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**OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT**

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
SYMPOSIUM ON THE URBAN POOR  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
MARCH 26, 1968

We Americans are asking ourselves some basic questions today.

Are our freely elected city, state, and federal governments capable of responding to the aspirations of a minority, too long denied full and equal opportunity?

Can the free enterprise system, which has given us so much, assure enough jobs, enough housing, enough income for all?

And as individuals, are we ready to practice the freedom we preach?

Or will the lack of freedom, the lack of equal opportunity -- which is responsible for most of the urban poverty you are talking about here -- destroy the nation we have labored nearly 200 years to create.

The "Crisis of the Cities" -- as President Johnson called it in his recent message to Congress -- is a challenge to every American . . . not just to federal, state, or city government . . . but to every American.

Can we meet that challenge?

Imagine a similar challenge in Country X.

The GNP in Country X has risen over 40 per cent in the last seven years. Unemployment has been cut almost in half.

Country X is investing three times as much in health and education as it was only four years ago. Indeed, it has spent more on education in the last 4 years than in the preceding 100 years.

Country X has compiled a compendium of laws, court decisions and executive orders to eradicate centuries of discrimination and segregation and to promote equal opportunity for every citizen.

Yes, there is unrest and impatience in Country X -- because some citizens have not shared adequately in all that progress and prosperity. And a government commission has just issued a brilliant report portraying in great detail the very real basis of their grievances.

If this were a seminar on Country X, we would have to say that it was trying hard. We would have to say that it had forcefully tackled the unfinished business before it. Our prognosis would be hopeful indeed.

Now what about our own country, where all those things are happening?

What about America, where we have not only a concerned government but a vital, free-enterprise system which has thrown its weight behind the business of building a new and better society?

What about a nation where the Chamber of Commerce gathers in the capital not to discuss products or profits, but poverty and people?



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I think you have to say that the outlook is even better.

For the free institutions and the citizens of this nation are clearly responding to the challenge before us.

There is evidence of it in the newspapers -- once you look beyond the crisis headlines:

"Business Steps up Urban Crisis Fight."

"Chrysler 'adopts' highschool in Detroit, Plans Job Counselling."

"Methodists to Help to Upgrade Slums."

"Varied Motives Impel many Firms to support Great Society Program; Job Corps Viewed as Source of Labor; Rent Subsidies Attract Business Backing; A powerful lobbying force."

"Businessmen make pledge on Inner City."

"Labor makes Pledge on Inner City Workers."

Hardly a week passes when I do not address a major group which is ready and anxious to do its part in the War on Poverty and discrimination in America. This week it was the B'nai B'rith Women on Sunday. Today it is the Chamber of Commerce. On Thursday it will be the Building Trades Unions.

In every case the pressing concern is the same. "How do we do our part to meet the crisis of poverty and discrimination America faces today?"

Indeed I found these lines on page one of your own Forward America prospectus:

"This is a central problem of our times: the need to find and establish practical ways for all of us to work together for the common good of our communities and, in turn, the nation.

"The need is clear.

"The question is How?"

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I have a couple of suggestions. Let me address you first as employers and second as citizens of your communities.

Urban poverty is complex. Its roots lie in everything from migration from rural areas, to inadequate education . . . from poor urban planning, to discrimination. All of those problems need remedies.

But unemployment and underemployment rates that reach 35 per cent in some neighborhoods are the most immediate source of urban poverty -- and jobs are the obvious prescription.

President Johnson's Manpower Message to the Congress this year marks an historic moment in America's quest for equal opportunity.

It discards forever the notion that even in the midst of great and continuing prosperity, a stagnant pool of unemployment is nonetheless inevitable.



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Here, in his own words, is the President's challenge to America. "In an economy capable of sustaining high employment, how can we assure every American, who is willing to work, the right to earn a living?"

Every American...not just most, but each.

President's Johnson's proposal is this: A federal Job Opportunities in Business Sector Program -- the initials spell JOBS -- based on a public-interest partnership between the federal government and American free enterprise.

This is not a "make-work" concept.

Nor does it look to institutional training for jobs that may not be available in the labor market.

It looks to the place where six out of seven jobs are, and should be: private industry. It offers federal assistance to private industry to cover the additional costs of training the hard-core unemployed.

Industry's response is the National Alliance of Businessmen of which some of you may be members. Henry Ford II is national chairman, and there are local branches in fifty cities around the country.

The Alliance is no welfare organization. It is designed to bring the opportunity and dignity of a well-paying, productive job within the reach of every American, regardless of race, education or past work experience.

This commitment rests on a solid economic foundation.

You know, far better than we, what you pay in terms of lost productivity...of the increased costs of doing business in a tight labor market...of the decreased market for your goods and services resulting from unemployment.

What is true for your company is also true for the nation.

Success in the task undertaken by the National Alliance of Businessmen will mean:

- The typical family of the worker hired because of the JOBS program will see its income raised above the poverty level;
- A total addition to national income in 1971 of 2 billion dollars;
- Additional federal income tax receipts of over 150 million dollars;
- Commensurately increased state and local tax receipts;
- An annual saving in welfare costs of almost half a billion dollars; and
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Yes, the economic arguments for the NAB program are persuasive.

But there is more -- the higher human purpose of saving human lives. That is what this Administration seeks, and that is what the National Alliance of Businessmen is all about.

We seek to make helpless and hopeless people into full participants in American society.

Who is the National Alliance of Businessmen?

It is you.

It is any employer.

It is the business community of America.

A decision by this Conference to fully support the program of the National Alliance of Businessmen will be a vital contribution to meeting the crisis of urban poverty in America.

\* \* \* \*

I issue my second challenge to you as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

Can you, as leading citizens in your own communities help make summer 1968 a time of new opportunity and fresh horizons for the disadvantaged youngsters in your towns and cities?

We can hope to rescue adults from poverty and idleness, and we must.

But we can rescue millions of American youngsters from something more -- from living and dying without ever having the chance to find out who they really are...what they are really capable of...what it means to be a full-fledged participant in American society.

Is your city's investment in schools and playgrounds, in shops and laboratories and home economics rooms going to be used this summer? Or will those facilities stand locked and idle while there are youngsters on the street who need them?

Do you have a recreation program for the youngsters who need it most?

Are all the bunks in your nearby summer camps filled?

Will every teenager who wants and needs work be able to find it in your city?

There is a Youth Coordinator attached to every mayor's office in the fifty largest cities of America today, and in many many other cities as well. Many cities have a Council on Youth Opportunity designed to pull together all the resources -- public and private -- human and material -- that can be focused on the problem of youth opportunity in the summer ahead.



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Call your mayor. Get in touch with the Youth Coordinator or the Youth Council. Where there isn't one, see that there is.

Offer jobs.

Offer financial help.

Offer time and the help of your experienced staffs.

There are a lot of young Americans who badly need a chance -- a chance to express themselves...to express their capabilities... to broaden their horizons...to raise their hopes.

Give them that chance and you have captured a vital source of untapped energy.

Deny it and you deny America.

\* \* \* \*

Jobs for the hard-core unemployed...youth opportunity -- those can be called national programs because the need is nationwide.

But they are really community programs. Success or failure will depend entirely upon the amount of effort, time and determination community leaders and ordinary citizens are willing to put into them.

And the benefits of success -- or the cost of failure -- will be felt first on the local level.

That is what I like about the Chamber's Forward America program -- besides its name.

It is community oriented...people working with people...people listening to people...people meeting needs where the needs are...grassroots democracy.

Thomas Jefferson once said, "If we were directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

Our nation is not short of bread today.

And I think our nation is not going to be short on individual opportunity tomorrow.

I think the great life force that has made our society what it is today -- the force of free men working together for human betterment in a free society -- is at work in America today as never before.

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Mr Booth

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

U. S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SYMPOSIUM ON THE URBAN POOR

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Or will the lack of freedom, the lack of equal  
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we have labored nearly 200 years to create.

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## Insert on National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders represents a comprehensive, in-depth study of the social, psychological, and economic problems that confront our nation today.

↳ This report is a diagnosis of the urban crisis. It is a synthesis of many separate studies relating to separate and distinct problems. It is not an obituary of a dead society, but a health report of a nation in turmoil, ferment, and change.

The report calls for a national commitment of physical and human resources commensurate to the task.

That commitment goes far beyond the role of the Federal Government.

It directly involves state and local government. It involves not merely new laws directed at abolishing segregation and guaranteeing equal opportunity.

Insert (continued) 2.

It involves attitudes and practices -- human relations at every level of community life.

There are things that can be done now in every city, in every industry, in every community organization to stop the erosion of the American promise of full and equal opportunity. We can prevent America from becoming two societies separate and unequal. We can assure, at the community level, and in our private lives, attitudes and practices which demonstrate our commitment to one citizenship and the concept of "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The poor need hope.

They need to know that those who are more fortunate care about those who are less fortunate.

They need to know that an extra effort will be made to bring into the mainstream of American life those who have been left out or denied or pushed aside.

Insert (continued) 3.

They need to know that the War on Poverty is more than a Federal Government activity ... and that this war will be waged throughout the land with every resource at our command.

The poor need to know by action and deeds that community services -- yes, city services -- will be brought to them just as to the more fortunate.

Regrettably, it is a fact that, in most of our urban centers in the areas of the poor, the municipal services are likewise the poorest. It is here where the garbage is collected less often. The schools are frequently obsolete and in disrepair. The playgrounds and park services are inadequate, and the police and health services understaffed.

In every case the pressing concern is the same. "How do we do our part to meet the crisis of poverty and discrimination America faces today?"

Indeed I found these lines on page one of your own Forward America prospectus:

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*Transcript* *Return to*  
*Vice President Hubert Humphrey*  
*Terry*

EVENING SESSION  
OF THE WORKSHOP  
ON THE URBAN POOR  
MARCH 26, 1968

MR. BOOTH: Ladies and gentlemen.

On an occasion like this, it would call for a series of extraordinarily funny stories like Bob Hope might tell, but if I ventured with that sort of performance, our speaker of the evening would top me, so there is just no use trying to get ahead of him. I will let him catch his breath for half a second, because he has had a day busier than all of us put together, I think.

Let me just say this. Our speaker for the evening, both as a private citizen and as a top official of the government, has long held a deep concern about the urban poor in this country and what can be done to solve this problem. And out of his heart, he has something to say on this subject which we are looking forward to hearing.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

MR. HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Mr. Booth.

Ladies and gentlemen, I wish that I could have had the rare pleasure of joining you tonight for dinner but one of the nice things about being Vice President is that you get a chance to eat when you get a chance to eat. There is no regularity in diet and no regularity in duties. You are one of the general practitioners left in this government, which means, of course, that you are not an expert in anything, and you are also looking around for a patient that is in good health, so you can assure that your professional competence is at a high level.

I am very happy to have this chance to come and visit with you.

I come to a conference that is a working conference and to a working session. And I think I should forewarn you before I start that I am one of the few optimists left in the country, at least in Washington. I know you are optimistic, but around here we put a premium on a certain developed pessimism.

There is a British cynic by the name of Aldous Huxley, that once said, "I have looked into the future, and it won't work."

And I recall Bob Hope when he gave his commencement address here at Georgetown University, and he said, " My suggestion to all of you young graduates about to go out into the world is: don't go."

But you are there. There is nothing I can do to save you from the decision you have already made. You have made the decision to take part in this world of ours, troubled as it is, to take a hand in this country of ours, as troubled as it is, and all I can say is -- Thank you, for that decision.

Tonight, I want to talk to you about your concern on the urban poor. I first want to thank you for this concern. And I want to thank you for your willingness to concentrate your attention on this critical problem of our national well-being. I want to tell you that the most heartening development in our country today is the interest of the business community, not only the interest, but the commitment of the business community -- this free enterprise community of ours -- to the social, economic and psychological needs of our nation and our people.

I believe that this tells something about America that some people seem to have missed in their analysis of our country. It tells me, first of all, that this is essentially a healthy society and not a sick society. It also tells me that our nation has great faith in its capacity to deal with the future and it is not going to spend its time on reminiscing about the past.

I believe I am talking to a group of people tonight that prefer to make history rather than to recite it, so let us together in the moments that you have given to me, think about some of our common concerns. I say common concerns, because it makes no difference whether you are in the government or in private life. We are all citizens. We all have a great love of our country. We all have a deep concern about what happens in this country and what the future of this country may be.

So I come to you, not so much as a Vice President, as I do a citizen. I might say that you have been very kind to me tonight to sort of upgrade me. I see the Vice Presidential Seal which generally contents me, but they put the sign "Chamber of Commerce of the United States" above it.

On some occasions I have commented on that Vice Presidential Seal, that it looks like the F-111, where the wings go back. The Presidential Seal is a much more vibrant and vital symbol of our country, that great American eagle has its wings up and is vigorous, vital and strong, because it is the seal of the Commander-in-Chief. The Vice Presidential Seal is just another symbol of a man's humility.

Those wings are down in the glide path. You know, I am not sure whether it is a take-off or a crash landing.

I want to thank you anyway for the seal.

We Americans are asking ourselves some basic questions today, questions like these -- whether we articulate them or not, we at least think them -- are our free elected city, state and federal governments or officials capable of responding to the aspirations of a minority, a minority without regard to race, but a minority in this instance of the poor, too long denied full and equal opportunity?

A second question:

Can the free enterprise system, which has given us so much, assure enough jobs, enough housing, enough income for all?

This is the reality of the system you know. As a matter of fact, it has been said that you judge a civilization not so much by the goods that it produces as the quality of people. And yet, I think it is fair to say that both with the quality of the people and the goods, if you can put them together, you have a reasonably good society.

There is a third question:

As individuals, are we ready to practice these concepts or are the principals of freedom we preach -- for example, do we really mean it when we say "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all"? Or do we just repeat it?

I think that phrase or that sentence from our Pledge of Allegiance is the perfect synthesis of what America is all about. It tells more about this nation than almost anything that has ever been written. Yet there is another question: Will the lack of freedom, the lack of equal opportunity which is responsible for much of our urban poverty cripple or destroy the nation that we have labored for almost 200 years to build?

The crisis of the cities, as President Johnson called it, in his recent message to Congress, is not just a challenge to the government. It is a challenge to every American. And in your pamphlet, and in your brochure indicating your deep interest in the problem of the urban poor, you speak of the individual responsibility, you speak of the community and the individual. So we have to ask ourselves again -- the crisis of the cities -- is it just a challenge to the federal government, the state or city government? Or is it a challenge to every American. Well, I think you know the answer, and I shan't burden you with it. Can we meet that challenge? Well, let me give you a sort of school teacher's analogy, or at least a simile.

Imagine a similar challenge and let's put it in Country X, where the GNP in Country X has risen over to per cent in the last seven years, where unemployment has been cut over or almost in half. Country X is investing three times as much at its federal level of government, or its national government, in health and education alone, as it was just four years ago. Indeed, this Country X has spent more on education in the last 4 years than in the preceding 100 years. Country X has compiled a compendium of laws, and court decisions and executive orders to eradicate centuries of discrimination and segregation and to promote equal opportunity for every citizen. Yes, for all this, though, there is unrest, and impatience in Country X, because some citizens have not shared adequately in all that

progress and prosperity.

And a government commission has just issued a penetrating, sobering, brilliant report portraying in great detail the very real basis of their grievances.

Now, if this were a seminar on Country X, we would have to say that it was trying hard, it was making a genuine effort. And we would have to say that it had forcefully tackled the unfinished business before it. Indeed, I think we could say that our prognosis would be hopeful.

Now, what about our country, where all of these things that I have listed under Country X are really happening -- what about America, where we have not only a concerned government but a vital, free-enterprise system which is concerned and which has its weight behind the business of building a new and better society? What about a nation where the Chamber of Commerce gathers in the capital city not to discuss products or profits, as important as they are, but to discuss poverty and people?

I think you would have to say that the outlook in that kind of a country is even better. For the tremendous institutions and the citizens of this nation are clearly responding to the challenge before us.

I want to emphasize that, because I know the one way that you gain attention in this country is to point out the mistakes that we are making, the inadequacies that prevail that are in our midst, the shortcomings of our social, political, economic structure, and indeed the actions of the extremist. That always gains attention. I doubt that when a man says that free institutions and the citizens of this nation are clearly responding to the challenge before us, that that will make a headline. But I submit to you that there is no nation on the face of this earth that is trying to do so much for those who have so little, as this nation is today.

And I think there is evidence of it. We took our case to the court. We can present it. There is evidence of it in our press, once you look behind the crisis headlines.

Let me just take some of these recent headlines that I have seen here in the Washington area. I have selected some out of our three newspapers in this community:

"Business Steps up Urban Crisis" Fight."

Now, that is news.

"Chrysler 'adopts' high school in Detroit, Plans Job Counselling."

And I am not trying to give any commercials here tonight.

"Methodists to Help to Upgrade Slums."

"Varied Motives Impel many Firms to support Great Society

Program. Job Corps Viewed as Source of Labor. Rent Subsidies Attract Business Backing -- A Powerful Lobbying Force."

"Businessmen Made Pledge on Inner City."

"Labor Makes Pledge on Inner City Workers."

Those are just a few of the capsuled headlines that have appeared hundreds of times in the press telling us that something is happening in America, something good. Hardly a week passes when I do not address a major group which is ready and anxious to do its part in the war on poverty and discrimination in America. This week it was on Sunday, that the B'nai B'rith women -- about a thousand fine women gathered from all across this nation to talk about a greater and better America. Their subject was the "possible dream"., Not the impossible dream, but the possible dream. And they are in session even as of tonight.

These are women that represent great influence in America and they are here to mobilize their resources for the community's good.

Well, today it is the Chamber of Commerce and tomorrow it will be the Building Trades Unions. And later on, it will be with a farm group in North Carolina. I mention that because these are only typical of the groups that are coming to this community and spread throughout this nation, that are vitally concerned about the social well-being of America, the economic well-being of this nation.

Last Friday, I talked to the National Alliance of Businessmen in Pittsburg. The Saturday before that, a thousand corporate executives who were here in Washington on the Jobs Program. In every case, the pressing concern is the same. How do we do our part as citizens to meet the crisis of poverty and discrimination that America faces today? Well, let me put it in the positive -- How do we open up the gates of opportunity for every American?

You know, we have had a wonderful tradition in this country in our thinking, at least among most of us. There was a time right after the Great Depression when most of our thinking was in terms of how do we, just compassionately, care for the well-being of a family in need? In other words, surplus food, relief checks, welfare and a great system of what we call "welfarism" has grown in our midst. It started out, I am sure, with a very noble purpose. A nation should care for its needy -- and I hope that every businessman still feels that that is a justifiable objective of government.

Thomas Jefferson once said that; "The only legitimate objective of government is the happiness and the well-being of the people."

The Constitution requires us to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense. But out of that period of economic crisis, grew a system of welfare that failed to take into consideration some of the psychological factors, such as human motivation, incentive.

In recent years we have grown to understand that welfare can be not the just compassion, but it can also have a deadening effect, a limiting effect, on human personality and human achievement. So we are moving away from what we call "welfarism", and I have said a number of times -- it is my philosophy -- we don't want a welfare state in this nation. And, in fact, it would be contrary to all of our instincts, but we do want a state of opportunity for every person in this nation, every person regardless of his birth -- as the poet Thomas Wolfe put it -- his right to live, his right to work and to be himself. That is what is happening in America today, and it is happening in a great partnership in the government and its people, government and the private sector.

Well, I have found some lines on page 1 of your own FORWARD AMERICA prospectus that attracted my attention. Here is what you wrote, so I will repeat it to you. "This is a central problem of our times: the need to find and establish practical ways for all of us to work together for the common good of our communities, in turn, the nation. The Need is clear. The question is HOW?"

I hope you notice that you first put the emphasis upon community and then nation, because the nation is the sum total of communities and the communities represent the sum total of individuals.

It is my judgment that every problem that we have in this nation needs to be attacked at the community level. I notice of late that many people are saying the federal government didn't do this, or didn't do that. When I was a young fellow, the people used to worry about the federal government doing too much. Now I hear the people saying -- "The federal government can't accept this report or can't accept that report". "The federal government didn't act here".

Ladies and gentlemen, if there is one thing I want to leave with you tonight, it is this: that everything that needs to be done in this nation ought to start at the community level. The federal government is not here to supplant individual endeavor, it is here to supplement it. It is not here to dominate, it is here to cooperate. It is not here as a substitute for community life and community endeavor, it is here as an auxiliary.

And if we clearly understand that, I think we are going to have a much better appreciation of what we face in terms of our respective lives and communities.

I want to say a word now about that report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. I hope all of you will read it. It is going to be a best-seller. And while it is rather long, its observations, I think, are sufficiently concise and to the point, so that you will be able to glean from it rather quickly its thrust and its purpose. The report of the National Advisory Commission, to me -- that Report on Civil Disorders -- represents a truly comprehensive, "depth study" of the social, psychological and economic problems that confront our nation today. The Report is a diagnosis of the urban crisis. It is a synthesis of the separate studies relating to separate and distinct problems.

Here is what I want you to get. It is not an obituary of a diseased nation or a dead society, but rather it is a health report of a nation in turmoil, in ferment, and in change. It has no final conclusions. It gives us trends, observations, and recommends certain proposals. Above all, the Report calls for a national commitment of physical and human resources commensurate to the task, and the task is outlined in graphic terms.

The commitment goes far beyond the federal government, and I say this with considerable emphasis, because every time that I have said anything about this report, somebody is always saying, "Well, he disagrees with it." Not at all. What I am trying to point out is that you can't slide this Report just off on Washington. This belongs to all of us, its recommendations, its findings, its conclusions. Its basic material of evidence relate to all of us. There are so many people who would like to make it sort of a political football and say, "Here, it is, Mr. Governor. You take care of it." Or, "Here it is Mr. President, you take care of it."

"Here it is, Congress, you take care of it."

That is not what it says at all. The Report says that this is a national problem, a national challenge. It requires a national commitment. And it asks that each and every one of us study, first, the evidence, understand the problem, then direct our attention to its resolution.

This Report goes, as I said, beyond the role of the federal government. It directly involves, for example, state and local government. It involves not merely new laws, directed at abolishing segregation and guaranteeing equal opportunity. It relates not only to problems of separate, but unequal, but it relates to all human problems. It involves attitudes and practices, human relations, at every level of community life.

Now, there are things that can be done now, in every city, in every industry, and every community organization, to stop the erosion of the American promise of full and equal opportunity. We can prevent -- this is what this Report calls on us to do -- we can, we will, prevent America from becoming two societies that are separate and unequal. We can assure, at the community level and in our private lives, attitudes and practices which demonstrate our commitment to the one citizenship and the concept of one nation that I spoke of earlier.

The poor need hope. They need to know that those who are more fortunate, such as those of us gathered in this room tonight, care about those who are less fortunate. They need to know that an extra effort will be made to bring into the mainstream of American life, those who have been left out, or denied, or pushed aside. The poor need to know that the war on poverty, which didn't necessarily start with this Administration, in fact, the other night I quoted from the prophet Isaiah -- that was just a little bit before the present Administration -- he was leading the war on poverty. Well, they need to know that this war on poverty is much more than a federal government activity and that this war will be waged throughout the land with every resource at our command.

The most effective weapon in the war on poverty is a job in private industry. That isn't a federal government tool or a federal government program. The poor need to know by action and deeds that community services, yes, city services -- I have been the mayor of a city, and I think I have a little appreciation of the municipal government and its problems. I continue to work with the mayors of the nation's cities now. Well, the poor, the urban poor, yes, even the rural poor, but in this instance, the urban poor -- they need to know by action and deed that municipal services will be brought to them just as they are brought to the more fortunate. But regrettably, this isn't a fact in most cities, because in most of our urban cities, urban city centers, in the areas of poor, the municipal services are likewise the poorest. And if you don't believe it, you just take a look in this community, the garbage is collected a little sooner in Georgetown than it is down in the Southeast. And it's true across the land. In the poor areas, it is where the garbage is collected less often, where the schools are frequently obsolete and in disrepair, the playgrounds and the park services are inadequate, the police and health services are often understaffed.

This is not a complaint, it is an observation. And yet I can say to this audience as a student of local government, that it costs 7 times as much for police, fire and welfare protection in an area of low income as it does in an area of moderate income.

The only city that can afford a slum is a rich city.

And where these areas of the poor are, is where you need the best of services. It is one of the ways we can compensate. There you need the best of schools. There you need the best of teachers. There you need the finest of the municipal services that our country can offer. Well, in your pamphlet you said the question is: How to do it? I have a couple of suggestions. Let me address you, first, as employers and, second, as citizens of your community.

I don't need to tell you that urban poverty is complex -- very complex. Its roots lie in everything from migration to rural areas -- I repeat migration from rural areas -- to inadequate education, from poor urban planning to discrimination. And all of those problems need remedies.

All across this vast land literally millions of people have poured out of the poverty stricken areas of rural America only to come into the poverty stricken areas of urban America. And they are just as foreign as if they came from a foreign country. They have no understanding of urban life. They come into the internal city away from the rural countryside. They come with no skills, generally with poor and inadequate education. All that happens is that you transfer the poverty from one area to another, but you intensify it by the compactness of it, by the fact that you jam more people into less space. Seventy per cent of the people of America live on 1 per cent of the land. And if the trend keeps growing, it will be even worse. In the next 33 years, another 100 million Americans will be in this country. Where are they going to live? What kind of a life are they going to have? Are they all going

to jam into our already over-crowded cities or are they going to be housed some way? Some fashion, some kind of a program or design, that modernizes rural America is needed, so that the opportunities there are equal to what they would be in the dream of the person who comes to the city.

Well, these are some of the problems. Unemployment and underemployment rates that reach 35 per cent in some neighborhoods are the most immediate source of urban poverty. And the prescription is just jobs. President Johnson's Manpower Message to Congress this year -- and I hope you will take a little time to look it over -- marks a historic moment in America's quest for equal opportunity. It discards forever the notion that even in the midst of great and continuing prosperity, a stagnant pool of unemployment is nonetheless inevitable. In fact, the unemployment becomes more intolerable because of the surrounding affluence.

I want to leave another thought with you. You can no longer hide these things, ladies and gentlemen, even if you tried to cover it over. The television bears right in on you. It is the X-ray of America's social and economic life. And the poorest family in the land has its appetite excited about something that it wants, if for no other reason than the emotion of the television itself -- the live picture. Television is the most revolutionary instrument the world has ever known. It makes Karl Marx look like a piker.

It has changed peoples' thinking across the board, from war to peace, from poverty to riches -- and I doubt if very many of us understand its impact.

I am sure that those of us in public life fail to understand its importance many times or even how to use it effectively.

But mark my words, a 17 year old, a 15 year old boy that has had a little education in a metropolitan urban area, then can go down to the local corner tavern or restaurant and see a television, and see the wonders of that age, see the affluence that most people have, see the luxury that is constantly portrayed on that screen, his appetite is aroused, his emotion is all aroused, and he either become violent or a cynic, bitter or prone to steal.

We have to ask ourselves, what we are going to do about this. We are not going to obliterate television. It is here to stay and they will get more and better. It is just like war itself.

I had a letter today from a lady -- a mother -- who told me she thought she saw her boy die in Viet Nam. How do you like that? Not John Wayne, not an actor in Hollywood, but she saw her boy die in battle. She saw this on television. She thought she did.

Live wars in your own home. No make-believe any more -- and in color so the blood runs red.

I have been convinced that if we get free and open media across the world, we wouldn't get any more war. The trouble is we see it in the open. They don't see it, not in other parts of the world. The horror

of war has been brought home to people as never before. When they see it in the quiet of their homes and their own communities, there it is, with all of its ugliness and danger and killing right there.

And it is the same thing about the slums, my friend, the same thing about the slum child, of the hard-core unemployed. Poor as he may be, he can always go to a bar or a pool room or a tavern or cafe somewhere around the way and he can see how you are living and how I am living, what it looks like, not the other side of the moon, but on the other side of town.

Well, the President put it this way, about the need of the prescription for some of this poverty. He put it in his challenge to America: "In an economy capable of sustaining high unemployment, how can we assure every American who is willing to work the right to earn a living."

Now I said every American, just not most, but each. The President's proposal is this: A Federal job opportunities in the business sector program.

The initials spells jobs - JOBS.

This is based on a public interest between the Federal Government and American free enterprise. And I want to make it clear -- this is no relief program. This is no make work concept. But frankly, it is a very difficult program to undertake and more difficult to succeed with. If it were easy, we wouldn't have handed it to you. The government would have done it. We would have been able to carry it out even with some of our fumbling. The fact of the matter is, that we are right down to bedrock. We are down to the hard-core unemployed, here they are citizens and they are here and they are either for good or for evil.

And we have gone to the area of American life where 6 out of every 7 jobs are provided in American free enterprise. And we are saying to people who know how to run factories and warehouses and merchandising establishments -- we are saying to you who have hired people by millions -- we are saying to you who know how to recruit and how to design personnel practices and training programs -- we are saying to you: Take this challenge, because it is your country.

These are our citizens, they are your neighbors. This program doesn't look to institutional training for jobs that may not be available in the labor market. We are not interested in just having numbers on the scoreboard, so many people in training. It looks to the place where the jobs are, private industry. And it offers federal assistance to private industry to cover such additional costs of training as may be encountered in training the hard-core unemployed.

Half of you will do as so many others I have talked to. I have been at this a long time. I don't know why I have these notes around. This is my life. The fact of the matter is -- many business concerns are already doing this job without any asking from the federal government. And they are not asking for any money. I have met with the Business Council. I have met with Mr. Ford's group of 15 -- the members of his

executive group of the National Alliance of Businessmen. I have met, as I said, just about two weeks ago this Saturday, with a thousand other corporate executives and personnel officers, and I have had them come in -- individual firms and individual business leaders -- and they are telling me of the things they are able to do.

And how they are able, in a sense, really to make a man come alive. I will put it to you very frankly. What you are doing is saving lives. They are there, the walking dead in America. They are the hopeless, from whom life itself has literally gone. And you are being asked -- and you are going to be asked again and again -- to breath life back into them again. To save a life! What more important thing can you do?

But let me say with equal candor -- it will be difficult, very difficult. I use an analogy of my own state, my home state of Minnesota. When we used up all of the iron ore of the open pit iron ore in Mesabi Range, of wonderful high-grade iron ore, we have gotten down to the low grade, or taconite. Most people didn't know how to spell taconite. It had been there since the creation of the earth itself. It was worthless --like solid granite -- harder than granite. In that rock, there were little flakes of iron ore that, if it could be extracted from the rock, it could possibly become a profitable item, or at least usable commodity.

We had to make a choice. We had lost our iron ore. It was gone. It had been utilized in the industrial expansion and in fighting the wars of our country. We lost our business. We lost our workers. Only five years ago in my home state in northeastern Minnesota, unemployment rates were as high as 75 per cent of the eligible employable males in some communities. Thirty and thirty-five was common practice. The young were leaving. Business houses were closing down. One city, in fact, I remember, Twin Harbors, Minnesota, there was almost total unemployment among the adult population.

Finally, we found a way to beneficiate, as we called it, taconite -- to extract from solid rock that which had to be blasted out with TNT, and it had to go through a tremendous manufacturing process. We found a way to beneficiate it and that which was worthless -- the rock that had been there was totally worthless in terms of taxes -- became a very valuable commodity. And today there are literally hundreds of millions, almost a billion dollars, of investment in new plants in that part of my state.

Some of you in this audience tonight have interests in those plants, and there is full employment. And why? Because we took what people said was useless, worthless, non-productive, and made it worthwhile, useful and productive.

That is what we call the beneficiation process of taconite and we are shipping literally millions of tons of it overseas and using it at home in our great steel furnaces, blast furnaces.

Ladies and gentlemen, the same thing is true of people. The skilled are hired, the semi-skilled are hired, the reasonably-educated are hired. You are down, however, to a number of our society, many of whom through no fault of their own, have been considered hard-core unemployed, uenmployables. You have to find a way to beneficiate them.

They can be upgraded, just as you upgraded taconite rock.

Upgrading human resources, taking human waste and making it human worth -- that is what we are talking about here -- and that is the difference between an America that is going to forge ahead and be able to bear the burden within this world, or in an America that is going to stand still -- which means it will recede or decay.

We are not talking just economics, my friends. We are talking morals, public policy, good government and economics. And when you can put that all together you have quite a package.

So I would say the Alliance -- the National Alliance of Businessmen -- is no welfare organization in the strictist sense of that term. It is designed to bring opportunity and dignity of well-paying and productive jobs within the reach of every American, regardless of his race or his education or his past work experience.

The commitment rests on the solid economic foundation in a tight labor market where there are increased costs of doing business. You need this source of labor, and it rests on the solid economic foundation of the decreased market for your goods and services resulting from unemployment.

We charge all over this world looking for a new market. There are acres of diamonds right under your own feet. The best market in the world is right here. That doesn't mean that we shouldn't seek to improve our export markets. I don't want to be misunderstood. We need those. You have to be careful in this town. I am all for the expansion of exports. I will tell you right now, the greatest market where there is a common currency and people still are willing to accept it is right here in the United States of America -- if you develop it.

What is true for your company is also true for your nation. Success in a task undertaken by the National Alliance of Businessmen will mean new income for the families of trained workers. It will mean a great addition to our national economy. They estimate \$2 billion by 1971. It will mean additional tax receipts for federal, state and local government. It will mean people who are not bearing any share of the cost of government will bear their share, and it will mean huge savings in welfare costs, which is the main burden today of local government. Increased purchases of goods and services. This is solid economics.

Yes, these economic arguments are persuasive -- but there is much more. I have to tell you a little story about the economic arguments. This is an actual story that came to my attention of a person who was trained in this time -- who was trained in an institutional type program of a manpower training down in New Orleans under the auspices of Loyola University, and this woman was 28 or 29 years of age. She had 3 illegitimate children and no man in the house. She had never held a job. She had been a problem to the community, to her family, to herself, and to the Board of Welfare.

Finally, somebody convinced this woman to go to and take a training course. She had tried a half dozen of them and always checked out, or failed, or just didn't turn up. But this particular teacher was able to hold her attention, and I guess the respect of this woman.

And this person, this woman, took the training course, and as of tonight, is working for a medical publishing house in New Orleans.

Now, after she had taken the course and gotten the job, and the job was found, and she was placed on the job, she came back to her instructor after her first two weeks, and she had a check in her hand and said, "You know, I have never before in my life ever seen a check that had my name on it. I am so proud. This is the proudest moment of my life."

And her instructor said, "Well, if you stay with the job, you will have many of these. I am so pleased and so happy."

Two weeks later, this woman came back and had her second pay check. "Look, I have another check. I didn't notice the first time, but on this check there is a little coupon on the side and it has a number of figures on it. What are those? It says 'SS'." The instructor said, "That means Social Security and withholding. I forgot to tell you about those. Those are 'deductions'. Every check that you get, the Government takes out a certain amount for taxes, for withholding, for Social Security. These are what we call deductions."

"Oh, I'm so happy. I'm a tax-payer."

And the teacher said, "You are indeed."

She said, "I have never paid taxes in my life. I am a real citizen now. First, I earn my money, and now I am a tax-payer."

The instructor said, "You are a real citizen."

A month later, she came back and said, "Listen, I want to tell you something. This Government is charging me exorbitant taxes." That is the way to tell that this is what we mean by rehabilitation. You get that kind of reaction.

Well, the economic arguments are mighty good, but I think I have told you the other arguments, the higher human purpose I mentioned, of saving lives. And that is what your government seeks to do, and that is what the National Alliance of Businessmen is all about, and that is what your program is all about. I know some people like to say when they are in business they are hard-headed, and I haven't found that many businessmen are hard-headed. Most businessmen are like everybody else. They are family people and have sentiment and they have emotions. There is not a thing about being a little warm-hearted, even as you are hard-headed.

You are engaged in a life saving endeavor. We seek to make helpless people into full participants in American society.

Who is this National Alliance of Businessmen? It is you. It is any employer. It is the Chamber of Commerce. It is the business community of America. A decision by this conference to fully support the program of the National Alliance of Businessmen will be a vital contribution to meeting the urban poverty crisis in America.

Now, I issue you my second challenge tonight, and I do this because I desperately need your help for young people. And you can't do anything better than to help the young person. I was on the Tonight Show lastnight with Sammy Davis, Jr., talking -- I flew up to New York, spent 25 minutes up there, flew right back, had meetings before I left. I almost missed the show -- meetings when I got back -- all on this same endeavor. Sometimes if you didn't believe in it so much, you wouldn't want to do it. I don't ask for overtime, but a 16 hour day is just about par for the course and most of it is spent on what we are talking about here today.

Today, I have been working with young people, most of the day, trying to help in some way, so that we can have a better summer this summer than we did last summer. I happen to serve as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. That Council represents the Federal agencies of your government that are engaged in youth activities, or that have programs which relate to youth. The Vice-President can serve as a sort of a coordinator for these activities, bring them together, try to bring some harmony, try to bring some sense of direction, but the President's Council on Youth Opportunities in Washington cannot and should not run a youth program. Youth programs have to be run in your town. We don't want any federal programs where we have young people marching under the Federal banner in what we call a youth program. We want it out in your city.

I ask this question: Can you as leading citizens in your community -- ? And you are the leaders, by the way, and that doesn't give you any privileges -- I am going to stop and dance around a little more with you. I know everybody likes to read in the papers, maybe it is just I, maybe I am just vain-- it kind of makes you feel good when somebody say, "a leader," "a leading spokesman," "a political leader." I know that most of you have read somewhere along the line that you are a leader, and you are. Well, just buckle down to the fact that it gives you not one single privilege. All that does is add on a little extra burden. You'll be asked to do more. You are expected to do more. You are on the spot.

American business is the sign of success in America. This is the badge of success. You want it. Now you have to carry it.

And believe me, it means you have to produce. You have a greater responsibility than anybody else, any of us who is elected to public office or who achieves success in business or the professions. We can't afford any lost week-ends -- or as the kids say -- there is no goofing off.

We have to buckle down to the task. Well, can you as leading citizens in your community help make this summer of 1968 a time of new opportunities and fresh horizons for the disadvantaged in your towns

and your cities? Don't go around asking what is Washington doing about it? Washington has a Youth Opportunity Council. Mayor Washington of Washington is running a Youth Opportunity Program. Before they had a Mayor in this city, I helped run it. I was sort of a refugee from a Mayor's office anyway. So I went around this city and collected money and private contributions as your Vice President, to light up these playgrounds in Washington, D. C., to get swimming pools open -- and to business houses to ask them to pay for the equipment for a park or a playground -- so we could block off a street and put in all kinds of recreational equipment. And they did it. We had a wonderful response and we had some good summers here in Washington.

Many people are worried about what kind of summer we will have. I am not a predictor of trouble. You go around thinking you have trouble this summer, and you can think yourself right into it. I think what you ought to be thinking about is -- We are going to have the best summer my town ever had -- and we are going to mobilize the resources of my community to see that we have a good summer. And it can be done.

Your mayor has a separate responsibility and, if your mayor isn't on the job doing what he ought to do, file against him. You will be surprised what a little competition will do to get people moving.

I am very serious about it. Across this land we have asked the mayors or our cities to establish Youth Opportunity Councils, not just of government officials, but the Chamber of Commerce, the JC's, the veteran's organizations, the Urban League, the NAACP, the young people, the militant kids themselves.

Go to the camping organizations. The Boy Scouts two years ago -- the Boy Scouts of America had 256 inner-slum kids in camp. This last summer they had 25,000 -- because we asked them. But this year, their goal is 50,000. They will go far beyond it. There is so much we can do. We don't need to build a lot of new facilities. We already have them. We can hope to rescue adults from poverty and idleness, and we must do so, but we can rescue millions of American youngsters from more. We can rescue them from living and dying without ever having a chance to find out who they really are and what they really are and what they are really capable of, what it means to be a full-fledged participant in the American society.

It is wonderful to be a citizen of this country when you have all the rights and privileges of citizenship. It must be terrible not to have those rights and privileges really available to you. The frustration must be unbearable.

To think that it could be denied to anyone. Is your city's investment in schools and playgrounds, in shops and laboratories, home economics rooms, going to be used this summer? You have a hundred billion dollar investment in America. And you are not using these facilities very much. These schools belong to the people and not to the superintendent, or the teachers. And when you go to community after community, I hear them say, "If we only had a swimming pool."

I asked, "Don't you have one at the school?"

"Yes, but we don't keep the school open in the summer."

When you need the swimming pool more in the summer than any other time!

I have gone into community after community where the padlock business is very good in the summertime. They lock every fence, and the kids throw rocks through the windows.

You know in the riots of last year there wasn't a single school or neighborhood youth center, that was being used, that was touched by violence -- because they represented hope.

My wife said to me last night -- she called me after the Tonight Show -- she said, "Why didn't you tell them about the youngsters, down along the river."

I said, "I forgot about it."

We live in a totally integrated neighborhood. These were five little boys. We happen to live in a neighborhood where the income level is pretty high. A block away the income level is somewhat lower, and a couple of blocks from there the community is a low-income one.

Nobody moved out when I moved in. I didn't destroy any property values, and they have been very tolerant about me.

I like to walk around the neighborhood on Sunday, and I talked with these five youngsters about what they wanted to be. Some of them wanted to be Marines. One wanted to be in the Air Force, one wanted to be an engineer, and they started to talk about schools and I said, "What do you think about school?" And each of them in his own way said, "I like school. It is fun. When I am home, it is lonesome." This is their social life. This is their club. This is their hope. This is their chance. And any community that can afford a good country club can afford a good school. Just that simple! Either that, or there aren't going to be many country clubs in the days ahead, because there is something in this country called power. And I'm not talking about black power. I'm talking about people power, black or white. And people are demanding to be heard. They want to be participants. There is a new dimension of our democratic society. And it isn't just government for the people. We have a lot of people who want to plan for everybody, government for the people, welfare for the people -- but it is "government of the people and by the people," said Mr. Lincoln. And that means we have to include them in, or they are going to shove us out. It is just that simple.

Are all the bunks in your nearby summer camps filled? I will tell you they are not. Last year 30% of all the bunks in camps went unused. You paid for them. There is a lot of waste not to fill them. Every community can have a camping fund. If TV stations and the newspapers in the communities would get together and put it on prime time instead of after 1:00 a.m., and ask for a contribution to a camping fund, you will have enough money to send hundreds of young people to camp who need to go.

In this city, we have one of our finest newspapers that has a camping fund. It does a great job. In New York, there is another. There are many cities that have this in their newspapers. I call upon the whole media, radio, television, and press, to get together with the Chamber of Commerce or somebody, the Mayor's council, and let's see to it that every bunk in every camp is used every day of the summer. Kids need to be taken out of the slum areas in the inner cities.

We took 1,700 boys out of the slums of Washington last year to Camp Roosevelt, the oldest Boy Scout Camp in the United States. They were going to close it up. I went out and raised \$90,000 -- and I am not a very good collector -- to open it up. Otherwise, it would have been closed up. A fortune invested in the camp -- but close it up. And \$90,000 saved it. We helped 1,700 boys from the slums become Boy Scouts. They went to that camp. And what's more, they didn't have to buy uniforms. They were given them by companies. We had thousands of pairs of tennis shoes from some companies that make tennis shoes. The swimming suit companies sent hundreds of swimming suits. We had T-shirts by the thousands. Ask, and it shall be given.

There are people anxious to help in America. Well, I ask you -- Will every teenager who wants and needs work, be able to find it in your cities, or not? We need 200,000 jobs for hard-core unemployed teenagers this summer. There is a youth coordinator attached to every Mayor's office in the 50 largest cities in America today. And in many other cities. And as I said, many of them have the Mayor's Youth Opportunity Council. Contact them when you go home, will you. We need your help. Call your Mayor. Get in touch with the youth coordinator and the Youth Council. Where there isn't one, see that there is. Offer a job. Offer financial help. Offer time and the help and experienced staffs. If you have a young boy or girl in your home who wonders what they should do with their time this summer, encourage that girl or boy to work with slum kids as a recreation counselor.

Let me tell you what happened among the universities. Three hundred thousand university students gave their time every week free in tutorial work, remedial education work, for kids who were behind in their studies. Hundreds of thousands of high school and university students worked as playground attendants free. They will do it. But you have to have leadership. An army is no better than its command.

A program is no better than its supervision and leadership. I have never believed in condemning other people who are working with you. You condemn yourself, if it doesn't work. You take it out once in a while, but you know down deep in your heart that if things go wrong, it is your fault if you are in charge.

There are a lot of young Americans who need that chance to express themselves. Give them that chance. When you have done so, you have captured a vital source of untapped energy. Deny these young people that chance and you have denied America that energy.

Well, jobs for the hard-core unemployed, youth opportunity -- those can be called national programs, because they meet national needs and they are nation-wide. But, truthfully, they are community programs, and the success or failure will depend entirely upon the amount of effort and time and determination the community leaders and ordinary citizens are willing to put in them. If we have learned nothing else out of our troubles this past year, we have learned that we can't rely on government to do it for us. We are going to have to rely on ourselves working with government, this great partnership. This is not to deny our responsibility.

You know, Thomas Jefferson once said that, "If we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap" -- some of you conservatives would like this -- "if we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap" -- and we have tried it -- "we should soon want bread."

Well, our nation is not short of bread today. We have got all of the wheat stacked up too, but what he was really saying is that we have to direct what we want to do for ourselves.

I think our nation is not going to be short on individual opportunity. I think the great life for us has made our society what it is today. The force of free men working together for human betterment in a better society is at work today as never before.

I hope you can go from this conference of yours with a spirit of "can do" -- that you are willing to get the job done. I hope that you have outlined for yourselves the dimensions of your task and I trust you have brought to bear the resources, or at least planned to bring to bear the resources, to meet that task.

I want to thank you for coming to our nation's capitol. I haven't talked to you about politics in the best sense. The politics of a democracy is the business of the people, the well-being of the people. There's no room in this program for partisanship. There is no room in what I have talked about for class consciousness. We are a classless society. We are pluralistic society. We are what Lincoln once said, "The last best hope on earth." And I know of no better way to make that a living fact than to try to develop all the human resources of this country, because the greatest resource, the irreplaceable resource, is the human being. Let's not waste a single life if we can help it. Let's try, to the best of our ability, to create, to stimulate, to inspire, to lead, and if you will do it, I know what we are going to have this summer. We are going to have a happy summer. I know what is going to happen in America. We are going to have a more prosperous America. But more importantly, we are going to have a more just America, and above all -- what America should be -- a place of opportunity where there is liberty and justice for all.

Thank you very much.

MR. BOOTH:

We thank you, Mr. Vice President, for sharing one of your sixteen hour days with us. This group of people is here to talk and understand about and to plan how to beneficiate the hard-core unemployed in this country.

I assure you they have put in a good hard day today. We are going to put in another one tomorrow.

Remember, the meeting tomorrow will be here in this hotel, instead of the Chamber Building.

Good night. The meeting is adjourned.



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