

taken to improve living conditions and enlarge economic opportunity in such areas, but this alone will not be enough. We can — and should — seek to provide more jobs in the ghettos. We can — and should — improve transportation facilities between inner cities and other places of employment within and outside the city. Yet there are powerful environmental forces in operation that will limit the effectiveness of efforts to provide happy homes and adequate jobs in the inner city for all who settle there. It makes no sense to support an economic failure by a permanent governmental subsidy. Most new jobs, particularly the kind that ghetto residents can be qualified for, are being established in the outer reaches of metropolitan areas and in smaller communities. From an economic point of view, it makes sense for potential workers to locate where most of the new jobs are.

Obviously, I am not proposing government action to compel anyone to move or to settle in any particular place. Yet there is much that government can do to reinforce the economic influences that guide migrants in search of greater opportunity.

Second, an urban strategy should be broad enough to include a plan to improve conditions in non-urban areas from which migrants are fleeing to the cities. Indeed, improvement of conditions in the cities unaccompanied by parallel action in non-urban areas may simply magnify urban problems by stimulating a greater flood of impoverished migrants from rural areas.

Finally, a plan to meet the needs of the urban poor should aim at giving them opportunity to secure a personal stake in the society which many of them reject because they believe that it has rejected them. Concretely, this means emphasis on helping minority group members to become managers and owners of businesses in the ghettos and to become home owners.

It is important to know our priorities. In the short run, I believe the emphasis must be on jobs and job training. This meets the immediate need to give adults and young people whose formal schooling has ended the opportunity to earn in socially useful employment. In the long run, the emphasis must be on education — through which a new generation of inner-city residents can grow to maturity equipped to fashion a better life for themselves.

Neither your patience nor my schedule permits me to offer this afternoon a detailed program to attain the goals which I have sketched.