

Address by
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
at the
National Outlook Conference on Rural Youth
Washington, D. C.
October 23, 1967





(Left to right) Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman; Reverend James L. Vizzard, S.J., National Catholic Rural Life Conference; and Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

You can plainly see tonight that the spirit of youth has gripped us, because Secretary Freeman said that it was just a few years ago that we were at the University of Minnesota together. We have been compressing time, and are beginning to feel younger every minute.

First of all, I want to express my thanks to the Secretary for permitting me to join in this conference. I think it is fair to say that you have heard from him a message of sincere optimism and great promise. I like the positive note that Secretary Freeman has given to us, and the very solid evidence of social progress that is so much a part of the present American scene.

I want to ask you tonight to join me in thinking young. Being young and thinking young are not exactly the same thing.

A YOUNG NATION

This is a young nation. Everything about it is young. When you think of the verve and the vitality of America, it tells you about its youth. When you see America on the march—its industry, its science, its technology—everywhere there is an emphasis on youth.

I was very much moved tonight by the Secretary's analysis of disillusionment, disenchantment, the difference between a healthy discontent and a sick disenchantment, the difference between dissent and disillusionment.

We have gone through a rather difficult week in our nation. We have gone through a rather unhappy weekend in our nation's capitol.

Let me tell you the contrast that I saw. I was at the United Nations' Concert Saturday night, with Mrs. Humphrey and many others. It was our privilege to invite a very esteemed and dear friend to be the concert conductor, the famed Pablo Casals, one of the truly great spirits of our century and of our time.

THEY WERE BEAUTIFUL

On the stage with him were hundreds of young people from Howard University and Catholic University in a great choral group. They had had only a week of rehearsals, only one or

two days with the great maestro, and when they first sang, it was good, but it was evident. But then, as the evening went on, the music just poured from them like a mighty river. And they were beautiful. It was simply the most moving experience that one could ever hope to have.

I couldn't help but think of it when I went home—what a contrast to what I saw on the television of ill manners, filth, a disgusting performance in the name of dissent. And how many young people were deceived by a few who wanted to deceive them on that Saturday here in Washington! There were thousands of young people that came here out of conscience and conviction to express their concern, but they were used by some who had no conscience, no concern, and were seeking only to exercise what they thought was the right to abusive language and vulgarity.

When I awakened this morning and turned on the television and saw the debris that was left at the Pentagon building, it sickened me. And particularly when I saw young GI's in fatigues having to clean up this mess, and when I heard that some young men and women who were insisting on being arrested were being given \$25 fines, I thought maybe it would have been better if they had had to clean up their own mess.

YOUNG PEOPLE AT WORK

You know the young people of America today are marvelous. Most of them are socially concerned. They are bright. They are at work.

There are six million or more of them in our universities, seeking to improve themselves, to build for a better life. There are thousands of them who volunteer for the Peace Corps, many more than we can take. Thousands of them are volunteering for VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America. A quarter of a million of our college students last year volunteered to help the needy and to help students who had been deprived of a good education. Half a million high school seniors who never got paid a nickel volunteered their time last year to help young people in the grade schools. Thousands of other young people work in hospitals, in community agencies and community programs.

This is the spirit of America. This is the youth power of America.

But somehow these examples get lost in the public mind. It seems these days that some people have confused honest, dedicated, conscientious, concern and dissent with vulgarity and abusiveness. This does not help the cause of democracy, and it does not help the cause of human decency or human dignity.

DECEIVED

I was unhappy this weekend because I think those who really wanted to express their concern about many things were deceived. I don't like people who use other people for their own selfish purposes.

I have many of these feelings because I know young people. I happen to be the Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council and, like Secretary Freeman, I travel around this country a great deal.

Youth power, I believe, is a tremendous source of energy and good. It is one of the nation's greatest natural resources—a resource of strength and of energy and of leadership for today and for tomorrow.

But I regret to say that all too often it is a resource that we are wasting. That is why this conference was called by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Vice President's Office and the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

You have been invited to discuss the needs of a very important group of American young people, those who live in rural America.

PROSPECTS

Your theme is "Prospects." And America's prospects today, as the Secretary of Agriculture has so vividly pointed out, are tremendous. They are dramatic. Our country is rich and powerful. America's farms, as you better know than I, produce a greater abundance than any other farms in the world. And that abundance is surely going to increase.

For the first time in the history of mankind, there is a nation that can satisfy the material needs of each of its citizens.

Every young person should have one assurance above all others—the assurance that he or she will fully share in these prospects.

RURAL POVERTY

But the statistics say that many who live in rural areas are not sharing adequately now:

The largest number of poor youth live in rural areas. About one-third of these young people in rural America live in sub-standard housing. For every 77 rural youngsters who reach working age, there are only 100 jobs.

Twenty-two percent of all rural five-year-olds in 1960 were in kindergarten. In the cities, the figure was 46 percent. The average rural teenager completes about nine years of school. The figure is over twelve years in the city. There are fewer doctors, hospitals, clinics and nurses per capita in rural areas than in the cities.

Moreover, the remedies available today for these inequalities have not been adequately used in rural America:

Our education assistance programs are more frequently and fully used by city schools than by rural schools.

HEALTH ASSISTANCE

Our health assistance programs serve the cities more than the country.

Only about half of the nation's rural counties are served by local offices of the state employment services. Yet each of the urban counties has at least one, and often several local employment offices.

Communities in rural America are scattered, and not concentrated. Their problems often are not susceptible to treatment by large-scale programs. And I think it is fair to say that in this day and age much of the thinking and planning of government is urban-oriented, from urban-oriented minds.

Local governments in rural America, moreover, are often unaware of state and federal assistance that is available to them.

NO LABELS

I have found that many local government officials who come to Washington to look for some help are like a person going into a supermarket and finding that there are all kinds of goodies on the shelf, but there are no labels. They wonder what they are getting, if they get anything at all. Most of the time, they find nothing.

So what we have tried to do in recent months is to put together a catalog of community programs that are available. We also have a simplified application, which finds its way to the proper agency of the government no matter where you send it.

Often, too, the local governments' tax base is too small to support the kind of local initiatives that would enable them to take advantage of federal rural assistance programs.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

The material disadvantages which affect many young people in rural areas literally conspire to deprive them of one of our most basic American freedoms, freedom of choice—the choice of where to live, the choice of a job, the choice of your future.

This is perhaps the greatest tragedy of all, and that is the challenge before this conference and this nation. Rural America must offer these young people opportunities to learn and work equal to those available in the cities. Government—federal, state and local—must make it possible for rural youth to have exactly the same options and the same opportunities as their city cousins in any city in the land.

Between 1950 and 1960, about eleven million Americans migrated to the cities from the farms and small towns. Seventy percent of us now live in cities, on one percent of the land. And this trend continues today. In the next 33 years, there will be one hundred million more Americans.



Vice President Humphrey and Diane Ambrose, Dover, Delaware.

Where are they going to live? How are they going to live? What kind of life will they have? Are they all going to live in the great crowded metropolitan centers?

HIGH HOPES, NO SKILLS

The largest proportion of the new migrants to the city are young. Indeed, about 200,000 young Americans living in rural areas today will have been drawn or forced into the city within a year. Most of them will arrive with high hopes. Some of them will arrive without the skill to support themselves or an adequate education. Many will find themselves confined to slum apartments, trapped in an alien environment.

And what has not happened in many areas of rural America—I repeat, what has not happened in many areas of rural America—is a major cause of what has happened in many of the neighborhoods of urban America.

In New York City, for example, more than one-third of the enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program were from rural America. Many come from some of the more backward rural areas, totally unadjusted to urban industrial life.

They come to Chicago, to Cleveland, to Detroit, to Philadelphia, to New York, only to be lost, swallowed up in the impersonality of the city, finding refuge on relief and welfare rolls. That is not the American answer to human problems.

POPULATION BOOM

By the year 2000, as I have said, we are going to have a tremendous increase in population, and we have to think ahead, plan ahead, for everything. Are there enough classrooms, universities, hospitals, doctors, other professional people to serve them? What kind of America will they find?

The challenge, as I see it, is to provide every citizen—and especially the young ones—no matter where he lives or who he is, with a full measure of opportunity and a full measure of choice.

In the rural areas, that does not mean recreating the mythical good old days down on the farm. They were never that good, and you know it.

MODERN LIVING

It does mean extending modern living to rural areas. In the 1930's, modernization meant rural electrification, the REA, and movie theaters in every town. In the 1940's, it meant in part hard-surfaced roads, so that people could get back and forth.

What does it mean now? I think it means airports, for one thing, capable of handling short-hop jets. It means community colleges, good ones; modern hospitals and good doctors. It means the very best in elementary and secondary education. It means also in a modern community golf courses and ball parks—recreation. It may mean drama groups and art classes in addition to church socials and lemonade. And it means economic visibility—new investment, new job opportunities, a growing tax base.

Let's face it. The young man or woman today who listens to the transistor radio or gets a peek at television is not going to be content with horse-and-buggy living. They are going to leave, unless there is a better life for them available in areas other than the great cities.

Now, that kind of progress is possible. We are not talking about a dream world or a theory. Let me give you two examples.

HUNTSVILLE

Huntsville, Alabama, used to be a small Southern town, a place where people were born and died, but where they spent little time in between. Then the TVA went into action. Huntsville got access to electric power at cheap rates. It got access to water for transport and for recreation. Industries came, then scientific and space installations moved in, and other industries followed. New stores began to meet the needs of new customers. The quality of education improved. The University of Alabama put in a branch university. New taxpayers built new schools.

Huntsville is today a good place not only to be from, but to be. It is a going establishment.

TENCO

Another good example occurred in south-central Iowa. Ten counties joined together in an association called Tenco. They were able to pool their resources of services, raw materials, planners and leaders, to provide many of the attractions that our metropolitan areas no longer offer—inexpensive land for industry, business, housing and parks, clean air and clean water, and a good labor force. Together the Tenco counties were large enough to use federal programs efficiently. They could hire a good lawyer to examine these programs, and then good planners.

They used resources available under the Public Works and Economic Development Act to attract industry. They built a technical school with funds available under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

With assistance from the Department of Labor, Tenco established a pilot project which is now demonstrating how a rural area can develop a comprehensive manpower training program to recruit, test, train and find jobs for its citizens.

The Tenco counties have doubled hog and cattle production with the counsel of the United States Department of Agriculture's Technical Action Panels. Today, pre-family income in Tenco has doubled. Eight years ago the loan limit at the bank was \$20,000; it is now between \$80,000 and \$90,000.

LOCAL INITIATIVE

Tenco illustrates what I consider to be the most important ingredient in any program for progress, rural or urban, in America today. Its success was the result of local imagination, local creativity, local initiative from the very beginning.

Tenco's leaders decided what they wanted to do and how they wanted to do it. And then they turned to Washington for assistance. Now, that's the kind of help—support for local initiative—that the federal government can best provide. This is the partnership that we talk about.

It is a partnership in which there is no dominant force, but in which each shares to the best of his ability. This partnership includes federal, state and local government as well as private groups.



Vice President Humphrey: Curtis J. Ray, Eau Claire, Wisconsin and Hatch C. Smith, Llano, Texas.

I think this conference is going to discover many ways in which we can improve federal and state services to rural areas.

RURAL GUIDELINES

Certainly we can make the guidelines for some of our programs more appropriate for rural application. For instance, we can authorize higher expenditures for transportation, an obvious necessity. Perhaps the term "rural" itself requires a new definition. I think it does.

We can compensate in our manpower programs for the lack of training facilities in rural areas, perhaps through the use of more residential centers for training on the Job Corps model.

We surely need to find better ways of reaching rural youth through the state employment services. Most of our rural youth have never seen a state employment office.

The Smaller Communities Program of the U.S. Employment Service, established on an experimental basis in 1959, is now serving more than 40 rural counties in several states, but it is only a drop in the bucket.

We need to press forward our efforts to improve the quality and the availability of education and health care in rural areas.

PRIVATE SUPPORT NEEDED

And we must enlist the support of private enterprise more than ever, for it is private investment that is ultimately going to make a self-sustaining success of our rural America.

Today, of the nation's 28,800 manufacturing establishments with over 100 employees, only 2,062 are located in rural counties. Is it any wonder that there is a population drain from these counties?

Agri-business is but one part of the private sector that has been moving away from metropolitan areas, with the canning industry and the meat-packing industry in the lead.

Farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives have also been investing heavily and building outside the metropolitan areas.

FEDERAL ROLE

What more should we do to encourage this? The federal government can help stimulate other types of industry to move into rural areas by using the economic weight of government contracts for research, development and production. This year alone your government will be spending \$16 billion in research and development contracts.

Is your local college getting some of this money? If it isn't, speak up.

We also can and do use our equal employment statutes to require industries on government contracts not to discriminate against local workers.

But let me stress again that most of the initiative required to attract new industry is going to have to come from the rural people themselves. Opportunity moves in where things are happening, where the action is, where local people and local leadership prove that they want to see the community grow.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

This also means making state and local government modern, responsive, progressive, with good people at the helm in every office. It means that the services of government must be geared to this age of science and technology, to the expansion of our industrial base, to the health and well-being of our people.

George Bernard Shaw was a caustic observer, and he put it pretty bluntly: "The people who get on in this world are the people who get up and look for the circumstances they want; and if they can't find them, they make them."

I like that. That is what you call ambition—making your opportunities and seizing them.

Just a simple thing—zoning practices will have to be improved to accommodate new businesses and new people. That is a very mundane subject, but without it, there will be no new business.

New housing provisions may be required in your locality, your county or your state. In this age of mobility, even sites

for mobile homes may be needed to attract new residents. Newcomers may want a furnished unit in an apartment motel rather than a separate house. Leasing arrangements will need to be more flexible in a majority of towns.

PROPERTY TAXES

Traditional property taxes may no longer be the most flexible or economical instrument for financing schools and other public facilities in growing communities.

Natural recreational resources can be exploited, developed for an important economic return.

Regional planning, as they discovered in Tenco, is a must. Twenty-six states are now moving toward multi-county development efforts. And let me predict that the result will not be to weaken local governments, but to strengthen them as they become able to draw upon the resources of their neighboring communities.

LINGERING SOCIAL INJUSTICE

Finally, many rural communities in the United States are going to have to come to grips with lingering social and racial injustice. Responsible local government elected by the people—all of the people—courts where justice never blinks, decent and open housing, social harmony—those are fundamental prerequisites that any American community must offer today if it expects to attract people and enterprises interested in progress.

I meet regularly with some of the biggest business leaders in this country, and the first thing they ask when they are considering putting a plant in a town is: "What kind of educational system does it have?" and "What are the plans for the next ten years?"

Number two, they want to know: What are the community attitudes? Is there racial hostility? Is there labor-management hostility? Is there urban-rural hostility?

Then they look at the other things, like a labor force, the availability of electrical power, transportation, and so forth.

OPEN SOCIETIES

Without open societies and full opportunity in rural America, moreover, I don't think we'll ever be able to keep the young people there. We will not be able to stem the flow of migration to our cities, no matter how much physical amenities may improve.

I know these suggestions call for some far-reaching changes which are going to require a high level of political courage and imagination. But if we really want to make rural life a significant alternative in America today—if we really want to give rural young people prospects instead of props, opportunity instead of relief, education instead of consolation—then rural Americans are going to have to commit themselves now, politically, socially, personally, to social progress.

There need never be any rivalry or competition between rural America and urban America. Poverty of the purse and poverty of the spirit are not confined to either. They must be fought as common enemies in both places. We are talking of a national problem requiring a national commitment.

The commitment is vital to the health of American democracy in this, the last third of the 20th century.

President Johnson put it this way:

"History records a long hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and live where he chooses. It took many centuries—and many bloody revolutions—to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land, or confined him within the walls of a particular community. We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else if they want a job or if they want a decent education."

The President has made a great plea for equal opportunity. If we work together, this whole nation can develop as one—rural and urban together—so that the American right of free choice will be a reality.

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FOR RELEASE
TUESDAY AM'S

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
NATIONAL OUTLOOK CONFERENCE ON
RURAL YOUTH
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OCTOBER 23, 1967

Today I ask you to join me in thinking young. I do it all the time as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

Youth power is one of the nation's greatest natural resources -- a resource of strength, energy and leadership today and for the future. It is a resource which we are wasting in far too many cases.

That is why the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labor, Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity have joined together with the President's Council on Youth Opportunity to invite you here to discuss the needs of a very important group of American young people -- those in the rural areas.

Your theme is PROSPECTS. America's prospects today are dramatic. Our country is rich and getting richer. America's farms produce a greater abundance than any other farms in the world, and that abundance will surely increase. For the first time in the history of mankind, there is a nation that can satisfy the material need of each of its citizens.

Every young person should fully share in those prospects -- but the statistics say that many who live in rural areas, are not sharing adequately now:

--the largest number of poor youth live in rural areas;

--about 1/3 of all rural young people were living in substandard housing as recently as 1960;

--for every 77 rural youngsters who reach working age, there are only 100 jobs;

--in 1960, 22 per cent of all rural five-year-olds were in kindergarten. In cities, the figure was 46 per cent;

--the average rural teenager completes about nine years of school. The figure is over 12 in the cities.

-- there are fewer doctors, hospitals, clinics, and nurses per capita in rural areas than in the cities.

Moreover the remedies available today have not been used adequately in rural America:

--Our education assistance programs are more frequently and fully used by city schools than rural schools.

--Our health assistance programs serve the cities more than the country.

--Only about half of the nation's rural counties are served by local offices of the state employment services. Yet each of the urban counties has at least one -- and often several -- local employment offices.

Communities in rural America are scattered, not concentrated.

Their problems are often not susceptible to treatment by large-scale programs. And local governments in rural America are often unaware of state and federal assistance that is available to them; or else their tax base is too small to support the kind of local initiatives that would enable them to take advantage of Federal Rural Assistance Programs.

The material disadvantages which affect many young people in rural areas conspire to deprive them of one of our most basic American freedoms, freedom of choice -- choice of where to live, choice of employment.

That is perhaps the greatest tragedy. And that is the challenge. Rural America must offer these young people opportunities to learn and work equal to those available to the city.

Between 1950 and 1960, 11 million Americans migrated to the cities. Seventy per cent of us now live in these cities, on one per cent of the land.

That trend continues today and the largest proportion of the migrants are young. Indeed, about 200 thousand young Americans living in rural areas today will have been drawn or forced into the city within a year.

Most of them will arrive with high hopes. Some without the skill to support themselves. Many will find themselves confined to slum apartments, trapped in an alien environment.

And what has not happened in many areas of rural America is a major cause of what has happened in urban America. In New York City, for example, more than one-third of the enrollees in a Neighborhood Youth Corps program were from rural America.

What this means, of course, is that the problems of rural America and the problems of urban America have to be treated together, as part of the same national challenge.

By the year 2000, it is estimated that there will be 100 million more Americans. Where will they live? What will be their choices? What kind of an America will they find?

The challenge, as I see it, is to provide every citizen, and especially the young ones, no matter where they live, with a full measure of opportunity and a full measure of choice.

In the rural areas, that does not mean recreating the mythical "good old days" down on the farm.

It does mean extending modern living to rural areas. In the 1930's, modernization meant rural electrification and movie theatres in every town.

In the 1940's it meant many well-paved roads.

Now, it means airports capable of handling short-hop jets, community colleges, modern hospitals and good doctors, the very best in elementary and secondary education. It means golf courses and ballparks, it means drama groups and art classes in addition to church socials.

And it means economic viability -- new investment, new job opportunities, a growing tax base. It means modern America in your town -- your country!

That kind of progress is possible. Let me give you two examples.

Huntsville, Alabama, used to be a small southern town -- a place where people were born and died, but where they spent little time in-between.

Then TVA went into action. Huntsville got access to electric power. It got access to water for transport and for recreation.

Then scientific and space installations moved in. Other industries followed. New stores began to meet the needs of new customers. New taxpayers built new schools.

Huntsville is today a good place not only to be from, but to be.

Another good example occurred in South-central Iowa. In South-central Iowa, ten counties joined together in an association called Tenco. They were able to pool their resources of services, raw materials, planners and leaders to provide many of the attractions our metropolitan areas no longer offer -- inexpensive land for industry, business, housing and parks, clean air, and clean water.

Together the Tenco counties were large enough to use federal programs efficiently. They used resources available under the Public Works and Economic Development Act to attract industry. They built a technical school with funds available under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

With assistance from the Department of Labor, Tenco established a pilot project which is now demonstrating how a rural area can develop a comprehensive manpower training program to recruit, test, train, and find jobs for its citizens.

The Tenco counties have doubled hog and cattle production with the counsel of USDA's Technical Action Panels. Today, per-family income in Tenco has doubled. Eight years ago the loan limit at the bank was 20 thousand dollars, today it's 90 thousand dollars.

Tenco illustrates what I consider to be the most important ingredient in a program for progress, rural or urban, in America today. Its success was the result of local initiative from the very beginning. Tenco's leaders decided what they wanted to do and how they wanted to do it, and then turned to Washington for assistance. That is the kind of help -- support for local initiative -- that the federal government can best provide.

I think this conference is going to tell us a lot about ways in which we can improve federal and state services to rural areas.

Certainly we can make the guidelines for some of our programs more appropriate for rural application. For instance, we can authorize higher expenditures for transportation, and obvious necessity. Perhaps the term "rural" itself requires redefinition.

We can compensate in our manpower programs for the lack of training facilities in rural areas. Perhaps through the use of more residential center training on the Job Corps model.

We surely need to find better ways of reaching rural youth through state employment services. The Smaller Communities Program of the U.S. Employment Service, established on an experimental basis in 1959, is now serving in more than 40 rural counties in several states. That effort has been a success, but it is only a drop in the bucket.

We must press forward our efforts to improve the quality and availability of education and health care in rural areas.

And we must enlist the support of private enterprise, for it is private investment that is ultimately going to make a self-sustaining success of our rural America.

Today, of the nation's 28 thousand eight hundred manufacturing establishments with over one hundred employees, only 2 thousand sixty-two are located in rural counties.

Agri-business is one part of the private sector that has been moving away from metropolitan areas, with the canning industry and the meat-packing industry in the lead.

Farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives have also been investing heavily and building outside of metropolitan areas.

The federal government can help stimulate other types of industry to move into rural areas by using the economic weight of government contracts for research, development and production. We also can and do use our equal employment statutes to require rural industries on government contract not to discriminate against local workers.

Let me stress once again, however, most of the initiative required to attract industry is going to have to come from the rural people themselves. Opportunity moves in where things are happening, where local people and local leadership prove that they want to see the community grow. This means making state and local government efficient, responsive, and modern.

It means that the services of government must be geared to this age of science and technology -- to the expansion of our industrial base -- to the health and well-being of all people.

George Bernard Shaw put it this way:

The people who get on in this world are the people who get up and look for the circumstances they want; and if they can't find them, they make them."

Zoning practices will have to be improved to accommodate new businesses and new people.

New housing provisions may be required. In this age of mobility, sites for mobile homes may be needed to attract new residents. Newcomers may want a furnished unit in an apartment motel rather than a separate house. Leasing arrangements will need to be more flexible in a majority of towns.

Traditional property taxes may no longer be the most flexible or economical instrument for financing schools and other public facilities in growing communities.

Natural recreational resources can be developed for an important economic return.

Regional planning, as they discovered in Tenco, is a must. Twenty-six states are now moving toward multi-county development efforts. And let me predict that the result will not be to weaken local governments, but to strengthen them as they become able to draw upon the resources of their neighboring communities.

Finally, many rural communities in the United States are going to have to come to grips with lingering social and racial injustice. Responsible local government elected by all the people, courts where justice never blinks, open housing, social harmony -- those are fundamental prerequisites that any American community must offer today if it expects to attract people and enterprises interested in progress.

Moreover, without open societies of full and equal opportunity in rural America, we shall never be able to stem the flow of migration to our cities, no matter how much physical amenities may improve.

I know these suggestions point to far-reaching changes which are going to require a high level of political courage and imagination.

But if we really want to make rural life a significant alternative in America today...if we really want to give rural young people prospects instead of props...then rural Americans are going to have to commit themselves -- politically, socially, personally -- to progress.

There need be no rivalry or competition between rural America and urban America. Poverty of the purse and poverty of the spirit are not confined to either. They must be fought in both places. This is a national problem, requiring a national commitment.

The commitment is vital to the health of American Democracy in this last third of the 20th century.

For in the words of President Johnson:

"History records a long hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and live where he chooses. It took many centuries -- and many bloody revolutions -- to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land, or confined him within the walls of a particular community. We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else...if they want a job or if they want a decent education."

If we work together this whole nation can develop as one -- rural and urban together -- so the American right of free choice will be a reality.

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Alex de Toqueville
"Rising Spirituality"

Sect from 2uen
- Father Vizzard
marine band
& color

Sect from 2uen
Positive
message

optimist

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL OUTLOOK CONFERENCE ON RURAL YOUTH

WASHINGTON, D.C.

OCTOBER 23, 1967

"Prospects"

+ 10 min
TODAY I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN THINKING

YOUNG

Being young + thinking
young are not identical!

I DO IT ALL THE TIME AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENT'S
COUNCIL ON YOUTH OPPORTUNITY. - ~~Said Truman~~
Positive message

YOUTH POWER IS ONE OF THE NATION'S GREATEST
NATURAL RESOURCES -- A RESOURCE OF STRENGTH, ENERGY AND
LEADERSHIP TODAY AND FOR THE FUTURE. ^{But} ~~it~~ IS A
RESOURCE WHICH WE ARE WASTING IN FAR TOO MANY CASES.

THAT IS WHY THE DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE,
INTERIOR, LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE AND
THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY HAVE JOINED
TOGETHER WITH THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON YOUTH
OPPORTUNITY TO INVITE YOU HERE TO DISCUSS THE NEEDS
OF A VERY IMPORTANT GROUP OF AMERICAN YOUNG
PEOPLE -- THOSE IN THE RURAL AREAS.

YOUR THEME IS PROSPECTS. ^h AMERICA'S PROSPECTS

TODAY ARE DRAMATIC. OUR COUNTRY IS RICH AND
GETTING RICHER. AMERICA'S FARMS PRODUCE A GREATER
ABUNDANCE THAN ANY OTHER FARMS IN THE WORLD, AND
THAT ABUNDANCE WILL SURELY INCREASE. FOR THE FIRST
TIME IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND, THERE IS A NATION
THAT CAN SATISFY THE MATERIAL NEED OF EACH OF
ITS CITIZENS.

EVERY YOUNG PERSON SHOULD FULLY SHARE IN THOSE
PROSPECTS -- BUT THE STATISTICS SAY THAT MANY WHO
LIVE IN RURAL AREAS, ARE NOT SHARING ADEQUATELY NOW:

*Act
three* → --THE LARGEST NUMBER OF POOR YOUTH LIVE IN
RURAL AREAS,

--ABOUT 1/3 OF ALL RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE WERE
LIVING IN SUBSTANDARD HOUSING AS RECENTLY AS 1960.

--FOR EVERY ¹²⁷~~177~~ RURAL YOUNGSTERS WHO REACH

WORKING AGE, THERE ARE ONLY 100 JOBS.

✓ --IN 1960, 22 PER CENT OF ALL RURAL
FIVE-YEAR-OLDS WERE IN KINDERGARTEN. IN CITIES,
THE FIGURE WAS 46 PER CENT.

9 ✓ --THE AVERAGE RURAL TEENAGER COMPLETES ABOUT
NINE YEARS OF SCHOOL. THE FIGURE IS OVER 12 IN
THE CITIES.

✓ --THERE ARE FEWER DOCTORS, HOSPITALS, CLINICS,
AND NURSES PER CAPITA IN RURAL AREAS THAN IN THE
CITIES.

✓ MOREOVER THE REMEDIES AVAILABLE TODAY HAVE NOT
BEEN USED ADEQUATELY IN RURAL AMERICA:

--OUR EDUCATION ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE MORE
FREQUENTLY AND FULLY USED BY CITY SCHOOLS THAN
RURAL SCHOOLS.

└--OUR HEALTH ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS SERVE THE
CITIES MORE THAN THE COUNTRY.

└--ONLY ABOUT HALF OF THE NATION'S RURAL
COUNTIES ARE SERVED BY LOCAL OFFICES OF THE STATE
EMPLOYMENT SERVICES. YET EACH OF THE URBAN COUNTIES
HAS AT LEAST ONE -- AND OFTEN SEVERAL -- LOCAL
EMPLOYMENT OFFICES.

└ COMMUNITIES IN RURAL AMERICA ARE SCATTERED, NOT
CONCENTRATED.

└ THEIR PROBLEMS ARE OFTEN NOT SUSCEPTIBLE TO
TREATMENT BY LARGE-SCALE PROGRAMS AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS IN RURAL AMERICA ARE OFTEN UNAWARE OF
STATE AND FEDERAL ASSISTANCE THAT IS AVAILABLE TO THEM;
OR ELSE THEIR TAX BASE IS TOO SMALL TO SUPPORT THE KIND
OF LOCAL INITIATIVES THAT WOULD ENABLE THEM TO TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF FEDERAL RURAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

THE MATERIAL DISADVANTAGES WHICH AFFECT MANY
YOUNG PEOPLE IN RURAL AREAS CONSPIRE TO DEPRIVE THEM
OF ONE OF OUR MOST BASIC AMERICAN FREEDOMS, FREEDOM
OF CHOICE -- CHOICE OF WHERE TO LIVE, CHOICE OF
EMPLOYMENT.

THAT IS PERHAPS THE GREATEST TRAGEDY. AND THAT
IS THE CHALLENGE. RURAL AMERICA MUST OFFER THESE YOUNG
PEOPLE OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN AND WORK EQUAL TO THOSE
AVAILABLE TO THE CITY.

BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960, 11 MILLION AMERICANS
MIGRATED TO THE CITIES. SEVENTY PER CENT OF US NOW LIVE
IN THE CITIES, ON ONE PER CENT OF THE LAND.

THAT TREND CONTINUES TODAY AND THE LARGEST
PROPORTION OF THE MIGRANTS ARE YOUNG. INDEED, ABOUT
200 THOUSAND YOUNG AMERICANS LIVING IN RURAL AREAS TODAY
WILL HAVE BEEN DRAWN OR FORCED INTO THE CITY WITHIN A YEAR.

Most of them will arrive with high hopes, some without the skill to support themselves. Many will find themselves confined to slum apartments, trapped in an alien environment.

And what has not happened in many areas of rural America is a major cause of what has happened in urban America. In New York City, for example, more than one-third of the enrollees in a Neighborhood Youth Corps program were from rural America.

What this means, of course, is that the problems of rural America and the problems of urban America have to be treated together, as part of the same national challenge.

By the year 2000, it is estimated that there will be 100 million more Americans. Where will they live? What will be their choices? What kind of an America will they find?

THE CHALLENGE, AS I SEE IT, IS TO PROVIDE EVERY CITIZEN, AND ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG ONES, NO MATTER WHERE THEY LIVE, WITH A FULL MEASURE OF OPPORTUNITY AND A FULL MEASURE OF CHOICE.

IN THE RURAL AREAS, THAT DOES NOT MEAN RECREATING THE MYTHICAL "GOOD OLD DAYS" DOWN ON THE FARM.

IT DOES MEAN EXTENDING MODERN LIVING TO RURAL AREAS. IN THE 1930'S, MODERNIZATION MEANT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AND MOVIE THEATRES IN EVERY TOWN.

IN THE 1940'S IT MEANT MANY WELL-PAVED ROADS.

NOW, IT MEANS AIRPORTS CAPABLE OF HANDLING SHORT-HOP JETS, COMMUNITY COLLEGES, MODERN HOSPITALS AND GOOD DOCTORS, THE VERY BEST IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION. IT MEANS GOLF COURSES AND BALLPARKS. IT MEANS DRAMA GROUPS AND ART CLASSES IN ADDITION TO CHURCH SOCIALS.

AND IT MEANS ECONOMIC VIABILITY -- NEW INVESTMENT,
NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES, A GROWING TAX BASE. IT MEANS
MODERN AMERICA IN YOUR TOWN -- YOUR COUNTY!

THAT KIND OF PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. LET ME
GIVE YOU TWO EXAMPLES.

HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA, USED TO BE A SMALL SOUTHERN
TOWN -- A PLACE WHERE PEOPLE WERE BORN AND DIED, BUT
WHERE THEY SPENT LITTLE TIME IN-BETWEEN.

THEN TVA WENT INTO ACTION. HUNTSVILLE GOT ACCESS TO
ELECTRIC POWER. IT GOT ACCESS TO WATER FOR TRANSPORT
AND FOR RECREATION.

THEN SCIENTIFIC AND SPACE INSTALLATIONS MOVED IN.
OTHER INDUSTRIES FOLLOWED. NEW STORES BEGAN TO MEET
THE NEEDS OF NEW CUSTOMERS. NEW TAXPAYERS BUILT NEW
SCHOOLS.

HUNTSVILLE IS TODAY A GOOD PLACE NOT ONLY TO

BE FROM, BUT TO BE.

ANOTHER GOOD EXAMPLE OCCURRED IN SOUTH-CENTRAL IOWA.
TEN COUNTIES JOINED TOGETHER IN AN ASSOCIATION CALLED
TENCO. THEY WERE ABLE TO POOL THEIR RESOURCES OF
SERVICES, RAW MATERIALS, PLANNERS AND LEADERS TO PROVIDE
MANY OF THE ATTRACTIONS OUR METROPOLITAN AREAS NO
LONGER OFFER -- INEXPENSIVE LAND FOR INDUSTRY,
BUSINESS, HOUSING AND PARKS, CLEAN AIR, AND CLEAN WATER.

✓ TOGETHER THE TENCO COUNTIES WERE LARGE
ENOUGH TO USE FEDERAL PROGRAMS EFFICIENTLY. ✓ THEY
USED RESOURCES AVAILABLE UNDER THE PUBLIC WORKS AND
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT TO ATTRACT INDUSTRY. ✓ THEY
BUILT A TECHNICAL SCHOOL WITH FUNDS AVAILABLE UNDER
THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT.

✓ WITH ASSISTANCE FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
TENCO ESTABLISHED A PILOT PROJECT WHICH IS NOW
DEMONSTRATING HOW A RURAL AREA CAN DEVELOP
A COMPREHENSIVE MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAM TO
RECRUIT, TEST, TRAIN, AND FIND JOBS FOR ITS CITIZENS.

✓ THE TENCO COUNTIES HAVE DOUBLED HOG AND CATTLE
PRODUCTION WITH THE COUNSEL OF USDA'S TECHNICAL
ACTION PANELS. ✓ TODAY, PER-FAMILY INCOME IN TENCO
HAS DOUBLED. ✓ EIGHT YEARS AGO THE LOAN LIMIT AT THE

BANK WAS 20 THOUSAND DOLLARS, TODAY IT'S

90 THOUSAND DOLLARS.

*This is Progress and
Good Prospects*

L TENCO ILLUSTRATES WHAT I CONSIDER TO BE THE
MOST IMPORTANT INGREDIENT IN A PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS,

RURAL OR URBAN, IN AMERICA TODAY. L ITS SUCCESS WAS

THE RESULT OF LOCAL INITIATIVE FROM THE VERY

BEGINNING. L TENCO'S LEADERS DECIDED WHAT THEY WANTED

TO DO AND HOW THEY WANTED TO DO IT, AND THEN TURNED

TO WASHINGTON FOR ASSISTANCE. L THAT IS THE KIND

OF HELP -- SUPPORT FOR LOCAL INITIATIVE -- THAT

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN BEST PROVIDE.

Partners

I THINK THIS CONFERENCE IS GOING TO Discover
many
~~A LOT ABOUT~~ WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN IMPROVE FEDERAL

AND STATE SERVICES TO RURAL AREAS.

L CERTAINLY WE CAN MAKE THE GUIDELINES FOR SOME
OF OUR PROGRAMS MORE APPROPRIATE FOR RURAL

APPLICATION. L FOR INSTANCE, WE CAN AUTHORIZE HIGHER

EXPENDITURES FOR TRANSPORTATION, AN OBVIOUS
NECESSITY. PERHAPS THE TERM "RURAL" ITSELF
REQUIRES REDEFINITION.

WE CAN COMPENSATE IN OUR MANPOWER PROGRAMS FOR
THE LACK OF TRAINING FACILITIES IN RURAL AREAS.

PERHAPS THROUGH THE USE OF MORE RESIDENTIAL CENTER
TRAINING ON THE JOB CORPS MODEL.

WE SURELY NEED TO FIND BETTER WAYS OF
REACHING RURAL YOUTH THROUGH STATE EMPLOYMENT
SERVICES. THE SMALLER COMMUNITIES PROGRAM OF THE
U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, ESTABLISHED ON AN
EXPERIMENTAL BASIS IN 1959, IS NOW SERVING IN
MORE THAN 40 RURAL COUNTIES IN SEVERAL STATES.

THAT EFFORT HAS BEEN A SUCCESS, BUT IT IS ONLY
A DROP IN THE BUCKET.

WE MUST PRESS FORWARD OUR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE

THE QUALITY AND AVAILABILITY OF EDUCATION AND
HEALTH CARE IN RURAL AREAS.

AND WE MUST ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF PRIVATE
ENTERPRISE, FOR IT IS PRIVATE INVESTMENT THAT IS
ULTIMATELY GOING TO MAKE A SELF-SUSTAINING SUCCESS
OF OUR RURAL AMERICA.

TODAY, OF THE NATION'S ^{28,800} 28 THOUSAND EIGHT
HUNDRED MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS WITH OVER ONE
HUNDRED EMPLOYEES, ONLY ²⁰⁶² 2 THOUSAND SIXTY-TWO
ARE LOCATED IN RURAL COUNTIES.

AGRI-BUSINESS IS ONE PART OF THE PRIVATE
SECTOR THAT HAS BEEN MOVING AWAY FROM METROPOLITAN
AREAS, WITH THE CANNING INDUSTRY AND THE
MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY IN THE LEAD. ^{Textiles too}

Coops | FARMERS' MARKETING AND PURCHASING
COOPERATIVES HAVE ALSO BEEN INVESTING HEAVILY
AND BUILDING OUTSIDE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN HELP STIMULATE OTHER
TYPES OF INDUSTRY TO MOVE INTO RURAL AREAS BY USING THE
ECONOMIC WEIGHT OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS FOR RESEARCH,
DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION. WE ALSO CAN AND DO USE OUR
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT STATUTES TO REQUIRE ~~INDUSTRIES~~ INDUSTRIES ON
GOVERNMENT CONTRACT NOT TO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST LOCAL WORKERS.

LET ME STRESS ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, MOST OF THE
INITIATIVE REQUIRED TO ATTRACT INDUSTRY IS GOING TO HAVE
TO COME FROM THE RURAL PEOPLE THEMSELVES. OPPORTUNITY
MOVES IN WHERE THINGS ARE HAPPENING -- WHERE LOCAL PEOPLE
AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP PROVE THAT THEY WANT TO SEE THE
COMMUNITY GROW.

THIS MEANS MAKING STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
EFFICIENT, RESPONSIVE, AND MODERN.

IT MEANS THAT THE SERVICES OF GOVERNMENT MUST BE
GEARED TO THIS AGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY -- TO THE
EXPANSION OF OUR INDUSTRIAL BASE -- TO THE HEALTH AND

WELL-BEING OF ALL PEOPLE.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW PUT IT THIS WAY:

"THE PEOPLE WHO GET ON IN THIS WORLD ARE THE
PEOPLE WHO GET UP AND LOOK FOR THE CIRCUMSTANCES
THEY WANT: AND IF THEY CAN'T FIND THEM,
THEY MAKE THEM."

ZONING PRACTICES WILL HAVE TO BE IMPROVED TO
ACCOMMODATE NEW BUSINESSES AND NEW PEOPLE.

NEW HOUSING PROVISIONS MAY BE REQUIRED. IN THIS
AGE OF MOBILITY, SITES FOR MOBILE HOMES MAY BE NEEDED
TO ATTRACT NEW RESIDENTS. NEWCOMERS MAY WANT A FURNISHED
UNIT IN AN APARTMENT MOTEL RATHER THAN A SEPARATE HOUSE.

LEASING ARRANGEMENTS WILL NEED TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE IN
A MAJORITY OF TOWNS.

TRADITIONAL PROPERTY TAXES MAY NO LONGER BE THE
MOST FLEXIBLE OR ECONOMICAL INSTRUMENT FOR FINANCING
SCHOOLS AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES IN GROWING COMMUNITIES.

↳ NATURAL RECREATIONAL RESOURCES CAN BE
DEVELOPED FOR AN IMPORTANT ECONOMIC RETURN.

↳ REGIONAL PLANNING, AS THEY DISCOVERED IN TENCO,
IS A MUST. TWENTY-SIX STATES ARE NOW MOVING TOWARD
MULTI-COUNTY DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. ↳ AND LET ME PREDICT
THAT THE RESULT WILL NOT BE TO WEAKEN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS,
BUT TO STRENGTHEN THEM AS THEY BECOME ABLE TO DRAW UPON
THE RESOURCES OF THEIR NEIGHBORING COMMUNITIES.

↳ FINALLY, MANY RURAL COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED
STATES ARE GOING TO HAVE TO COME TO GRIPS WITH
LINGERING SOCIAL AND RACIAL INJUSTICE. ↳ RESPONSIBLE LOCAL
GOVERNMENT ELECTED BY ALL THE PEOPLE, COURTS WHERE
JUSTICE NEVER BLINKS, ^{decant +} OPEN HOUSING, SOCIAL HARMONY --
THOSE ARE FUNDAMENTAL PREREQUISITES THAT ANY AMERICAN
COMMUNITY MUST OFFER TODAY IF IT EXPECTS

TO ATTRACT PEOPLE AND ENTERPRISES INTERESTED IN
PROGRESS.

*100,000,000
more
business.*

↳ MOREOVER, WITHOUT OPEN SOCIETIES OF FULL AND
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN RURAL AMERICA, WE SHALL NEVER
BE ABLE TO STEM THE FLOW OF MIGRATION TO OUR CITIES,
NO MATTER HOW MUCH PHYSICAL AMENITIES MAY IMPROVE.

↳ I KNOW THESE SUGGESTIONS POINT TO FAR-REACHING
CHANGES WHICH ARE GOING TO REQUIRE A HIGH LEVEL OF
POLITICAL COURAGE AND IMAGINATION.

↳ BUT IF WE REALLY WANT TO MAKE RURAL LIFE A
SIGNIFICANT ALTERNATIVE IN AMERICA TODAY...IF WE
REALLY WANT TO GIVE RURAL YOUNG PEOPLE PROSPECTS
INSTEAD OF PROPS...THEN RURAL AMERICANS ARE GOING TO
HAVE TO COMMIT THEMSELVES -- POLITICALLY, SOCIALLY,
PERSONALLY -- TO PROGRESS.

↳ THERE NEED BE NO RIVALRY OR COMPETITION BETWEEN

RURAL AMERICA AND URBAN AMERICA. POVERTY OF THE
PURSE AND POVERTY OF THE SPIRIT ARE NOT CONFINED
TO EITHER. THEY MUST BE FOUGHT IN BOTH PLACES.
THIS IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM, REQUIRING A NATIONAL
COMMITMENT.

THE COMMITMENT IS VITAL TO THE HEALTH OF
AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN THIS LAST THIRD OF THE
20TH CENTURY.

FOR IN THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON:

"HISTORY RECORDS A LONG HARD STRUGGLE TO
ESTABLISH MAN'S RIGHT TO GO WHERE HE PLEASES
AND LIVE WHERE HE CHOOSES. IT TOOK MANY
CENTURIES -- AND MANY BLOODY REVOLUTIONS --
TO BREAK THE CHAINS THAT BOUND HIM TO A
PARTICULAR PLOT OF LAND, OR CONFINED HIM

WITHIN THE WALLS OF A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY.

WE LOSE THAT FREEDOM WHEN OUR CHILDREN ARE

OBLIGED TO LIVE SOMEPLACE ELSE...IF THEY WANT

A JOB OR IF THEY WANT A DECENT EDUCATION."

IF WE WORK TOGETHER THIS WHOLE NATION CAN

DEVELOP AS ONE -- RURAL AND URBAN TOGETHER -- SO

THE AMERICAN RIGHT OF FREE CHOICE WILL BE A REALITY.

###

(One Nation, under God!)

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NATIONAL OUTLOOK CONFERENCE ON RURAL YOUTH
WASHINGTON, D. C.
October 23, 1967

You can plainly see tonight that the spirit of youth has gripped us, because Secretary Freeman said that it was just a few years ago that we were at the University of Minnesota together. We have been compressing time, and are beginning to feel younger every minute.

First of all, I want to express my thanks to the Secretary for permitting me to join in this conference. I think it is fair to say that you have heard from him a message of sincere optimism and great promise. I like the positive note that Secretary Freeman has given to us, and the very solid evidence of social progress that is so much a part of the present American scene.

I want to ask you tonight to join me in thinking young. Being young and thinking young are not exactly the same thing.

A YOUNG NATION

This is a young nation. Everything about it is young. When you think of the verve and the vitality of America, it tells you about its youth. When you see America on the march--its industry, its science, its technology--everywhere there is an emphasis on youth.

I was very much moved tonight by the Secretary's analysis of disillusionment, disenchantment, the difference between a healthy discontent and a sick disenchantment, the difference between dissent and disillusionment.

We have gone through a rather difficult week in our nation. We have gone through a rather unhappy weekend in our nation's capitol.

Let me tell you the contrast that I saw. I was at the United Nations' Concert Saturday night, with Mrs. Humphrey and many others. It was our privilege to invite a very esteemed and dear friend to be the concert conductor, the famed Pablo Casals, one of the truly great spirits of our century and of our time.

THEY WERE BEAUTIFUL

On the stage with him were hundreds of young people from Howard University and Catholic University in a great choral group. They had had only a week of rehearsals, only one or two days with the great maestro, and when they first sang, it was good,

but it was evident. But then, as the evening went on, the music just poured from them like a mighty river. And they were beautiful. It was simply the most moving experience that one could ever hope to have.

I couldn't help but think of it when I went home--what a contrast to what I saw on the television of ill manners, filth, a disgusting performance in the name of dissent. And how many young people were deceived by a few who wanted to deceive them on that Saturday here in Washington! There were thousands of young people that came here out of conscience and conviction to express their concern, but they were used by some who had no conscience, no concern, and were seeking only to exercise what they thought was the right of abusive language and vulgarity.

When I awakened this morning and turned on the television and saw the debris that was left at the Pentagon building, it sickened me. And particularly when I saw young GI's in fatigues having to clean up this mess, and when I heard that some young men and women who were insisting on being arrested were being given \$25 fines, I thought maybe it would have been better if they had had to clean up their own mess.

YOUNG PEOPLE AT WORK

You know the young people of America today are marvelous. Most of them are socially concerned. They are bright. They are at work.

There are six million or more of them in our universities, seeking to improve themselves, to build for a better life. There are thousands of them who volunteer for the Peace Corps, many more than we can take. Thousands of them are volunteering for VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America. A quarter of a million of our college students last year volunteered to help the needy and to help students who had been deprived of a good education. Half a million high school seniors who never got paid a nickel volunteered their time last year to help young people in the grade schools. Thousands of other young people work in hospitals, in community agencies and community programs.

This is the spirit of America. This is the youth power of America.

But somehow these examples get lost in the public mind. It seems these days that some people have confused honest, dedicated, conscientious, concern and dissent with vulgarity and abusiveness. This does not help the cause of democracy, and it does not help the cause of human decency or human dignity.

DECEIVED

I was unhappy this weekend because I think those who really wanted to express their concern about many things were deceived. I don't like people who use other people for their own selfish purposes.

I have many of these feelings because I know young people. I happen to be the Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council and, like Secretary Freeman, I travel around this country a great deal.

Youth power, I believe, is a tremendous source of energy and good. It is one of the nation's greatest natural resources--a resource of strength and of energy and of leadership for today and for tomorrow.

But I regret to say that all too often it is a resource that we are wasting. That is why this conference was called by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Vice President's Office and the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

You have been invited to discuss the needs of a very important group of American young people, those who live in rural America.

PROSPECTS

Your theme is "Prospects." And America's prospects today, as the Secretary of Agriculture has so vividly pointed out, are tremendous. They are dramatic. Our country is rich and powerful. America's farms, as you better know than I, produce a greater abundance than any other farms in the world. And that abundance is surely going to increase.

For the first time in the history of mankind, there is a nation that can satisfy the material needs of each of its citizens.

Every young person should have one assurance above all others--the assurance that he or she will fully share in these prospects.

RURAL POVERTY

But the statistics say that many who live in rural areas are not sharing adequately now:

The largest number of poor youth live in rural areas. About one-third of these young people in rural America live in substandard housing. For every 77 rural youngsters who reach working age, there are only 100 jobs.

Twenty-two percent of all rural five-year-olds in 1960 were in kindergarten. In the cities, the figure was 46 percent. The average rural teenager completes about nine years of school. The figure is over twelve years in the city. There are fewer doctors, hospitals, clinics and nurses per capita in rural areas than in the cities.

Moreover, the remedies available today for these inequalities have not been adequately used in rural America:

Our education assistance programs are more frequently and fully used by city schools than by rural schools.

HEALTH ASSISTANCE

Our health assistance programs serve the cities more than the country.

Only about half of the nation's rural counties are served by local offices of the state employment services. Yet each of the urban counties has at least one, and often several local employment offices.

Communities in rural America are scattered, and not concentrated. Their problems often are not susceptible to treatment by large-scale programs. And I think it is fair to say that in this day and age much of the thinking and planning of government is urban-oriented, from urban-oriented minds.

Local governments in rural America, moreover, are often unaware of state and federal assistance that is available to them.

NO LABELS

I have found that many local government officials who come to Washington to look for some help are like a person going into a supermarket and finding that there are all kinds of goodies on the shelf, but there are no labels. They wonder what they are getting, if they get anything at all. Most of the time, they find nothing.

So what we have tried to do in recent months is to put together a catalog of community programs that are available. We also have a simplified application, which finds its way to the proper agency of the

government no matter where you send it.

Often, too, the local governments' tax base is too small to support the kind of local initiatives that would enable them to take advantage of federal rural assistance programs.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

The material disadvantages which affect many young people in rural areas literally conspire to deprive them of one of our most basic American freedoms, freedom of choice--the choice of where to live, the choice of a job, the choice of your future.

This is perhaps the greatest tragedy of all, and that is the challenge before this conference and this nation. Rural America must offer these young people opportunities to learn and work equal to those available in the cities. Government--federal, state and local--must make it possible for rural youth to have exactly the same options and the same opportunities as their city cousins in any city in the land.

Between 1950 and 1960, about eleven million Americans migrated to the cities from the farms and small towns. Seventy percent of us now live in cities, on one percent of the land. And this trend continues today. In the next 33 years, there will be one hundred million more Americans.

Where are they going to live? How are they going to live? What kind of life will they have? Are they all going to live in the great crowded metropolitan centers?

HIGH HOPES, NO SKILLS

The largest proportion of the new migrants to the city are young. Indeed, about 200,000 young Americans living in rural areas today will have been drawn or forced into the city within a year. Most of them will arrive with high hopes. Some of them will arrive without the skill to support themselves or an adequate education. Many will find themselves confined to slum apartments, trapped in an alien environment.

And what has not happened in many areas of rural America-- I repeat, what has not happened in many areas of rural America--is a major cause of what has happened in many of the neighborhoods of urban America.

In New York City, for example, more than one-third of the enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program were from rural America. Many come from some of the more backward rural areas, totally unadjusted to urban industrial life.

They come to Chicago, to Cleveland, to Detroit, to Philadelphia, to New York, only to be lost, swallowed up in the impersonality of the city, finding refuge on relief and welfare rolls. That is not the American answer to human problems.

POPULATION BOOM

By the year 2000, as I have said, we are going to have a tremendous increase in population, and we have to think ahead, plan ahead, for everything. Are there enough classrooms, universities,

hospitals, doctors, other professional people to serve them?
What kind of America will they find?

The challenge, as I see it, is to provide every citizen--and especially the young ones--no matter where he lives or who he is, with a full measure of opportunity and a full measure of choice.

In the rural areas, that does not mean re creating the mythical good old days down on the farm. They were never that good, and you know it.

MODERN LIVING

It does mean extending modern living to rural areas. In the 1930's, modernization meant rural electrification, the REA, and movie theaters in every town. In the 1940's, it meant in part hard-surfaced roads, so that people could get back and forth.

What does it mean now? I think it means airports, for one thing, capable of handling short-hop jets. It means community colleges, good ones; modern hospitals and good doctors. It means the very best in elementary and secondary education. It means also in a modern community golf courses and ball parks--recreation. It may mean drama groups and art classes in addition to church socials and lemonade. And it means economic visibility--new investment, new job opportunities, a growing tax base.

Let's face it. The young man or woman today who listens to the transistor radio or gets a peek at television is not going to be content with horse-and-buggy living. They are going to leave, unless there is

a better life for them available in areas other than the great cities.

Now, that kind of progress is possible. We are not talking about a dream world or a theory. Let me give you two examples.

HUNTSVILLE

Huntsville, Alabama, used to be a small Southern town, a place where people were born and died, but where they spent little time in between. Then the TVA went into action. Huntsville got access to electric power at cheap rates. It got access to water for transport and for recreation. Industries came, then scientific and space installations moved in, and other industries followed. New stores began to meet the needs of new customers. The quality of education improved. The University of Alabama put in a branch university. New taxpayers built new schools.

Huntsville is today a good place not only to be from, but to be. It is a going establishment.

TENCO

Another good example occurred in south-central Iowa. Ten counties joined together in an association called Tenco. They were able to pool their resources of services, raw materials, planners and leaders, to provide many of the attractions that our metropolitan areas no longer offer--inexpensive land for industry, business, housing and parks, clean air and clean water, and a good labor force. Together the Tenco counties were large enough to use

federal programs efficiently. They could hire a good lawyer to examine these programs, and then good planners.

They used resources available under the Public Works and Economic Development Act to attract industry. They built a technical school with funds available under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

With assistance from the Department of Labor, Tenco established a pilot project which is now demonstrating how a rural area can develop a comprehensive manpower training program to recruit, test, train and find jobs for its citizens.

The Tenco counties have doubled hog and cattle production with the counsel of the United States Department of Agriculture's Technical Action Panels. Today, per-family income in Tenco has doubled. Eight years ago the loan limit at the bank was \$20,000; it is now between \$80,000 and \$90,000.

LOCAL INITIATIVE

Tenco illustrates what I consider to be the most important ingredient in any program for progress, rural or urban, in America today. Its success was the result of local imagination, local creativity, local initiative from the very beginning.

Tenco's leaders decided what they wanted to do and how they wanted to do it. And then they turned to Washington for assistance. Now, that's the kind of help--support for local initiative--that the

federal government can best provide. This is the partnership that we talk about.

It is a partnership in which there is no dominant force, but in which each shares to the best of his ability. This partnership includes federal, state and local government as well as private groups.

I think this conference is going to discover many ways in which we can improve federal and state services to rural areas.

RURAL GUIDELINES

Certainly we can make the guidelines for some of our programs more appropriate for rural application. For instance, we can authorize higher expenditures for transportation, an obvious necessity. Perhaps the term "rural" itself requires a new definition. I think it does.

We can compensate in our manpower programs for the lack of training facilities in rural areas, perhaps through the use of more residential centers for training on the Job Corps model.

We surely need to find better ways of reaching rural youth through the state employment services. Most of our rural youth have never seen a state employment office.

The Smaller Communities Program of the U. S. Employment Service, established on an experimental basis in 1959, is now serving more than 40 rural counties in several states, but it is only a drop in the bucket.

We need to press forward our efforts to improve the quality and the availability of education and health care in rural areas.

PRIVATE SUPPORT NEEDED

And we must enlist the support of private enterprise more than ever, for it is private investment that is ultimately going to make a self-sustaining success of our rural America.

Today, of the nation's 28,800 manufacturing establishments with over 100 employees, only 2,062 are located in rural counties. Is it any wonder that there is a population drain from these counties?

Agri-business is but one part of the private sector that has been moving away from metropolitan areas, with the canning industry and the meat-packing industry in the lead.

Farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives have also been investing heavily and building outside the metropolitan areas.

FEDERAL ROLE

What more should we do to encourage this? The federal government can help stimulate other types of industry to move into rural areas by using the economic weight of government contracts for research, development and production. This year alone your government will be spending \$16 billion in research and development contracts.

Is your local college getting some of this money? If it isn't, speak up.

We also can and do use our equal employment statutes to require industries on government contracts not to discriminate

against local workers.

But let me stress again that most of the initiative required to attract new industry is going to have to come from the rural people themselves. Opportunity moves in where things are happening, where the action is, where local people and local leadership prove that they want to see the community grow.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

This also means making state and local government modern, responsive, progressive, with good people at the helm in every office. It means that the services of government must be geared to this age of science and technology, to the expansion of our industrial base, to the health and well-being of our people.

George Bernard Shaw was a caustic observer, and he put it pretty bluntly: "The people who get on in this world are the people who get up and look for the circumstances they want; and if they can't find them, they make them."

I like that. That is what you call ambition--making your opportunities and seizing them.

Just a simple thing--zoning practices will have to be improved to accommodate new businesses and new people. That is a very mundane subject, but without it, there will be no new business.

New housing provisions may be required in your locality, your county or your state. In this age of mobility, even sites for

mobile homes may be needed to attract new residents. Newcomers may want a furnished unit in an apartment motel rather than a separate house. Leasing arrangements will need to be more flexible in a majority of towns.

PROPERTY TAXES

Traditional property taxes may no longer be the most flexible or economical instrument for financing schools and other public facilities in growing communities.

Natural recreational resources can be exploited, developed for an important economic return.

Regional planning, as they discovered in Tenco, is a must. Twenty-six states are now moving toward multi-county development efforts. And let me predict that the result will not be to weaken local governments, but to strengthen them as they become able to draw upon the resources of their neighboring communities.

LINGERING SOCIAL INJUSTICE

Finally, many rural communities in the United States are going to have to come to grips with lingering social and racial injustice. Responsible local government elected by the people--all of the people--courts where justice never blinks, decent and open housing, social harmony--those are fundamental prerequisites that any American community must offer today if it expects to attract people and enterprises interested in progress.

I meet regularly with some of the biggest business leaders in this country, and the first thing they ask when they are considering putting a plant in a town is: "What kind of educational system does it have?" and "What are the plans for the next ten years?"

Number two, they want to know: What are the community attitudes? Is there racial hostility? Is there labor-management hostility? Is there urban-rural hostility?

Then they look at the other things, like a labor force, the availability of electrical power, transportation, and so forth.

OPEN SOCIETIES

Without open societies and full opportunity in rural America, moreover, I don't think we'll ever be able to keep the young people there. We will not be able to stem the flow of migration to our cities, no matter how much physical amenities may improve.

I know these suggestions call for some far-reaching changes which are going to require a high level of political courage and imagination. But if we really want to make rural life a significant alternative in America today--if we really want to give rural young people prospects instead of props, opportunity instead of relief, education instead of consolation--then rural Americans are going to have to commit themselves now, politically, socially, personally, to social progress.

There need never be any rivalry or competition between rural America and urban America. Poverty of the purse and poverty of the spirit are not confined to either. They must be fought as common enemies in both places. We are talking of a national problem requiring a national commitment.

The commitment is vital to the health of American democracy in this, the last third of the 20th century.

President Johnson put it this way:

"History records a long hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and live where he chooses. It took many centuries--and many bloody revolutions--to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land, or confined him within the walls of a particular community. We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else if they want a job or if they want a decent education."

The President has made a great plea for equal opportunity. If we work together, this whole nation can develop as one--rural and urban together--so that the American right of free choice will be a reality.

#

REMARKS OF
THE HONORABLE HUBERT HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
BEFORE THE
NATIONAL OUTLOOK CONFERENCE ON RURAL YOUTH

Washington, D.C.

October 23, 1967

(THIS TRANSCRIPT WAS PREPARED FROM
A TAPE RECORDING.)

PROCEEDINGS

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: ~~Thank you, thank you.~~

~~Thank you,~~ Secretary Freeman, Father Vizzard, Mrs. Freeman, and ladies and gentlemen of the National Outlook Conference on Rural Youth:

You can plainly see tonight that the spirit of youth has gripped us, because Secretary Freeman said that it was just a few years ago that we were at the University of Minnesota together. We have been compressing time, and are beginning to feel younger every minute.

I first of all want to express my thanks to the Secretary for permitting me to join ~~tonight~~ in this ~~discussion and this~~ conference. I think it is fair to say that you have heard from him a message of sincere optimism and great promise. I like the positive note that Secretary Freeman has given to us, and the very solid evidence of social progress that is so much a part of the present American scene.

I thought that I was about the only optimist left in Washington, but I find that I've got competition, as Secretary Freeman, my friend Orville Freeman, is every bit as optimistic as the President and the Vice President or anybody else that you can find. Now I became an optimist around here because I am sort of a competitive person in my own right, and when I looked around the ~~circle~~ of

~~optimism were so crowded with experts~~

(Laughter.)

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: -- that I decided to move over into those broad, uninhabited fields and plains of optimism. And now I find that there is one working the precincts over there, too, namely Secretary Freeman. But he has good reason to be optimistic. His own life is a story of success and achievement, and his work every day is one that is dedicated to building, building -- people and a nation. I knew that he was going to give a special salute to the Marine Corps tonight. I could have told you before I came here what would be going on, because Orville Freeman has many loyalties and deep loyalties. I am sure that his first loyalty, of course, is to his country. And his love is for his beautiful wife. But if you put the loyalty to country and love of wife altogether, it is wrapped up in the Marine Corps.

(Laughter and applause.)

But I trust that you feel as I do when I hear that wonderful Marine band and the Color Guard -- see the Color Guard -- and watch these young men, I just feel a little better as an American, as a citizen and as a human being. They are fine, good people, and they represent the spirit of this country in many, many ways, not just its military power but its spirit of compassion, its spirit of strength, and

its spirit of great ability.

So I thought we had a good start here. I should tell you, since I am being quite informal, that prior to coming in here, as you saw, we were delayed a moment, that there was a good reason for it. I know that man does not live by bread alone, Father Vizzard, but I hadn't eaten yet and I needed a handful of peanuts.

(Laughter.)

I said to Orville Freeman, Secretary Freeman, I said, "I refuse to speak until I am fed." And he said, "I have read your speech and I think it is worth about three peanuts. Come on."

(Laughter.)

So I took my share as I worked on towards this podium.

The topic of tonight is "Prospects." That is the topic of this conference. And I want to talk to you a little bit about it, and I trust in the way of giving you some material to chew on, to think about, during your deliberation

~~First of all~~ I want to ask you ^(tonight) to join me in thinking young. ~~Now~~ ^(are) being young and thinking young ~~is~~ not exactly the same thing. ~~Both the Secretary and myself have~~ done a little teaching in our time. We always mention that, if one of us forgets it, the other one mentions it. Because

our credentials, you know, in other professions.

(Laughter.)

And I can remember being in the classroom with some of my students, and I would find several of them that I thought were already available and eligible for Social Security and Medicare in terms of their attitudes, their thought processes. And then we meet people, come across people, that are in terms of the calendar men and women in middle age or they even say in the senior citizen group. But they are bright and scintillating, exciting, and thinking young.

They tell the story about Oliver Wendell Holmes and Justice Brandeis, when Justice Brandeis was in his late --

(Portion of tape blank.)

-- and these two distinguished gentlemen couldn't help but notice this flow and array of beauty, and as a slick little number about twenty years of age went by, Justice Brandeis said, "Boy, what I would give to be 70 again."

(Laughter.)

Now, that is what we mean by thinking young.

(Laughter.)

Not long ago I was talking to a youth conference and just prior to my meeting, why, one of the young friends, prior to my talk, one of the young men came up to me and he said, "You are not too young to be a grandfather."

1 said, "That's right." He said, "Well, what do you know about
2 young people?" He said, "You're not young." And I said,
3 "Well, I'll tell you. I really am. I have just been around
4 a little longer than you have, that's all."

5 It is just another way of saying how a man thinketh
6 so is he. So tonight we are going to join together, regard-
7 less of our age groups or our occupation or our geographical
8 location, and think about this Nation, think about this

9 ~~America of ours.~~ **A YOUNG NATION** This is a young Nation. Everything about

10 it is young. ~~When you watch a television ad it is generally~~

11 ~~a spirited young person.~~ When you think of the verve and

12 the vitality of America, it tells you about its youth. When

13 you see America on the march, ~~so to speak, and its industry,~~

14 its science, its technology, everywhere there is ~~an~~ an

15 emphasis ~~upon the young.~~ **(on Youth)** The words "vital, strong, spirited

16 idealistic, outward-moving, forward," all of this is associated

17 with youth. ~~But youth with an understanding of its role~~

18 in the world and in the society of which it is a part.

19 ~~And I was really touched tonight and very much moved~~ **(Tonight)** by

20 the Secretary's analysis of disillusionment, disenchantment,

21 ~~the why's and the wherefore's, and why it should not be,~~

22 the difference between a healthy discontent and ~~a~~ **(a)** sick

23 disenchantment, the difference between dissent and disillusion-

24 sionment. ~~Tonight we are going to provide, if~~

25 ~~we can, for a young man a way of thinking, feeling, and~~

7
particularly by those of you in the adult group who are
working with young people and our young leaders that are
here tonight, because I think America needs to do some
thinking on this subject.

We have gone through a rather difficult week in
our Nation. We have gone through a rather unhappy weekend
in our Nation's Capital.

Let me tell you the contrast that I saw. I was
at the United Nations' Concert Saturday night, with Mrs.
Humphrey ~~of course~~ and many others. It was our privilege,
~~my privilege~~ to invite a very esteemed and dear friend to
be the concert conductor, the famed Pablo Casals, one of
the truly great spirits of our century and of our time.

And this dear man, 92 years of age, came here to conduct
the Baltimore Symphony at the United Nations Association
Concert. I wish you have seen him. I wish you could have
been with him, because it was a rich spiritual experience.
I have known him quite some time. I went to his birthday
party last December in Puerto Rico. It is one of the
rewards of my public life to know good people, to come in
contact with those who lift your soul -- I mean, who touch
your soul and lift your spirits. This is a man of great
sensitivity, a bright mind, warm heart, and a rich and
beautiful soul. And he puts all of it into his music, into

1
2 I went to help him, literally to take him by the arm to
3 bring him to the podium and help him on the podium. And
4 ladies and gentlemen, as he conducted his own symphony, a
5 beautiful symphony, entitled "The Manger," a spiritual
6 symphony, the story of the birth of Christ, as he conducted
7 that he literally came alive, this man that could hardly
8 sit on the chair that was there for him to use to rest on
9 as he conducted -- at the end of this, for two hours, this
10 concert, he was there vibrant, leading and just conducting
11 in a manner that made the -- as they said, the Baltimore
12 Symphony had never played so beautifully.

THEY WERE BEAUTIFUL

13 ~~But what I wanted to tell you was that behind him,~~
14 ~~in front of him, I should say behind the orchestra,~~ *On the stage with him*
15 hundreds of young people from Howard University and Catholic
16 University in a great choral group. ~~I wish you could have~~
17 ~~witnessed it, their first -- it was a very difficult oratorio~~
18 ~~a very difficult symphony. And when they first started to~~
19 ~~sing --~~ they had had only a week of rehearsals, ~~really~~ only
20 one or two days with the great maestro. And when they
21 first sang, it was good, but it was evident. *(But)* then as
22 the evening *(went on)* the music just poured from them like a
23 mighty river. And they were beautiful. It was simply the
24 most moving experience that one could ever hope to have.

1 beautifully, gifted, talented, right from our great Howard
2 University and Catholic University, intermingled, integrated,
3 my, it was simply marvelous. And as Pablo Casals left the
4 platform with a tremendous ovation that just continued on
5 and on, he went over and he kissed the cheek of a little
6 lady that was there, a little Negro young girl. And she
7 broke and wept in joy.

8 I couldn't help but think of it ^(when I went home) -- what a contrast
9 to what I saw on the television ~~when I went home~~ of ill
10 manners, filth, ^(a) disgusting performance in the name of
11 dissent. And how many young people were deceived by a few
12 ~~that~~ ^(who) wanted to deceive them on that Saturday here in
13 Washington! There were thousands of young people that came
14 here out of conscience and conviction to express ~~truthfully~~
15 their concern, ^(but) they were used by some who had no
16 conscience, no concern, ^(and) ~~they~~ ^(only) were seeking to exercise what
17 they thought was the right of abusive language and vulgarity

18 ~~And~~ when I awakened this morning and turned on the
19 television and saw the debris ~~that was left~~ that was
20 left at the Pentagon building, it sickened me. And
21 particularly when I saw young GI's ~~that were~~
22 ~~in~~ in fatigues, having to clean up
23 this mess, and when I heard that some young men and women
24 ~~were~~ ^(who) were laughing on being abused, ~~and~~
25 ~~were~~ ^(who) were laughing on being abused, ~~and~~

given 625 fines, I thought maybe it would have been better if they had had to clean up their own mess.

~~the young people~~ YOUNG PEOPLE AT WORK

~~and what I really protest about, and I have the~~
~~right to protest, too, you know, this is a time of protest~~
~~for everybody -- what I protest about is that the American~~
~~young people,~~ the young people of America today are
marvelous. ~~I have seen thousands of them all over this~~
~~land.~~ Most of them are socially-concerned. They are bright.
They are at work. ~~There are six million~~ ^(or more) of them in our
universities, ~~or more,~~ seeking to improve themselves, to
build for a better life. There are thousands of them ^(who) ~~that~~
volunteer for the Peace Corps, many more than we can take.
~~many, many more.~~ Thousands of them ~~that~~ are volunteering
for VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America. A quarter of
a million of our college students last year volunteered to
help the needy ^(and) to help students ^(who) ~~that were behind, that~~
had been deprived of good education. ^(a) ~~A~~ half a million
high school seniors ^(who) ~~last year~~ ^(last year) never got paid a nickel
~~who~~ volunteered their time to help young people in the
grade schools, ~~there are~~ ^(other young people) thousands of ~~them~~ work in
hospitals, in community agencies, ~~to help in the army~~
~~community fund drives~~ and community programs. ^(P) This is
the spirit of America. This is the youth power of America.
~~but somehow, something got lost in the public~~

mine. ~~It seems~~ ^{it seems} these days that some people
have confused honest, dedicated, conscientious, concern
and dissent with vulgarity ^(and) abusiveness. This does
not help the cause of democracy. ^(and) It does not help the cause
of human decency or human dignity.

DECEIVED

^(who) I ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~deceived~~ this weekend because I think those
~~that~~ ^(who) really wanted to express their concern about many
things ~~and we are concerned, you know, we are a concerned~~
~~people~~ ^(who) but they were deceived. I don't like people ~~that~~
use other people for their ^(own) selfish purposes. ~~I think it is~~
~~wrong~~

Well, that isn't in the written words here. I
didn't have that on my speech. That is what Freeman does
to me when he gets on up here and talks as he does. I just
wanted to share this thought with you because it has been
on my heart and mind, and one of my weaknesses is that I
generally tell people what is on my heart and mind, and
that gets me into a certain amount of trouble.

But if this is troublesome, so be it. I wanted to
say it, and I did say it.

(Applause.)

And I might add, I don't think our young people
are all on the dope, on the drugs and a few other things.

I think this is way over-lap, and I think it is about time

~~But~~ I have many of these feelings because I know young people. I happen to be the Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council. ^(And) Like Secretary Freeman, I travel around this country a great deal. ~~That is one of the things that the Vice President is permitted to do.~~

(Laughter.)

And I sure do it.

(Laughter.)

And I have traveled around a goodly part of the world, too, and I have seen young people here and abroad and I want to take our young people any time. They really have something to offer.

Youth power ^(I believe in) ~~is a tremendous source~~ of energy and good. It is one of the Nation's greatest natural resources. ~~And like most natural resources, it needs to be developed. It is a resource of strength and of energy and of leadership for today, because young men and women today are in leadership roles, and it is a source of leadership for tomorrow.~~

But I regret to say that all too often it is a source that we are wasting. ~~and that is why this Commission will study the development of agriculture and livestock~~

1 Labor, ~~and~~ health, education, and welfare, the ~~the~~
2 ~~the~~ Vice President's office, the President's Council
3 on Youth Opportunity. ~~This Conference was called to invite~~
4 ~~you~~ ^{have been invited} here to discuss the needs of ^(a) very important group
5 of American young people, those ^(who) ~~live in~~ live in
6 rural America. ~~not to separate them from their city~~

7 brothers, cousins and sisters, because this is one Nation --
8 but to give some special attention now to this particular
9 group because of certain particular circumstances that
10 surround their lives.

11 "PROSPECTS"

12 Your theme ~~is~~ is "Prospects." ~~And that~~
13 ~~always sounds good to me, because that means there is a~~
14 ~~selling job, and there are possibilities.~~ And America's
15 prospects today, as the Secretary of Agriculture has so
16 vividly pointed out, are tremendous. They are dramatic.
17 Our country is rich and powerful. America's farms, as
18 you better know than I, produce a greater abundance than
19 any other farms in the world. ^(that) And ~~the~~ abundance is surely
20 going to increase.

21 For the first time in the history of mankind, ^(the) ~~the~~
22 ~~prayer of "our daily bread" can be fully realized for all~~
23 ~~is a nation that can~~ of God's children, ~~and surely for this nation there is~~
24 ~~enough so that we can~~ satisfy the material needs of each
25 of its citizens. ~~What a wonderful thing~~

Each young person should have the same abundance that

all others -- the assurance that he or she ~~will~~ ^{should} fully share in ~~the progress of the country~~ ^{these progress}. In other words,

~~an equal share~~

RURAL POVERTY

But the statistics, ~~some of which have already been picked up by you~~, say that many who live in ~~the~~ rural areas are not sharing adequately now:

~~First of all,~~ the largest number of poor youth live in ~~the~~ rural areas. I met today with the editors of Newsweek

magazine. They are doing a study on the city, the poverty in the city, and I said, "You can't study the poverty of the cities without going to the rural swamps from whence it comes

This is like trying to study malaria, or trying to do something about malaria without going to the swamps and cleaning them up and destroying the mosquito and the larva.

They said, "Well, we are really studying urban problems." I said, "Well, go ahead, but I want to give you my talk on rural poverty first."

And I am afraid it took a little longer than we planned on, as this most likely will, too.

The largest number of the youthful poor live in youthful areas. As the Secretary has indicated to you,

about one-third of these young people in rural America live in substandard housing. ~~approximately one-third~~

~~our health assistance~~ HEALTH ASSISTANCE

Our health assistance programs serve the cities more than the country. Only about half of the Nation's rural counties are served by local offices of the state employment services. Yet each of the urban counties ~~employment services~~ has at least one, and often several local employment offices. ~~The office that tries to bring the individual in contact with the job opportunity, the desire for work with the prospect and the possibility for work.~~

Communities in rural America are scattered, and not concentrated. ~~Therefore, many times it takes the extra effort to bring programs and local government together.~~

Their problems often are not susceptible to treatment by large-scale programs. And I think it is fair to say that ~~scarcely~~ in this day and age ~~that~~ much of the thinking and planning of government is urban-oriented, from urban-
(oriented)
~~educated trained~~ minds.

~~(displace)~~

This is natural. It isn't as if it were a conspiracy. It just happens. It is because most people live in cities.

~~that~~ local governments in ~~America~~ rural America ~~are~~
(Moreover)
~~are~~ are often unaware of state and federal assistance that is available to them.

Massachusetts. I have had over forty conferences with mayors,
county commissioners, city managers, county supervisors,
local government officials, in the last two-and-a-half years,
as the President's liaison with local governments.

NO LABELS

And do you know what I have found? That many a
(I have found that many local government officials in
these communities ~~that~~ ^{are} come to Washington to look for some help ~~and he has heard that~~
~~it is here --~~ it like a person going into a supermarket ~~and~~
~~going down the aisles and~~ finding ~~out~~ that there are all
kinds of goodies on the shelf, but there are no labels. ^(We are)
~~these community officials are~~ And he is wondering
~~(wonder what they are getting out of it)~~
~~what he is getting out of it~~ at all. Most of the time, ^(a)
finding nothing. So what we have tried to do in ^(a)
~~recent years, these~~ recent months, is to put together ^(We are now)
catalog of community programs that are available, ^(a)
~~like a Sears & Roebuck-Montgomery Ward catalog, so that~~
~~you can shop in it and look in it and know what the program~~
~~is, where to apply for it, what it does. now you get it,~~
~~how much money it takes and what your part of the contri-~~
~~bution is, and to whom you apply. Even a simplified appli-~~
~~cation, (which) so no matter who you send the application to, it~~
~~finds its way to the proper agency of the government~~
~~(matter where you send it)~~
~~either, at least, we have done~~

~~Being Unaware of State and Federal Financial~~

~~regarding a fact. On the other hand~~ tax base is too small
to support the kind of local initiative^s that would enable
~~enable~~ them to take advantage of federal rural assistance

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

programs. The material disadvantages which affect many
young people in rural areas literally conspire to deprive
them of one of our most basic American freedoms, ~~and that~~

~~is what I am here to talk to you about tonight~~ the

freedom of choice, ^(the) ~~the freedom of choice to make up your~~
~~own mind and have good alternatives.~~ The choice of where

to live, the choice of ^(a) ~~jobs~~, the choice of your future.

~~Now~~ ^(a) ~~this~~ is perhaps the greatest tragedy of all,
and that is the challenge before this conference and this

Nation. Rural America must offer these young people
opportunities to learn and work equal to those available ⁽ⁱⁿ⁾ ~~in~~

the cities. ~~the~~ ^(a) ~~government~~ -- federal, state and local

must make it possible for rural youth to have exactly the

same options, ^(and) ~~the~~ same opportunities ^(as) ~~that~~ their city cousins

~~have~~ in any city in the land. ~~Give them the same~~

~~Freedom of choice~~

~~Now~~ between 1950 and 1960, ~~more than 11 million~~

about eleven million Americans migrated to the cities from

^(and small towns) ~~the farm.~~ Seventy percent of us now live in the cities,

~~on the periphery of the nation. In the last 10 years~~

Where are they going to live? How are they going to live? What kind of life will they have? Are they all going to live in the great crowded metropolitan centers?

the coastlines, east and west and the Gulf states? Or the great metropolitan centers on the rim of the Great Lakes?

What about that vast expanse between the Appalachians and the Rockies? What about the smaller communities? The one I have heard spoken of so often that is growing, the city of 20,000, 25,000 and 50,000, and even 5,000 or 10,000 or even smaller?

Now, that trend that I spoke of, of seventy percent of the people now living on one percent of the land, continues

HIGH HOPES, NO SKILLS

~~today~~ ^{to the city} the largest proportion of the new migrants are the young. Indeed, about 200,000 young Americans living in rural areas today will have been drawn or forced into the city within ^(a) year. ~~200,000 emigration~~ Most of them will arrive with high hopes. ~~they have seen it on television and it looks so good~~ Some of them will arrive ^{or an adequate education} without the skill to support themselves. Many will find themselves confined to slum apartments, trapped in an alien environment. ~~All too many of them will come with an inadequate education.~~

And what has not happened in many areas of rural America -- ~~that~~ I repeat, what has not happened in many areas of rural America -- is a major cause of what has

POPULATION BOOM

21

by the year 1960, as I have said ~~to be~~ we are
going to have this tremendous increase in population, and
we have to think ahead, plan ahead, for everything. Are
there ^(growth) classroom ^{s/} ~~space~~, universities, hospitals, doctors, other
professional people? ~~There are the hundred million people~~

~~going to live? How will they live? Who will serve them?~~

What kind of America will they find?

We are going to have to build in the next 33
years more college space than we have built in the last 250
years. That is quite a job, isn't it?

There will be more transportation problems in
the next 33 years than in the preceding 200 years. Thank
goodness that we have science and technology on our side.

~~but the challenge is there~~ The challenge, as I
see it, is to provide every citizen -- and especially the
very young ones -- no matter where ^(he) ~~they~~ live ^{s/} or who ^(he) ~~they~~
^(is) ~~are~~ with ^(a) ~~that~~ full measure of opportunity and ^(a) ~~that~~ full
measure ~~of~~ of choice.

~~Now~~ in the rural areas, that does not mean re-
creating the mythical good old days down on the farm. They
were never that good, and you know it.

(Laughter.)

I didn't think so. I always hear about those
good old days, and I wonder ~~when~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ I when
it all happened?

(Laughter.)

The good old days to me were dust storms and the Depression and no jobs and 15 cents an hour if you got a job scrubbing floors, and doing like Orville Freeman did when he was the university, and I did, and our wives. It wasn't very good. I am not wishing that on anybody.

So we are not going to talk about those good old days. They are only good the further you get away from them.

MODERN LIVING

It does mean ~~extending~~ extending modern living to rural areas. ~~that~~ in the 1930's modernization meant rural electrification, the REA and ~~the~~ movie theaters in every town. In the 1940's it meant in part hard-surfaced roads, so that people could get back and forth.

What does it mean now? ~~that~~ I think it means ^(one thing) airports, for ~~that~~, capable of handling short-hop jets.

Young people are not going to want to drive around in a horse and a buggy until they get rich and can afford to buy a horse and a buggy and go back and play farmer.

(Laughter.)

It means ~~new~~ community colleges, good ones; modern hospitals and good doctors. It means the very best in elementary and secondary education. ~~that~~

~~perhaps the good old days~~ It means also in a modern community golf courses and ball parks ~~recreation~~. It may mean more ~~than~~ ~~the~~ ~~any~~ ~~clubs~~ in addition to church.

socials and business. When I was a young man, it was
investments, new job opportunities, a growing tax base.

2 Let's ~~face~~ face ~~it~~ it. The young man or
3 woman today ~~that~~ listens to the transistor radio or gets
4 a peek at ~~the~~ television is not going to be content with
5 horse-and-buggy living. They are going to leave ~~and~~
6 ~~they are going to leave the world over~~ unless there is a better
7 life for them available in areas other than the great cities.

8 And it means economic viability. That is what a modern
9 community means, a modern rural America, with new investment
10 and job opportunities, and a growing tax base.

11 It means modern America in your town and in your
12 county, not in somebody else's. You start right where you
13 are.

14 Now, that kind of progress is possible. We are
15 not talking about a dream world or a theory. Let me give
16 you two examples, ~~one of which was alluded to tonight.~~

HUNTSVILLE

17 Huntsville, Alabama, ~~first~~ and I ~~suppose~~ have
18 ~~some good Alabamians here.~~ That used to be a small Southern
19 town, a place where people were born and died, but where
20 they spent little time in between. Then the TVA went into
21 action. Huntsville got access to electric power at cheap
22 rates. It got access to water for transport and for
23 recreation. Industries came, then scientific and space
installations moved in, and other industries followed.

24 Now, recent years have seen the growth of new industries. The

quality of education improved. The University of Alabama
put in a branch university. New taxpayers built new schools.

Huntsville is today a good place not only to be from, but
to be. It is a going establishment. ~~It has been there a~~

~~long time.~~

~~The following is a list of~~

TENCO

Another good example occurred in south-central
Iowa, ~~and I believe it is to this to which the Secretary~~
~~referred.~~ Ten counties joined together in an association
called Tenco. They were able to pool their resources of
services, raw materials, planners and leaders, to provide
many of the attractions that our metropolitan areas no longer
offer -- inexpensive land for industry, business, housing
and parks, clean air and clean water, and a good labor force.
Together the Tenco counties were large enough to use
federal programs efficiently. They could hire a good lawyer,
~~for example~~ to examine ~~into~~ these programs, and then good
planners.

They used resources available under the Public
Works and Economic Development Act to attract industry.

~~The private right of government to take over it.~~

~~They built a technical~~ They built a technical
school with funds available under the Elementary and Secondary
Education Act. ~~They built a technical school with funds available under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.~~

With assistance from the Department of Labor,
Tenco established a pilot project which is now demonstrating
how a rural area can develop a comprehensive manpower training
program to recruit, test, train and find jobs for its
citizens. ~~and it works~~

The Tenco counties have doubled hog and cattle
production with the counsel of the United States Department
of Agriculture's Technical Action Panels. Today, per-family
income in Tenco has doubled. Eight years ago the loan limit
at the bank was \$20,000; ~~and as you heard tonight, from the~~
~~Secretary -- and I believe it was to this area he referred~~
it is now between \$80,000 and \$90,000.

~~I think that is good progress, and the prospects~~
~~seen mighty good too. It can be done.~~

LOCAL INITIATIVE

~~Now~~ Tenco illustrates what I consider to be the
most important ingredient in any program ~~for our youth or~~
for progress, rural or urban, in America today. Its success
was the result of local imagination, local creativity, local
initiative from the very beginning. ~~They didn't come down~~

to Washington and say, "Design it for me. Help me out."

They said, "Look, we'll design it, and when we get what we
want in our mind's eye and our dream, we will look for the
ways and means to make it a reality."

Tenco's success illustrates that the answer is to
go to the people and let them design it. And this is the answer to Washington.

for assistance. Now, that's the kind of help support for
local initiative, that the federal government can best provide.
This is the partnership that we talked about.

Earlier President Johnson spoke of what he
call a creative federalism. That is, to put all the
different units of government to work in a partnership
arrangement. I like to just call it a partnership in which
there is no dominant force, but in which each shares to the
best of his ~~unique~~ ability. ~~And this~~ partnership includes
federal, state and local government ~~and~~ private groups.

There isn't a single problem today, my fellow Americans,
that you alone can solve, that the federal government alone
can solve, that state government alone can solve or local
government. You cannot solve, for example, in an urban
area today the problem of transportation locally. It takes
federal, state, local and private cooperation.

You cannot solve the problem of air pollution,
by the best meaning, the most dedicated local leadership,
because if one town does it and the other one doesn't, you
have got pollution because you don't control the winds.
It takes coordination, planning, partnership, cooperation.

Now I think this Conference is going to discover
many ways in which we can improve federal and state ser-
vices to rural areas.

~~The secret of this government is that it constantly taps the brainpower, the resourcefulness of the people. And you may not think for a while that your ideas are going into action, but they find their way in the policies and programs and regulations and suggestions.~~

RURAL GUIDELINES

Certainly we can make the guidelines for some of our programs more appropriate for rural application. For instance, we can authorize higher expenditures for transportation, an obvious necessity. Perhaps the term "rural" itself requires ^(a) new definition. I think it does.

~~When you speak of "rural" now, there is always somebody bringing out Ben Franklin's Almanac. Ben Franklin is dead. His Almanac is an historical museum piece.~~

~~"Rural" needs new definition, just as "town" sometimes needs it, and "country."~~

We can compensate in our manpower programs for the lack of training facilities in rural areas, perhaps ^(more) through the use of ~~new~~ residential centers ^(for) training on the Job Corps model.

We surely need to find better ways of reaching rural youth through the state employment services. Most of our rural youth have never seen a state employment office.

~~On the other hand, the state employment office is not the only place where rural youth can find work.~~

~~The Federal Community Program of the S.C.~~

Employment Service, established on an experimental basis in 1959, is now serving more than 40 rural counties in several states, but ~~we have thousands of counties. The effort at the private level has been a success, but~~ it is only a drop in the bucket.

~~We would like your views on it if it does work in your county, if you are one of these counties.~~

~~And~~ we need to press forward our efforts to improve the quality and the availability of education and health care in rural areas.

~~We need your helpfulness to use Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for experimentation. It's there. The funds are there, oftentimes going unused. They ought to be tried. And some places they are, they have proven to be great success stories.~~

~~(And)~~ **PRIVATE SUPPORT NEEDED**
~~And~~ we must enlist the support of private enterprise more than ever, for it is private investment that is ultimately going to make a self-sustaining success of our rural America.

Today, of the Nation's 28,800 manufacturing establishments, with over 100 employees, only 2,062 are located in rural counties. Is it any wonder that there is ~~(Population) (these)~~ a drain from ~~the~~ counties?

Agri-business is but one part of the private

with the canning industry and the meat-packing industry in the lead, ~~moving away from the metropolitan areas. The textile industry is another. It offers great opportunity in some of our areas.~~

Farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives have also been investing heavily and building outside the metropolitan areas.

FEDERAL ROLE

What more should we do to encourage this? ~~if it is desirable~~ The federal government can help stimulate other types of industry to move into rural areas by using the economic weight of government contracts for research, development and production. ~~And let me tell you, those contracts are big.~~ This year alone your government will be spending \$16 billion in research and development contracts, ~~most of which goes to the great universities and technical centers. Is your university getting it?~~ Is your local college getting some of ^{this money} it? If it isn't, ~~why don't you speak up?~~ ~~It isn't that the government conspires against you. It is just that most of the people that make the contracts are not from your part of the woods.~~

You see, I represented Minnesota in part in the Senate for sixteen years. I would occasionally have to spell the University of Minnesota to some of our federal government executives. They didn't know that we had one.

I will come off, and I would like to see the state...

great talent in the state colleges, tremendous talent untapped. But when the federal government starts pouring out its great vast resources into a handful of the big universities, it tends to draw the good people from your small colleges and universities. And soon you will find one great university with twenty of the great Nobel prize-winners, or thirty of them. Why? Because they had billions of dollars to work with, hundreds of millions.

You see, we need to express ourselves clearly, distinctly, through the Congress, through the Legislative Branch of the government, through the Executive Branch of the government, as to what you think can be done in your area for your young people.

I see no reason that the young people have to chase the education. Why doesn't education chase the young people for a change?

We ~~can~~ also ~~can~~ and do use our equal employment statutes to require industries on government contracts not to discriminate against local workers.

~~But~~ ^(that) let me stress ~~can~~ again ~~that~~ most of the initiative required to attract ~~this~~ new industry is going to have to come from the rural people themselves. Opportunity moves in where things are happening, where the action is. ~~that~~

the community grow.

I can tell you in all candor that weeping and sobbing about the plight of rural America will not help it. You have to fight to make it what you want it to be, work at it, and then possibly it can and will respond.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

~~this~~ this also means making state and local government ~~modern~~ ^(responsive) modern, ~~progressive~~ progressive, with good people at the helm in every office, ~~appointive and elective~~. It means that the services of government must be geared to this age of science and technology, to the expansion of our industrial base, to the health and well-being of our people. ~~Or the young people will not stay. They are going to go where they think things are happening.~~

George Bernard Shaw was a caustic ~~and~~ observer, and he put it ~~to~~ pretty bluntly: ^{"The people"} ~~he said~~ people who get on in this world are the people who get up and look for the circumstances they want; and if they can't find them, ~~then~~ they ~~create and~~ make them."

I like that. That is what you call ambition -- making your opportunities ^(and) seizing them. ~~And if you don't~~ ~~not then reflecting on~~

Just a simple thing -- zoning practices will have to be improved to accommodate new businesses and new people. There is a very mundane subject, but without it, there will be no new business.

New housing provisions may be required in your locality, your county or your state. In this age of mobility, even sites for mobile homes may be needed to attract new residents. Newcomers may want a furnished unit in an apartment motel rather than a separate house, ~~at least for a while.~~ Leasing arrangements will need to be more flexible in a majority of towns.

PROPERTY TAXES

Traditional property taxes may no longer be the most flexible or economical instrument for financing schools and other public facilities in growing communities.

Natural recreational resources can be exploited, developed for an important economic return. ~~And I can recall here not long ago when the Secretary of Agriculture was brought up before the Congress because one of his instrumentalities or agencies in his Department was making some loans in rural America for recreation purposes, and there were people here saying, "What do you mean wasting your money like that?"~~

Well, I want to tell you something. Recreation is a profit-making enterprise. It is almost better than work.

(Laughter.)

And there isn't any reason at all why a man that owns a piece of farm property shouldn't be able to develop some of it for recreational purposes for his place and

~~this ski chalet rather than having somebody come out, a bond
broker or somebody else that says, "You farmers ought not to
do that. We'll do it. We are from the big town."~~

~~So may I suggest we do a little thinking about
that?~~

Regional planning, as they discovered in Tenco,
is a must. Twenty-six states are now moving toward multi-
county development efforts. And let me predict that the
result will not be to weaken local governments, but to
strengthen them as they become able to draw upon the
resources of their neighboring communities.

LINGERING SOCIAL INJUSTICE

~~And~~ finally, many rural communities in the United
States are going to have to come to grips with ~~the~~ lingering
social and racial injustice. Responsible local government
elected by the people -- all of the people -- courts where
justice never blinks, decent and open housing, social
harmony -- those are fundamental prerequisites that any
American community must offer today if it expects to attract
people and enterprises interested in progress.

I meet regularly ~~with some of~~ with some of
the biggest business leaders in this country, and the first
thing they ask ^{are considering putting a plant in a town is} ~~is~~ when they ~~are ready to move a plant~~
"What kind of an educational system does it have?" and "What
are the plans for the next ten years?"

...two things that are the community attitudes?
~~Is there racial hostility? Is there~~
~~labor-management hostility? Is there urban-rural hostility?~~
~~And if there is hostility, they don't need any more fights.~~
~~They don't need any more tension. There are plenty of other~~
~~places to~~

~~...two things that they ask for right off.~~
Then they look at the other things, like a labor force,
the availability of electrical power, transportation, ^(and)
^{to South} ~~before~~ ~~its location to the market. That is less~~
~~important because of modern transportation.~~

Education and human relations: Two top items.
The top 500 corporations of America a year ago were asked:
What are the most important factors in your arriving at
a decision to locate a new plant in a new country, in a new
area? Education, community relations; those two.

And might I add that there has never been a
county, state or government that has ever gone bankrupt
by investing in education? The only nations that have gone
bankrupt are those that haven't invested in education.
This is the best investment you can make.

OPEN SOCIETIES

Without open societies and full opportunity in
^(in America) rural America, I don't think we'll ever be able to keep the
young people here.

the flow of migration to our cities, no matter how ~~large~~
physical amenities may improve.

I know these suggestions ~~may be a little far out~~
~~for some, and they~~ call for some far-reaching changes which
are going to require a high level of political courage and
imagination, ~~but we are dealing with a problem~~. If we
really want to make rural life a significant alternative
in America today -- if we really want to give rural young
people prospects instead of props, ^{opportunity} instead of
relief, ^{education} instead of ~~just some sort of patch on the~~
~~back-and-now-leave~~ consolation, then rural America ^{are} going
to have to commit themselves now, politically, socially,
personally, to social progress.

There need never be any rivalry or competition
between rural America and urban America. Poverty of the
^(and) purse, poverty of the spirit, are not confined to either.
They must be fought as common enemies in both places. We
are talking of a national problem requiring a national
commitment.

The commitment is vital to the health of American
demoncracy in this, the last third of the 20th century.

~~We need every American now as never before. We need every~~
~~American, and we need every part of America~~
~~and we need every part of America~~

President Johnson put it this way.

"History records a long hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and live where he chooses. It took many centuries -- and many bloody revolutions -- to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land, or confined him within the walls of a particular community. We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else *I* if they want a job or if they want a decent education."

~~I think~~ the President has made a great plea for equal opportunity. ~~and freedom of choice, and I believe that~~ if we work together, this whole ~~National~~ can develop as one -- rural and urban, together -- so that the American right of free choice will be a reality. **END IT**

And when children in rural schools and urban schools recite their Pledge of Allegiance, it will have the same meaning, because truthfully, unless we do some of the things that we know need to be done, it does not have that meaning. The Pledge of Allegiance is not merely a statement of fact; it is a statement of hope; a promise yet to be fulfilled for some; a promise that has been kept for many.

And when we talk about one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, we are not only talking about our America as it is, but we are talking about our America as we want it to be. And we are talking about the only kind of America that can survive the

unbelievable burden that is placed upon it.

I think now, more than ever, we need a new patriotism in this country, a patriotism where each of us feels that the best thing we can do for America is to help someone else help himself a little better. That all of us join together to lift ourselves to higher ground, because this is the only way that I know that we can be safe in the storm, and at the same time have vision and see the new horizon.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

VOICE: Mr. Vice President, thank you very, very much for a stirring, perspective and meaningful message which indeed keynotes this conference as it has marked out the new dimension of purpose and some new lines of action. We appreciate your meeting with us and your challenging message very much indeed.

Will the Youth Panel that will question Governor Breathitt on Wednesday morning meet here by the stage with Velma Lindford and C. B. Gilliland, immediately after adjournment this evening? I think that is very imminent.

Thank you all for coming. May I again welcome you? I am sure the week ahead will be a challenging one, and we in the federal government and all the Departments have

for coming, and look forward to working with you in important
common purposes for the next three days.

Thank you, and good evening.

(Applause.)

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