policy. I believe that if you continue to win the war on poverty in India, you better win it in Washing at the same time.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not say again you have either or, you do both. We do both and we can. Now let's teach them where we are because its so much easier to be an expert about far away places. And I generally find that people have become great military experts, economic experts, foreign policy experts, the further away the country is that they're speaking about.

But I was a Mayor of a city for two terms. And when you ~~set~~ SAID two decades, I felt one decade older just that very minute. It was two decades ago but the problems are very much the same even now because so little has been done about some of them.

This great Federal City of ours, Washington, in many ways its a magnificent city. Its a thing of beauty. Our public buildings and monuments literally glisten in the eyes of a visitor. Our streets are lined with trees tht were planted by far-sighted men. The houses and the homes of Washington, many of them have grace and charm. Washington too, is a city with great resources - physical resources, material resources. But above all rich human resources of human talent. It is a city among all American cities, Secretary Weaver, which should be the Model City of this nation. What makes you think you can build the Model City away from the Federal Government? We can't do it here. Yet we must see not only its magnificance, but I do think we need to see its beauty, and not merely its weaknesses. We need to see its adequacy and not just its charm.

We who are here tonight, we live pretty well. Sometimes I wonder if we are not talking to the wrong audiences most of the time. But at least you are here and I want to talk to you because you'll talk to somebody else about it. The hard fact is though, that we are living very well, for many of this city's citizens, our employment, under employment, being unemployable, at least temporarily, and hard daily realities. The fact is that in many neighborhoods there is defacto

segregation, both in schooling and housing. The fact is that thousands of our children are growing up in our capital city without decent homes, without decent neighborhoods, without even enough playgrounds or recreational areas. There is a shortage of teachers, too few and often out dated school books. And in some areas crumbling school buildings. With inadequacy in health care, and without adequate youth services and youth workers. This is not to say we have not done much. Its just to say that Americans ought to be a restless people, never satisfied until we have reached what we think are the standards of a great nation.

The fact is that the citizens of our capital, among all the citizens of this great free republic do not even at this year, 1967, possess the right to self-government. And here tonight I would remind you of the words of Thomas Jefferson who wrote more than a hundred and forty-six years ago. "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves. And if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with the wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion." Thomas Jefferson.

I might say it has been mighty fashionable. <sup>my</sup> This Federal City for some to say we just don't face up to the political reality and its been equally feasible for those who could do something about political reality to tuck their children away in private places, suburban neighborhoods. Ive been guilty of it, you've been guilty of it, we all have been guilty of it. The question now comes: what are we going to do about it? Because, I repeat, I do not think people around the world are going to really believe our message of human equality and opportunity unless they see it in living fact in every town, village, county and city in this republic. We have to prove it here.

The man you've honored tonight with this citation, President Lyndon Johnson, <sup>was</sup> well not only deserving of this Citation, but a man who has really put new meaning into the Emancipation Proclamation, has proposed an action program to lift our capital to its rightful place in our nation. And I take just this little part in the program because if we must do something about that little part.

The Federal Government is closer to Washington D.C. then it is to Minneapolis. The per capital <sup>income</sup> of this area is the greatest in the world.

~~If~~ we can't do it here, where can we? And the President has called upon

us to enact a program of renaissance. Of a renaissance for this Federal City. We call once again for home rule. We have in a report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, a charter for justice and civic peace which clearly points the way to our constitutional claim of domestic tranquility. I ask your support! I ask your support for the President's budget proposal for the District. I ask your support for the main items of the President's of the District's Crime Commission report. I ask your support for home rule. I ask you to organize. I ask you to organize, to write, to lobby in the offices of the congressmen. In short I ask you to stand up, be counted, in this community for the same things that we have fought for in the rest of our country.

Yes this is a very important time. This is a time for testing elsewhere, on foreign fronts, in the west and east, in the north and the south, its also a time of testing right here in this great city. Right here in this great audience. And there is enough people power, there is enough establishment power, there's enough white, power, there is enough of any kind of power, there's enough democratic power with the small d in this audience to change this city any way you want to change it right here tonight. This is the time when we cannot cut back in our nation and I think it is or in our Federal City that there is one thing that we have to be sure of, we cannot retreat.

Alexis DeTocqueville, that great French political philosopher, writing in the nineteenth century had this to say about America. And I have always found his writing to be almost prophetic about this republic.

"You saw us in the nineteen hundreds even as you were looking at us in the eighteen hundreds. These Americans are the most peculiar people in the world," says DeTocqueville. "In a local community in their country a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met, and what does he do? Why he goes across the street and discusses it with his neighbor. Then what happens? A committee comes into existence. Then the committee begins functioning on behalf of that need."

That's what DeTocqueville saw. And that's what we have going in many communities today and even more. That was the spirit of private voluntarism, which existed in America a half a century, or more than that, a century before The National Conference of Christians and Jews was founded. And I think that this spirit of voluntarism that we must preserve and nurish today. For it is as true now as when Alexis DeTocqueville wrote it that the health of a democratic society may be



measured by the qualities of functions performed by private citizens. The great difference between this country and others is its voluntarism. Its freedom movement, its free people, moving freely in their own individual voluntary private organizations to do things that are required for the public need and the public sector.

Now let me place all of this in proper perspective. The task that we face and what we have been doing; all of the problems that I've cited are clear and present in this community, we know that. Yet in the past few years and months we begun to challenge all of them. I think the greatest discovery that has happen<sup>ed</sup> in America in the twentieth century is the fact that we know that we can do what we want to do. And I believe from our efforts thus far we recognize that we can overcome our problems. We are attacking poverty. We're not making this just more pleasurable or tolerable. We're getting at its root causes. We know that we can win. We've had some victories already. We need the same patience and perserverance here on this domestic fron that many caution us to have on the international front.

I couldn't help but think today as I read the morning paper, when the President of the Soviet Union paid a visit to the Vatican, the first Soviet official to do so. I said to myself, this within it self is proof of the course that has been followed by free people and God-fearing and God-loving people in this world today. A change has come over the world. A great change. And it is one that was accomplished because there were goals and objectives set out, and the perserverance to follow through. We're moving my follow Americans. We're moving from protest to progress. We're moving from just talking about jobs to training people for jobs. We're moving from opening the gates to a factory to preparing people how to walk through those gates, and what to do once they get into the factory. We are not only out building and rebuilding cities, we're helping to rebuild men. And I happen to believe that our cities will be better when the people who inhabit them are better. Because man makes his own environment. We're beginning to move, even oh so slowly away from the ghetto and the slum housing and schooling. I saw here in this city last summer what can be done, by voluntary effort, for young people in our Youth Opportunity Program. I want you to know that much more must be done but at least we made a beginning

finding jobs for young people who otherwise would have been on the street.

I saw what could be done for better playgrounds, and for playground areas for young people. But can I get it off my chest that I think it is a national disgrace that the Nation's Capital is so poorly equipped with wholesome recreational facilities for the thousands and thousands of young men and women in this city that need wholesome recreation. See I grew up in a state where we had all of our playgrounds illuminated. We just thought they were that way once you put the stage room on them. My little town of three hundred, Waverly, Minnesota has an illuminated ball park and playground. And yet the richest city on the face of the earth has less illuminated playgrounds than Lipsfield, Minnesota, and towns you haven't heard of. Be we're doing better. But you're going to have to do better, because I'm going to be after you all the time.

Now we say what a swimming pool could mean to children, longing for wholesome recreation. And aren't you just a little bit upset that you had to bring them portable swimming pools into this nation. We've already ruined the river! Don't you think that children were entitled to at least an adequate number of swimming pools? Or are we complaining only because of their violence and their vandalism? I think you have to offer people alternatives. I believe in law enforcement, but I also believe in establishing the social conditions that are conducive to law observance. Love and respect of the law!

Yes I happen to believe that Washington can be the model city of America. And I think we ought to make it so. But it will require a partnership. It will require our partnership of many elements. And it will require the great universities that I see represented here tonight, to cease being sort of <sup>lacksidaisical</sup> ~~hapitistical~~ observers of the social scenes and become militant warriors in the social struggle. The universities with their professors and their competent experts will learn more in one year in the social flights for a better America than they learned in ten years in a library. They should get out and be brought to work in the disgraced scene of our community. But I would share the time, <sup>one-</sup> third of the time in the library, a third of the time in the class, and a third of the time in the community. And I'll say what my daddy use to tell me too, "If you think that's too much time," father use to tell me, "stay out of bed son, most people die there."

I believe that our neighborhoods could once more be places filled with neighbors where the streets are safe, where the parks are safe, where people care about each other. I believe we can clean the filth from our air and our water, and the trash from our slum alleys. I believe we can make this a great community where people of all races, creed, colors, ages, occupations, can live in harmony. Because that's the way its suppose to be. Man was intended to live in harmony. And in peaceful diversity. As I said, if we in our shiny Federal City cannot do it, what American city can? Oh, there is so much to do, I know. But what is needed is action. Action! By all elements of our society, government, business, labor, the university, religious and voluntary organizations and the individual citizen. The problem is too big for any one. The immensity of the problems that beset us internationally and domestically require the partnership concept as a reality and not as a theory. And all of this must be without regard for old jurisdictions and animosities. A partnership of free men working through free institutions for goals freely arrived at.

Ralph Waldo Emerson gave us our message and warned us long ago.

"God offers to every mind his choice between truth and repose. Take which you please, you can never do both."

And the truth is that there is work to do. The truth is that there are rising expectations in Americas as well as elsewhere. The truth is that the people of this land are asking that we make a fact what we have recited as a verse. "One Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." That's the only kind of America that we ever dreamed of. And it's the only kind of America that is worthy of God's children.

Thank you.





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