

*mayor Byrne*  
"We Try harder & We are not #2"

The  
30th Annual Congress  
of  
America's Ten Outstanding Young Men  
A United States Jaycees Program

8-7 ( *will come to town may 7 mpls* )

*Back yr  
Broomfield  
Rose Bowl*



Keynote Luncheon

- creed

The Jaycee Creed

We believe:

That faith in God gives meaning  
and purpose to human life;  
That the brotherhood of man  
transcends the sovereignty of nations;  
That economic justice can best be won by  
free men through free enterprise;  
That government should be of laws  
rather than of men;  
That earth's great treasure lies  
in human personality;  
And that service to humanity is  
the best work of life.

12 Noon  
January 20, 1968  
St. Paul Hilton Hotel  
St. Paul, Minnesota

## MENU

WALDORF SALAD

BALLONTINE OF CAPON — APPLE ALMOND

MARSALA WINE SAUCE

BROWNE RICE

HALF TOMATO PARMESAN

TOASTED COCONUT SNOWBALL WITH STRAWBERRY SAUCE

COFFEE, TEA, MILK

ROLLS AND BUTTER

✓ Change - + for the young at heart  
 Change - not an enemy - an ally  
 Change - for the better

# KEYNOTE LUNCHEON

✓ at a time of Wealth - Economic Strife

no Torment by Congrats -

but Self criticism - Self Help

Time of Affluence - get concerned about poor

Invocation . . . . . Henry F. Shyne, United States Jaycee Vice President

Pledge of Allegiance . . . George Douglas Sutherland, United States Jaycee Vice President

Introduction of Special Guests . . . . . Roger R. Jenkins

Introduction of Head Table . . . . . Roger R. Jenkins

Welcoming Remarks . . . Thomas R. Byrne, Mayor of the City of Saint Paul

Introduction of the Keynote Speaker . . . James B. Antell, President of the United States Jaycees

## KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States

Appreciation . . . . . James B. Antell

Announcements . . . . . Roger R. Jenkins

## THE HONOREE FORUM

2:30 — 4:00 P. M.

Saturday, January 20, 1968

Minnesota Ballroom, Saint Paul Hilton

### AMERICA'S TEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN

1967

George Fletcher Bass

of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Hugh Francis Downey

of Kansas City, Missouri

Frank King Ellis

of Orange Park, Florida

Alexander Gottschalk

of Chicago, Illinois

Donald Joe Greve

of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Nicholas Johnson

of Washington, D.C.

Edward M. Kennedy

of Boston, Massachusetts

Paul Douglas Parkman

of Kensington, Maryland

Donald Wayne Riegle, Jr.

of Flint, Michigan

James A. Skidmore, Jr.

of Berkeley Heights, New Jersey

Moderator — Bill W. Suttle

Chairman of the Board, United States Jaycees

You are asked to address your questions to the Ten Outstanding Young Men only from the microphones located in the audience, and only upon the call of the moderator. Please identify yourself by name and State.

Prior to commencement of the Forum, all members of the audience are requested to retire from the Minnesota Ballroom to permit the physical arrangements for the Forum to be completed. Thank you.

Schools

Indian Business

Sen

Cong

Part President Jaycees.

Engine Explorer

Ethiopia

St. Louis

Doctor - CG

7. CC

Doctor muscles



Mr Jenkins

President Antell

Mayor Byrne

ⓧ Warren Schaber

U.S.  
Young  
△

REMARKS  
THE UNITED STATES JAYCEES  
THIRTIETH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF  
AMERICA'S TEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

JANUARY 20, 1968

✓ Operation Opportunity 4

✓ America is in a period of rapid social and economic  
change -- change which brings with it inevitable stresses  
and strains...change which brings with it questioning  
and self-doubt. #

✓ But we Americans have always regarded change  
as our ally, not as our enemy.

Change is for the Young at heart.

And I believe the changes of today will be changes  
for the better.

Why do I believe this?

-- At a time when economic statistics could support  
a torrent of self-congratulation and self-satisfaction,

America has chosen the more difficult path of  
self-criticism and self-help.

-- At a time of affluence for the many, America has

demonstrated the courage to struggle toward opportunity

and justice for the few.

*at a time of wealth & power & help others*

~~But we are in the midst of a job half done, and as a~~

~~result we face some frustrating paradoxes~~

*Paradoxes*

Our technical ability to produce more and better material  
goods...to prevent disease...to educate...to control our  
environment is unchallenged.

*Wealth + Poverty  
Health + Sickness*

*Educ + illiteracy*

Yet, we are by no means satisfied with the quality of life in America. Nor should we be.

Dante's Inferno included a winter scene familiar to many of us who live in American cities this winter:

"dirty water and black snow pouring forth from the dismal air...to the putrid slush that waits for them below."

Responsible programs of urban renewal have produced sparkling new downtown shopping and civic centers -- which often serve only to point up the gross housing, ~~and~~ educational recreational deficiencies which still remain in surrounding inner city neighborhoods.

That is a paradox built on mortar and steel. ✓  
~~There~~ ~~is~~ ~~the~~ ~~painful~~ ~~paradox~~ ~~built~~ ~~on~~ ~~discrimination~~ ✓  
and dashed human hopes. ~~yet~~

We have had a decade and a half of rapid progress in civil rights -- school desegregation...voter registration...

desegregation of public services...equal employment opportunity legislation.

Indeed, since the Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision outlawing school segregation, every fragment of legalized inequality and discrimination based on race has been systematically rooted out and destroyed.

↳ This is mighty achievement in the long struggle for human freedom and dignity. America can proudly stand on that record.

↳ Today Negro Americans are moving into the "middle-class" faster than ever before -- 28 per cent of non-white families, for instance, now have incomes above 7 thousand dollars a year.

↳ According to a Fortune magazine study published this month, three out of four Negro citizens acknowledge that their condition is better today than it was three to five

discrimination is a reality... equal employment and opportunity

legislation.

Indeed, since the Civil Rights Act of 1964

discrimination against racial minorities, even treatment of

legitimate inquiries and discrimination based on race has

been systematically looked out and kept away.

This is a reality not viewed as the long struggle for

human freedom and dignity. Action can greatly speed

on this regard.

"The Longest Journey  
begins with a single step."

their condition is better today than it was three to five

years ago.

*- Jet Trouble - Posthumous*

With that progress, many white Americans ask:

What is it Negro Americans want? — *Well here is the answer*

According to that same poll,

- ✓ -- 97 per cent of the urban Negro citizens interviewed want ~~more~~ <sup>better</sup> education for their children;
- ✓ -- 87 per cent want a better job;
- ✓ -- 77 per cent want some kind of special training;
- ✓ -- 69 per cent want better police protection;
- ✓ -- 62 per cent want more education for themselves;
- ✓ -- 60 per cent want to make their own neighborhoods better places to live, while only 20 per cent are anxious to move.

✓ That is what Negro Americans want -- in short they want what all of us want, no more; no less.

*"Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will have no love for it"*

Keep Sense of Balance

-6-

I believe all of us must remember this, lest we come to regard the ~~Half-filled~~ soap-box orator ~~Agitator~~ as spokesman for the Negro mother who simply wants her children to be able to walk safely to a decent school -- or for the Negro father who wants nothing more than an equal chance to work and provide for the needs of his family.

⌞ The agitator's voice is not the authentic voice of our Negro fellow Americans... anymore than it is the <sup>authentic</sup> voice of our society as a whole.

⌞ The authentic voices of America are those of thousands of responsible community leaders -- of all <sup>rac</sup> ~~colors~~ -- who are working quietly, undramatically, constructively to make their neighborhoods safe and happy.

⌞ And ~~to have~~ those voices can prevail, if we have the good sense to heed them.

and 7th  
-7-  
Finally there is the paradox of hard-core poverty  
in the midst of prosperity.

It is true that the percentage of Americans who live  
in poverty has dropped -- from 21 to 15 per cent in the last  
seven years.

But today we seem to hear much more about poverty --  
about little children permanently maimed by malnutrition...  
about the quarter of our rural families who are poor despite  
unprecedented farm prosperity... about slum unemployment  
and underemployment rates as high as 35 per cent in a  
labor-scarce economy.

Keep

Yes, in this age of rapid growth and change, every  
step forward seems to reveal a new need.

You may remember De Tocqueville's lines:

'The sufferings that are endured patiently as  
being inevitable, become intolerable the moment that



it appears that there might be an escape. Reform,  
then, only serves to reveal more clearly what  
still remains oppressive and now all the more  
unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been  
reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more  
acute."

Today we call that mood the "revolution of rising  
expectations." *4 - It's here - It's elsewhere*

~~But it is not at work alone among the impoverished *of Asia & Africa*  
or those who still suffer discrimination.~~

~~*I think* it is at work today in the soul of every American  
who wants his country to be a better place to live.~~

*and* Americans are not alone.

It is this quest for freedom from tyranny and freedom  
from want...for freedom to choose one's destiny that is  
the theme of human history everywhere in this final third of  
the 20th century.

Full opportunity

Self-determination.

Economic

development

Security.

Education.

The Laughter of healthy children.

Life... Liberty... pursuit of happiness.

Those hopes shine in the minds and hearts of men  
and women all over Asia, Africa, Latin America, just  
as they do here at home. And we all share the frustration  
of seeing those hopes realized too slowly.

*The question then is*

What will come of these rising expectations and  
the impatience they generate here in America? ~~growth~~ <sup>well</sup>

~~or disorder and decay?~~

*They result in  
disorder + decay - or  
Progress and Development.*

Regarding civil disorders, let me say this: The fundamental rights of every American to freedom from fear and freedom from intimidation are going to be ~~must be~~ protected against violent extremists of any persuasion.

I can assure you that the local and state authorities responsible for maintaining law and order ~~will~~ <sup>must</sup> receive the strong public support they need. <sup>the</sup> As President ~~Johnson~~ said

Wednesday: "The American people have had enough of rising crime and lawlessness in America."

~~Meanwhile, we shall do our best to win prompt Congressional approval of the President's comprehensive legislative program dealing with public safety, law enforcement and gun control.~~

This nation ~~can~~ <sup>must</sup> not be cast into a downward spiral of violence, counter-violence and hatred by the criminal acts of a few. — nor must we condemn

a group, a race, or even a neighborhood for the violence of the few!

# Don't lose perspective?

-II-

Nor ~~will~~ <sup>must</sup> the momentary frustrations of today doom our hopes for tomorrow. — We can do what needs to be done

Let me quote the President again:

"If ever there was a people who sought more than mere abundance, it is our people.

"If ever there was a nation that was capable of solving its problems, it is this nation.

"If ever there were a time to know the pride and excitement and hope of being an American, it is this time."

There are hopeful signs:

-- The polls say a majority of Americans do support massive programs to stamp out hard-core unemployment and to rebuild slums:

-- Businessmen are beginning to hire and train the hard-core unemployed, ~~I think that,~~ in partnership

with the federal government, they will hire and train 500 thousand during the next 3 years as the President requests;

-- Private builders, church groups, community organizations are working in partnership with the government to build low-cost housing. That is what makes President Johnson's plan for an eleven-fold increase in low and middle income housing construction over the next decade a real possibility.

-- Building trade unions ~~are~~ are extending their apprenticeship training programs to the disadvantaged.

-- Communities across this nation -- although by no means enough -- are pushing through the open housing ordinances that are the final major step toward equal legal rights for our minorities.

*alone*  
Last year 47 communities passed open housing ordinances -- as many as had done so in the previous decade.

Take the language of your "Operation Opportunity"  
proposal:

"Opportunity...self-help...self-reliance...  
aggressive leadership...mobilizing community resources...  
involving the disadvantaged" -- those words are heard throughout our society today.

*Here is the formula*

They are not the sounds of sickness. They foretell a new era of progress and prosperity in America.

We are witnessing, I think, a new mustering of the vital forces of this free society -- of free enterprise... of voluntary groups like your own...of churches...of neighborhood councils...of local and state governments.

*Urban Coalition*

And the curative strength of these forces is being focused on the most critical problems before us --

on poverty and slums...on education...on the hard-core  
unemployed...on all the barriers which still separate  
some Americans from true equality of opportunity.

The result is an emerging partnership for a  
better America,

*Community Coalition for  
Civic Action!*

- a partnership of government at all levels with  
business, labor, civic groups...citizens,
- a partnership that can marshal the full resources  
of this free society,
- ~~a partnership the President spelled out in his  
State of the Union Message,~~
- a partnership that depends heavily on the kind  
of daring and constructive leadership three hundred  
thousand Jaycees can provide in fifty states and  
thousands of American communities.

*Jaycees  
Leadership*

↳ You are the front-line forces responsible for final victory over hard-core unemployment in your communities.

*Jos*

You have to see that those 6 million new homes are built.

*Hamm*

City government that can effectively use Model Cities funds...creative law enforcement...the establishment of Community Coalitions for Progress...that is up to you.

*Model Cities*

Your "service to humanity" has already meant a great deal to this nation. I especially appreciate the excellent work your Mental Health and Mental Retardation Committee does -- and not only because Mrs. Humphrey is a member.

*Mental Retard*

↳ As Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity I want to thank you for your contribution to last summer's youth programs. In Pittsburgh, Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston, Southeastern Ohio, Caswell County in North Carolina, Boston, Indianapolis, Omaha, Dayton -- in all those communities



and many more Jaycees helped give needy youngsters a chance.

\* \* \*

Today I offer a specific challenge:

*Summer  
1968*

↳ Summer 1968 is now four months away. I call upon you once again to make this a summer of new opportunities and fresh horizons for the young people in your communities who need you most.

↳ Now is the time to establish your local Youth Opportunity Council, if your community does not have one.

*Youth  
Opportunity  
Council*

Now is the time to plan the job fairs to find summer work for every American youngster who needs it and wants it.

*Job  
Fairs*

Now is the time

...to plan your summer recreation and camping programs,

*Recreation*

...to recruit the inner city youth leaders, the  
college students, and the senior citizens who  
can lead the museum tours, run the shops,  
supervise the home economics rooms, coach  
the sports.

Now is the time to staff your schools so the  
opportunities they offer need not be locked away from needy  
youngsters during the summer months. They can be  
year-round Opportunity Centers.

I am going to be in touch with your national and  
local leaders on this matter: Let me say now that I am  
going to be asking you -- in the name of America's  
disadvantaged youngsters ~~for help~~ for help in the coming  
months.

*Schools*

*need  
your  
help.*

I do not say that hopeful signs mean inevitable success. There is going to be ~~lot of trial and error~~ some disappointment... more frustration... more growing pains.

But this country is not tired and it is not sick! It has reached a new jumping-off place in its forward voyage, and is impatiently -- a little anxiously perhaps -- gathering its vast resources, its youthful vigor to push on. o

Across that frontier -- or maybe the next -- we may realize the full promise of America.

In the words of Thomas Wolfe:

"To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This...is the promise of America."

The test before all of us today is to show that our free institutions can fully realize that promise for every American.

If they cannot, none can.

# # #

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
ADDRESS

CONGRESS OF AMERICA'S TEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN  
KEYNOTE LUNCHEON  
JANUARY 20, 1968

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Mr. Jenkins and my good friend Mayor Byrne to whom I will momentarily direct some remarks. Warren Schaber and the Saint Paul Jaycees, my congratulations on your marvelous arrangements for this great meeting and for this luncheon. I think everyone of us are very proud of our Minnesota Jaycees and today, in particular, our Saint Paul Jaycees for the hospitality - the wonderful warm hospitality that they have exhibited and extended to one and all and I personally want them to know how much I have appreciated their welcome.

Now let me just take a moment here before I get too serious with you to set a couple of things right. Mayor Byrne has caused me some embarrassment today - he is a good friend of mine - he ought to be more careful - he's up for re-election. He took that slogan "we try harder", and then what do you think he did with it? Imagine if I'd say what he said. Imagine what would happen at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue today if I'd say I try harder and I'm not number two. I don't even dare admit there is a scintilla of truth to it. And then he talks about welcoming former mayors of Minneapolis. Now he knows that I'm in a position where I can't choose up sides. I have to take a sort of national point of view - even a worldly point of view. There was a time, however, when I was able to hold my own in the contest between Minneapolis and Saint Paul. I am sort of like that old fella that was on his death bed and he

hadn't lives too good a life. The local Reverend said "Are you ready to accept the Lord and renounce the devil?" and he said "In my position I am in no condition to be making enemies with anybody". So I'll just say "thank you" for the welcome, Mr. Mayor.

It has been a rather difficult year for me - I wasn't sure I'd get invited to anything at any time. I look out here and see my friend Ted Kennedy, he took me up there to Fenway Farm at the time I knew that the Twins were a cinch winner and then humiliated me before all (laughter). But that wasn't all - I came home to watch Minnesota play Wisconsin knowing that we were going to go to the Rose Bowl, knowing that we had just defeated Indiana, and then what do you think they did in Indiana -- Purdue and Indiana got together on something and even though we won we didn't go to the Rose Bowl. And the other night I sat before the whole nation at the State of the Union address at a time when millions of people were looking on and I looked like the Great Stone Face and couldn't say a word. It's a bad year! Bad year! I sorta feel like that fellow, like one of your bosses, he got married, he was married a year when he had to go to the hospital. Nobody came to see him, he didn't get a letter, he didn't get a card, no telephone calls. Finally the local Union of the plant had a meeting of the executive board and they sat down and deliberated as to what they ought to do and finally a message came to the hospital that read as follows: "Executive Board Local 100 has considered your condition and by a vote of 8 to 7 we wish you a speedy recovery". Do you like that? (laughter) I sure want to thank you. I'll settle for that any time.

Well, I'm very honored to be in this honorable company. I wish the time permitted today so that we could say just a few words about each

of America's Ten Outstanding Young Men. I didn't know some of them were so young, they've done so much, at least my friends in the Congress. But it is a wonderful thing that you are doing and these men have deserved every honor which you heap upon them. And what a warming variety of human endeavor! We have had a great cross section of America and how fitting and proper it is that young people, an organization that represents youthful spirit, that young people should honor their contemporaries. I found a little quotation just before I came to this hall as a matter of fact - I'm always scrambling through my papers hoping to find something that I remembered that I'd read some place that maybe states as best I can what it's all about today. At least it gives me an excuse for being here at my age - I was once a member of the Jaycees but I won't go back into that. I even had the city cops over in Minneapolis investigate why we were using the city cars so much and now I will confess - we were organizing Jaycee Chapters in our State of Minnesota. But I read a statement not long ago by an American philosopher, writer Samuel Hoke, but the authorship is not as important as the message. Here's what he says: "Youth is not a time of life, it is a state of mind. We grow old only by deserting our ideals. You are as young as your faith, as old as your doubts, as young as your self confidence, as old as your fear, as young as your hope, as old as your despair". I think that summarizes the whole thing. In other words, youth is an attitude about life, about it's purpose, and I would like to think that that little paragraph that I have read typifies not only the spirit of this organization but about our nation. I don't want to think of America as growing old because really this whole wide world of ours is filled with young people and with young men and women that have great aspirations. Your President was asking me just a moment ago about where I had traveled within the last month

and I thought back to my visit to Africa and I mentioned the countries visited but I didn't mention this to him, that in Africa today 75 percent of the people of the entire continent are under the age of 26. At least 5 percent are under the age of 14. It's a young population in an old, old continent. But the age doesn't mean as much as the spirit. You remember that story about Justice Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes when they were going down the street in Washington after one of the sessions of the court \_ brandeis was in his late 80's and Holmes was in his late 70's and Brandeis and Holmes saw a beautiful young thing walk by and the old man turned around and says "Boy, what I'd give to be 70 again". (laughter) Now tell me how to stay alive. (laughter) I had a teacher over - we mentioned Macalester College - I had some wonderful months teaching in Macalester and I used to say to my students that I have seen young people at an age, young in age, come in that already really qualified for Social Security in terms of attitudes. And then I've seen people who are really in the twilight of life in terms of their time schedule but are vital, vigorous and not long ago in Washington, D.C. we had this mortal Pavlo Cassalus, the greatest celloist I think of all time, one of the great spirits of dissention, he is in his ninety-second year. I watched him conduct the national symphony orchestra one night and he came on that stage literally with the help of two people and in the midst of his concert he stood strong and he was vital and vigorous and he was as young as a man in his thirties. Attitude and spirit. Well, now, this world needs that kind of an attitude, spirit because it's a world of change which is not a new observation, and I think this world of change brings with it a lot of questioning and it brings self analysis, and



even self doubt. I hope, however, that we Americans are the kind of people that regard change not as an enemy but rather as an ally. And I think I'm talking to the people today that know that change can be your ally. There are those that look upon anything new as dangerous and forbidding. I think that the changes that are happening today are changes for the better, at least we can so make it that way.

when at a time when our economic statistics, if you read the reports, the production reports, the GNP you could just really swell up with pride and boast and say "look at what we've done" and yet America has chosen the path of self criticism and self help. We are still concerned not about the quantity of life we are concerned about the quality of life.

At a time when there is affluence for so many as no one else ever dreamed possible I think that America has demonstrated the courage to struggle toward opportunity and justice for the few. At a time when we have unwarranted power we are called upon to restrain its use. At a time when we can really just ~~ourselves~~ ourselves and have ourselves a sort of a national lost weekend, sort of a national orgy, we extend a helping hand to foreign aid in the Peace Corps, of Vista to needy people at home, of trying to be helpful to others in defense of their freedoms, standing down there where others cannot. We could be a very self indulgent nation and when I hear people condemn America as being immoral I resent it, or should I say that I would like to repute it, because the real test of morality is whether or not you are concerned about the least of these. And if you are concerned about the poor in the midst of plenty, the weak, and an admirer of the strong, then you have a sense of morality. I thought sure that we are doing all that we could or should but at least I know that our conscience is troubled and I know that this is a nation that's concerned about the future.

Well, now there are frustrating paradoxes that confront us. I have mentioned some, "Well, forget poverty, hell, forget sickness, education and yet autocracy," and yet we have the technical ability to produce better material goods, to prevent disease, to educate and control our environment, we know that we have that but as the President said the other night we have the capacity, we have the ability, the question is, do we have the will. That's where you come in, that's where I come in. We have the means, we have all the know-how, but do we have the moral substance, the ethical purpose to put these things to work. I think it was Huxley who once said that a nation's greatness is not determined by its size or its wealth or its power but rather what will you do with these things, for whom will they be used, that's the question that the Jaycees are asking. Something has happened to this organization which is truly remarkable and wonderful. It doesn't content itself now with just a discussion of enterprise even though that's very important, it is not content with only thinking in terms of its professional conscience, it has become a socially conscious civic action group, and believe me we need you as we are by no means satisfied in America with the way things are and I don't think we ought to compare ourselves with other countries, we ought to have our own standards. I found a quotation from Dante's Inferno that made me think about sometimes when I come home in the winter - many of us that live in American cities, particularly in these northern climates - said "Dirty water, black snow pouring forth from the dismal air to the putrid slush that waits for them below". (applause) It happens, too. (applause) Well, how is this is a very vivid and ugly manner some of the problems that we face. We have great programs of urban renewal that have produced sparkling new shopping

centers, wonderful new office buildings and within the shadow of those buildings ghettos and slums. That's a paradox for you. This is a paradox built on mortar and steel, and it is also the painful paradox of discrimination and vast human hopes. Yet, with all this we have seen a decade of amazing development, amazing lack of progress in civil rights, desegregation, voter registration and people being able to lift themselves out of what we call this economic standard of poverty. We have seen a Supreme Court decision on many decisions that have changed the pattern of law in America where inequality and discrimination are declared illegal (of course that hasn't changed all the practices). At least the legality has been struck down and this is a mighty achievement and we ought not to downgrade it. And then there are some other things that I think we ought to remember that are recent - I guess it was just this month - Fortune magazine has a study that shows that three out of four negro citizens acknowledge that their condition is better today than it was three to five years ago. And by the way, people said "that's what I thought, then why the trouble". "What's the complaint about, why so restless? What is this that's going on in America? Why aren't people" I hear them say time after time, "we've done so many things for them". Of course that same person doesn't realize that what "them" wants is that they are able to do some things for themselves. This patronizing attitude is not enough. Well, we have all of this progress and I could list it down but you don't want to have a computerized statement of what we call the economic data progress, but with all of this progress what has it done that the poor or much or many of our negro Americans, what is it that they want? What is it that they are asking for? Let me be

surprised. That same survey shows that 97% of the urban negro citizens interviewed want a better education for their children; 87% want a better job; 77% wanted some kind of special training; 65% wanted better police protection; 62% wanted more education for themselves; 60% wanted to make their own neighborhood better places in which to live and only 20% were anxious to move. Now that's what the survey of the negro American community reveals. Is that unusual? As a matter of fact, it's exactly what we want; it's what you want; it's what anybody wants. These are and they are brought up in the American system. What they really want is to be treated like Americans. Charles Stewart Mills said something I used to tell my students and I'm going to tell you about it - he said "let a person have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it". Let it sink in. When you are cut out, when you are not a part of it, when you don't have a piece of the action, when you are unwanted, when you seem to be pushed aside, when somehow or other the world ~~with~~ in which you live is not the world in which most people live you have no love for that world. You don't mind if it's destroyed. And in the day of television, too, you can't hide any longer. Television has changed it all. The poverty is there for you to see and the affluence is for the poor to see, even in the poorest neighborhood there is a television to see the wonders of the better society and is it any wonder, then, that there is a restlessness. Now I want you to keep a sense of balance, however, here. I believe all of us must hang onto this lest we come to regard these hate filled hate mongers, right or left, these racists, white or black, as a spokesman for the poor. We must not be fooled. We only know how

great the spokesman for the negro mother who simply wants her children to be able to walk safely to a decent school or a negro father who wants nothing more than a chance to work and to provide for the needs of his family. The agitators voice is not the authentic voice of the poor, of the negro fellow American or the Mexican American or whatever group it may be any more than it is the authentic voice of our society as a whole. The authentic voices of America are those thousands and thousand of community leaders who seldom get their name in the paper of all races, creeds and nationalities who are working quietly, daily, constructively to build a better neighborhood, to build a better city, to improve the schools, to open up opportunity. Those are the effective voices of this nation. Muted, lost in the hurly-burly of a noisy America but those voices seek the conscience of this nation. And those voices can prevail, my young friends, if you help them. In other words, the voice of reason is the one that you should respond to . Don't wait for violence, for riots, for the agitator to fight you into action. Take the action that needs to be taken when the voices of reason appeal to you , not on a basis of hatred and bitterness but on a basis of justice . So much has happened, we have rejected so many of these voices of reason and moderation now we are confronted with a terrible specter of violence and riots, hatred and bitterness, but time still gives us a chance to listen to the voices of common sense. What I am telling you, you know, I know it but education is essentially saturation - I learned that a long time ago. Some of us are so busy that we don't have time really to think it through and in this age of rapid growth and change we are overwhelmed at times with all that has happened. But I want to make it quite clear, as I said, there have been many steps forward. We have made real progress and that is part of the trouble. replacement

who seem to know more about America than Americans. Alexis  
he's my favorite political sociologist and philosopher, I keep reading  
him because he, even though he was early 19th century he was a  
century and a half ahead of his time. He understood America. He  
said the sufferings that are endorsed peaceably as being inevitable  
become intolerable the moment it appears there might be an escape.

Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one sensitivity has become more acute. What he is simply saying to you is what we have been talking about--revolution and rising expectations. When there is no hope and there is despair people seldom move and the report that they be to restless but begin to see light as we see at the end of the tunnel they want to hurry to get to it. And the truth is that the turbulence in our society today is a good indicator of its progress. We're moving out of one social system into another just exactly as an airplane flying moving out of a storm system to lower or high goes through a period of turbulence. We are going to have to find out now that if we have created a ship of state in social structure strong enough to take the strains and stresses and the bunting and bouncing of this turbulence. And also whether we have produced a crew, that is, efficiently steady, wise and understanding, guide the crew from trouble in days of trouble moments. When I am talking about rising expectations is not something just for Asia or Africa, you know we have heard--I bet you have heard 50 speeches on the revolution of rising expectations, particularly talk about Latin America, Africa and Asia, but it's home too--right here. We have some foreigners in our midst. You'd be surprised people that never have had an education, never had a job in the difference of discrimination--they have never been permitted to have American citizenship in its reality. They are like emigrants from a foreign land and they need to be given the same consideration care as extra package if you please that we frequently send to their developing nations. I found that my fathers around America and throughout the world that there is a great common denominator that binds us together.



And if this clutch for freedom---freedom for tyranny, freedom to watch, freedom for fear, freedom for depression, freedom to choose one's destiny---that is the theme of human history in the last thrid of the 20th century. It makes no difference where you go, that's what they want in Africa , that's what they want in Asia, that's what they want in Latin America--they want to be themselves. This is what we mean by self-determination. By the way friends, there is self-determination ambitions amongst our own people. People that want to be with us. Well, what does it boil down to in simple phraseology--as I said full opportunity, self-determination, economic development, security, education, the laughter of healthy children. You wanted one here today that has made possible the end of the spirits of evil. And let me tell you the laughter of healthy children is really the most wonderful music in the world and if we contribute to that--think of what we have got to contribute to rising expecitations as to a peaceful world. This is what our forefathers meant when they put those bonds in most wonderful, colorful words "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". And do you know what they said about it--they didn't say the Jaycees give them to you and they didn't say that the Democrats provided it for you or the Republicans provided it for you---they said these are inalienable God given in born in each rights. But because you are man, because you are eredated in the image of your nature because you have soul and spirit you are entitled to right, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And then they went on to say that governments are instituted housemen to make these things possible. The only justification as Jefferson said, the only legitimate objection to government is the health and happiness of the people---and how are you going to get it. Well, I'll



tell you--you can go back again to your history--you don't get it by a part-time application or half-time commitment. Those men to pen those words said we pass our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor--all of them

that they made up their minds for the total commitment that the least we can do now. The question then is what's going to become of these rising expectations. Are we going to let them fester and boil over in despair as the key and are we going to let violence be the pattern of our cities---by the way I keep mentioning cities because 79% of our people live there.

There are going to be another hundred million Americans between now and the year 2000 and the question is where are they going to live and what kind of community--a hundred million between now and the year 2000. I think you're the people that have to decide that after all I'm looking to you I want you to take care of some of these things--you're going to be responsible for my medicare I want to know what you're doing. I've got a real interest in you, you're going to be responsible and you are responsible many of you right now for what is taking place or what will take place in regarding civil disorders. I think we know that you can't have national development, human development in a society such as ours where there is violence, lawlessness and burning and riot and assault and battery. There is some fundamental rights and the rights of every American for freedom for fear and freedom for intimidation are essential basic rights and are going to be and must be protected against the violate extremist of any persuasion that the youth of you have to be willing to uphold a hand of the law. Local state

authorities responsible for maintaining law and order simply must receive your strongest support--public support--not that they are going to be tough but to be understanding. Modern--equip our law enforcement agencies not with just machines but the best of man power . It's difficult to be a law enforcement officer. The American people, the President said the other night, received a reception from the Congress on at least this one phase and I think on others. American people, he said, have had enough of rising crime and lawlessness in America--so we applauded. What are you going to do about it? Are you willing to pay the price for adequate law enforcement instrumentality. Are you willing to modernize your state and local police authorities? Are you willing to dig into the social position of your community that are the best in breeding grounds of crime and violence. Are we all going to content ourselves with repulsive measures important as they may be or are we going to try to get at some of the sources of this content and end punish the criminal because this nation cannot and must not be cast into a downward spiral of violence and counter violence and hatred by the criminal acts of a few nor must we condemn any group, race or even a Negro for the violence of a few. Apprehend a few, bring those to justice, support your law enforcement agencies, back your mayors and your people who are trying to give law and order but insists upon equality. The most underpaid people, well I guess teachers have been named to be the most underpaid ~~people~~ throughout public service--their doing better now but running close are law enforcement officers. Now don't lose your perspective--there are a lot of momentary frustrations and you can get very

distraught, discouraged and disparaged but I happen to think that the hopes of tommorow are much bright. We can do what we need do. The President said in the State of ~~the~~ Union that if ever there was a people who sought more than mere abundance it is our people. I think that's true. If ever there was a nation that was capable of solving its problems it is this nation. If ever there was a time to know the pride and excitement and the hope of being an American it is this time. All truth depends on what we want to do. There are hopeful signs. The public opinion pole tells us about the discouraging things-also carried out that a majority of the Americans regardless of political persuasion regardless of area or region do support national programs to stamp out our poor unemployment. They want action. The American people are restless-they want to get on with things. Do support programs to rebuild ourselves. The American people do not want to condemn their fellow citizens-conditions err from degredation. And I want to say to any young politician irregardless of your political persuasion you won't go wrong being concerned about the living conditions of your contemporaries. Our businessmen are beginning to take the lead in community after community our programs of civic action. They are beginning to hire and train hard core unemployed and we are asking them and becoming months to hire thousands of them. I can tell you that we are asking your share too. We are going to ask you in the major cities -50 major cities in America- to be the front line fighters in these programs. We are going to have the biggest industrialists in America acting as if they are the greater social workers of America. And why not, this is a free enterprise economy - the government shouldn't be doing all these things- we are not trying to build a welfare state, we're trying to build a state of opportunity in this country. We have to depend on where the power is- where the wealth is where the knowhow is-and it's in the private \_\_\_\_\_ door-it's in thep rivate

business and I've seen builders in our church groups and community organizations that are beginning at long last to work in partnership with our government for low income housing-so the dream of a greater housing program is not unrealistic. In the building trades are now beginning to open up their partnership programs to the disadvantaged and communities across this nation are pushing open housing ordinances although there is much that some people would like. In last year alone 47 communities passed open housing ordinances as many as were done in the previous decade-we did more in one year than the previous ten. And really what it merely says is that you are not compelled to move it just means that ~~if~~ you have ~~to~~ the means and desire you can move. Making a movement is essential to a free people-freedom of choice is essential to freedom-there is no freedom without freedom of choice. Either write down your own operation opportunities proposal what did you say-you said opportunities-self-help, self-reliance, aggressive leadership, localizing community resources to the disadvantaged. We can buy that. Any body who isn't for that isn't for this country. And those are the words that are being heard throughout our society today and they are not words of a depraved nation. I think they foretell what area of social and economic progress that we never dreamed possible. We are witnessing a great urban coalition not only at the national level but at the community level and I want to call upon the Jaycees to see that in every community in America you pool the resources of your socially conscious socially concerned people, public and private, church and non-church, labor and business, call them community concils for civic action. Don't depend on city hall alone-don't depend on the legislature and governor alone. Surely don't depend on the congress or the national government alone-localize the resources of your people -David Rockefeller and some

of our top national leaders had this massive meeting in Washington some months ago and another came this month of what we call the national urban coalition. I have been in government long enough, ladies and gentlemen, to know that it doesn't satisfy just to have it at the national level. If you want better schools to put your child in- if this is a better America it is going to be because you helped make it so where you live. If you are going to defeat hopelessness and despair you got to start where you are if you are going to provide jobs for the hard core unemployed it has to be where the factories are where you live and somebody in Washington can't do it-and even if he could he shouldn't. What we're really talking about-what we really agree on if we can really work together is the need of a great partnership, of equals. Not a partnership of a domineering force-not a partnership for something on top tells you everything-because there is no way that we can find the answers out of what source. It has got to come out of this pluralistic society-we are not abominable. We are gifted people. If the states, different communities, different backgrounds and we have to find the diversity of answers. The late President John Kennedy said that he wanted to see that a world that was safe for diversity-what is diversity in this world. There is diversity in our society. Differences, let's maximize the good of those differences-not get them one against another but draw strength from them. Now the result can be a great partnership of all levels of government and a partnership that will depend heavily on the kind of area and constructive leadership that 300,000 Jaycees can provide in 50 states. I am calling you into action. We don't need you in the bleachers. We don't need you on the sidelines. We need you on the field of action-we need the best that this country has to offer, in order to get the best out of this country. By the way, we can't settle for

anything less than best. Too many people depend on us. We are too important for the free world to do a half-way job. You know that wonderful play-musical-The Man from \_\_\_\_\_ dreaming the impossible dream. Gee, I like that show. That was great fun. Rather sordid, much in effect. Course it is fiction, it's far out, but this is the story of America. Dreaming the impossible and then doing it. We are going to be the first society that ever built a dream that you can abolish poverty and we can do it. Not tomorrow but we can do it. What is that old Chinese proverb that the longest journey starts with the first step. Take that first step. How can we know that poverty is no longer inevitable. But it is intolerable. One thing we know is that prejudice and discrimination is no longer inevitable. But it is intolerable. And I call upon the young-why I read your creed before I got up here-you look at her-I won't take the time to read it to you again. If you believe in what it says then all I am doing is expanding on what you already believe. I want you to help us with the job program. I want you to lend your ingenuity, your creativity to this housing program that we are talking about. I'm not just talking about government-I'm talking about \_\_\_\_\_ your time. I want you to help us make this rather hideous concept work-we don't really know how it is going to work. A federal official shouldn't tell you that. The truth is that the model city's concept is designed in a set so broadly that it believes that to each community to decide what it is going to do with public and private resources. Now you know that I am chairman of the President's council on Youth Opportunity. I like that job and I've worked with your national officers. I have gone to you before and you have been helping us. You have been helping in some many things. A program of mental retardation for Mrs. Humphrey is so keenly concerned about and

she is a member of your committee. You have been doing these things. So I give you a specific challenge here today. Summer 1968. It is just 4 months away. And I have a job to do about this summer. To see that our young people have a better chance this summer than they had last summer. I am not at all sure that what we do will keep the peace but let me tell you this, if I knew just about every program on the basis that it is a riot control program you are going to be most likely disappointed. But the justified programs are does it help somebody. Does it provide self-help. Does it give motivation. Does it give self-respect. Can you stand a little stronger a little straighter because something has been done. So I want you to go home now and see your mayor. I don't mean this one he is a goer. He is a man of action. But I want you when you leave St. Paul you have seen a fine young mayor here that knows how to get things done. I want you to go into that city hall the minute you get home and say Mr. Mayor I want to see you. I am a vice-president up there and I am a former mayor- I want you to tell that mayor-I want you to say to him Mr. Mayor have you appointed a mayor's youth council in your city? Do we have a community coalition for civic progress in this city. Mr. Mayor, have you included in your youth council Jaycees, Have you brought in some of the poor and ethnic groups. Have you brought in the dissident and labor groups. Mr. Mayor, have we a program of action? And if we don't you don't have one and he doesn't respond run against him. I've got a big bill of goods for you and I am going to send my letters to your national officers to help you. I want you to help us recruit inter-city youth leaders. I want you to help us in job training. I want you to help us in keeping



those schools open all year around. Isn't this ridiculous. If the public owns these schools and I guess one of the reasons that we lock schools up for three months a year is to give the padlock industry something to do. I have been in communities where they have they no swimming pools except in the schools and the schools are closed. I know it takes manpower to run a school. Help find it. Volunteer for it. I will tell you that it is money well invested and time well invested. I don't say that hopeful signs be an inevitable success. I am not a pollyana thinker. I know that there are lot of things that upset the best made plans. There is going to be disappointments. There is going to be some frustration and we are going to go through more growing pains. But I am here to say this-this country is not tired and this country is not sick, unless it talks itself into and thinks itself into it. This is a vital country, vigorous, prosperous, strong, tremendous vitality and it has reached a new jumping off place in its forward voyage and it is and a little anxiously perhaps its vast resources its youthful figure to push on across that frontier and maybe the next. With your help, with your determination, with your enthusiasm maybe we'll realize the full promise of America because this country really stands for promise and I leave you with the words of my favorite author - I use them so often it has become almost like a secular writ - so let me put it this way, Thomas the depression, author of the "Depression Poet". He summarized just about what that pledge of allegiance does, we always have that one you know, one nation under God indivisible with liberty and justice for all - kids recite it - I think they know what it means - when did we start to forget what it means - what age was that - it does mean just what it says, you know. This is the community of America, this is the promise of America, this is what it is



Thomas put it in his simple words: "Give every man his chance". Isn't that wonderful? Every fellow his chance. Every man regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live and to work and to be himself and to become whatever thing his manner and his vision combined can make him. That's - this is the promise of America. Ladies and gentlemen, this is all the people want - their chance. We owe them no more than their chance, not mere and compassion but justice and opportunity, not merely a pat on the back but a helping hand, not merely a challenge but to open up the door of opportunity for them. And the test before all of us is today - is to show that our free institutions as we designed them and make them work can fully realize this promise for every American. I think we can do it. I call upon you now to get busy, be the movers and the shapers to get the job done.

Thank you very, very much. (Applause).

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

CONGRESS OF AMERICA'S TEN OUTSTANDING YOUNG MEN  
KEYNOTE LUNCHEON

JANUARY 20, 1968

I'm very honored to be in this honorable company. I wish the time permitted today to say just a few words about each of America's Ten Outstanding Young Men. I didn't know some of them were so young; they've done so much, including my friends in the Congress.

I read a statement not long ago by an American philosopher who said: "Youth is not a time of life, it is a state of mind. We grow old only by deserting our ideals. You are as young as your faith, as old as your doubts, as young as your self confidence, as old as your fear, as young as your hope, as old as your despair."

In other words, youth is an attitude about life, and I would like to think that little paragraph I just read typifies the spirit not only of this organization but of our nation. I don't want to think of America as growing old because this whole world of ours is filled with young men and women who have great aspirations.

Your President was asking me just a moment ago where I had traveled within the last month, and I thought back to my visit to Africa. In Africa today, 75 percent of

the people of the entire continent are under the age of 26. At least 50 percent are under the age of 14. It's a young population in an old, old continent. But the age doesn't mean as much as the spirit.

This world needs that kind of spirit because it's a world of change, which brings with it a lot of questioning, self-analysis, and even self-doubt. But I think we Americans are the kind of people who regard change not as an enemy but as an ally. There are those who look upon anything new as dangerous and forbidding, but I think the changes that are happening today are changes for the better.

Why do I believe this?

#### QUALITY OF LIFE

At a time when there is affluence for so many, I think that America has demonstrated the courage to struggle toward opportunity and justice for the few.

At a time when we have unparalleled power, we are called upon to restrain its use.

At a time when we could really just let ourselves go and have a sort of national lost weekend, we extend a helping hand through foreign aid, the Peace Corps, and Vista to needy people at home and abroad; we try to be helpful to others in defense of their freedoms.

We could be a very self-indulgent nation, and when I hear people condemn America as being immoral I resent it. If you are concerned about the poor and the weak in the midst of plenty, then you must have a sense of morality.

#### CAPACITY AND WILL

There are frustrating paradoxes that confront us. We have the technical ability to produce better material goods, to prevent disease, to educate our people, and to control our environment. We have the capacity. But, as the President said the other night, the question is, do we have the will? Do we have the moral substance, the ethical purpose to put these things to work?

The President quotes a passage from Dante's Inferno that should sound familiar to many of us who live in American

cities this winter: "Dirty water and black snow pouring forth from the dismal air to the putrid slush that waits for them below."

We have great programs of urban renewal that have produced sparkling new shopping centers, wonderful new office buildings -- but within the shadow of those buildings exist ghettos and slums.

This is a paradox built on mortar and steel. There is also the painful paradox of discrimination and dashed human hopes.

Yet, with all this, we have seen a decade of amazing development, rapid progress in civil rights, desegregation, voter registration, people lifting themselves out of poverty. We have seen Supreme Court decisions that have changed the pattern of law in America, making inequality and discrimination illegal.

With all of this progress, many white Americans ask, what is it that Negro Americans want? What are they asking for?

SURVEY OF NEGROES

A recent survey in Fortune magazine, in which three out of four Negro citizens said their condition today is better than it was three to five years ago, also shows that 97 percent of the urban Negro citizens interviewed want a better education for their children; 87 percent want a better job; 77 percent want some kind of special training; 69 percent want better police protection; 62 percent want more education for themselves; 60 percent want to make their own neighborhoods better places in which to live, and only 20 percent are anxious to move.

That's what the survey of the Negro American community reveals. Is that unusual? As a matter of fact, it's exactly what all of us want; no more, no less.

I believe all of us must keep our sense of balance lest we come to regard the hate-mongers, right or left, the racists, white or black, as the spokesmen for the poor. We must not be fooled. They are not the spokesmen for the Negro mother who simply wants her children to be able to walk safely to a decent school -- or for the Negro father who wants nothing more than a chance to work and to provide for the needs of his family.



The agitator's voice is not the authentic voice of the poor, of our Negro fellow American, any more than it is the authentic voice of our society as a whole. The authentic voices of America are those thousands of community leaders of all races, creeds and nationalities -- who are working quietly, constructively to build a better neighborhood, to build a better city, to improve the schools, to open up opportunity.

Those voices <sup>speak</sup> the conscience of this nation. And those voices can prevail, if we heed them and help them.

#### VOICES OF REASON

Don't wait for violence, for riots, for the agitator to frighten you into action. Take the action that needs to be taken when the voices of reason appeal to you. Our society has rejected so many of these voices of reason and moderation that now we are confronted with a terrible specter of violence and riots, hatred and bitterness. But time still gives us a chance to listen to the voices of common sense.



You may recall De Tocqueville's comment that: "The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute!"

Today, we call that mood the revolution of rising expectations.

The truth is that the turbulence in our society today is a good indicator of its progress. We're moving out of one social system into another, just as an airplane flying out of one weather system into another goes through a period of turbulence.

Rising expectations are not something just in Asia or Africa or Latin America. They are here at home, too.

#### CHILDREN'S LAUGHTER

This quest for freedom from tyranny and freedom from want -- for freedom to choose one's destiny -- is the theme of human history everywhere in the last third of the 20th century.

Full opportunity, self-determination, economic development, security, education, the laughter of healthy children... Let me tell you, the laughter of healthy children is really the most wonderful music in the world, and if we contribute to that, I think of what we have contributed to a peaceful world. This is what our forefathers meant by those wonderful words: "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The question then is what's going to become of these rising expectations. Are we going to let them <sup>fester</sup> / and boil over in despair? Are we going to let violence be the pattern of our cities?

As for civil disorders, I think we know that you can't have national development, human development, in a society where there is violence, lawlessness and riot. There are fundamental rights, and the rights of every American to freedom from fear and freedom from intimidation must and will be protected against violent extremist of any persuasion. Local and state authorities responsible for maintaining law and order simply must receive your strongest support -- public support. We must equip our law enforcement agencies not just with machines but with the best of manpower.

Are you willing to pay the price for adequate law enforcement? Are you willing to modernize your state and local police authorities? Are you willing to dig into the social conditions of your community that are the breeding grounds of crime and violence?

This nation cannot and must not be cast into a downward spiral of violence, counter-violence and hatred by the criminal acts of a few -- nor must we condemn any group for the violence of a few.

#### HOPES AND FRUSTRATIONS

Don't lose your perspective. There are a lot of momentary frustrations, but the hopes of tomorrow are bright.

The President said in his State of the Union address that: "If ever there was a nation that was capable of solving its problems, it is this nation.

"If ever there was a time to know the pride and excitement and hope of being an American, it is this time."

There are hopeful signs:

The public opinion polls say a majority of Americans, regardless of political persuasion or area or region, do support national programs to stamp out hard-core unemployment and to rebuild our slums.

Businessmen are beginning to take the lead in community after community for programs of civic action. They are beginning to hire and train hard-core unemployed, and we are asking them in the coming months to hire thousands more of them. We are asking you in the 50 major cities in America to be the front line fighters in these programs.

We are going to have the biggest industrialists in America acting as if they are the greatest social workers in America. And why not? This is a free enterprise economy; the government shouldn't be doing all these things. We are not trying to build a welfare state, we are trying to build a state of opportunity in this country.

#### PARTNERSHIP FOR PROGRESS

Private builders, church groups and community organizations are beginning at last to work in partnership with our government for low-income housing. So the dream of a greater housing program is not unrealistic.

The building trades are now beginning to open up their apprenticeship programs to the disadvantaged, and communities across this nation are pushing through open housing ordinances. Last year alone 47 communities passed open housing ordinances -- as many as in the previous decade.

Take the language of your own Operation Opportunity proposal: 'Opportunity, self-help, self-reliance, aggressive leadership, mobilizing community resources, involving the disadvantaged.'

Those are the words that are being heard throughout our society today, and they are not words of a sick nation. They foretell a new era of social and economic progress.

We are witnessing a great urban coalition, not only at the national level but at the community level, and I want to call upon the Jaycees to see that in every community in America you pool the resources of your socially conscious, socially concerned people, public and private, church and non-church, labor and business. Call them "community councils for civic action." Don't depend on city hall alone. Don't depend on the

legislature and governor alone. Surely don't depend on the Congress or the national government alone.

### WHERE YOU LIVE

If you are to have better schools for your children -- if this is to be a better America -- it is going to be because you helped make it so where you live. If you are going to defeat hopelessness and despair, you have to start where you are. If you are going to provide jobs for the hard-core unemployed, it has to be in the factories where you live. Somebody in Washington can't do it, and even if he could, he shouldn't.

The late President John Kennedy said that he wanted to see a world that was safe for diversity. There is diversity in our society -- differences. Let's maximize the good of those differences -- not set them one against another but draw strength from them. The result can be a great partnership of all levels of government, a partnership that will depend heavily on the kind of daring and constructive leadership that 300,000 Jaycees can provide in 50 states.

As the chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I have worked with your national officers. I have gone to you before and you have been helping us. You have also been helping in other things such as the program for mental retardation which Mrs. Humphrey is so keenly concerned about, and she is a member of your Mental Health and Mental Retardation Committee.

So I give you another challenge here today. Summer, 1968 is just 4 months away. And we have a job to do this summer, to see that our young people have a better chance this summer than they had last summer.

I want you to go home now and see your mayor and say to him, "Mr. Mayor, have you appointed a local Youth Opportunity Council in our city? Do we have a community coalition for civic progress in this city? Have you included Jaycees in your youth council? Have you brought in some of the poor and ethnic groups? Have you brought in the dissident and labor groups? Mr. Mayor, have we a program of action?



YOUR HELP IS NEEDED

And if you don't have one and he doesn't respond, run against him.

I want you to help us recruit inner-city youth leaders. I want you to help us in job training. I want you to help us in keeping schools open all year around.

I have been in communities where they have no swimming pools except in the schools and the schools are closed. I know it takes manpower to run a school. Help find it. Volunteer for it. I will tell you that it is money well invested and time well invested.

I don't say that hopeful signs mean an inevitable success. I know there are a lot of things that upset the best-made plans. There are going to be disappointments. There is going to be some frustration, and we are going to go through more growing pains.

But this country is not tired and it is not sick. This is a vital country, vigorous, prosperous and strong, and it has



reached a new jumping-off place in its forward voyage. It is impatiently -- and a little anxiously perhaps -- gathering its vast resources, its youthful vigor, to push on.

With your help, with your determination, with your enthusiasm, we will realize the full promise of America.

In the words of my favorite author, Thomas Wolfe:  
"To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can combine to make him."

This is all the people want -- their chance. We owe them no more than their chance, not merely charity and compassion but justice and opportunity, not merely a pat on the back but a helping hand, not merely a challenge but opening the door of opportunity for them.

The test before all of us today is to show that our free institutions can fully realize this promise for every American. I think we can do it.



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