

1 hour T.V.

Geo Ratner  
John nestle

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

YOUNG PRESIDENTS ORGANIZATION

WASHINGTON, D.C.

OCTOBER 19, 1967

BKfst with  
Presidents

Saturday  
11:35

~~Last~~

∠ It is a great pleasure to have the attention  
of so many Presidents all at once. ∠ On most  
days I don't reach more than one.

∠ I want to talk to you today about the crisis  
in urban America -- a crisis that has expressed  
itself this past summer through lawlessness and  
violence.

*cannot and*  
We will not tolerate lawlessness and violence in America. No civilized society can.

We will use every law enforcement resource of this nation -- local, state, and if need be, federal -- to maintain law and order wherever it is threatened. The American people have a right to count on that. ~~---~~

But you know, and I know, that the lawlessness and violence we have seen is a symptom -- a symptom which will not disappear until we successfully treat the underlying disease.

There is a frustrated and bitter minority of young Americans in our midst, people who have had few of the opportunities for self-expression and

success that you and I have enjoyed. They feel that our society does not offer them a fair break.

∟ And they are the people who are fair game for the handful of demagogues and agitators who would preach hatred and destruction in America.

∟ For far too many young men and women in our cities and in our rural areas, the American dream has turned sour. Some of you may remember these lines by the Negro poet, Langston

Hughes:

∟ "What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up

like a raisin in the sun?"

∟ That's how his poem began. But it ended with

this blunt question: "Does it explode?"

Why is there trouble now, we ask, just when things are getting better for those Americans who have been at the bottom of the social and economic ladder?

I think the answer is in these words of de Tocqueville:

"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 they call it a crisis of rising expectations.

~~I think~~ <sup>have to</sup> We are going to meet that crisis.

There is a growing consensus about the strategy required.

It includes jobs, housing, education.

It includes a sense of personal worth and the knowledge that any man's opportunities are no less than the next man's.

The prescription also includes leadership at the local level -- from the ghettos and rural slums as well as from the mayor's offices -- and it includes close cooperation between all parts of our society.

Today I'm going to emphasize jobs -- for that is the most urgent and immediate need of all.

∟ That is the area in which we can get the quickest results, and that is where you as businessmen can help the most.

∟ ~~Even~~ Even in these past 7 years of unprecedented economic growth, unemployment among Negro Americans has remained about twice as high as among white Americans, and it is particularly critical for young Negro men. - 3 to 4 times

∟ In some Negro neighborhoods unemployment and underemployment run as high as 35 per cent.

On the other hand, according to our best estimates, 320 thousand new jobs are all that would be required to bring unemployment among Negro men down to the national average for whites.

See this

↳ That would be a step in the right direction, and not a very difficult one in an economy that produces 1.5 million new jobs a year. ↳ A job for every man who wants to work would not be an unreasonable target.

↳ What we are talking about is a marginal adjustment in the American labor market -- indeed in the economy as a whole -- to enable a small minority of Americans now excluded to become productive and self-supporting participants.

But How are we going to do it?

↳ One thing is certain: Business Free enterprise is going to have to play a leading role, because that is where most of the jobs are -- 84 per cent, compared with 12 per cent in state and local governments and less than 4 per cent in the federal government.

Moreover, jobs in free enterprise offer the greatest opportunity for advancement, and -- let's face it -- a greater sense of personal dignity than make-work public projects.

I am happy to say that American business and labor have already begun to respond to this challenge.

∟ The Urban Coalition, of which some of you are probably members, met in Washington two months ago. The Coalition advocated that the federal government become an employer of last resort, but it also said:

"All representatives of the private sector in the Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us

to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens."

↳ That commitment is only one evidence among many we have seen in recent weeks that the private sector is ready to come to grips with the problem of hard-core unemployment.

↳ Another example is the billion-dollar program for slum housing announced by the Life Insurance Companies of America which contains provisions for employment as well.

↳ We cannot, however, expect the private sector to do the job alone.

↳ Government at every level, and especially the federal government, has a clear obligation to help supply whatever training and personal services are

required to make sure that every able-bodied American has the ability to work.

∟ A close <sup>working</sup> partnership between government and private enterprise is what we need.

∟ And that formula has been built into every piece of urban development, rural development, poverty and employment legislation passed under the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

∟ The Manpower Development and Training Act, for example, depends increasingly upon on-the-job training in private firms.

∟ The Job Corps program, designed to equip unskilled youths for a life of productive employment now includes ten Job Corps camps which are being

run under contract to private industries.

↳ Within the last six months, Concentrated  
Employment Programs have been established in 22  
American cities. These programs are designed to offer  
a complete job-counseling, training and follow-up  
coaching service for every unemployed person who wants  
help. Here again, much of the training -- and almost  
all of the employing -- is done by private enterprise.

↳ Just this month, President Johnson announced  
an industry-government pilot program designed  
to increase employment opportunities in the ghettos.

↳ Its objective is to attract private enterprise  
and capital into high unemployment areas by making  
available to the entrepreneur a consolidated package of  
public services and guarantees which will substantially

Loans, Guarantees

-12 Gov Contracts too

reduce any risks that such an investment might entail.

↳ This new effort will be headed by one of the ablest young businessmen in government -- Secretary of Commerce Alexander Trowbridge. And he will be assisted by another leading business executive -- William A. Zisch, on leave from his post as Vice Chairman of Aerojet General.

Watts  
Navajo's

↳ Let me point out that none of these programs is a venture in charity. On the contrary, they are an investment, designed to make tax eaters into tax payers, to make unproductive Americans into productive citizens.

↳ I think this investment is a sound one. In Detroit, to take just one example, twelve hundred and seventy hard-core

unemployed workers were trained and put  
in jobs at a total cost of 850 thousand dollars.

↳ In the first year, the taxes they paid plus saving  
on welfare totaled 930 thousand dollars. That  
doesn't count the ongoing dividends on *Self Respect etc*

↳ When it costs about 25 hundred dollars a  
year to keep a man in jail, and when it costs  
3 thousand dollars a year to keep a couple and  
one child on welfare, the expense of training begins  
to look like the best investment this country can make.

↳ There is a great deal that you can do in your  
own firms to help on the employment front.

↳ First, I urge you to reevaluate the qualifications  
you demand for every job opening in your files.

Businessmen constantly tell me that they are

Personal

unable to meet their manpower requirements  
because they cannot find adequately trained  
employees.

↳ I ask them -- and I ask you today -- are  
your specifications tailored to the job to be filled,  
or do you demand a high school diploma which may  
really not be needed?

↳ Do you insist on an unrealistically high level of  
English proficiency?

↳ Do you demand a spotless police record?

↳ Personnel officers have a tendency to rely too  
heavily on forms, tests and evidence of past achievement,  
and too little on potential.

#2  
Second, I urge you to keep in close touch with  
the publicly sponsored job-training programs in your  
area -- especially the Concentrated Employment Programs

and the Job Corps camps. Our job training efforts  
will be worse than useless if they do not lead  
to jobs.

#3

Third, when you get ready to open your next  
plant, ask yourselves whether you will put it in  
the suburbs where you have to compete for labor,  
or in the ghettos where you have to train it. If  
you choose the latter course, Mr. Zisch, Secretary  
Trowbridge, I and the rest of the federal government  
are ready to help in any way we can.

Visit  
Returned  
Negro  
Jobs  
Capable!  
Find them

Fourth, consider the possibility of locating  
new enterprises in depressed rural areas and in  
some of our smaller cities.

The shortage of employment opportunities for  
deprived workers is no less acute in the countryside

than in the city. The rural unemployed or underemployed,  
just as much as their urban counterparts, deserve  
the chance to earn a respectable living. And adequate  
employment opportunities outside our large urban centers  
would help stem the flow of unskilled migrants who now  
trade rural poverty for urban squalor at the rate  
of over half-a-million each year.

I am not suggesting that counter-magnets of  
opportunity outside the large cities are going to solve  
our urban problems.

But as we look to the future, I think we have to  
ask ourselves whether we want America to be a place  
where all our people and all our enterprises, all our  
cultural opportunities and all our schools, are crowded into

100, million more people by 2000  
where?  
-17-

two or three megalopolises on the coasts and  
around the Great Lakes.

mid america

Some 70 per cent of our people now live on  
one per cent of the land, and the figure is rising.

In this day of short-hop jets, rapid truck  
transport, instant communication, there is, for  
the first time in man's history, no reason why the  
good life for working man and executive alike need be  
found only in the city. Let urban and rural America  
develop together, so that each of us may choose where  
he wants to live and work!

\* \* \*

My friends, this nation has always been committed  
to the free enterprise system. This Administration is  
committed to it, and so are you.

∟ And we have at the same time always shared a commitment to full and equal opportunity for every man.

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 us today is to prove that our free institutions can fully realize that promise for every American. If they cannot, none can.

# # #

[Transcript]



# Young Presidents' Organization Inc.

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Communications Director  
JOSEPH BEHRENS

rec'd 1/26/68  
AE

January 12, 1968

Julius Cahn  
Office of Vice President  
Hubert H. Humphrey  
1800 G Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Cahn:

As per your request, we are enclosing the following items:

- 1.) A transcript of the speech which Vice President Humphrey made to our organization at our Eastern Area Conference, held in Washington, D.C., October 18-22.
- 2.) A tape recording of this speech.
- 3.) Three photographs for your files of the Vice President with members of our organization.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Cordially,

Joe Behrens

JB:obr

UNEDITED TRANSCRIPT

October 18, 1967

YOUNG PRESIDENTS' ORGANIZATION

Address by: Vice President Hubert Humphrey

This morning I have the pleasure of visiting with the Young Presidents' Organization and their ladies. Now I was told that I was going to see the young presidents, but I wasn't told that I was going to really see who ran the outfit. And I'm sort of pleased to find the bosses here and you men who are working for them. It is a great pleasure.

Last evening I spent an hour on educational television. I guess they call it, or public television, and talking with and visiting with, and hopefully to answer some questions from people from Philadelphia; Los Angeles; Athens, Georgia; and Milwaukee on one of these nationwide telecasts. It was a rather unique experience, because the audience was not in the studio. The audience was to be found, that is, my questioners were scattered throughout this nation. I ended that in somewhat of a quandry, wondering whether or not it was very productive and how it went over.

This morning I have a much more delightful experience, because I'm a sort of a people's people. I like to get close to the people. I like to have the chance to see you and talk with you face-to-face, and I must do that this morning on a subject of great interest to you. I guess the best way to say it is that I'm going to talk to you about our country. And I want to talk to you particularly about that part of the country in which so many of you live and about the responsibilities that you are going to have for it. I don't want to act too serious so that I seem to be invading the areas of privacy and seem

ponderous to a point of boredom. But I'd like to talk to you about the crisis in urban America, because it is urban America that is in serious difficulty.

I think that you're the people that can help us and help yourselves and help urban America get out of this difficulty. That crisis was best expressed in the lawlessness and the violence which has gripped several of our cities, indeed all too many of them, this past summer and indeed even the summer before. And I can imagine that we may see more of it as the months go by, so we ought to as citizens think about it.

What does it mean? Why? And we might even ask ourselves what can we do about it? When? How long will it take to bring back a sense of tranquility and order to the American scene? Or are we to face a period of time in which there will be all too little order and tranquility?

Those are a number of questions that rush through my mind. I think many of you know that one of my assignments from the President of the United States is to work with the local government officials of our country.

I was once the Mayor of the city of Minneapolis. I loved that opportunity of service, a city of a half million or more people. That was some time back however, things do change and change very significantly, but I had a continuing interest in local government. And I have met these past three years with the mayors and county commissioners and the city managers and the councilmen and other local government officials time after time. Many times right here in this room.

We had over 40 seminars with the mayors of the major cities of the

United States, cities going down to cities the size of 15,000 on up. We had these seminars for one purpose: to acquaint the local government with what the Federal Government is seeking to do, what programs are available, how those programs might best adjust themselves or fit the needs of the local community, and then to hear from the local officials themselves. We've kept the doors closed, frankly, to the media, and these meetings, they have been as private as the Constitutional Convention.

You may recall that there wasn't a reporter at the Constitutional Convention, not a microphone. And poor old Benjamin Franklin, after he had one glass of wine, he'd get a little talkative, and so they assigned two people to him to keep him shut up. I've often thought that maybe one of the reasons we got a constitution was because there were no fight promoters, nobody there to say, "Did you hear what he said and would you like to put your name on the front page, or would you like to make a speech about it." That often times tells people to say things that they ought not to say.

Well, we had the mayors here, and we talked about our urban crisis, and I believe we learned a great deal together even out of our souls and out of our pain of what's happened in some of these cities.

To make it quite clear as to my philosophy, and I think I speak for other officials in this matter, when we speak of the urban crisis and the violence and the lawlessness which is in its manifestation, I think we can say with equal candor that we cannot and a society that is based upon the rule of all and provides the processes or the means of the adjudication of grievances--no such society can tolerate rioting, lawlessness, violence, and all that we today think of when we speak of a city in turmoil.

We will have to use every law enforcement resource of this nation to maintain order--that's local, state and, if need to, federal, to maintain the law and order whenever it is threatened.

I think the American people have a right to count on this as one of the minimum rights under a government of the people and by the people and for the people. There are two guarantees that every American ought to have today. One is safety and the other is opportunity. We ought to be able to make our community safe for communal life and family life and individual pursuit, and we ought to be able to provide an opportunity for every American. Those are basics, but they surely are essentials in terms of the kind of society that we want. But you know and I know that this lawlessness and violence that we have seen is in part a symptom, a symptom of something deeper, a symptom which will not disappear unless we are able to treat the underlying disease.

Now I said it is a symptom in part, because I think some of it is just crime itself, instigated, conducted by and led by people of criminal behavior. But there are hundreds of people caught up in it, not because they are criminals, but because there are underlying causes which lend themselves to participation in this outburst against what is termed the establishment. No one can condone it, and surely we cannot tolerate it.

There is a frustrated and bitter minority, for example, of young Americans in our midst. People who have had few of the opportunities for self-expression and the success that you and I have enjoyed. There is also in our midst some young Americans that have not had to face up to much responsibilities. I couldn't help but think that they have lived in a period of time in which many a young person has never known a depression, but has lived in a period of constant economic growth

and expansion, and frankly many of them never had to pay a great deal of sacrifice.

The war of today is being fought on a large part by the professional soldier. And the Korean War was fought by men in the main who were the reserves from W.W. II. And there are some of them in this room. So there are two kinds of young people that are exhibiting certain tendencies today. One who have never had a chance, never been involved in what this country is all about, and others who have had the experience of constant good life. Neither of these groups represent the majority.

But speaking of that small but volatile group that has not been involved in the nation and its good life, they feel that our society doesn't offer them a fair break. And they are the people who are fair game for the handful of demagogues and agitators and haters who would preach hatred and destruction in America. There are all kinds of haters but when it gets right down to it they eject or give out the same kind of poison. Far too many young men and women in our cities and in our rural areas have found that the American dream has turned sour.

Some of you may remember these lines by the Negro poet, Langston Hughes. And he caught this spirit that I am speaking of now. He said: "What happens to a dream deferred? Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun?" That's how his poem began, but it is ended with this one question: "Or does it explode?"

I don't think that the raisin has dried up. I think the dream that he spoke of did not dry up like a raisin, but for some it exploded.

When I was a teacher, I taught courses in American government and political philosophy. And I remember John Stuart Mill, the great English political economist and political philosopher of the 19th

centry, one of the great, who said that when a man has nothing to do for his country, he has no love for it. I think that is so relevant for today. When you feel that you are not a part of it, but that you are removed from it, when you feel that you are not involved, but you're rejected, how can you have love for it? Or better yet, without even asking that question, if you are rejected, if you are not involved, if you are not a participant, if you are not in the mainstream as we say, you have no love for it.

We're trying above all other things now to bring people into some responsibility for their community and their country. That's right. That's the philosophy behind the poverty program itself, with all of its limitations and its rather significant achievements.

When the Congress of the United States, in authorizing that act, said that there should be maximum participation of the poor in the community action agencies or the community action groups, what is its purpose? To bring people into a sense of participation and responsibility of having a piece of the action, as the young people put it.

I had the young lady last night from Milwaukee remind me that in one of the community action groups there that one of the leaders had resigned, and she said doesn't that show that the program is a failure? I said: "No. It shows that it is a success." I said two years ago she wouldn't have had anything to resign from. Now she has a chance to resign from something of which she has had a part. She is now able to make an articulation of her protest, a meaningful protest. Before that she was lost in the smog and the indifference and the apathy of nothingness. Now she is where the action is.

Now why is there this trouble? we ask. Why is there this trouble,

when so many of us say that things are getting better for those Americans who have been at the bottom of the social and economic ladder? And things are better.

I think the answer is in these words of a very famous sociologist and one of the most astute and sensitive political observers of the American scene that we have ever known. And his name is Alexis de Tocqueville, a great French political commentator of the early 1800's of the American scene. And if you haven't read the writings of de Tocqueville, you have really very little comprehension of what America is all about.

I would imagine that Brice's history of the United States by an Englishman and de Tocqueville's observations on the American scene by a Frenchman are maybe the two most perceptive and authentic descriptions of America that have ever been written. De Tocqueville said: "The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape."

Just think of that man's wisdom. The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform, then says de Tocqueville, "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." End of quote. Now today we call that rising expectation. But de Tocqueville was more precise in his understanding.

Napoleon once said: "The poor never revolt, they just remain poor. Every revolt and revolution that there has ever been has been led by the middle class." For those that saw hope, the hope of being a part of

it. Those who are the abject victims or the victims of abject poverty are too weak, too ignorant, too hopeless to rise up. It's when it looks better, when there is hope, that, first of all some are the easy victims then of the demagogue and the agitator and others reach out for more than the times permit.

Now we are going to have to meet this crisis that I described to you. And I think we can. That's the best part of it. We have the means. We have the tools. The question is do we have the will? One of the reasons that poverty and illiteracy and disease seem so unbearable today is because most everybody knows that it need not be.

That television has alone made it impossible for us to hide our inadequacies. Television brings real life to real people, no longer fiction, no longer fable or foible. It's real life, and a person that may be illiterate and a victim of unbelievable poverty can still see the picture of what a better life is all about. The hopes are aroused, the expectations are rising.

Now there is a gross consensus in this country about the strategy that needs to be followed to make this a better America. I want to make it clear before I say another word that I don't think it can be better just by money and things, because it isn't the size of a country that makes it great. It isn't its wealth or its power. The question is, as Thomas Huxley put it: "What will you do with these things? For what purpose?" That's what makes you great and above all what I think that America needs is a national commitment as to the things it wants to do.

Frankly, if it took money to eradicate poverty, there's enough money to do it. There are some people who think that is the way to do

it. We have some people today that think that the way you conduct diplomacy is what I call check book diplomacy. Write out a check, buy them off. There are many people who think that is the way you take care of the poor. Just give them the welfare check.

Now the poverty of the purse is the easiest poverty of all to correct. It's the poverty of the spirit, the sense of despair and the hopelessness and the degradation and deprivation that is the difficult assignment. There are parents that think they can handle the problems of their family by just dishing out more goodies to their children, too. And most of us at times have been somewhat guilty of it. And you and I know that what they need more than anything else is attention, and love and consideration and kindness, counsel and guidance. And busy dads and very busy mothers sometimes forget that. And I'm not here to lecture you.

I brought up a family, or helped to. And let me say that with the help of Mrs. Humphrey it came out fairly well. It wasn't so much my good work. But a new collar or new clothes or more spending money or greater allowances is not the answer. And I'm talking to young people that know it. And the same thing is true of these great efforts that we try to make on the national scene.

But there is a strategy, which if backed up by commitment and purpose and perseverance, I think that makes some sense. It includes jobs, education, or should I put it first, education, jobs and housing. Education, employment and environment. It includes a sense of personal worth, and the knowledge that any man's opportunities are no less than the next man's. It includes a willingness to accept a person for what he is, and to practice human equality as well as to legislate it.

And we have all sorts of legislation now to implement the 14th Amendment, to implement the guaranty of equal protection of the laws to implement and guaranty the right to vote. We're just loaded with laws-- Federal, state and local. You can hardly think of a new one. But what is needed now is not the legal acceptance of equality, but the personal practice and acceptance of equal treatment and equality. And once we have that then the law becomes effective.

The prescription, as I see it, also includes a heavy dose of leadership at the local level, from the ghettos and rural slums as well as from the mayors' offices, from the suburbs, from the business community, the social community, and it includes close cooperation between all parts of our society. The key word in all of this is a partnership, a working partnership.

The recognition that the problems that we are dealing with with this minority in our population, not an ethnic minority, because when you're poor, it doesn't make any difference when you are a Negro American or a white American or a Mexican American or an Indian American or a Puerto Rican American. When you are poor you're poor. And there happens to be more poor white than poor blacks. There happens to be more poverty in the rural areas than there are in the urban areas. Poverty knows no race, all it knows is its own disgrace.

I emphasize the importance therefore of partnership. Not just partnership, Federal, state and local government. Everybody is an expert on government. Partnership of the people amongst themselves, the partnership of home, the partnership in your own community. Not just a partnership with your neighbor, but the neighbors you never met and the partnership between the private voluntary sector of the American

social economic structure and the public. And unless we have it, we are not going to win. We need total mobilization of the human resources of America to upgrade the resources, the human resources of America. And that's what we are talking about human resources.

But I want to emphasize for a moment now jobs- for that is the most immediate and urgent need of all. I don't know of any way to be of more help to a person who is down and out than to help equip him with the means, both personal and whatever means are necessary for a job. This is an area in which we get the quickest results.

And this is where the business leaders, particularly the young, socially conscious, active, hard driving, over working, and, by the way, I know you are, or you wouldn't be leaders. This is where the business leaders are needed. I hope you won't think I'm unkind if I say if you should tell me that you are already doing too much I would say you are the only one then that we need, because it is only the person that is doing too much that is going to do more. That's the responsibility of leadership.

So much in our personal life that applies to our government--that applies to our nation. I have a goodly number of people today who are just telling our country: "Well, you ought not to be here, and you ought not to be there, and you ought not to be doing these things, and you ought not to be spending this money, and you ought not to have foreign aid and you ought not to fulfill international commitments." What they are really saying is let's go on a binge, a lost weekend, and one big one, maybe last ten years. Take care of ourselves. Let the rest of the world take care of itself, as it if would and just go to it. Well, I think I'm talking to the right audience and I try to motivate it.

I might tell you that I hope you won't think this is immodest but

we get about a hundred requests a day like this and it is kind of hard of know which one you're going to go to. If you go to any. But I wanted to talk with you for one big basic reason. Because you are leaders. And then I try to tell you what it really means to be a leader as I see it, and I think that when I say it, you'll say, gosh, that is the way it's been with me.

Leadership doesn't give you one single extra privilege. It doesn't give you out any luxury. It doesn't make it easy. Leadership is a burden, and a duty, and responsibility, and a heartache, and a back ache, and it is true for people, for business, and it is true for a nation. We have so many Americans today that are angry, because other people don't appreciate what we have done. Don't expect appreciation if you are going to be a leader. We have so many people today who say, "Well why do we have to do this; why don't other people do it."

My dear friends, thus it has always been. Leadership is not the cloak of comfort, it's the robe of responsibility. Leadership doesn't permit you and give you any additional privileges. It just adds on extra burdens. And if you don't want to be a leader, you don't want to be a young president. You can resign there will be somebody willing to step right in to take your job.

As my dear wife tells me many times when I'm griping, and I'm a good griper, especially early in the morning, she says, "Brother, I don't recall there was any great public outcry for you to be in public life. It seems to me that you were pushing and shoving." And she was so right.

Let me now say, that on the international scene, that any time the United States wants to forfeit the role of leader, which it did not seek, but which came to it. Any time you want to, I can think of two or three governments and systems that are perfectly willing to accept.

The Soviet Union will gladly take it any time. Communist China is most anxious for it. It has been struggling for it ever since 1950. There are others, so just back them off any time. You'll find out.

Just leave your desk unoccupied in your own office a little while and see what happens. You'll find out. There is always someone pushing and shoving to get up there. So if you want to be on top act like it. Be willing to take the blows as well as the bows. You'll find out they run about 50/50.

Now I said the business leadership and jobs, because you are the ones that provide the jobs, you're the ones that should. These past seven years we had unprecedented economic growth as a nation, unprecedented.

I think we are running now at a gross national profit of about 790,000,000 of dollars. That's not inflated. That's in true prices. Unemployment among Negro Americans and it is critical amongst young people--Negro young people. It is about three times as high for a Negro youth as it is for a white youth in unemployment. In some Negro neighborhoods unemployment and under employment run as high as 35%.

When you see unemployment statistics, my dear friends, telling you that the national average is 3.8, that really doesn't mean very much. What is it in your town, and what is it in that little section of your town in which the minority group lives? That's what counts. That's what counts because that's where the explosion will take place, or could take place, and unemployment is a very personal thing. Statistical averages mean very little.

If you are unemployed that's your personal problem. And if 35 to 50% of your neighbors are unemployed in your immediate neighborhood, it

is an economic disaster. And for that group it is every bit as important as if it were a national disaster, because to them that's it. And this is the way that we need to think. We need to centralize our considerations. And remember we are talking about individuals not general averages, not the medium averages as they say. Now I pointed out that this problem of unemployment in the Negro areas is very high, but let me give you some reassuring information.

On the other hand, according to our best estimates, 320,000, now that's not many, 320,000 new jobs are all that would be required to bring unemployment among Negro men down to the national average. Just 320,000 jobs, and we create a million and a half new jobs every year in America through our industrial expansion. So it ought not to be too difficult to be able to add in another 300,000 some.

If we took 100 American cities and concentrated on those 100 cities, with their industrial complexes, this task could be achieved. A job for every man who wants to work is not an unreasonable target. What we are talking about is a marginal adjustment, a peripheral marginal adjustment in the American labor market, indeed in the economy as a whole, to enable a small minority of Americans, now excluded for very obvious reasons, to become productive and self supporting participants.

Do you know what we are trying to do? We are trying to get away from welfarism, or the belief of the welfare concept and the welfare state, to a belief in, and a practice of, providing an opportunity, or the creation of an opportunity stake. And what a stake you have in this. This will be the greatest revolutionary development that any nation has ever known.

Every nation has had a welfare concept, and of course we want welfare for those who are incapacitated. Compassion is not a sign of weak-

ness; it is a sign of strength. Charity is not a bad character trait, it's a good one. But what is best for a nation is to keep its citizens productive, self respecting, standing on their own feet. And it can be done. That is what America is trying to do, and no other country on the face of the earth has ever been able to do it.

But the reason this is a great country, and if you'll pardon me for being a little super patriotic this morning, is that what other people said was impossible, is exactly what we've done. What makes for greatness? Anybody can do what is possible. Doing what some people say is impossible makes for greatness.

The Soviet Union yesterday landed the soft landing on the planet of Venus, so don't think that that doesn't make them great in the field of science. Because it was considered to be literally impossible or at least within the foreseeable future. It has been done. Space travel was considered to be highly improbable and most likely impossible. It's been done.

Government by the consent of the governed was considered to be impossible, but it has been achieved. Mass distribution of goods, a high level of living, mass public education was considered to be impossible, but it was accomplished. That's what made us great. And we have another challenge for greatness. Can we break open the prison of poverty and release its prisoners? Can we get them out? Maybe not all, but what we can do is to make progress.

Well how are we going to do it? Well one thing is certain. It can't be done by government alone, and if it could, it shouldn't be in this society. Because this is not a government country. This is a country in which most of the vitality, most of its productive resources,

the overwhelming amount of those productive resources, is in private hands. So free enterprise, business, corporate business, individual business is going to have to play the leading role, because that's where most of the jobs are.

84% of all workers today are in private business, compared with 12% in state and local governments and less than 4% in the Federal Government. Moreover, jobs in free enterprise offer the greatest opportunity for advancement. And let's face it, a greater sense of personal dignity than make-work public projects.

Every young man or woman that ever gets a high school diploma wants to be in a private line, with a few exceptions. At least they want some identification with the great business needs of America. They spell success. Success in this country is generally equated with the professional success--doctor, engineer, lawyer, businessman, banker, industrialist, accountant, or whatever position it may be.

I'm happy to say to you this morning that American business, yes and American labor, have already begun to respond to this challenge.

And if you won't be upset about it I'd like to tell you that American business is without a doubt the most radical economic system that the world has known. I was staying with a group of European socialists not long ago, and they were telling me about some of their things over in Europe. And there were some others from other countries, by the way, too. And I said: "Look, the fringe benefits some of our big corporations give their workers far exceed anything that any socialist government's ever dreamed of." I don't say they gave them happily or willingly. I have a feeling that by the time that Mr. Ford or Mr. Reuther get working each other over that the fringe benefits that come out of that will make any socialist country look like they've been exploiting the poor and

the workers.

American free enterprise contributes more to voluntary charity and voluntary organizations than any other enterprise in the world, and it is without a doubt one of the most radical forces in the world. It's the one that thought up consumer credit. In other words to sell something to people who never had anything. It's the one who thought up, if you please how to buy a house. Most of us would be living in sod huts and tepees were it not for mortgages and second mortgages, and the first trust and second trust, a small down payment or no down payment, if you buy it.

This is fantastic- but American businessmen just love to call themselves conservatives. They feel so much more comfortable . The biggest radicals in the world, dangerously radical at times, and now they are beginning to understand even more and more that they themselves can change the face of America for the good through their business and they're digging in to do the job. The Urban Coalition which met right here in Washington D.C., so radical, and so far out, and so progressive that some people in government didn't want to get close, because it looked like it might touch us up a little bit with too much of that progressivism or radicalism. The Urban Coalition headed up by some of the greatest and most prominent business leaders in America met here two months ago. And that coalition advocated that the Federal Government become an employer of last resort. But it also said, now listen to this, that all representatives of the private sector in the Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self supporting citizens. That's a national commitment.

Every city needs an Urban Coalition. When you go home you see you

get one. You just take the lead right now. Every suburb, every city needs an Urban Coalition of industry, government, labor, church, fraternal groups, school groups. Take a look at the national pattern. Take a look at what Mr. David Rockefeller and others brought down here at Washington -- those radicals. Came on down here with this Urban Coalition - thank goodness. Go ask your mayor if he has a mayor's youth opportunity council. I bet he hasn't. And we're all the time talking about our young people.

Last summer we provided, in this country, working out of Washington, D.C. and through some of our local communities, 1,400,000 jobs in private enterprises, primarily for young people who never had a job in their life. We had hundreds of thousands, millions of children in recreation programs, summer recreation. We had 25,000 more boys in boy scout camps this summer than ever before. When we had 200 and some the year before in new scouts, this year we had 25,000. We opened up military installations and made them into camps for kids to prove that it could be done. But let me tell you something, it can't be done out of Washington.

I worked 20 hours a day 18 hours a day and 20 hours many days to try to keep it going as your Vice President as Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council. It ought not to have to work from here. It works from you.

I didn't need Washington, D.C. to tell me what to do when I was Mayor of Minneapolis. In fact, I said: "Hey, why don't you fellows leave me alone. If I need something, I'll come down and get your money. That's what I want. I just want to run the city." That's what we need. We need people with get up and go, spunk, that are going to take care of themselves and not just take care of what they thought was there, but

to dig deep into the community to find those who have been lost.

Now this commitment of the Urban Coalition, I want you to pledge to yourselves you're going to do something about it when you get home. No use coming to Washington and listen to something like this unless you're going to do something about it. And don't blame me or the President if it doesn't work. We can't find them all. It is up to the people to help the people. That's our concept of social responsibility. This commitment of the Urban Coalition is one evidence amongst many that we've seen in recent weeks to reach where the private sector is really coming equipped with the problem of hard core unemployment.

Another example was the billion dollar program for slum housing, an industrial development announced by the life insurance companies of America in the Cabinet room of the White House, a marvelous commitment on the part of the great life insurance industry. We cannot, however, expect the private sector to do this job alone. Government, therefore, as I said, at every level, and especially the Federal Government, has a clear obligation to help supply whatever training and personal services are required to make sure that every able bodied American has the ability to work. But even there again the government can work in contract with private industry.

Maybe you'll like my philosophy and maybe you won't, but I'll tell you anyway. I happen to think that the government ought to contract private industry to do the training. You have the personnel offices. You have the supervision. You have the experience. You have the real jobs. You know the community. Why should we set up a separate bureaucracy for it? Why don't we go and we are. I say I want you to know that we are beginning to do this. You go right into the big concerns and the small concerns, because you don't have to be big if you hire one

additional person or two you make your contribution.

You go in and work out a contract with me, knowing full well that if you hire an unemployed person - a hard core unemployed person - that he is not going to be productive for several months. You know that he is going to be less than productive. He may be a full liability. Therefore, we have to work out with you a kind of payment in which you do the job of training recruiting programming, in which you do the job of supervision, in which you provide your facilities, your plant, your personnel to rehabilitate another American, and we have a contract with you just like we buy your services. Just as for example, as we buy from a computer company the computer services. We rent computers, so we rent your expertise, so we contract with you for your knowledge or experience. You do the job. You're compensated for it. And when you are through with the training you have a productive worker. That's what I mean by a closer working partnership between government and the private enterprise.

And that formula has been built into every one of our recent programs of urban development, of rural development, of poverty legislation, every bit of legislation passed, that if you'll pardon the injection of this phase, under the Johnson/Humphrey administration.

Now I mention that not long ago in Congress, everybody said, when I was presiding in the Senate, and there were about 15 senators up there just giving President Johnson a going over. And finally my old friend Everett Dirksen, the minority leader, got up and he said: My fellow senators, I don't think we ought to castigate the President and place all the blame on his already over burdened shoulders. I don't believe that we should just hold President Johnson responsible for all of these iniquities and inequities. I want to include in our friend Hubert. And he

happens to be a dear friend and I was so pleased that he remembered me. So since that time I've gone around speaking of the Johnson-Humphrey administration out of respect for Senator Dirkson.

Now take for example the manpower development training act that relies increasingly on private firms, the job corp plan that you read about. Most of the job corp programs are under contract with private firms. They're not just handled by the Government. The Government contracts them out to General Electric, the Litton Industries to the ITT, the biggest corporations in America. They have the training. They know how to do it. And when you see a job corp boy you say: "I'm working for General Electric. I'm working for ITT. I'm working for Westinghouse or I'm working for - with some other big company."

He feels he's a part of America. He doesn't feel that he is in the 1960 version of the WPA. He thinks he's a part of what is going on in this country and that is what we want him to feel - self respect, because if you don't have pride you don't have anything, and these young people above all need pride.

Within the last 6 months we had these concentrated employment programs that had been established in 22 American cities, and, here again, almost all of the recruiting, all of the employing has been done in the private sector. This month, President Johnson announced an industry government pilot program designed to increase employment opportunities to the ghettos. The object or the objective is to attract private enterprise and capital in the high unemployment areas, high risk areas if you please by making available to the entrepreneur a considerable package of public services and guarantees, contracts, loans, technical assistance a host of government services including surplus projects to attract private

enterprises into the ghettos. And we've done it.

I've been in more American cities than any public servant in the last three years; that is my job. I go around America, and I've been with the rich and the poor, the finest penthouse and the worse filthy slum. I danced with the loveliest, and I've been out with the dirtiest. And so I've tried to see our country through my eyes, not by what I read or what some commentator told me he saw. I walked the streets. I've been out on a rat killing and rat control project, just as the young people have here in the city in what they call the organization pride. I know what is going in this country, at least in part.

And I was out sometime ago out in Navaho Indian reservation, which, by the way, is bigger than the whole state of West Virginia and a couple of other counties in Pennsylvania. The people that have been abused and misused, and have been oppressed by their white brothers. They have pride. They are great people. What did I see there? I saw great American companies putting in plants for the first time. Instead of having a reservation with nothing but arid land and sheep, now I saw great plants, General Dynamics, Fairchild just to mention two. Plant after plant coming into the reservation, providing jobs for Indian youth. And what do I find, that they are the best workers that the plant has ever owned. They have a quick, they have a capacity for still unbelievable sensitivity. They are easily trainable, and here they learn better than three generations - lost and left behind. The most unbelievable poverty in our midst is on the Indian reservation. They're coming up. Why? Because the Government and the Indian people and the private industry of this country said it could be done. I saw one of the greatest saw mills in the world, owned, operated and managed by the Indians.

Exporting and selling all over America and exporting abroad. All happened in the last 5 years. Things are better.

I've seen Plans for Progress companies, and some of you are involved in those, you know our plans for progress, our private sector has worked on the field of discrimination in employment. I've seen these Plans for Progress companies doing amazing things in ghettos and the slums. Aer-ojet went into Watts, built a plant. It employs 4 to 5 hundred people, managed and operated by the Negroes, and might I add, my dear friends, that shouldn't surprise you.

Let me tell you that some of the best officers in the armed forces of the United States today are from our minority groups. I brought back with me from Korea on my last visit there the Colonel that was in charge of the whole Division of troops on the DMC-demilitarized zone in Korea. His logistics and his supplies will make your companies look like you can put it in the telephone booth. This man operating was in charge of thousands of men and he had to organize everything about that division.

Now if a colonel can be in charge of your brother, your son or your uncle, or whoever it may be, and can be responsible for their lives or a major or a captain or a lieutenant or a sargeant or a corporal, and he happens to be a Negro or a general or an admiral, he can work in your plant. And the greatest untapped reserve of management power that America has is the American Negro that is coming out of the armed forces of the United States. You've got to reach in and get them. Be the first, or you're going to let them wander around coming back after having fought the hard fight, after having fought in the dirtiest war in our history to come on back to the filth of the slums from whence they came. Are you going to do that? You've never seen trouble if you do that. Fortunately, our Defence Department has a program of feeding these men back

into the civilian life. But we can't feed them back in unless you want them. And I repeat, that if he is good enough to be the commanding officer for your family in battle then he is good enough to be in your factory or your warehouse or your retail establishment or in your bank.

We have men in the armed forces today that take care of more money and are responsible for payrolls than most - 90% of the corporations of America. And they are colored or Indian or Puerto Rican or Mexican Americans. Now they need a job-need the chance. Or are you going to say that the only place that they are going to be really treated with self-respect is in the military. Is that democracy? Is this what we mean by individualism? Is this what we mean by human dignity? Is this what we mean by individualism? That it is the military that sets the standards, I want the society to set the standards.

I left my apartment this morning, dear friends, down on Southwest Washington. I wish you could have accompanied me. It is an integrated neighborhood. I saw the little children coming out of those apartments. White, Negro, Chinese American. They're all out there. But you'll find that we have a lot less trouble than we used to have in the Northwest where I used to live. Magnificent! Income levels are higher, yes, but it's income, it's education. It isn't color. You can find white people that are as obnoxious as anything that you can think of, and you can find colored people that are just delightful.

By the way, we better get used to colors. Two-thirds of the world is. Two-thirds of the world is - I couldn't help but laugh the other day when I read an editorial about poor Mr. Rusk.

They said he was raising the yellow peril. Who do you think we're fighting with down there in Vietnam? Who do you think our allies are?

Do you think the Ty's are white? Do you think the Koreans are white? Do you think the Vietnamese are white? They're colored too. They're yellow, yellow color and brave. About time we got rid of these cliches. It's about time some of the people that are more interested in winning debates than they are in finding the truth. Get rid of the cliches too. I just tossed that in. I had no intention of mentioning it. It comes in as extras.

What we are trying to do with these programs is not a venture in expanded charity. On the contrary, every program that I've talked to you about is an investment designed to make tax payers out of what people call tax eaters. To make productive citizens out of non-productive, and I think this investment is a sound one.

In Detroit, and there are some people here from Detroit, I'm sure. I was told by one of your leading business civic leaders that 1,270 hard core unemployed workers were trained and put in jobs in a massive training program sponsored by industry, the city and the Federal Government at a cost of \$850,000. That's a lot of money. In the first year, the taxes that they paid, plus the savings on welfare, totaled 930,000 dollars. You made \$80,000, which is almost 10%. That's pretty good profit on the first year, and that doesn't count the other dividends, such as self-respect and a sense of dignity and decency.

The only people that can afford this welfare business are the rich. And I would think that people who are complaining about taxes would want to get this tax load off their back and don't worry about it. We get a person trained, and he's on the job, the Government will get it all back. Don't worry about the Government. We've got a little machine that we call withholding. Ding. Ding. Ding. Every check and it is not only Federal, now they've got the machine spread around to the state

government, and the local government, and a lot of the other district, and we get our share and people can be rehabilitated.

There's an instance of a lady down in New Orleans at Liola University. I can tell you the story, a true story. Liola University in New Orleans has a job training program, and a young priest down there took keep interest in the clients, so to speak. They were rough ones. They were difficult. There was one woman 28 years of age, three young illegitimate children, who never had a job in her life, always been on welfare, always been a problem. They finally were able to get this woman to come into a class--secretarial class. She had the good intelligence quotient. She had a high IQ. She had ability, but she had messed her life up. They finally got her into this class. They trained her in secretarial work. She's got a job with the Medical Journal in New Orleans. She is on that job right now.

And when she got her first check, she came back, and she saw this priest friend of hers, and she started to cry. She said: "Father, I never in my life ever had a check that had my name on it that wasn't a welfare check. This is mine, and I've earned it. This is the most beautiful experience of my life." Needless to say her teacher, and her supervisors, and the young priest felt so good about it. I heard this from the priest's lips. A little bit later, about two weeks later, she came back and said: "Father, look. I've got my second check." She said: "Look, what is this on the side that they have." You know they have this on the stub. Social Security, withholding, and so forth. "What is that?" He said: "Oh my goodness, my dear. Those are taxes." "Oh," she said, "I'm so proud that I am a full citizen. And I've never paid taxes before in

my life. This makes me really feel important." And the young priest felt so good that she was feeling so good. About a month later she came back, and she had this check, and she said: "Father, take a look at all the taxes this government is taking out." He said, "Now that's rehabilitation." And I'm glad that is rehabilitation.

Now I want to conclude here by a few practical suggestions. I've wandered all over the lot. I generally give two speeches. The one that I have and the one that I think up as I'm going along. But you don't have too much to do this morning. Ramsey Clark coming over or somebody. If Ramsey's here, please forgive me. I want to talk to you about what you can do in your own firms. There's a great deal you can do in your own firms to help on the unemployment front.

First, let me urge you to re-evaluate the qualifications you demand for every job opening in your files. Take a look. Those qualifications are not divine writ. They are written - prepared by some public administration specialist that I most likely taught in one of my classes sometime that should have flunked. Or some lawyer. Now the Government has all the civil service requirements and they'll defend them to the death rather than change them to give somebody a chance.

You take a look at yours and call in the personnel officers and you have to talk to them, because he isn't going to change them unless you think he should. Everybody is protecting their own skins. That's the way it goes around here too. You got that too? Businessmen constantly tell me that they are unable to keep their manpower requirements, because they cannot find adequate trained employees. So I asked them and I ask you today. "Are your specifications tailored to the job to

be filled, or do you demand a high school diploma and you really don't need one."

I found that in my own city of Minneapolis that most of the employment requirements was 18 years of age and a high school diploma. Then they had a riot. Then they decided that they didn't need a high school diploma and you could have jobs at age 16.

Now why do you wait for trouble? Why reward the rioters? Why don't we offer the opportunity because it is the right thing to do? You don't have to have a high school diploma to take care of a parking lot. There are many things that you can take a look at these personnel qualifications that we have. Take them home and do that. We had to do that here in the Federal Government with the defence contracts, because many a contractor said: "I don't dare do it, because, if I do, I'll be under Federal Government restraints, security risks." Well we took another look at that.

Do you insist on unrealistically high levels of English proficiency? They are not going to be radio announcers. They are not even going to have a chance to talk to anybody. You won't let them. Will you demand a spotless police record? If you do, then let's forget it, because many of these people we're talking about have police records that are quite long. They have been in a lot of trouble with the police. That is all they have had to do. So we have to take a look at that. Personnel officers have the tendency to rely heavily on forms, tests, and evidence of past achievement, and too little on potential.

Second. I urge you to keep in close touch with the publicly sponsored job training program in your area, especially the concentrated employment program and the job corp. Our job training efforts will be

worse than useless - if they do not lead to jobs.

Third. When you get ready to open your next plant, ask yourselves whether you will put it in the suburbs where you have to compete for labor that is in short supply, or in the ghettos, where all you have to do is to train it.

If you choose the latter course, Mr. Zisch - Z I S C H -, Secretary Trowbridge of the Department of Commerce, and the Vice President, and the rest of the Federal Government are ready to help you in any way they can. Now Mr. Zisch is the former Vice President of Aerojets, and he is Mr. Jobs down here in Washington. He is the man that we concentrated. The one man with full responsibility to work out all these program details with you, if you want to put a plant in a high unemployment area, into a rural area, or into a ghetto area.

Fourth. Consider the possibility of locating new enterprises into depressed rural areas and in some of our smaller cities. The shortage of employment opportunities for deprived workers is now less acute in the countryside than in the city. The rural unemployed, the under employed, just as much as their urban counterparts, deserve the chance to earn a respectable living. An adequate employment opportunity outside our large urban centers could help stem the flow of unskilled migrants who now trade rural poverty for urban squalor at the rate of 1 1/2 million a year. A mass migration out of the poverty areas of rural America into the slums of urban America.

And if you think that makes sense, then you ought to get out of your business, because it cost three to four times as much to provide for the essentials of life of a poor person in urban America than it does in rural America, plus the fact that the tension, the crowding, the unbelievable human degradation that takes place in these filthy crowded slums.

Now the job is not going to keep people poor in rural America, but it is to provide opportunity for our poor people in rural America, and that's where you come in.

People are not just going to be happy with just breathing fresh air and looking at having sunshine. That's for the poet. They want jobs. They want income. And if you are going to have our urban or rural America is going to be what we want it to be, to act as a counter force, against the immigration of the poor from the rural areas, then it has to have schools and health services and factories and jobs and training. It has to be a real part. I'm suggesting that the counter-magnets of opportunity outside large cities can be helpful. I am not suggesting that they are going to solve our urban problems, but as we look to the future I think we have to ask ourselves whether we want America to be a place where all of our people and all of our enterprises and all of our cultural opportunities and most all of our good schools are crowded in two or three megalopolises or metropolitan - vast metropolitan complexes - on the coasts and around the Great Lakes.

Do you want a Mediterranean society? That's what you're getting, when most of your population is on the respective seacoast -- the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Gulf, and around the Great Lakes area.

And that vast area of America is a hinterland that is not growing as it should. A hundred million more Americans between now and the year 2,000. Where are you going to put them? Remember that you are living in the suburbs. Twenty years from now that suburb will be another slum, unless we can find some program in America to absorb this ever expanding population into the areas of this nation that have room.

Some 70% of our people now live on 1% of the land, and the figure is rising. In this day of short jet hops, rapid transport, instant communication, there is for the first time in our history no reason why the good life for a working man and executive alike need not be found only in the city. Let urban and rural America develop together, so that each of us may choose where he wants to live and work.

My friends, this nation has always been committed to the free enterprise system, and you are it. This administration is committed to it. I whole-heartedly am committed to it. I was born in it and reared in it, and have been a part of it.

If you ever get out to Huron, South Dakota, stop in at Humphrey's Drug Store. And we have, at the same time, however, always shared a commitment to full, equal opportunities for every man. That's what this country is all about. Lincoln said that it was the last best hope on earth. And he said: "We'll either nobly save it or meanly lose it."

I think we are being tested right now at home and abroad. The violence in our cities, the lawlessness and aggression abroad. What will happen?

Well Thomas Wolfe has sort of been a favorite of mine. He was a 1930 poet, author. And I leave you and conclude on these lines of his, because this is the whole ball game right here. Here's what he said: "To every man his chance; to every man regardless of his birth, his shining and golden opportunity; to every man the right to live and work and be himself; to become whatever things of his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

That's its promise. That's its meaning. I think the test is to prove that our free institutions -- political, economic and social --

can fully realize that promise for every American, because my fellow Americans, if we can't do it, who can? If we with our wealth, our power, our technology, our science, our skill, our education, if we, this the greatest country in the world, cannot win these struggles for the development of human resources, who can? What hope is there in the world. I am an optimist. I think we can and I think we will. And the reason I think we can, and I think we will, is because you think so, or you wouldn't be where you are. You didn't get to be a young president by having no faith in yourself or your country or our enterprise system.

You are what you are and you made up your mind you can be it. Now make up your mind that you can make a better America by your contribution, by sharing some of your great abilities with somebody else. And in so sharing, add to yours and make a chance and an opportunity for someone else.

Thanks for giving me the floor this morning.



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