

Mr Ford. Mr Austin

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

upstaged

By President  
+ want to be  
President

March 16, 1968

you have had  
a busy day and

On behalf of

On President Johnson's behalf, I want to thank  
you for participating in this historic meeting convened by  
the National Alliance of Businessmen.

Many of you have come great distances to be here.  
All of you, I am sure, have cancelled appointments and  
rearranged busy schedules.

We are grateful for this enthusiastic response to  
Henry Ford's invitation.

But I am not surprised that you came.

x Partnership - We turn  
to you -  
v Mayors - Goes

We have urgent business -

- 2 -

You recognize the urgency of the mission which has been accepted by the National Alliance . . . and you understand ~~explicitly~~ why the American business community is being called upon in this time of national crisis.

Do not underestimate what you have undertaken:

To provide every American -- regardless of education or background -- with the chance to become a productive and self-sustaining citizen.

All of you know how the National Alliance of Businessmen hopes to meet this basic challenge.

~~This morning~~ Today you have heard eloquent statements of the ~~philosophical~~ reasons for this unusual effort to find new jobs for abandoned Americans. "Left out Americans"

~~entirely~~ Told You have been ~~entirely~~ Told how this effort will ultimately benefit your nation's economy and the interests of your own companies

① Good morals  
Good Business  
Good Democracy

*our task*

You have been fully informed of the prudent,  
practical and patriotic objectives of the N. A. B. 's program.

Let us take a moment to understand more fully  
the human purpose of our effort here.

- ↳ We are seeking to save lives. - ~~subject to be~~ ~~action~~
- ↳ That is no exaggeration. That is our central purpose.

When we use these marvelously rounded figures  
and these imposing statistics -- two-hundred thousand  
here, five-hundred thousand there -- let us remember that  
we are speaking of human beings . . . Americans who live  
and breathe and fear and hope.

↳ When we define our practical and necessary  
objectives, let us remember that our essential goal is to  
transform human waste into human worth.

↳ When we become immersed in the charts and plans,  
the techniques and organization of our effort -- as we must --

let us ~~please occasionally~~ realize that we are serving  
individual men and women, not just national policy or  
corporate interests.

I have a particular interest in young men and  
women. ~~because~~ I serve as chairman of the President's  
Council on Youth Opportunity.

↳ They are, in a real sense, the forlorn of our  
nation, especially when schools close and much of the  
nation assumes a <sup>so-called</sup> "vacation" attitude, in summer.

↳ Please remember this: A summer job for a  
potential school drop-out will keep that young person in  
school and prevent him from becoming the hard-core  
unemployed worker of tomorrow.

↳ I have met and spoken with thousands of young  
Americans, ~~during the past few years of my accelerated~~  
~~efforts to boost opportunities for them.~~ I cannot ~~not~~ think  
of them as a "generation," or a "group" or a "category."



I remember -- and remain aware of -- individuals . . .

. . . The young man in this city who said, "We keep hearing about jobs, jobs, jobs. But we want to hear about good jobs - ~~not white collar jobs, but not washing cars or sweeping floors~~ either. We want jobs we can grow in."

. . . The teen-age boy in San Francisco who said,

↳ "There's nothing behind me and nothing ahead of me. It's just a great big empty thing, this life."

. . . The young woman in Atlanta who said,

"I can't get all happy about being part of some big program where they give me a number and I fall into the next slot that opens up. I want a job I can really give something to."

. . . And the young man in Minneapolis who said,

"Why should I hope? Why should I try? My dad says nothing is really changing, that there's just a lot of talk, that you people don't really care."

These young men and women are right. They have hoped enough. We have talked enough.

I believe that today's meeting will result in hard evidence that things are changing.

↳ Having listened to Henry Ford and Paul Austin, can anyone doubt the depth of their commitment?

↳ Can anyone doubt the dedication of the National Executive Committee or Leo Beebe and his staff? In barely one month's time they have built a national structure to carry the Alliance's program into every target city.

↳ Can anyone doubt the commitment of the hundreds of business executives who have volunteered their time and talent to create the regional and metro organizations?

~~Speaking for President Johnson,~~ I express our gratitude for what has already been done.

But now, as we say, the rest is up to you.

There is nothing Henry Ford or Paul Austin can do if you fail to answer the N. A. B. appeal.

But you will not fail. Indeed, I predict today  
that the goal of 500 thousand productive workers by  
June 1971 will be reached at least six months ahead of  
schedule.

↳ You will make the pledges . . . and then accept the more difficult burden of seeing these commitments through.

↳ You will seek out the abandoned and forgotten  
worker . . . and lead him from despair to self-confidence.

↳ You will find the hostile teenager and make his summer a time of challenge and fulfillment . . . yes, a time of opportunity.

↳ You will learn to live with the frustration, the failure, and the disappointments. ↳ And you will maintain your commitment and enthusiasm despite these temporary set-backs.

You will also come to see the incredible potential of what the Alliance is striving to achieve. ↳ Jobs for the hard-core unemployed? Yes. Jobs for needy youngsters this summer? Yes.

↳ A total reorientation of attitudes and practices within the American business community in relation to unskilled workers? Yes, that too is likely to happen.

But surpassing all these objectives, you will see the chance to fulfill what Thomas Wolfe called "the promise of America."

"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."

# # #

NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN

- - -

March 16, 1968

*John W. [unclear]*  
*or whoever*  
*gets these*  
*things -*

**WARD & PAUL**

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

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## NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN

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March 16, 1968

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Sheraton-Park Hotel,

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Washington, D. C.

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1 MR. FORD: Gentlemen, the President of the  
2 United States.

3 (Applause.)

4 THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Ford, Mr. Austin, and distinguished  
5 mayors, and Mr. Meany, Mr. Young, Mr. Smith, and members of the  
6 Alliance, distinguished guests.

7 I wanted to come by here and principally do just one  
8 thing, to tell each of you and your families that you've left  
9 this weekend how proud your President is of the business com-  
10 munity and of your recognition of the problems that this country  
11 faces; and to also tell you how much confidence I have in your  
12 ability and your leadership to help me do something about these  
13 problems that I can't do by myself, or I can't do with the  
14 other things that are available to me.

15 In all of my public life I have never had anything  
16 that made me so appreciative as to know that men of Mr. Ford  
17 and Mr. Austin and the other business leaders background and  
18 stature and standing and accomplishments and financial state-  
19 ments, if you please, would have enough concern for their fellow  
20 man to give their time and their money and their talent and  
21 their heart to try and do something about.

22 So that is why I am here. And I am especially happy  
23 to be here with you when I think of the alternatives I have.

24 (Laughter.)

25 I don't know, but you may have observed there are

1 several things going on in Washington this morning.

2 (Laughter.)

3 We have the negotiators on the copper strike that are  
4 here. There are bankers from all over the world down at the  
5 Federal Reserve trying to do something about the gold drain.  
6 And then there is the group at the Bobby Kennedy press confer-  
7 ence.

8 (Laughter.)

9 But, Henry, I'll take the businessman's lunch every  
10 time.

11 (Laughter.)

12 Of course, you always, in this life that we all live,  
13 have to take your chances, and it seems everybody speculates  
14 these days. Some people speculate in gold, a primary metal, and  
15 some people just go around speculating in primaries.

16 (Laughter.)

17 The press asked for my reaction to the recent activi-  
18 ties of the Senator from New York. And I don't want to tell  
19 you all of my reactions this morning.

20 (Laughter.)

21 But when I read in the paper that he had pushed Henry  
22 Ford out of the Meet the Press program Sunday, I thought he was  
23 just going too far too early.

24 (Laughter.)

25 If there is anyone anywhere who doubts the future of

America, who has any concern about where we're going, I think it would do him good to come here and look into your faces, see where you've been, and then he could understand what our potential is.

You men come here this morning from cities across this Nation. You've come here not to complain of a crisis, you've come here to meet it. You've come not to just croak about trouble, but you've come here to tackle it. You are really pioneers and today you are starting off on a journey of very high purpose. You are launching the most massive and the most urgent job program in the history of this Nation, a job to provide hundreds of thousands of hard-core unemployed jobs in America's largest cities.

Now, the government is going to undertake to find these men and women and make them available to you, and your mission is to train them and to hire them and to try to get from them useful and productive employment. In short, we want to take people who are destined to be continued tax-eaters and through your processing with some help from us make out of those tax-eaters fellow taxpayers.

Each time you place a jobless man on a payroll you reduce his drain on you and on the Treasury and on your company, and this will help strengthen the Nation.

So your's is a challenging assignment, but American business has always been equal to its challenges. There may be

1 more than 500,000 that need your help, and if there are I expect  
2 you to meet your goal and then do what the doughboy did in  
3 World War I and what your sons are doing now in Vietnam and  
4 what our men did in the other wars that we engaged in, World  
5 War II and Korea.

6 So the spirit that brings you here, I think, is the  
7 spirit that makes America tick and go, it's the strength that  
8 has guided this country in every crisis and every trial we ever  
9 had. I think it will again.

10 Earlier this week, in the East Room of the White House,  
11 I awarded the Medal of Honor to two of our bravest fighting  
12 Marines. And as I stood there before them and I heard once  
13 again the words "above and beyond the call of duty," I reflected  
14 on this, and I recognize that not every man is called upon to  
15 give "above and beyond the call of duty." Not every man is  
16 called upon to give even his full measure of devotion. Not  
17 every man is called upon to serve his country or to exercise  
18 his talents and his responsibility.

19 But to those who carry the burdens of public office,  
20 they must do their duty as they see it and they must do the  
21 right thing as God gives them -- gives us the right to see the  
22 right. And, as your President, I want to say this to you  
23 today:

24 We must meet our commitments in the world and in  
25 Vietnam, and we shall, and we are going to win.

(Applause.)

Now, to meet the needs of these fighting men, we shall do whatever is required. We and our allies seek only a just and an honorable peace, and we work for that every day, to find some way to settle this matter with the heads instead of the hands. And we seek nothing else.

The Communists have made it clear that up to now thus far they are unwilling to negotiate or to work out a settlement, except on the battlefield. And if that is what they choose, then we shall win a settlement on the battlefield. And if their position changes, as we fervently hope it will, then we in the United States and our allies are prepared to immediately meet them anywhere, any time, in a spirit of flexibility and understanding and generosity.

But, make no mistake about it, I don't want a man in here to go back home thinking otherwise, we are going to win.

(Applause.)

Now, at the same time we have other commitments, other international commitments, and we have very urgent commitments here at home. All of these commitments ultimately wind up, as you executives know, representing a drain on the Treasury. To do what must be done means that we must proceed with utmost prudence. We must tighten our belts. We must adopt an austere program. We must adopt a program of fiscal soundness.

Now, last week we passed a law removing the useless and burdensome gold cover. Last week the Federal Reserve -- or this week, I still think that this is Sunday for some reason or other -- the Federal Reserve Board has increased the rediscount rate in an attempt to bring some restraint.

We are meeting at this moment with the members of the central banks in the world, as well as with the leaders of the Congress. We are talking to the congressional leaders about adjustments and reductions that can be made in our national budget. Hard choices are going to have to be made in the next few days. Some desirable programs of lesser priority and urgency are going to have to be deferred. That is why we hope that the free enterprise system, the private employers of America can help the government take some of this responsibility because every one of these men that you can employ and help train and prepare means one less that the government doesn't have to deal with.

But the key to fiscal responsibility is still unturned, according to all the fiscal experts. The key is the penny on the dollar tax bill that is now pending. This tax increase will yield less than half of the \$23 billion per year that we return to the taxpayer in the tax reductions of 1964 and '65.

We are paying lower tax rates than we've paid any time since World War II, and we are in the middle of a war in Vietnam and we have all these problems here at home. If we

1 could just go back to the tax rate that was on the books when I  
2 became President, before two reductions, we would take in \$23  
3 billion more this year.

4           So I appeal to the Congress, last week and I will  
5 again next week, and I call upon the Congress now to meet the  
6 urgency, the hour, with the responsibility that it requires.  
7 Now, with all of these measures taken our fiscal position is  
8 going to be strengthened. We will be able to supply what is  
9 needed to win a just and a lasting peace in Vietnam, hopefully  
10 at the negotiating table, but on the battlefield if we must.  
11 We will fulfill our commitments abroad and here at home, to try  
12 to move forward with a program of better health and education  
13 and training for all of our people, more security and better  
14 houses for all of our families. And if our economy is strong  
15 we can take care of most of these essential needs -- not as  
16 quickly as we would like but soundly, efficiently, and, I hope,  
17 adequately.

18           None of this is going to be easy or pleasant, but I  
19 believe that Americans will resolutely bear their share of the  
20 burden in helping to meet their needs at home rather than push  
21 us into fiscal chaos, or rather than fail to give our fighting  
22 sons the help and the support that they need.

23           As a young man, I grew up hearing a lot of name-  
24 calling, and some of it was applied to the economic royalists  
25 and the business community and the free enterprise system. I



1 am glad that has gone out of fashion in this country. I haven't  
2 heard it in several years. I am glad that Henry Ford and the  
3 Mayor of Cleveland and George Meany can sit here at this table  
4 side by side, because they all represent something special to  
5 this country, as you do.

6 Now is the time for us to exercise the patriotism  
7 that we have by trying to unite together, to support the worthy  
8 causes of our country and to try to solve the dangerous prob-  
9 lems that our country faces. Now, you are doing that.

10 This will be a memorable meeting. I hope that they  
11 get a picture from the front because I think that every person  
12 in this meeting will some day want to point to his children,  
13 and if he's fortunate his grandchildren, and say to them, "I  
14 was there when this all began, when there was a real awakening  
15 on the part of the social consciousness of the business power  
16 structure in this country who gave their talents and their  
17 money and their time to try and help those who needed help and  
18 who could not help themselves."

19 I am grateful to each of you personally, regardless  
20 of what party you belong to, what church you attend, or what  
21 section you live in. You are serving this Nation just as  
22 patriotically and as needfully as your sons are serving it who  
23 wear the uniform.

24 Thank you very much.

25 (Applause.)

9  
Phone (Area 202) 628-4266

1 MR. FORD: Ladies and gentlemen, would  
2 you please stand for the invocation by the Reverend Walter E.  
3 Fauntroy, Minister of the New Bethel Baptist Church, here in  
4 Washington, D. C.

5 REV. FAUNTROY: Let us pray.

6 Eternal God, our Father, we come together this morn-  
7 ing realizing that Thou hast so arranged life that we have  
8 some sunshine and some rain, some joy and some sorrow, some  
9 peace and som pain.

10 And we don't always understand, O God, why these  
11 periods of rain and sorrow and pain must come, as those through  
12 which we now go in this country. But we come, believing that  
13 Thy grace is sufficient for our needs in this hour of crisis.

14 And, so, we thank Thee this morning that for such an  
15 hour as this Thou hast given to our Nation and to our States  
16 and to our Cities the National Alliance of Businessmen.

17 We thank Thee for the concern, for the patriotism,  
18 for the compassion, for the love of humanity that has brought  
19 each of these men here this morning.

20 And, as we stand on the threshold of this meeting we  
21 pray that Thou wouldst give us a greater vision of our task,  
22 that of building together a Nation of justice where none shall  
23 prey upon the weakness of us, a Nation of plenty where greed  
24 and poverty shall be eliminated, a Nation of brotherhood where  
25 success is founded upon service and honor given for nobleness

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25 K Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

1 alone.

2 Bless now this meeting to Thy use and us to Thy  
3 service, to the fulfillment of that vision and task.

4 Amen.

5 MR. FORD: Gentlemen, we will get back on  
6 schedule. First, I want to thank all of you for coming here  
7 this morning to attend what I am sure will turn out to be a  
8 very important meeting in the history of the United States.

9 This meeting has been worked on for quite a period of  
10 time and you have an agenda like this in your packet which was  
11 on your seat. Now, we are not going to pay too much attention  
12 to that because there are people here who have other things to  
13 do and who have very crowded schedules.

14 I would like to recognize first the Secretary of the  
15 Treasury, Mr. Fowler, who was very kind to come here for a few  
16 moments this morning, away from his other very important duties.

17 Mr. Secretary, will you stand up and take a bow?

18 (Applause.)

19 MR. FORD: I would also like to recognize  
20 the Secretary of Transportation because he is the boss of the  
21 automobile business so we have got to be very nice to him.

22 Secretary Boyd?

23 (Applause.)

24 MR. FORD: Now, you have all come here on  
25 very short notice and we think we've got for you here this

1 morning a program which will be interesting and which will give  
2 you an insight into the problems that we're facing -- not that  
3 you don't already know them, but maybe from a different point  
4 of view.

5 Now, we are here because the President has asked the  
6 business community to step up to this problem. And we don't  
7 want to let him down and I don't think we want to let ourselves  
8 down. And I am absolutely amazed with the support that this  
9 program is getting throughout the United States, everywhere.  
10 And I know we can count on continued support.

11 Now, we have got a very tough goal. We didn't set  
12 our own goal. The goal was set for us by the President of the  
13 United States. As you know, we have got to try to get jobs  
14 for 200,000 youths this summer for eight to ten weeks. We've  
15 got to get 100,000 jobs for the hard-core unemployed, and we  
16 will define if you haven't already seen what is meant by hard-  
17 core unemployed in the next fifteen months, and another 400,000  
18 additional in the following year and a half.

19 So, we've got a big job to do. We may think this is  
20 easy, but it is not going to be easy. We may be able to skim  
21 the cream off the top in the beginning and things may look very  
22 good, but it is not going to be an easy job to do in total and  
23 it is going to take the good-will and the hard work and the  
24 taking off of the blinders by the chief executives and their  
25 cohorts in their own businesses of all business here in the

1 United States.

2 We are not going to be able to do things as usual. We  
3 are going to have to take a different look. We are going to  
4 have to take a broader gauge look. We are going to have to  
5 take a deeper look. But I think we can do it and I know we can  
6 do it, and we've got to do it or this country is going to face  
7 consequences that I don't think any of us want to see.

8 Now, the first speaker here this morning is not the  
9 first one on your program but he's a person that many of you  
10 know, you know personally. He's been the head of American Air  
11 Lines for many, many years, and you've flown on his airplanes,  
12 and I know you've always had a good ride, and he's the new  
13 Secretary of Commerce, and he and the Secretary of Labor are  
14 trying to get this copper situation settled and he has to go on  
15 to other things so I will introduce to you now Mr. C. R. Smith,  
16 the Secretary of Commerce.

17 Mr. Smith?

18 (Applause.)

19 SECRETARY SMITH: This position of being first speaker,  
20 gentlemen, belongs correctly to the Secretary of Labor, and I am  
21 grateful to him for deferring until a little later. I have a  
22 personal problem, I have to go back to New York and get my  
23 other shirt.

24 (Laughter.)

25 I have been down here living out of a suitcase now

1 for two weeks.

2 I saw in one of the publications of the Department of  
3 Commerce the other day a very simple statement which appealed  
4 to me because it seems to me to define quite succinctly our  
5 problem. It says "most of our abrasive, persistent and costly  
6 problems would disappear if people had jobs, decently paying  
7 and productive jobs, jobs with a future." And I think it is  
8 our mission today to do something about that.

9 We all know about the efficiency of American economy.  
10 It produces and distributes more goods and more services and  
11 more efficiently to more people than any other economy in the  
12 world. Today we have an opportunity to bring into the system  
13 which we've created a large number of Americans who up to now  
14 have been on the sidelines.

15 I know that we would readily conclude that we cannot  
16 do this job with money alone. We've tried that in a great many  
17 areas, it takes a different prescription. Many of you are en-  
18 gaged in endeavors in your own community. I had a chance to  
19 participate in some in a New York Community. And you know  
20 quite well that right now in some areas we have the third  
21 generation on relief. Not only has the father been on relief  
22 for most of his life but the grandfather as well. And that is  
23 a situation which we can neither afford nor can we continue.

24 We have to do our very best to give every American  
25 the opportunity for self-respect and pride, the pride which

1 comes from individual achievement, from doing an honest day's  
2 work and from being no different than his neighbor who is self-  
3 supporting. That is why this program that we undertake today  
4 is so fundamentally important.

5 I read, of course, about the formation of this great  
6 enterprise before I came to Washington. It struck me immedi-  
7 ately as one of imagination, courage and necessity, and I  
8 congratulate Henry Ford, our good friend, and Paul Austin and  
9 their associates for the fine leadership that they have already  
10 proven in this endeavor. This is something that is going to  
11 succeed. This is something which is sensible because it repre-  
12 sents an opportunity for every businessman to do his part of  
13 his job in the best way that he can get it done.

14 The Department of Commerce has been interested in the  
15 airlines since the day of its birth. We have tried to be  
16 helpful. We have no management responsibility for the program.  
17 We do have a very kindly and fatherly interest in this success.  
18 We have some resources within the department to the extent they  
19 can be used for this purpose; they will be fully devoted to it.  
20 We are determined to do our part to make this program work and,  
21 working together, I am sure we can make it succeed.

22 I thank you.

23 (Applause.)

24 MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Mr.  
25 Secretary.



1 I can assure you gentlemen here that Mr. Beebe and  
2 his staff not only had the cooperation of the Secretary of  
3 Commerce and all the people in the department but from the  
4 Secretary of Labor and all the people in his department and  
5 many other facets of the government.

6 This job is being done in a fishbowl and we need all  
7 the help we can get and we're going to accept all the help we  
8 can get.

9 Now, our next speaker has just been elected Mayor of  
10 one of the biggest cities in the United States, and I think he  
11 probably knows today even more than he did before he was  
12 elected Mayor of Cleveland about the critical problems of our  
13 cities and how difficult they are going to be to solve.

14 It gives me great pleasure to introduce the Honorable  
15 Carl B. Stokes, Mayor of Cleveland.

16 Mr. Stokes?

17 (Applause.)

18 MAYOR STOKES: Mr. Ford, Mr. Austin, members of  
19 organized labor, distinguished members of the Cabinet, and all  
20 of you distinguished executives that have come to make up the  
21 National Alliance of Businessmen.

22 It is difficult to follow the President of the United  
23 States. He used some memorable words. And, although, I was  
24 happy to see that he did not use that word "reassess."

25 I have been asked within a limited time to talk

1 briefly about the crisis in our cities. I prefer to call it the  
2 deep kind of malaise that affects America.

3           The recent report of the Advisory Committee on Civil  
4 Disorders outlined the tremendous problems and consequences of  
5 this malaise. Nowhere is the problem of denial of opportunity,  
6 which is documented by the report, more vividly illustrated  
7 than in the toll it takes of America's youth. The unemployed,  
8 out-of-school disaffected youth of the ghetto represents in a  
9 real sense the crucial test of our national conscience and  
10 national will to meet and to solve our urban problems. Young  
11 people in alarmingly large proportions of our inner city  
12 areas throughout this country are not only out of school and  
13 out of work but, more seriously, they are out of hope. They  
14 are not the Pepsi generation of the slick ads. On the contrary,  
15 they are the out-of-everything generation.

16           These young people in the inner city ghettos have  
17 not tuned out but instead have been tuned off by most of our  
18 society. Our national aim, as leaders in government, business  
19 and civic life must be to move these young people into the  
20 employment market so that they can take their place as pro-  
21 ductive, useful and prideful citizens.

22           I would like to remind you that each day we delay  
23 coming up with effective solutions consigns thousands of young  
24 people to oblique and a barren future.

25           How serious is this problem? Well, during the first

1 nine months of 1967 the unemployment rate among non-white teen-  
2 agers was 26.9 per cent, and the rate among white teenagers was  
3 10.6 per cent. About one-third of all unemployed Negroes in  
4 1967 were between the ages of 16 and 19. Some 220,000 non-  
5 white youngsters across the Nation were unemployed last year.  
6 And when we add sub-employment rates to this figure, as reported  
7 in a recent Department of Labor survey conducted in 1966, that  
8 figure reaches the astronomical 318,000; thus a large segment  
9 of the youth population in American cities constituted a youth  
10 underclass of unemployed or marginally employed individuals.

11 In my City of Cleveland, a study by the School Board  
12 in 1966 showed that 63 per cent of out-of-school youth in  
13 twelve inner city areas were unemployed, and that 4,100  
14 youngsters dropped out of our Cleveland schools each year to  
15 join the ranks of the unemployed.

16 More startling was the fact -- if anything could be  
17 more startling -- was the fact that half of those who partici-  
18 pated in job training programs were also unemployed, thus, I  
19 would hope causing us to look again at the nature of the pro-  
20 grams we are mounting to meet this serious problem.

21 While considerable attention is placed on social  
22 dynamite unemployed youth represent in our inner cities through-  
23 out this country, little attention is being given to the tre-  
24 mendous waste of human resources, talent and ability which  
25 these statistics reflect. No democratic society can afford to

1 write off such a potentially creative source of manpower.

2 To meet this problem, the President's Commission on  
3 Civil Disorders called for -- and I quote them -- "a commitment  
4 to national action on an unprecedented scale," and then suggested  
5 that what is needed is to generate a new will to meet and over-  
6 come this distressing situation.

7 Now, I believe that there are at least three basic  
8 requirements that need to be met if we are to deal successfully  
9 with the problem of saving our youth and moving them back into  
10 the road of employability, and those three categories are that  
11 both the public and the private sector must provide training  
12 and job experience which present a genuine opportunity for  
13 learning and experiencing initial success; secondly, employers  
14 need to demonstrate a willingness to lend intensive support  
15 and guidance on the job to these young people; and, thirdly,  
16 the job opportunity programs must be established which see the  
17 initial job as a first step to a wide ladder of future job  
18 opportunities.

19 Now, the first of these requirements, that of experi-  
20 encing employment success, is just basic. The young person in  
21 the inner city is exposed to a repetitious life cycle of  
22 failure. Their total environment is one which generally blunts  
23 aspiration and wishes for success. These young people face a  
24 combination of generational poverty, high and chronic unemploy-  
25 ment, public dependency, racial prejudice, all of which have

1 seriously undermined their educational efforts and limited their  
2 access to decent jobs.

3         The typical response of young people to this cycle of  
4 failure is to develop attitudes of resignation and despair and  
5 tendencies to display violent behavior. Now these lead to  
6 attitudes which are represented on the streets of the ghettos  
7 as that of hussling, petty thievery, and what they call "beating  
8 the game." But if no other choice or option is offered, what  
9 other course of action are these young people to follow?

10         Therefore, it seems to me necessary for us to break  
11 the cycle of failure and despair and provide real opportunities  
12 for the youth to assume jobs which provide dignified experiences  
13 and opportunity for learn and, more importantly, a chance to  
14 succeed.

15         Secondly, there must be a willingness on your part and  
16 on my part, as a public employer, to lend support and guidance  
17 on the job, to achieve permanent change in attitudes, thus  
18 making these young people employable, requires that the employer  
19 provide closer personal support and supervision to those who are  
20 on the job.

21         This requires a recognition on your part that atti-  
22 tudes of poverty-stricken youth toward work and authority  
23 which are a consequence of years of conditioning will at the  
24 start be to them an obstacle to good job performance. This  
25 simply underscores a need for deeper commitment by both the

1 employer and job supervisor to insure the success of the  
2 trainee. Part of the problem lies in the fact that the problem  
3 of employing disadvantaged youth involves not only teaching of  
4 the skill but also a refashioning of attitudes as well. And to  
5 reach this objection closer supervision and support must be  
6 structured into every job opportunity and the emphasis placed  
7 on close management and supervisory involvement.

8         Thirdly, the importance of the first job as a step up  
9 the ladder of opportunity may be all important, because that  
10 newly employed young person has to feel that his efforts to  
11 achieve success will see some reward, and that the first job  
12 is not the end of a road but in fact the beginning. Promotion  
13 possibilities based not only on school but also on attitudinal  
14 change as well can help stimulate incentive to further success.  
15 Therefore, job program which offers definite, specific and re-  
16 liable opportunities in the future can help to generate that  
17 needed sense of responsibility.

18         Job goals must be realistic. They must be based on  
19 the potential of the young person with the possibility of  
20 achievement in his grasp as a result of his efforts. And in  
21 this regard the schools can play an increasingly important  
22 role by providing the opportunities for success which stimulate  
23 real life employment situations.

24         Now, we in Cleveland are very fortunate because we  
25 have a young man there by the name of Jack Tankersly who is

1 President of the East Ohio Gas Company, and they have undertaken  
2 a campaign in keeping with the National Alliance of Businessmen's  
3 program. Our 1968 summer employment program is in full swing  
4 right now. Work already is under way to assure that both  
5 governmental and private business sectors fully contribute to  
6 the success of this program. Next week 150 key executives of  
7 the largest employers in Cleveland will meet with Mr. Henry  
8 Ford, the Chairman of this Alliance, to enlist the full support  
9 of the business community of Cleveland in our jobs effort.

10 Secondly, Mr. Tankersly has begun a mailing campaign  
11 to contact hundreds of small employers. There will be a per-  
12 sonal contact by solicitors, using an innovative United Appeal  
13 approach -- and I might just toss in a commercial for Cleveland,  
14 that Cleveland had the first United Appeal in the Nation, has  
15 become the model for such worthy efforts throughout the country  
16 -- but they are going to use the old United Appeal approach by  
17 following up requests to large employers on an industry-by-  
18 industry basis. And the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the YMCA  
19 businessmen's groups, the Ohio State Employment Service, and  
20 other organizations will be involved in this unique approach.

21 Our Applicant and Resources Training Committee will  
22 undertake a six-phase program to identify and place the most  
23 needy youth in our community in summer jobs in coordination  
24 with all the other interested parties. Jobs acquired from the  
25 public and private sector will be given to the Ohio State



1 Employment Service which has the responsibility for screening  
2 and matching applicant and job and, finally, referring the ap-  
3 plicants to the respective employers.

4 Now, gentlemen, there is one fellow in this room  
5 who is lucky to be a part of this important meeting today, be-  
6 cause years ago he just barely missed being a member of the  
7 hard-core unemployed himself, and that is Carl Stokes. I was  
8 a dropout when I was 17 years old. I was one of those kids who  
9 thought that school was just a waste of time.

10 There was a war on then but I was too young to join  
11 the Army, and I had no kinds of skills by which I would be  
12 employable. The best I was able to do was to get a job  
13 polishing valves in a factory that did defense work. Well, let  
14 me tell you, polishing valves to me seemed the most difficult  
15 job in the world that first day on the job, and I just couldn't  
16 keep up with the rest of the fellows on the production line.

17 Well, the foreman noticed this and he came over and  
18 told me that if I didn't get a move on he was going to can me  
19 off that job. Well, I needed that job and yet at the same  
20 time I knew I couldn't do any better. And when I heard what  
21 he said, I said to myself, "Well, the hell with it," and I  
22 just stood there angry, frustrated and wondering why he  
23 couldn't understand my problem and being able to do that job  
24 better. And I just stood there and watched all those vales  
25 go past me on that line, with the idea of holding a job and

1 earning a living at that point seemed pretty hopeless.

2 In my mind I blamed everybody but Carl Stokes, and I  
3 really think I would have thrown in the sponge right then and  
4 there if it hadn't been for an older worker who came over and  
5 showed me the trick, just a little technique of how to polish  
6 those valves fast and to keep up with the line. He stayed on  
7 and from time to time worked with me all that first night, so  
8 I was able to meet my quota that first crucial night on the job.

9 The next day when I came in he started right in  
10 helping me get adjusted right away, and from then on I was  
11 okay. I knew I could amount to something. For the first time  
12 in my life, when I really started rolling with the rest of the  
13 guys on that line, I had the feeling of real accomplishment.  
14 And that is a lesson that I have never forgotten.

15 Shortly after, when I turned 18 I went to the Army.  
16 And when I came back from the Army I went back to high school  
17 and completed my education, because through my own work ex-  
18 perience and subsequent maturing I now felt that I could really  
19 accomplish something. But I have always remembered and looked  
20 back to that first foreman who helped me on that job.

21 Well, now as the Mayor of the City of Cleveland, and  
22 as one who remembers well what it meant to get that little bit  
23 of encouragement and help just when it was needed the most, I  
24 have now given top priority to this challenge, and I hope and  
25 urge all of you to join me in doing the same.

1 Thank you.

2 (Applause.)

3 MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Mayor Stokes. I know  
4 we can count on your help and we're counting also on the help  
5 of the forty-nine other Mayors of the forty-nine other cities  
6 in which we have metro chairmen to carry out this job. We are  
7 going to need their help, too.

8 Now, when I first accepted this job, the first wire I  
9 received was from George Meany, pledging the support of organ-  
10 ized labor. Gentlemen, I don't need to tell any one of you  
11 that we couldn't get this job done that we have ahead of us  
12 unless we had the help of organized labor. And I don't know of  
13 anybody who is more willing to lend a hand to any cause than  
14 George Meany, and he has promised us his help.

15 It is a pleasure to introduce this morning Mr. George  
16 Meany, President of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Meany?

17 MR. MEANY: Mr. Ford, distinguished members of the  
18 President's Cabinet, Mayor Stokes, Mr. Austin, and members of  
19 the National Alliance of Businessmen.

20 The very fact of this meeting is a definite indica-  
21 tion of the sense of urgency on the part of the business com-  
22 munity in this country with respect to job opportunities and  
23 especially the problem of hard-core unemployment.

24 This is a most welcome development. And I can assure  
25 you that in your efforts to meet these problems you will have

1 the full cooperation of America's labor movement.

2 Certainly the problems themselves demand the widest  
3 possible cooperation among all segments of American society,  
4 business and labor, government at every level, the school  
5 systems, just everyone.

6 The first indispensable step has been taken, That  
7 step was recognition that there are real and pressing needs  
8 that must be met and must be overcome by new means. It took a  
9 long time for that first step to be taken, perhaps because of  
10 a prevalent assumption that private enterprise operating along  
11 familiar lines can take care of everyone's economic needs if  
12 only the right conditions are established.

13 On the surface that optimism might have seemed plaus-  
14 ible. Beginning in 1961 this Nation has moved steadily toward  
15 higher economic levels. The affluent society has become a  
16 household word. But gradually the realization has spread that  
17 significant numbers of Americans were being left behind,  
18 farther and farther behind. And when this phenomenon was  
19 examined more closely it was found that more job opportunities  
20 while still essential would not be enough. They would not be  
21 enough because many of those who are being left behind, the  
22 hard core of the jobless, was simply not equipped for gainful  
23 employment. They are not equipped in terms of education. They  
24 are not equipped in terms of work experience, the simple discip-  
25 lines involved in any form of employment, since they have never

1 been regularly employed.

2 And, most important perhaps, they are not equipped in  
3 terms of motivation. So it is not enough and it will not be  
4 enough to go into the ghettos and say here is a job. The de-  
5 prived Americans who make up the hard-core of the unemployed  
6 need to be taught and need to be trained before they can fill  
7 a job. And even before that, they must be motivated by the  
8 desire to fill a job. What they need, first of all, is con-  
9 fidence, or perhaps a better word is faith. They need to be-  
10 lieve that the newly offered opportunity is real, that they can  
11 in fact become a part of the American society which up until  
12 now has been as remote from them as the moon.

13 We in the labor movement run into this problem time  
14 after time. As you may know, many of our unions, especially in  
15 the apprentice trades, have gone to great lengths to facilitate  
16 entry to their trades on the part of youngsters from minority  
17 groups. They have established and cooperated with many  
18 programs which provide special training and preparation to  
19 enable persons from underprivileged backgrounds to qualify for  
20 employment.

21 Yet they have often had to search for takers. The  
22 reason may lie in lack of confidence, lack of faith, and  
23 therefore lack of motivation. Those who have known nothing but  
24 deprivation, denial and discrimination, who have been rejected  
25 so often by society in the past are sometimes skeptical of the

1 new offers of opportunity.

2 I am sure that many of you have found and will find  
3 the same attitude as you set up your own programs. There are  
4 two conclusions, I think, which can be drawn from this.

5 The first is that it would serve no useful purpose for  
6 any person or group concerned with solutions to point the  
7 finger of blame. What is needed now is not recriminations but  
8 remedies.

9 The second, and equally obvious conclusion, is that  
10 new approaches must be devised in order to find these remedies.  
11 Your presence here today is evidence that you accept that  
12 proposition. The old ways under the right conditions, no matter  
13 how they were defined, can never be adequate.

14 It is much easier to talk about new approaches, how-  
15 ever, than to create them. That is why cooperation is so vital  
16 and why it must be cooperation in deed, not just in words. We  
17 in the AFL-CIO have begun by contributing the services of an  
18 able and experienced veteran of the labor movement, John W.  
19 Livingston, to be your Director of Union Relations. Jack is  
20 here today and I hope some of you will have an opportunity to  
21 meet him before the day is over.

22 I don't know of anyone in the trade union ranks who  
23 is better equipped for the job. He will be the liaison man  
24 between this Alliance and the AFL-CIO, not to protect any  
25 narrow trade union interest but to promote our common interest

1 in the task that lies before us.

2 One of his first undertakings will be to recruit fifty  
3 labor men in the fifty key communities in which the National  
4 Alliance of Businessmen will be operating. These men will  
5 serve on the local level in the same capacity as Jack will  
6 serve on the national level.

7 Let me strongly urge and warmly advise you to make  
8 real use of Jack Livingston and his corps of advisers. There  
9 will be problems involved. Mr. Ford, Mr. Beebe, Mr. Livingston,  
10 all of us are agreed on that. But we are convinced that they  
11 are problems that can be solved. More important, we are sure  
12 they will be solved.

13 Let me conclude with a few words about that overall  
14 task. Even with the fullest cooperation, even with the optimum  
15 amount of government assistance, it will not be easy. I am  
16 sure, we can all be sure that we will suffer many disappoint-  
17 ments. Your good-will and your perseverance will be sorely  
18 tried. There will be times when you will be tempted to throw  
19 up your hands, feeling that a pioneer, like a prophet, is not  
20 without honor saving his own country.

21 But these trials, these disappointments must be en-  
22 dured. They must be endured because this undertaking in which  
23 we are both engaged simply cannot fail. There is no place for  
24 a substratum, an underground of poverty in this free society,  
25 for while it exists American society itself will not be wholly



1 free. Nor is this only a social or humanitarian undertaking.  
2 It has enormous potential in other ways.

3 The economic impact of truly full employment, jobs at  
4 good wages for all certainly needs no explanation to this  
5 audience. It would create a measure of prosperity that would  
6 make today's affluence seem meager. Together, with other pro-  
7 grams planned or already in being, it would make American, in  
8 fact, a land of unrestricted opportunity for all. It would  
9 tap human resources now submerged and it would reinforce the  
10 American way of life, a way of life built upon the genius of  
11 free men as the hope and inspiration of the world.

12 Toward these ends let us move forward together. Thank  
13 you.

14 (Applause.)

15 MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Mr. Meany. We are  
16 going to count on you and your associates to give us a lot of  
17 help. We have already had, here in Washington and the metro  
18 chairmen throughout the country have had many questions about  
19 how this is going to work and what labor's attitude is going  
20 to be in various situations.

21 I think you can all be reassured by what Mr. Meany  
22 said here this morning that we can count on their help in any  
23 circumstance that might arise.

24 Now, as all of you know, about two weeks ago the  
25 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders issued its



1 report. We are fortunate to have here with us this morning Mr.  
2 David Ginsberg, the Executive Director of the Commission, who  
3 will tell us about the reasons for the Commission's basic  
4 conclusions.

5 It is a great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. David  
6 Ginsberg.

7 (Applause.)

8 MR. GINSBERG: Mr. Chairman, members of the Cabinet,  
9 gentlemen. As Mr. Ford has just said, it was just two weeks  
10 ago tonight that President Johnson's Commission on Civil  
11 Disorders published its findings and recommendations on the  
12 urban disorders of last summer.

13 Now, my job is to consider what happened last summer  
14 and to say something about the implications for the Nation.  
15 Civil disorders are, obviously, part of the crisis of our  
16 cities, but the roots of these civil disorders go far deeper  
17 than the urban problem.

18 Last summer there were 164 disorders in 128 cities, 41  
19 of them were major or serious riots. Nearly 100 people were  
20 killed, nearly 2,000 were injured over a nine-month period.

21 Now, one preliminary question we had to answer was  
22 whether these riots were organized or planned. The point we  
23 all had in mind was whether an epidemic of civil disorders in  
24 this country of the order of magnitude that we saw could have  
25 broken out without planning, organization, incitement,

1 conspiracy.

2                   ~~record~~ <sup>Commission</sup> Now, what this ~~record~~ did is a matter of record now.  
3 It worked closely with the FBI and the CIA, with the other  
4 departments and agencies of the government that had investigat-  
5 ing staffs, with congressional committees and with the local  
6 police departments. And what the commission found you already  
7 know. It found no evidence that the disorders of the summer  
8 of '67 were planned or directed by any organization or group,  
9 local or national, in this country or abroad. So the first  
10 implication of summer '67 is that the underlying problems, the  
11 causes must be faced.

12                   Now why, then, were there riots last summer? If they  
13 were not the product of some conspiracy, what caused them?

14                   Now, the Commission said, as I am sure you know, that  
15 one fundamental factor was the attitude and behavior of white  
16 Americans toward black Americans. It pointed to the existence  
17 of pervasive discrimination and segregation based on race. It  
18 pointed to the massive and growing concentrations of impover-  
19 ished Negroes in our major cities, resulting from migration  
20 from the South, from rapid population growth, and from the  
21 continuing movement of white middle-class to the suburbs.

22                   Then it pointed to the black racial ghettos where  
23 Americans lived in segregation and poverty without opportunity  
24 or hope and where failure was a way of life. But the Commission  
25 did not say that white racism caused the riots of last summer.

1           To the contrary, the Commission said that fundamental  
2 as race and poverty may be, they did not cause the disorders of  
3 last summer. There were other factors, and there were more  
4 immediate factors which help to explain why the disorders came  
5 at this time.

6           There were growing frustrations. The great expecta-  
7 tions of the civil rights movement were not being fulfilled.  
8 There are men at this table who were involved in them. The  
9 Negro struggle for equal rights in the South had sensitized  
10 the Negroes of the North to the awful deprivations of ghetto  
11 life.

12           There was, what we called, the legitimization of  
13 violence. That was the general acceptance of violence and the  
14 open defiance of laws in the form of protest, the general  
15 erosion of respect for authority in American society, and the  
16 reduced effectiveness over blacks and whites alike of social  
17 standards and restraints.

18           And there was a sense of powerlessness among many  
19 Negroes, the sense that there was simply no alternative to  
20 violence in order to bring about change. And there were a  
21 number of other causes. And there was also something else.  
22 There was a remarkable record of social and legislative achieve-  
23 ment over the last several years. There were the Civil Rights  
24 Acts of 1964 and '65 which, as you know, struck down discrimi-  
25 nation in job opportunities, public accommodations, voting.

1           There were the training programs -- Secretary Wirtz  
2 is here -- for two million disadvantaged men and women, a great  
3 achievement.

4           There was the help for the poor school children,  
5 Medicare, Medicaid, and that concentrated effort to eliminate  
6 poverty through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and a  
7 dozen other programs -- all of which contributed to lifting  
8 six million Americans above the poverty lines.

9           Who then rioted? Not the hoodlums, not the criminals  
10 or the riffraff, not these recent migrants from the South, the  
11 four million who came up to the North since 1947, not the  
12 uneducated members of some underclass, they didn't riot, not  
13 the persons without any broad social or political concerns.

14           So who rioted? The average rioter in the summer of  
15 '67 was a Negro, unmarried male, between the ages of 15 and 24,  
16 a life-long resident of the city in which he rioted, a high  
17 school dropout, somewhat better educated than his Negro  
18 neighbor and either unemployed, underemployed or employed in a  
19 menial job. That rioter was proud of his race, the Commission  
20 found, hostile to both whites and middle class Negroes, and  
21 highly distrustful of the political system and the political  
22 leaders.

23           Many of the rioters were doubtless among those who  
24 had benefited from these massive social aid programs of the  
25 last few years. What I am saying to you, gentlemen, is that a

1 society like ours, which seeks to lift its people out of  
2 poverty, to provide them with jobs, with education, with  
3 housing, runs the risk that it may not be moving fast enough.

4 Now, soon after the disorders of last summer, the  
5 Commission began an investigation to find out what the  
6 grievances were among the people in the riot cities. Now, we  
7 ranked those grievances in three levels of relative intensity  
8 and we found that in the top level of intensity were first  
9 police practices, and that is a separate problem. But second  
10 in every case was unemployment or underemployment. Housing was  
11 the third. And it was for this reason that the Commission  
12 opened its discussion of employment recommendations with the  
13 following paragraph:

14 Unemployment and underemployment are among the most  
15 persistent and serious grievances of disadvantaged minorities.  
16 The pervasive effect of these conditions in the racial ghettos  
17 is inextricably linked to the problem of civil disorders.

18 Now, the most compelling and the difficult challenge  
19 to which President Johnson referred this morning is plainly the  
20 job training and jobs for that half million hard-core unem-  
21 ployed who live in the central cities, lack a basic education,  
22 worked not at all or only from time to time, and are unable to  
23 cope with the problems of finding and holding a job.

24 A substantial part of this group is Negro, male, and  
25 between the ages of 18 and 25. And it is the members of this

1 group that are often the participants, the initial participants  
2 in the civil disorders.

3 Now, there is no need here to review all the recom-  
4 mendations of the Commission in the area of employment. One,  
5 however, is important, a three-year program aimed at creating  
6 a million jobs in the private sector over a three-year period.  
7 The Commission recommended, as I am sure some of you know, that  
8 employers be reimbursed for the extra costs of job training up  
9 to at least a \$3,500 per annum figure that the President had  
10 recommended, and that this be done either by contract or by a  
11 tax credit system subject to safeguards which would insure  
12 adequate training and job retention.

13 Now, this Alliance is also concerned with a target of  
14 200,000 jobs this summer for youth. The unemployment rates of  
15 the 16 to 19-year-old Negro male approaches, as Mayor Stokes  
16 has indicated, something close to 30 per cent. This age group  
17 is predominant among the riots.

18 Now, stress is properly being placed today, and  
19 within this group, on the problem of the hard-core unemployed,  
20 partly because that problem must be confronted and partly be-  
21 cause government is now convinced that only private enterprise  
22 can do the job.

23 But I think that if you were to ask any member of our  
24 Commission, whether it be Tex Thornton of Litton Industries or  
25 Roy Wilkins of the NAACP or that wonderful Chief of Police of

1 Atlanta, Georgia, Herb Jenkins, if you were to say to them if  
2 you could take just one action this summer what would you do?  
3 And the answer, I am absolutely confident, would be "find the  
4 kids a job."

5 Now, there is no need to parade before this group,  
6 what Mayor Stokes has referred to, the horrors of idleness in  
7 the summer in the ghettos, on the streets, so that on behalf of  
8 the Commission on Civil Disorders we, too, join in asking your  
9 help and cooperation in finding jobs for the kids.

10 Today you were asked by the President to serve the  
11 country by providing job training and jobs for the hard-core  
12 unemployed and for unemployed youth. Now those of us who've  
13 taken a hard look at civil disorders in the cities since last  
14 summer are convinced that government must and will turn to  
15 business more and more, not only for jobs and job training but  
16 for city rebuilding and housing and, I am personally convinced,  
17 for wide areas of public education.

18 Unless I missed my guess, this meeting today will  
19 prove to be an historic beginning on a new path for business in  
20 America.

21 Thank you.

22 (Applause.)

23 MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Mr. Ginsberg, for  
24 telling us about the findings of the civil commission. They  
25 are most interesting and they are certainly ones about which we



1 hope we can do something.

2 Now, our next speaker is a gentleman that many of you  
3 have been associated with one way or another over a long period  
4 of time, if not with him personally at least with members of  
5 his organization throughout the United States.

6 Whitney Young, the Executive Director of the National  
7 Urban League, is a very good friend of mine. So I asked him if  
8 he wouldn't come down here today and tell us a little bit about  
9 the despair and the resentment that comes with being poor and  
10 with being black and with living in the ghetto. I know that  
11 you will be interested in what he has to say.

12 Whitney Young.

13 (Applause.)

14 MR. YOUNG: Thank you very much, Mr. Ford. Mr.  
15 Austin, honorable Cabinet members, Mayors, and distinguished  
16 members of dais, and you the decision-makers, the role models,  
17 the status symbols, the leaders of thought and action in  
18 America. If that characterization embarrasses you, I apologize  
19 but I happen to believe this strongly and I have never noticed  
20 that there was an abundance of declining that particular status  
21 when we refer to the great technological and scientific gains  
22 which American has made and which we credit justly to you and  
23 business.

24 But the business community cannot have it both ways.  
25 It cannot accept the justified kudos about our preeminence as



1 producers of goods and services and not accept the blame for  
2 those things that have happened in America that happen not to be  
3 too good.

4 And so today we are calling upon you, really, to ex-  
5 ercise the same genius and creativity which went into the tech-  
6 nological advances and let's put this into human development,  
7 into the social advances that this country must make. And we  
8 must do it with a sense of urgency. No longer can we say the  
9 hour is late, the hour is now. Do it excessively if need be.

10 I recall the words of Anatole France: "I prefer the  
11 errors of enthusiasm to the indifference of wisdom." In  
12 other words, a society that has indulged itself in excess of  
13 greed and of indifference can now tolerate and excess of  
14 caring in order to balance it.

15 It is easier to warm a zealot or to cool down a  
16 zealot than it is to warm a corpse. And I want to see in this,  
17 and we have got to have in this much more sense of urgency.

18 What we say here will not be the crucial thing. What  
19 we do will be the important thing. History is replete with the  
20 pervasive gap between man's pledge and his performance, between  
21 what he is aspired to do and what he actually attains, between  
22 what he practiced and what he preached. This is no longer a  
23 luxury that we can afford in this society.

24 For three-hundred years in America the society felt  
25 that its economy needed a source of free labor, and for that

1 purpose it imported black bodies. But it imported more than  
2 black bodies. It imported black bodies with hearts and with  
3 souls. For another hundred years the society felt that it  
4 needed a source of cheap labor. And, again, for that purpose  
5 it turned in a disproportionate amount to the black American.

6           Gentleman, that day has passed that our economy needs  
7 this kind of utilization of human beings and this kind of dis-  
8 tinction. The alternatives are clear. The Negro American no  
9 longer feels inferior, no longer feels that his status is God-  
10 made, he knows that it is man-made. He is no longer isolated  
11 on a rural farm in the South, quite unmindful of the gap between  
12 his status and other peoples. He is living, for the most part,  
13 in our urban areas, and what he doesn't see down the street by  
14 way of a vast gap in the social, economic and educational con-  
15 ditions he sees on the television or reads in the newspapers  
16 or he hears on the radio.

17           The Negro American will either become a producer of  
18 goods or, as much as we all regret it, will become a producer  
19 of violence. We will either spend our resources and our talents  
20 to make people constructive, productive citizens or they will  
21 be destructive, disgruntled dependents. Citizens will either  
22 be tax-eaters or they will be tax-producers. The Negro, in  
23 effect, is saying to America "liberate me or exterminate me."  
24 And this is not a phrase much different from the one that  
25 Patrick Henry gave.

1 But the black man in America -- and this I want to  
2 make abundantly clear -- is not programmed today for anything  
3 short of full freedom, full equality, full opportunity, full  
4 responsibility, to share in the benefits as well as the  
5 responsibilities of the society. But the die is cast, the  
6 direction is set, and no barrier of attitude, of law; or of  
7 arms suppression will deter him from his course.

8 And so we are left with no choice than to turn to  
9 you who have made America great and to ask you to respond. The  
10 Negro does not believe that he is lazy, a man that slaved in  
11 the field for three-hundred years, from six o'clock in the  
12 morning until nine at night, while his master sat on the porch  
13 sipping mint juleps, is not likely to be convinced that he is  
14 a lazy man in comparison with other human beings.

15 Personal motivation is not a serious one, it follows  
16 a normal pattern. We have no problems of Negroes dropping out  
17 after the first pay day in baseball or after they have --  
18 coming late for the bus. We have no problem of them being  
19 late on Monday mornings. And the reason is clear, because a  
20 man named Willy Mays made \$125,000 in baseball, became the  
21 highest paid, because six of the seven baseball players today who  
22 make over \$100,000 happen to be Negro.

23 That takes care of the incentive. It takes care of  
24 the motivation. And this should not be an unfamiliar process  
25 to you. He has learned the free enterprise system.

1           You must, in this task, support those of us who try  
2 to provide not moderate but responsible leadership. You must  
3 give all of the support to organizations like the one that I  
4 represent -- and this may sound self-serving, but unless you  
5 give the support to responsible leadership in this country,  
6 irresponsible leadership will take over. And it is a tragedy  
7 that over half of the companies in this room make absolutely  
8 no contribution at all to this kind of cause. We have great  
9 standards set by General Motors, a \$75,000 gift; Mr. Ford's  
10 company, \$50,000 -- if you are looking for some kind of stand-  
11 ard. But this is not philanthropy. This is quid pro quo. We  
12 are working together.

13           The time has come when the decent people in America,  
14 whatever color, must take charge. The stakes are too high, the  
15 results are too tragic to any longer leave this problem in the  
16 hands of crackpots, of kooks, of whatever color. We must take  
17 charge, as a people who care about America, its ideals, its  
18 ideologies.

19           And as we move forward together we must give the  
20 credit to each other. I am constantly saying in the ghettos  
21 of this country that American business is changing. We have a  
22 new breed of leaders, and today we have men that are lending  
23 their genius and creativity to the inclusion of the Negro  
24 citizen in American business, the same way that their ancestors  
25 lent their genius to the exclusion.

1 But rare do I hear American business turn and say in  
2 their communities that we have been helped in this process,  
3 through cooperation with organizations like the Urban League.

4 So the black man in the ghetto says "I don't see you  
5 marching, Whitney, and neither do I hear when the announcement  
6 comes out about the industry has a whole new program to employ  
7 hard core do they ever mention this was done in cooperation.  
8 We've got a P.R. problem here. You have to somehow let the  
9 community know who the people are that you're working with or  
10 else the assumption is clear, you're doing it because of riots."  
11 And that is the answer to the problem.

12 And I don't think you are doing it because of riots.  
13 I think you are doing it in spite of riots. I think you are  
14 doing it mainly because you are intelligent, because you know  
15 it is right.

16 Finally, I employ you to make this day, March 16,  
17 1968, go down in history, as a day when the American free enter-  
18 prise system said to the American Negro, not in words now but  
19 in deeds -- this goes far beyond words -- that you care, that  
20 you have a will, the resources to right a historic wrong. On  
21 that day, and not until then, will the rich promise of America  
22 be fulfilled.

23 I retain the confidence that that day has arrived and  
24 by your actions here today this will be confirmed.

25 Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Whitney.

Gentlemen, what has been said so far here this morning serves as an excellent backdrop for the job that is ahead of us.

Now the next three speakers are men that are working on this job and have been working on it for quite a period of time, just as many of you have.

As you know, the finding of the people that we are going to put to work is the responsibility of the Labor Department. The Labor Department has had training programs in the past, it has done a fine job. And we have been working with them very, very closely in the weeks since the National Alliance was founded.

It is a pleasure to have Secretary Wirtz, the Secretary of Labor here this morning to tell us about his part of the NAB. Secretary Wirtz?

(Applause.)

SECRETARY WIRTZ: Thank you, Henry. Gentlemen, when the President of the United States has spoken for the government, when George Meany has spoken for American labor, when Walter Fauntroy, Carl Stokes, Whitney Young have spoken for the American Negro, there is little left to be said except to get right down to business, and that is my understanding of where we are right now.

1 I would like to pick up from where Dave Ginsberg  
2 left off, because he has spoken for the Commission, the National  
3 Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and I hope to Heaven  
4 nobody ever reduces the name of that Commission to one man's  
5 name because it was the Nation's report, and I hope to Heaven  
6 they never start calling it the Riots Commission, and I wish  
7 that phrase were off that copy that has been circulated because  
8 it is so much more than that.

9 That Commission, as I read it, is one of the magnifi-  
10 cent documents, not of the year, of the decade, or the century,  
11 but of the history of the development of civilization. There  
12 has been a little tendency, I think, to qualify comments about  
13 that report.

14 As far as I'm concerned, it is right, and if it had  
15 been one word weaker or one sentence less hard and harsh it  
16 would have been wrong and it would have been dangerous, and it  
17 would have been a mistake, and we just move on from there.

18 I want to make it clear that I understand that report  
19 to be in form a report to the President of the United States.  
20 I understand it to be a report to the people of the United  
21 States so that the effective response to it in no way reliev-  
22 ing government of its responsibility, the effective response of  
23 it can come only from this Nation as a people, not as a govern-  
24 ment. I am picking up at that point.

25 I would like to tell you just in a word what this



1 meeting this morning means to me. I've got to think back to a  
2 time just about five years ago when half a dozen of us, bureau-  
3 crats, started out to try to do something about whatever  
4 responsibility there is beyond the working of the economy it-  
5 self for bringing hard-core unemployed people into the effec-  
6 tive productive role which has just been described to you by  
7 Whitney Young.

8 It is very hard to realize that five years ago less  
9 than 20,000 people in this country were receiving training of  
10 one kind or another resulting from the fact of their distressed,  
11 deprived, disadvantaged condition -- less than 20,000.

12 Now we've moved on through five years, with an attempt  
13 to build what I think of as, almost this moment right now, any  
14 self-respecting servant of government, not appointed, has only  
15 one real purpose and that is to work himself out of a job be-  
16 cause the functions of government, except for those exercised  
17 by the elected officers, the functions of government all  
18 represent a fault of one kind or another. I have been trying  
19 to work myself out of a job for five years and I think I am  
20 awfully close to it right this minute, because it made no sense  
21 for government to be doing the job of training the hard-core  
22 unemployed. And it was just a matter of time until within the  
23 traditions which are basic in this country that job is taken  
24 over by the private forces in this country. And to everybody  
25 who believes what we tell the children about this being a



1 society and a country in which the government should get out  
2 of the way and let the private interests operate.

3 This is a very great morning, for I believe, really,  
4 as I understand the fact of my being here, that it is at this  
5 point that the obligations I assumed by those who ought to be  
6 responsible for them as we see this whole thing.

7 Now, just getting down to brass tacks, the Labor  
8 Department has been the agency principally involved in the  
9 training of the disadvantaged. The statistics aren't so very  
10 important. They are a lot larger and it is possible to realize  
11 -- it is very hard to realize that in five years the bureaucrats  
12 have moved this training program from 20,000 five years ago to  
13 just about a million this year. It has been a magnificent  
14 operation, as far as I'm concerned.

15 But, Whitney, they may have a P.R. problem with you,  
16 they don't have any with us. As far as we're concerned, from  
17 this point on, the less said about the Labor Department the  
18 better, the less said about the government aspects of it the  
19 better, the less said about the fact that if a considerable part  
20 of the bill for it will be picked up by the taxpayers the better.  
21 It is essential that that be done.

22 Our proposition, gentlemen, as far as speaking for  
23 those of us who have been involved in the training program is  
24 concerned, the hard-core training program is concerned, our  
25 proposition is we're perfectly willing to get out of the way and

1 to get our red tape out of the way at the point at which you're  
2 taking over, and I understand that to be this place. It has  
3 been an enriching experience to work for the last two months  
4 with Henry Ford and with Leo Beebe, when they moved in full-  
5 time on this proposition and brought with them then the repre-  
6 sentatives of their companies and of your companies to work on  
7 this thing, I knew that the change had come.

8 Our instructions in the Labor Department now are to  
9 be of service to the National Alliance of Business, working  
10 with American labor, working more closely, I think than we've  
11 yet developed, with the organizations which Whitney Young  
12 represents, and which his organization is one illustration.

13 Our instructions in the Department of Labor are to  
14 be of service from here on, and that is in specific terms, be-  
15 cause it means accepting the advice and counsel of the National  
16 Alliance of Businessmen, of the organization that is being set  
17 up in connection with it.

18 Our terms are two, and they are very simple terms.  
19 It is to be the hard core who are to be employed, and the  
20 standard basic principles of responsibility in the use of  
21 government funds are to be observed and beyond that we are at  
22 your service. It should be quite clear that this is one of a  
23 number of programs which are continuing. It should be equally  
24 clear that as far as we are concerned this represents the  
25 largest opportunity to move in on the hard-core problem.

1 Carl Stokes had some figures about those in training  
2 programs who are unemployed. I don't know to what specific  
3 figures he referred, but I know this: Our evidence and all of  
4 the evidence of five years of experience is that if we train  
5 somebody and then at the end of the training program have no  
6 provision for moving him on, we have probably done a disservice  
7 rather than a service.

8 And our figures and our experience show that if the  
9 training is part of the employment experience itself, then very  
10 few drop out and disappear, and almost all of them continue on.  
11 I think of this meeting this morning as a development which  
12 comes from the first on-the-job training contract which we let.  
13 At that point our productive constructive experience started.  
14 We are proceeding on the idea that your contribution to this  
15 situation is the employment of the individual who needs more  
16 training, more advantage, more of the kind of thing that Carl  
17 Stokes told about.

18 I will remember longest the last two minutes of what  
19 Carl Stokes said this morning, about what one foreman meant  
20 to him at a particular point. Our proposition is that you  
21 will do that part of the job and we will pick up the tab for  
22 the extra cost which is involved in doing it for that indivi-  
23 dual being, somebody who needs more help than somebody else  
24 would.

1           That training cost we ought to cover -- I don't mean  
2 we, the Department of Labor, I don't mean we, this administra-  
3 tion, I mean we, this country as taxpayers, having left this  
4 situation -- and the citizens -- having let this situation get  
5 to where it did, it seems to me we're obligated to pay that  
6 part of it. It should be passed on, not to the customer but  
7 to the taxpayer and we will pick up that extra tab. The rest  
8 is up to you. And we are at this point simply saying that you  
9 have got to know how to do this. You have also got the jobs  
10 into which these people ought to be moved.

11           It is a strange development in history when the  
12 Department of Labor becomes a kind of banker of American in-  
13 dustry, but that is about where we are as far as -- and if  
14 you bring us a good proposition, we are entirely willing to go  
15 ahead on that basis with more warmth of spirit than any  
16 parallel or any analogy might sometimes suggest.

17           Now, about the summer, just one word about that. I  
18 would like to do two things about the summer, one is to em-  
19 phasize the importance of that summer program very, very greatly.  
20 I think it may get lost. But the other -- I resent it when I  
21 pick up the paper again this morning, one of the greatest news-  
22 papers in the world, and read that what we're doing to cool  
23 the summer. That is a reporter's cheap dangerous jargon. Any  
24 suggestion at this point about cooling the summer is an insult  
25 much less to those administering the program than to those who

1 are the objects of the program.

2 But the plain facts are that there are a lot of kids,  
3 white and black, coming up in this generation who want very  
4 much to work and who want very much to participate in something  
5 or other, and children who may get in trouble of one kind or  
6 another if there isn't an opportunity to work this summer --  
7 but it is not to cool the summer. And any suggestion that our  
8 problem is to stop riots or to cool the summer is a reflection  
9 as much on the Negro as on the white man or almost as much but  
10 perhaps not quite. So I press as strongly as I can the desir-  
11 ability of meeting that problem because there are lot of kids  
12 in this generation coming up who want to work and who want  
13 very, very much to work.

14 And just a word in conclusion, because my message is  
15 a very simple one. That message, just to repeat it, is that  
16 all of the know-how of the Department of Labor is available  
17 now to this group. We are not abdicating our responsibility  
18 but we are saying as far as this program is concerned we are  
19 here to work with <sup>Henry</sup> Ford and Paul Austin, Leo Beebe -- who is  
20 one of the greatest things to happen to this town since I have  
21 been here -- and with all of you in this audience; to say that  
22 that means hard-core employed. It doesn't mean pledges, it  
23 means people at work. And I don't know why I talk when what  
24 I stand between is this moment and your doing something about  
25 that, because there has been plenty of talk.

1 But just in conclusion, I would like to add this  
2 suggestion: I sometimes wonder why it is that when a country  
3 is doing as much as this country is doing right now for it-  
4 self, it gets so mad at itself; and why, with all of the  
5 things that are going on, and especially in this field, would  
6 a magnificence of improvement over the last three or four years  
7 it has no parallel in the history of this country nor any  
8 other, I wonder why there is discontent, dissatisfaction,  
9 rising even to bitterness. And I believe it is pretty im-  
10 portant to realize that it is part not of failure but of an  
11 extraordinary movement toward success.

12 I guess, although I am no historian, that there has  
13 probably been no period in the history of civilization where so  
14 much change has been accomplished with probably so little  
15 violence of one kind or another because there is a revolution  
16 going on in this country and I hate riots. And it upsets me  
17 for a long time when somebody comes into my office, when I am  
18 not there, and wrecks it -- not wrecks it but just messes it  
19 up. And all those things -- but I would like to say that I  
20 think they are part of what we've got to anticipate and also  
21 to stop, as far as this program is concerned, but I don't think  
22 we ought to let them corrupt our constructive thinking about  
23 it.

24 I happen to think -- and I think maybe it is time to  
25 start saying it -- that there are not going to be riots this

1 next summer. I don't know.

2 (Applause.)

3 But I believe we are entitled to proceed from con-  
4 fidence, especially when reason supports it, as well as from  
5 fear, when its only ally is unreason. It is a question of  
6 whether we do enough to back up what we've said, and I think  
7 we have. And I don't suppose it will be a summer free of any  
8 incident at all, but I would like to know what the result will  
9 be of a lot of people standing up and saying, "Okay, I think  
10 it is going to be a good year because we are doing -- not  
11 saying -- we are doing these things." And I would hope that  
12 the word would start to go out that most of the people in this  
13 country expect this summer to be a constructive period rather  
14 than a destructive period.

15 And, just a word in conclusion, we talk about crisis,  
16 we talk about malaise, we talk about all the difficulty and  
17 so on and so forth, as being the basis of our confusion. I  
18 have come recently to be enamored of a man whom I consider to  
19 be one of the great contemporary philosophers of our time,  
20 Walt Kelly, through Pogo. Some of you may have noticed re-  
21 cently his suggestion, when somebody said what in the world is  
22 wrong with everybody, Pogo's answer was, "Well, we face insur-  
23 mountable opportunity." And we do in a very, very real way.

24 And what we are here for is to face a problem of in-  
25 surmountable opportunity. I don't care whether we do it as a



1 matter of morals or as a matter of business or a matter of per-  
2 sonal satisfaction, a matter of responsibility, or of opportu-  
3 nity or what it is, I think it is very important to realize what  
4 we face is a prospect unparalleled in the history of this time,  
5 an opportunity denied most of us before, an opportunity to sur-  
6 mount the situation that we have or to meet an insurmountable  
7 opportunity and to move on in this thing, not with a feeling  
8 of chagrin, of fear, of shame -- or at least those things in  
9 the background -- but the opportunity to see before us the  
10 possibility of being bigger people than we were when we came  
11 into this world.

12 Thank you.

13 (Applause.)

14 MR. FORD: We appreciate your fine work and we will  
15 be working with you and calling on you for lots of help as  
16 time goes on.

17 When the President of the United States asked me to  
18 take on the chairmanship of this National Alliance I told him  
19 there were a couple of conditions. The most important one was  
20 that I could choose the man who is going to run it. So he  
21 said yes, I could. So I asked Leo Beebe to come down from  
22 Canada, where he was working, he was Vice President of Ford  
23 Motor Company of Canada, to see me in Dearborn. He came on a  
24 Thursday, and he said, yes, he'd take the job and he came down  
25 here on Monday. And he has been at it ever since, seven days



1 a week.

2 Now, he's had lots of help. He's had help from all of  
3 you gentlemen assembled here this morning. He's had help from  
4 your associates. He's had help from the various departments of  
5 government, and other institutions as well.

6 But I think the job that has been done by these  
7 fellows that have been working full-time for the last six or  
8 seven weeks is absolutely fantastic. I couldn't believe that  
9 we could put this kind of a thing together in such a short  
10 period of time.

11 But there is one thing, we've got \$106 million for  
12 training programs. It's not going to be available until after  
13 June 30th, so we did have a deadline that we would have to  
14 meet.

15 Now, I want to introduce Leo Beebe, who is going to  
16 tell you what the Alliance will do. Leo Beebe, Executive Vice  
17 Chairman of NAB.

18 (Applause.)

19 MR. BEEBE: Thank you, Mr. Ford, and ladies and  
20 gentlemen. I must say this program this morning is going about  
21 like everything else since I came down here. I was sitting  
22 there with one shoe off, enjoying my cigar, thinking that no  
23 doubt my boss had positioned me where if we ran out of time  
24 nothing would happen so far as I'm concerned, until I realized  
25 that my other boss, Paul Austin, was on after I am. So I must

1 be pretty important after all.

2 Now, I've got to talk to you about nuts and bolts. And  
3 I am not a big thinker. I just listen to the board and take  
4 direction and go do what looks to me needs to be done. I  
5 guess that makes me kind of a professional soldier.

6 Now, I find these pedestrian things pretty exciting,  
7 though, because what's involved really is how does a man  
8 respond when you ask him to do something. And I have heard a  
9 lot about that in the last couple of months and I want to  
10 share some of it with you because you're all involved.

11 The National Alliance of Businessmen, as you know, is  
12 an independent enterprise, established at the request of the  
13 President and registered here in the District of Columbia as  
14 a non-profit corporation. In addition to the Chairman, the  
15 Vice Chairman and five board members at large, our membership  
16 is comprised of fifty metropolitan chairmen, one each in the  
17 Nation's fifty largest cities, and eight regional chairmen  
18 who serve as the principal link between Washington and the  
19 cities.

20 For the most part, members are the heads of senior  
21 officials of leading business firms in this country. The  
22 Alliance role, laid down by the President in his message, is  
23 both operational and advisory. We are asked to hire and  
24 train hard-core workers. And while we're doing that, we  
25 advise the Secretaries of Labor and Commerce how we think the

1 government can facilitate the process of hard-core hiring, par-  
2 ticularly in the private sector.

3 Our assigned target, as you have been told, is 100,000  
4 job placements by July 1969 -- that's this year -- and half a  
5 million placements by the summer of 1971. In addition and on  
6 top of that we've been asked to find meaningful jobs for  
7 200,000 disadvantaged young people this summer. The effort of  
8 the Alliance and our affiliates are geared to a very simple  
9 formula -- find the man, find the job and put them together in  
10 a mutually productive environment.

11 Now, experience in the field of hard-core hiring in-  
12 dicates that success in this mission will require the combina-  
13 tion of new and resourceful employment practices coupled with  
14 government financial assistance to help underwrite excessive  
15 company costs. Hence, the jobS program in which we are engaged  
16 is a partnership involving private business on the one hand and  
17 government on the other.

18 Now, under the terms of our joint franchise the govern-  
19 ment will identify the man and deliver him to industry. Industry  
20 will provide the job and the necessary training, a simple con-  
21 tract procedure and has been worked out by and with the  
22 Department of Labor so that employers individually or in groups  
23 can be reimbursed for extraordinary costs incurred in hiring  
24 and training.

25 Reduced to the simplest terms, the objectives of the

1 Alliance are, first, to stimulate the awareness and involve-  
2 ment, commitment of the business community; second, to secure  
3 the job commitments; third, to facilitate the actions required  
4 to put the man on the job and keep him there; and, fourth, and  
5 finally, to advise and assist the government in shaping pro-  
6 grams to needs.

7           It is important to know what we're not going to address  
8 ourselves to as it is to know exactly what the job is. The  
9 Alliance will not be distracted from these objectives that I've  
10 cited by any extraneous, even though important, demands. We  
11 will not concern ourselves with such things as legislation,  
12 housing, social welfare, or the myriad of entrepreneurial  
13 activities associated with the ghetto, as important as these  
14 things are.

15           As individuals and leaders of their own companies,  
16 Alliance members naturally are deeply concerned with many fac-  
17 tors affecting the hard-core problem. As members of the  
18 Alliance, however, we will resist the temptation to exceed the  
19 bounds of our franchise. Moreover, it will be appreciated that  
20 although we are broadly representative, the Alliance obviously  
21 is not the business community.

22           We see ourselves as the catalyst, a merchandising  
23 mechanism whose aim is to motivate the business community at  
24 large. We are proceeding with the essentially catalytic nature  
25 of our role firmly in mind. We have disciplined ourselves to a

1 very tight timetable.

2 The first fourteen members of the Alliance met in the  
3 Cabinet Room with the President and got our marching orders on  
4 January 27th. And since then, in less than two months time,  
5 the Washington headquarters and fifty-nine separate regional  
6 and metropolitan offices have been opened, organized, staffed,  
7 briefed and launched into high gear.

8 In the business vernacular we have created a product,  
9 a marketing plan and a national sales organization to implement  
10 the plan. The operation has moved forward rapidly even while  
11 the course was being charted. Many hundreds of people have  
12 been mobilized in an unprecedented effort in turning the hope-  
13 less hard-core unemployed into self-respecting ~~product~~ produc-  
14 tive workers within business and industry.

15 And I am pleased to announce that today we are on tar-  
16 get, <sup>At</sup> and Washington, in the regions, <sup>α</sup> throughout ~~and~~ the fifty  
17 city network we are organized. We have made our own job  
18 pledges and we are ready to go to work. The Washington head-  
19 quarters is set up to provide necessary staff services and  
20 liaison with the government.

21 What we have done here is to put business and govern-  
22 ment people on the same <sup>ground</sup> ~~key~~, and this makes our relationship  
23 functional. All the key executives and most of the supporting  
24 staff are on loan to the Alliance, many of them for periods of  
25 six months or longer. Expenses are minimal. And we have a

1 team nobody could buy on short notice for any amount of money.

2 Let me give you some examples. Our Public Relations  
3 and Promotion Manager is on full-time loan from Mobil Oil.  
4 Our Government Relations Manager is on loan from the Vice  
5 President's Office. Our Voluntary Agencies Manager comes to  
6 us gratis from Burlington Industries. And, as Mr. Meany in-  
7 dicated, he has given us Jack Livingston as our Director of  
8 Union Relations. The Commerce Department contributed our  
9 Staff Assistant, the man, incidentally, coordinating this affair  
10 today. Commerce also has given us other support personnel.

11 IBM gave us our Planning and Analysis Manager who,  
12 among other things, has devised an information system so that  
13 we can keep track of our operations and assess our progress  
14 against objectives.

15 The Alliance Administration Manager is on loan from  
16 Ford. The firm of Lybrand Ross Brothers & Montgomery is con-  
17 tributing ~~an~~ Accounting and Auditing Assistant. Legal Counsel  
18 is provided on a pro bono publico basis by the law firm of  
19 Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin & Oppenheimer. We are indebted  
20 to the Department of Labor for our Director of Recruiting  
21 and for many others; and to Western Electric for our Director  
22 of Job Procurement.

23 In addition, the Advertising Council, the Grey  
24 Advertising Agency, the design firm of Sandgren & Murtha,  
25 ~~NPL~~ <sup>NFO</sup> Productions, and Newmyer Associates are contributing

1 advertising, promotional and public relations assistance. A  
2 Director and senior Vice President of Safeway Stores is on  
3 leave to us to perform the duties of Alliance Operations  
4 Manager.

5 In addition, the companies named on the literature  
6 you received in your kits today all have contributed one or  
7 more full-time executives to the Alliance operation.

8 Now, as I said earlier, the Alliance operation is  
9 oriented essentially to finding the man, on the one hand, and  
10 the job, on the other, and bringing the two together. And since  
11 finding the man has been defined as a government responsibility,  
12 we have vested this function with our Director of Recruiting  
13 who comes to us from the Department of Labor along with support  
14 personnel.

15 Finding the job, on the other hand, is a business  
16 responsibility so we gave this job to a man from Western  
17 Electric and called him our Director of Job Procurement. The  
18 major efforts of our organization evolve around these two key  
19 executives who personify the partnership between business and  
20 government and work shoulder to shoulder to get the job done.  
21 And this simple relationship is multiplied throughout the fifty-  
22 city network.

23 The regional office is the chief connecting link be-  
24 tween Washington and metro operations. Full-time executives on  
25 loan from business firms serve under the regional chairmen to



1 coordinate activities in their respective geographical areas.  
2 But the real action center is the metro office, the office in  
3 the city, led by the chairman, who is a member of the Alliance,  
4 and a business executive recruited from local industry who  
5 serves as a full-time director of the operation.

6 In the city, as in Washington, business and govern-  
7 ment are joined through the services of the recruiting manager,  
8 on the one hand, who in this case is provided by the State  
9 Employment Service, and a job manager, on the other hand, who  
10 is provided by a local business firm.

11 The Manager of Recruiting faces all of the organiza-  
12 tions in the town that have anything to do with prospecting  
13 for workers, the ~~SOS~~<sup>F</sup>, the CEP, the various OEO setups, in-  
14 digenous groups, the Urban League, YMCA, churches, schools,  
15 mayors committees, anyone concerned with outreach into the  
16 community.

17 The Job Manager, of course, faces the employers of the  
18 city. The Managers of Recruiting and Job Procurement are  
19 guided and supported by committees comprised of local civic,  
20 business and labor leaders associated one way or another either  
21 with recruiting or with employment. Now, the Alliance certain-  
22 ly is going to have to adapt to local circumstances. We are  
23 not going to have one program, we're going to have fifty pro-  
24 grams. And it is not our intention to duplicate nor to pre-  
25 empt or short-circuit in any way the work of any other

1 organization. Alliance offices will not be employment bureaus  
2 dealing individually with workers and jobs. They will serve  
3 solely as catalysts, working in consonance with other con-  
4 structive community effort.

5 The response by business and government agencies all  
6 across the country is most encouraging. In Buffalo, for ex-  
7 ample, in a matter of days after John Galvin was named Chairman,  
8 the following organizations assigned its executives and other  
9 personnel full-time to the Alliance operation.

10 The IriquoisGas Corporation, Western Electric, the  
11 State Employment Service, New York Telephone Company, the  
12 Chamber of Commerce, Morse<sup>5</sup> Midland Trust, Bethlehem Steel,  
13 Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory. Local business there also has  
14 contributed free office space and furniture. The Lloyd  
15 Mansfield Advertising Agency is giving advertising and public  
16 relations assistance.

17 The Human Resources Development Council, comprised of  
18 the chief executives of the twenty-four largest companies in  
19 Buffalo, has pledged its assistance in the local job drive.  
20 Local labor union leaders met with the Chairman and offered  
21 their support.

22 This is typical. In Omaha private funds have been  
23 raised to kick off the program and advanced activity to obtain  
24 job pledges and is under way. The Alliance office is open and  
25 operating. The following firms have provided people to staff

1 the operation:

2 The Omaha Public Power Company, Omaha National Bank,  
3 Northwestern Bell Telephone, Northern Natural Gas Company,  
4 Falstaff Brewing Company, and Herman Brothers Transportation.  
5 The Chamber of Commerce also has contributed to the effort,  
6 and the Mayor of Omaha has provided free office space.

7 In Ohio, Bob <sup>DeWitt</sup> ~~Omen~~, head of National Cash Register,  
8 and Vice Chairman of the Alliance operation in that state,  
9 called the Ohio city chairmen and their directors to a meet-  
10 ing this Monday morning at Columbus Airport. Plans were re-  
11 viewed and confirmed for each of the city operations. In one  
12 city, for example, the junior chamber of commerce has agreed  
13 to solicit companies with fewer than a hundred employees. A  
14 special blue chip committee of business leaders has signed up  
15 to call on larger employers.

16 Last night we reviewed a special slide film on the  
17 Alliance operation prepared by ~~the people~~, Mr. Skeen and the  
18 people at LTV ~~who had~~, I believe, Region 6 of Region 7. It is  
19 a fantastic job they've done. Copies of this film, by the way,  
20 are available to all our cities and it is one that you can use  
21 anywhere.

22 Reports coming in from all the regions show that our  
23 cities have their plans laid, their teams in place and are  
24 ready to go. I would just like to ask all of the fellows on  
25 the Alliance, the members, the board, and all the full-time

1 executives and support people that have been recruited, both  
2 here and across the country, just to stand for one moment and  
3 be recognized. Would you do that, please?

4 (Applause.)

5 I might add that there are an awful lot more of them  
6 out in back working, I hope.

7 Now, for the next thirty days metropolitan chairmen  
8 and their teams will be soliciting job pledges from companies  
9 throughout their metropolitan areas. Each city has its share  
10 of the 200,000 jobs for youth and 100,000 regular hard-core  
11 jobs required to complete the first phase of the campaign.

12 April 15th has been indicated on our timetable as the  
13 official date for us to start counting placements. But com-  
14 panies will be credited with certified placements that occur  
15 any time after their pledge is received. Companies with oper-  
16 ations outside of the fifty city areas naturally are encouraged  
17 to hire the hard-core in these areas. But timing and budgetary  
18 considerations preclude Alliance operations outside the fifty  
19 city areas.

20 Your attention is directed to literature contained in  
21 your kit relative to government manpower assist programs that  
22 are available in other areas. Now, the hiring of youngsters  
23 against the summer target of 200,000 obviously must begin early  
24 and continue rapidly so that as many placements as possible  
25 will be made by the onset of summer.

1 But it is equally desirable to move quickly on regular  
2 hiring. Experience indicates that some of the ghetto unem-  
3 ployed can be hired fairly readily under virtually normal em-  
4 ployment circumstances. Effective penetration of the real  
5 hard core, however, will require painstaking and often prolonged  
6 effort by employers to motivate and move many of these people  
7 even to the simplest of job levels with any hope of keeping  
8 them there.

9 The Department of Labor, with our assistance, has de-  
10 veloped a very simple and flexible program under which employers  
11 will be reimbursed for extraordinary costs incurred in on-the-  
12 job training. Now, this program was announced yesterday jointly  
13 by Henry Ford II, Secretary Wirtz, Secretary Smith in a mailing  
14 to companies in the fifty cities. You will find a copy of this  
15 mailing in your kits.

16 Local Alliance offices shortly will meet with employers  
17 to discuss the details of this program, answer questions, and  
18 to suggest how companies can participate. Alliance teams will  
19 call on employers to solicit training contract proposals and  
20 to assist employers in developing these proposals. The final  
21 date for submission of proposals is May 15 and contracts will  
22 be consummated by June 30, the end of this fiscal year.

23 An expeditious approach to hard-core hiring can be ex-  
24 pected to yield some results, but the real need goes far deeper  
25 than that. We urge all employers to consider seriously how --

1 possibly with government assistance -- you and your company can  
2 help those who need it most.

3 Now, the task just outlined obviously is a formidable  
4 one. The first and easiest step towards its attainment, organ-  
5 ization, has been accomplished. But even if the organization  
6 functions perfectly and produces the required number of jobs,  
7 there remains the imponderable: Will we in private business  
8 and our government affiliates be successful in identifying and  
9 motivating the people to take their places on productive jobs  
10 in the mainstream of American society.

11 We don't know the answer to this question but we pro-  
12 pose to find the answer just as fast as we can.

13 Thank you.

14 (Applause.)

15 MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Leo Beebe.

16 Now, to bring this morning's session to a close, the  
17 Vice Chairman of the National Alliance, Paul Austin, is going  
18 to talk about business at bat. Paul Austin.

19 (Applause.)

20 MR. AUSTIN: Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members  
21 of government, business, and labor, I would like to start out  
22 by saying that there are many advantages in being a Vice  
23 Chairman. You participate in the activities and you enjoy  
24 yourself while you're doing it because you don't occupy the desk  
25 where the buck stops. There, however, is one distinct

1 disadvantage: You aren't able to pick your own spot on the  
2 program. To wrap up a meeting like this is difficult.

3 Let me say that I brought a briefcase on the platform  
4 and in it is a carefully thought out and beautifully worded  
5 speech, but I think you have probably had sufficient speaking  
6 this morning and, frankly, I only have one point to make, and  
7 I believe I can do it rather simply and rather quickly.

8 I take his text, the President's own words earlier in  
9 the morning, and I quote him: "Anyone who has a doubt about  
10 the future of this country would have merely to be present in  
11 this room today." I would like to place that thought in a  
12 slightly different context. I majored in history in college  
13 and since then I have been sort of a frustrated Toynbee.

14 So this morning let me walk you through history in a  
15 very brief cursory fashion and see if it means anything to you.  
16 The first recorded moments of history show that the great  
17 civilization between the Tigris and the Euphrates was one of  
18 the first of mankind's moments of glory. They are ruins now  
19 buried in 135 feet of mud.

20 If you go a little bit further westward you come to  
21 the Nile and beside the Nile a great civilization flourished  
22 and today the tourists -- before recent events the tourists  
23 would go there to take a snapshot of the pyramids.

24 You go further west and you come to Greece, which is  
25 the heritage of modern western civilization, which is the



1 birthplace of our civilization, our architecture, and much of  
2 our philosophy. And today the acropolis is a magnificent  
3 mass of ruins, lighted at night for the benefit, again, of  
4 the tourists.

5         Going to Italy, you have the forum to visit on Sunday.  
6         Going to France, you must have the moment of glory of the  
7 Napoleon Empire come back as you see the various monuments that  
8 he created. You go across the channel to London -- and as an  
9 anglophile I speak with profound regret -- but the days of  
10 glory are gone, there are no more battleships. The contract  
11 for the F-111 was cancelled. The forces have been moved out  
12 of the Indian Ocean. Massive retrenchment is going on and  
13 they are back on their tight little isle.

14         Now, let's go a bit further westward, and here we are,  
15 in Washington, the Capital of this great Nation. I don't know  
16 why it is but newspaper columnists are prone to give the taxi-  
17 cab driver profound philosophical knowledge and he's supposed  
18 to know the answer to everything, so if you would ask him this  
19 question -- "When your boy is this age will the United States  
20 be just as powerful and wonderful as it is today? -- and he  
21 would say, "Why, sure." And you might press him a bit and say,  
22 "Why do you think that way?" "Well," he would answer, "this  
23 is America."

24         I submit to you that that might be an inadequate  
25 answer. We are in bad trouble. I was profoundly disturbed

1 two weeks ago. I read an article by Reston. He outlined all  
2 the troubles -- Vietnam, the trouble in the cities -- and his  
3 last sentence was pretty much as I would quote him -- "The  
4 trouble isn't with Vietnam, the trouble isn't with the cities;  
5 the trouble we have is that the system isn't working." Now,  
6 that man has a reputation for analytical thinking. He might  
7 be one of the best informed men in America on the political  
8 scene in this country. His conclusion, really, is startling,  
9 and of course he meant it.

10 The cities of the Nation are sick. I think you will  
11 have to accept that as a fact. Now, what happens? About four  
12 years ago Life Magazine asked several learned people to define,  
13 if possible, the national purpose of the United States. The  
14 result of those articles have been put in a small book and the  
15 conclusion reached was most unhappy. The conclusion reached  
16 was "we don't have a national purpose in times when we are not  
17 at war."

18 Let's refer back to the comments made earlier here  
19 this morning. Mayor Stokes mentioned a deep-seated malaise  
20 in the country. Whitney Young, who speaks from first-hand  
21 knowledge, quite candidly outlined to you what it is, what is  
22 in the minds of the Negro people, black versus white, of what  
23 can happen if this frustration is not dealt with promptly and  
24 effectively.

25 Going back to national purpose, could it be that we

1 here today are backing ourselves into a national purpose? Do  
2 you know of anything more important? Do you believe there is  
3 a problem? Do you believe it has to be settled, if this  
4 country is going to continue along the lines of a democratic  
5 nation? Do you believe that if other means than the means  
6 that can be used by the business community come into play that  
7 the results won't be repugnant?

8 I, for one, do. I believe that the business community  
9 has a national purpose and I believe it is straight in front  
10 of us and it is the purpose that is now the National Alliance  
11 of Businessmen's job. I would state, in conclusion, with  
12 complete candor, if we don't do it, God help us all.

13 Thank you.

14 (Applause.)

15 MR. FORD: Very good, Paul. Thank you very much, Mr.  
16 Austin, for a very fine summary of this morning's session.

17 This concludes the meeting in this room. Luncheon  
18 will be served in about fifteen minutes behind that wall there,  
19 but please -- I am going to read this so I don't make a  
20 mistake -- leave by the doors through which you came in over  
21 there. And may I ask the people sitting up here on the dais  
22 to assemble on the balcony, which is on the far end of the  
23 eating room. Also there are several mayors in the audience,  
24 if they would join those of us who are here at the head table  
25 now on the balcony, we can all go in to lunch together.

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Gentlemen, thank you.

(Luncheon recess.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

MR. FORD: Will everybody please remain standing for the presentation of the colors, and remain standing until the Color Guard has returned to its position.

(The Star Spangled Banner)

MR. FORD: I would like at this time to introduce some of the people up here at the head table who were not introduced previously and who did not take part in the program this morning.

First, on my right, Mayor Joseph Barr of Pittsburgh. My left, excuse me. Here, Mayor Barr.

(Applause.)

Mayor Eugene ~~Rollman~~ <sup>R. CHILMAN</sup>, of Cincinnati. Mayor Rollman.

(Applause.)

Mayor Ivan Allen of Atlanta.

(Applause.)

And Mr. Robert C. Wood, the Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Wood.

(Applause.)

And now, on my right, Mr. Howard Samuels, the Under Secretary of Commerce.

(Applause.)

Mayor John S. Ballard of Akron. Mayor Ballard.

(Applause.)

And Mayor Frank Sedita, of Buffalo. Mayor Sedita.

1 (Applause.)

2 And Mayor DeWitt McKinley, Ft. Worth. Mayor McKinley.

3 (Applause.)

4 Mayor John C. Reading, of Oakland, California.

5 (Applause.)

6 And Mayor William J. <sup>Di</sup>~~Emson~~, of Toledo, Ohio.

7 (Applause.)

8 And Mayor Preston G. <sup>k</sup>Cool, of Battle Creek, Michigan.

9 Mayor Cool.

10 (Applause.)

11 Thank you, gentlemen.

12 May I have your attention, please. Gentlemen, please.

13 May I introduce the Vice President of the United  
14 States.

15 (Applause.)

16 THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you very much,  
17 Mr. Ford and Mr. Austin, and members of the Cabinet, distinguished  
18 Mayors that have joined us today, our friends from all around  
19 this great American community. This has been quite a day in  
20 Washington and, as Vice President, I feel a new sense of  
21 humility. You have already had the President here and I have  
22 already heard from at least two want-to-be Presidents and I  
23 want to thank the Marine Band for at least playing a few notes  
24 when I came in the hall.

25 (Applause.)

1           There was a time, before they passed that presiden-  
2 tial succession amendment to the Constitution that the best we  
3 could get was the District of Columbia Police Band for the  
4 Vice President.

5           (Laughter.)

6           But things have changed now. I am very grateful for  
7 your presence in our city, your city, this great American city,  
8 and I want to take a little of your time today and the best  
9 thing I can do for you is just to take a little of your time,  
10 I am afraid. You have had a very busy day and I know that you  
11 have had a very constructive day.

12           I had the privilege of looking over your program and  
13 you have heard from some of our outstanding leaders in this  
14 country, local government, the federal government, and from  
15 our great organizations of people who are trying to improve  
16 the quality of life in this Nation and give people a chance.

17           I come here as a junior partner in this effort. All  
18 of my life I have been interested in the development of human  
19 resources, as a teacher, as a man in public life, yes, and  
20 even as the son of a pharmacist and a pharmacist, because we  
21 thought occasionally when we filled those prescriptions that  
22 it had something to do with at least preserving human resources.

23           The theme of this meeting, as I see it -- and I am  
24 going to talk to you very much out of the heart, off the top of  
25 my head, so to speak, and just a few notes -- the theme of this



1 meeting is this partnership, this great partnership between the  
2 government of the United States in every level, federal, state  
3 and local, and the great power of this economy, the American  
4 free enterprise system, the business, labor, and civic leaders.

5 Too often we identify our country strictly with its  
6 government. I know that when I read articles about what America  
7 is doing abroad, it will be what we are doing in foreign aid or  
8 what we are doing in an alliance. But, in fact, what America  
9 does is never to be measured just by what its government may  
10 seek to do or try to do or does, but what the whole economy,  
11 the totality of our effort is and can be. And everyone in  
12 this audience knows today that most of all the things that are  
13 accomplished in this Nation are accomplished by individuals,  
14 by companies and partnerships and groups. This is what we  
15 mean by a free economy. This is what we mean by individual  
16 endeavor.

17 And we are not here today as spokesmen for government  
18 to tell you what to do. I hope that day is over, if it ever  
19 was. Nor are we here to be domineering and a dominant influ-  
20 ence in what you seek to do. I have said to Mr. Ford and Mr.  
21 Austin and others that the reason we turn to you is because we  
22 recognize our own limitations. We realize the inadequacy of  
23 our own efforts at the government level.

24 And this is not to be critical. In a sense, it is to  
25 recognize what is right in this country. I am one of the

1 people in this government that doesn't believe that the govern-  
2 ment ought to do everything. I think there is plenty of  
3 power already in this Nation's Capital. I think the time is  
4 long overdue for us to turn to the people and to turn to those  
5 instrumentalities, those agencies, those creations of the  
6 people in this great private economy of ours to ask them to do  
7 what needs to be done.

8 Government can supplement, government ought never to  
9 supplant. Government can aid and assist, but it ought not to  
10 be the dominant domineering force. And that is my philosophy,  
11 some of it I have learned the hard way. I have been here in  
12 this Nation's Capital for twenty years. I served as the Mayor  
13 of a fine city, the City of Minneapolis, for two terms. And I  
14 found there, particularly, that if we wanted to get something  
15 done we had to mobilize the resources of the community. The  
16 city government alone was helpless.

17 And I believe I can say even at the national level  
18 that if we really want to get something done, we have to have  
19 the leadership that will inspire you to do it. We can help.  
20 We can design plans. We can work with you. We can offer that  
21 extra little assistance which may be the difference between  
22 victory or defeat, but it is your job, it is your country.

23 Now, gentlemen, you are the success story of this  
24 Nation. We in public life are not. We represent, yes, a de-  
25 gree of achievement. But when you think of America and its

1 power and its meaning, its wealth and its promise, what you  
2 really think about is its great individual effort, its univer-  
3 sities, its businesses, its churches, its trade unions, its  
4 clubs, its fraternities. And if there is any one element in  
5 our economy that has been noted for success and achievement,  
6 it is business.

7 Sometimes I think you underestimate even your own im-  
8 portance. Sometimes I am afraid you fail to sell that to your  
9 young people, because I have noticed a rising tendency among  
10 some of our young to feel that to engage in enterprise is be-  
11 neath their intellectual dignity, when, in fact, there can be  
12 nothing better than the production of goods and service for  
13 public good, for the improvement of the quality of life and,  
14 at the same time, to be properly rewarded.

15 So I come to you as a junior partner in this effort.  
16 Now, you are here on urgent business. You didn't come to  
17 Washington to spend the weekend because you had nothing to do.  
18 Most of you have a wife or a member of the family that is  
19 angry at you for having left home. They all think you ought  
20 to be back there and, most likely, if it wasn't this urgent,  
21 that is where you ought to be.

22 Many of you have requirements in your own businesses  
23 that demand your attention today. And I imagine you have  
24 asked yourself a dozen times why did I do this, why did I  
25 come. I've got enough to do. The taxes are due, the business

1 has got problems, there are all kinds of things that are  
2 bothering me.

3 But I am here to tell you the most urgent business of  
4 America is America. It is not just the business of business.  
5 The most urgent business is to see that this America of ours  
6 offers an opportunity to every single participant in it to  
7 every citizen. We have a first class country here and I am  
8 not one to downgrade it, and I am a little fed up with those  
9 that do.

10 This is a first class nation with first class citizen-  
11 ship, and that first class citizenship should be for everybody.  
12 And citizenship in this country means opportunity. It doesn't  
13 mean welfare. It means a chance. It doesn't mean a dole. It  
14 means a job. It doesn't mean a handout. It means an education.  
15 It doesn't mean propaganda.

16 And I appeal to you, as leaders in your communities,  
17 to go home from this meeting and fire it up with a burning  
18 zeal, to go home and get the job done that needs to be done in  
19 your town, in your company. You can't build a better America  
20 just out of this hall. We can improve Washington and we will  
21 try to. We can try to improve our federal government, and we  
22 try to. But a better America is the sum total of thousands  
23 and thousands of better communities. And better communities  
24 are the sum total of millions and millions of little endeavors  
25 and efforts relating to individuals.

1           Now, I used an analogy here some time ago, which I  
2 think Mr. Ford will permit me to do once again. I come from  
3 the State of Minnesota, as you know, and I always like to put  
4 in a plug around here because there are times when we are a  
5 bit overshadowed.

6           (Laughter.)

7           However, I may say that things are opening up a little  
8 bit now.

9           (Laughter, Applause.)

10          I don't want that remark to be interpreted as any dis-  
11 loyalty, don't any of you go around --

12          (Laughter.)

13          It was just a casual observation.

14          (Laughter.)

15          But I come from that great North Star state where we  
16 have a justifiable pride in our natural resources. Our natural  
17 resources, one of the greatest was the iron ore. And for  
18 years we dipped that rich iron ore out of the bowels of the  
19 earth and sent it off to factories and smelters. It protected  
20 this Nation and supplies this Nation with steel and steel  
21 products for two or three wars and for our great industrial  
22 expansion. And then all at once we found out that we had lost  
23 the high-grade ore. It was gone.

24          Well, gentlemen, America today has its skilled workers  
25 employed. Its semi-skilled are employed. They have better

1 jobs than they ever had at better wages than they ever had.  
2 They live better than they have ever lived. And this is good  
3 to note, because an awful lot of people complain these days.  
4 I think it is about time this Nation reverently got on its  
5 knees and thanked God Almighty for the blessings that we have,  
6 because we have plenty of them, for more people than ever be-  
7 fore in our history.

8 But, once having used up the skilled, the source of  
9 skilled labor and semi-skilled, and even semi-semi-skilled,  
10 here we are with a need for more and yet with people that are  
11 people -- they have a body and a soul and a spirit and a heart  
12 and a mind -- they are people and they are citizens but they  
13 are unemployable at this particular stage or they have been  
14 unemployed. They are called the hard-core unemployed.

15 In my State we used up the high-grade iron ore and we  
16 found ourselves with wilderness, with bleakness, with unem-  
17 ployment, with communities disintegrating. And yet below us,  
18 right at our feet, were two billion tons of what we called  
19 taconite, hard rock. In that rock was a little iron ore, if  
20 we could ever get it. Just like in every person is a poten-  
21 tial. And through a process of manufacturing we called ~~it~~  
22 beneficiation, ~~we~~ we were able to extract out of that rock, use-  
23 less, worthless rock, the iron ore, ~~and~~ we called it the bene-  
24 ficiation process that made taconite pellets, iron ore  
25 pellets, that are competitive in world markets.

1           Mr. Ford has built a plant, his company, right in  
2 our state, to take that rock right out of the bowels of the  
3 earth, harder than granite, and pulverize it and extract it  
4 through a magnetic process and to bring out 55, 60 per cent  
5 pure ore, out of something that was worthless.

6           We were using our resources. We were developing our  
7 resources. We were saving our resources. Gentlemen, that is  
8 what we are going to do about people. We have today in America  
9 hundreds of thousands of people, to use the analogy, that have  
10 within them the potential but they have been judged for years  
11 as useless, helpless, despairing, unwanted, unused, cast aside.

12           And now we come to you and say, look, you, the great  
13 industrial leaders of America, the great financial leaders of  
14 America, you that could split an atom, you that could develop  
15 mass production, you that can do almost anything, we say to  
16 you, beneficiate the human resource, make it something, do  
17 something with it, because it is yours. And what a great po-  
18 tential this is. What a great prospect for us.

19           What we're talking about, gentlemen and ladies, is  
20 good morals. It is good economics and it is good democracy,  
21 and you are being asked to do something that is very simple  
22 and yet very profound. You are being asked to save lives.

23           Now, if you save a life, if you were able to save a  
24 person from being run over, to snatch somebody from a river  
25 or a lake, that was about to drown, you would be proclaimed



1 as a hero. Well, you are going to save literally thousands of  
2 people that are literally drowning. And, for all practical  
3 purposes, life has almost left them. But you are going to  
4 breath back into them life through training, through orienta-  
5 tion, through placement, through jobs, through supervision,  
6 through patience.

7 And let me tell you a little bit about it. Some of  
8 you in this room know that I have been active in this work.  
9 It goes unheralded, much of it. That does not bother me. I  
10 have been all over this country. I have been in forty-nine  
11 of the fifty states. I have been in over five-hundred and  
12 seventy-five of the cities and towns and villages of America  
13 since I have been Vice President. I have been with the richest  
14 of the rich and the poorest of the poor. I have been in the  
15 best penthouses that you can find or anybody ever knew of, in  
16 the castles and the palaces of kings and ~~emperors~~<sup>emperors</sup>, and I have  
17 been in the streets of Hough, Cleveland, in the ghettos, in  
18 the hollows of West Virginia and Appalachia. I have seen the  
19 people.

20 I can tell you right here, my dear friends, that the  
21 people that I have seen can take their stand and can stand  
22 erect, can stand strong if we give them the chance, if we  
23 give them the chance. And that is what we're talking about,  
24 giving them the chance, and you are the ones who can give them  
25 that chance. But it is going to be difficult. And no one

1 ought to kid you. When you enter this one you ought to know  
2 exactly what you're entering. You are going to face frustra-  
3 tions the likes of which you have never experienced in your  
4 lives. You're going to say at times "I wonder if it is worth  
5 it." You are going to say at times "It won't work." And  
6 anybody that ever did anything was worthwhile has said that  
7 about his family, his business, himself. There are always  
8 disappointments. And the difference between a success and a  
9 failure is a person that overcomes disappointment, a person  
10 that overcomes the frustration, a person that has the persever-  
11 ance, the patience, the will and the courage to stick to it.

12 Now, we are not asking you to do something that can't  
13 be done because it has been proven that it can be done. There  
14 are business representatives in this audience today -- and I  
15 have met many of you and talked to you about it -- that already  
16 have demonstrated that what we're talking about can be done,  
17 is being done, and all we need to do is to take the pattern,  
18 to take the experience and build on it.

19 The last meeting I attended, one of the prominent  
20 businessmen in that group rose and told us the story of how in  
21 his community they had registered the hard-core unemployed,  
22 that there were over 500 of them, that they had employed over  
23 325, that some 250 or more were still on the job, that they  
24 had had disappointments but that in the main they had had  
25 great success.

1 I met this past week with one of the great manufacturers  
2 in this country, a food processor, who came in with his experi-  
3 ence and the years and years of effort that had gone in since  
4 World War II because they had been compelled under competitive  
5 conditions to utilize less than skilled and favorable labor  
6 supplies, and how they had developed the skills and the tech-  
7 niques to upgrade the quality of that human being, to upgrade  
8 the work performance. And the number of experiences that they  
9 have had where they failed, but they tried again.

10 Listen, we are not doctrinaire people. We have no  
11 pat formula. If we knew what to do we wouldn't need to call  
12 you in, we would just send you a note. You could have saved  
13 the trip. I hope you can deduct it, though, and I think you  
14 can.

15 (Laughter.)

16 But, in all candor, if we knew what to do we would  
17 just put it in a pamphlet and ship it on out. Leo Beebe would  
18 be the first just to tell you, well, here is the pattern, get  
19 busy and follow it. The truth is, each one of you is going  
20 to have to do it your own way. We have certain guidelines  
21 that you have developed in your National Alliance, the  
22 National Alliance of Businessmen. It has been amazing what  
23 has been able to be done in one month, the tremendous effort  
24 that has gone into this, and how grateful we are.

25 But I think that the lesson we have learned thus far

1 is that each company and each community will have to improvise,  
2 try and do it your way, and then let's exchange information  
3 on successes and failures. Let's find out what works and see  
4 whether or not we can apply it some place else. This can be  
5 the greatest experience that America has ever had. And it is  
6 the experience of nation-building, the experience of the de-  
7 velopment of human resources.

8 Well, that is what we are here about. I am not going  
9 to take much more of your time. I want you to remember our  
10 young people. I want you to include in your endeavors in  
11 hiring the hard-core unemployed, I want you to include summer  
12 jobs for our young. Now, that is part of your job, and they  
13 are not in conflict at all.

14 And, once again, may I say that here it is going to be  
15 difficult. But, good grief, if it wasn't difficult we would  
16 do it ourselves. We have called in the best team that America  
17 has. We are putting the first team on the line and we're  
18 saying to you "go to it." And you are going to be remembered  
19 for your successes, not your failures. If it was government  
20 we would be remembered for our failures, not our successes.

21 (Laughter.)

22 That is why we need a little success around here right  
23 now.

24 (Laughter, applause.)

25 I want you to remember that you are serving individuals

1 in this effort, not just government policy or corporate inter-  
2 ests. You are trying to transform human waste into human  
3 worth. And when you're immersed in these charts and these  
4 plans and these techniques of organization, which are inevit-  
5 able, just remember that every time you find a job for someone  
6 and he stays on that job that you have saved a life.

7 I'll tell you a story that just flashed through my  
8 mind. We had a training program down at Loyola University  
9 down in New Orleans. And there was a woman there, about thirty  
10 years of age, had a little family, been on relief all of her  
11 days, from the birth of the first child at age 17. The family  
12 wasn't exactly what you would want for a family. There was no  
13 man in the home, no father about. And this woman had had  
14 nothing but trouble and she was a constant source of trouble  
15 to herself, her family and her community.

16 And, finally, ~~she was~~ after many unsuccessful  
17 efforts, an excellent teacher was able to get her attention  
18 and brought her into a training program and she took training  
19 in what we would call clerical work and became subsequently a  
20 medical secretary. She's working for a medical publication,  
21 a company that produces magazines and publications for American  
22 medicine. She is on the job now. This is a true story.

23 This woman, when she got her job, she came back to  
24 her instructor and literally with tears in her eyes she said,  
25 you know, she had her first check, she said, "This is the

1 first time in my life I have ever seen a check with my name  
2 on it. I am so proud. I am so happy," she said, "I can cry.  
3 I have just -- nothing like this has ever happened to me."  
4 She said, "Oh, I am a proud citizen."

5 And about two weeks later she came back with another  
6 check and she said to her instructor, she said, "Oh, I feel  
7 good. This is my second check, but," she said, "there is a  
8 little attachment to the check here and it has some things on  
9 the side here that -- some figures there. What does that  
10 mean?" And the instructor said, "Oh, my dear, those are  
11 deductions, those are for Social Security and those are for  
12 taxes, withholding and so on," he explained. "Oh, she said,  
13 I'm paying taxes." She said, "I am the proudest American.  
14 I've never paid any taxes in my life. At long last I am a  
15 real American, I'm paying taxes." She was just as proud as  
16 could be.

17 About a month later she came on back to see her in-  
18 structor and she said, "I want to have a word with you."

19 (Laughter.)

20 And she went in to see her instructor and the instruc-  
21 tor said, "Now, what's the matter?" She said, "This government  
22 of ours is just charging me too much taxes."

23 (Laughter, applause.)

24 Now, gentlemen, that is real rehabilitation right  
25 there.

1 (Laughter.)

2 Now, when you get your people that you're going to  
3 hire and train and place, where they come to you and complain  
4 about paying taxes, then they are a first class citizen, a  
5 hundred per cent American.

6 (Laughter.)

7 Now, I said I want to say a word to you about these  
8 young people. We've got thousands of them, millions that are  
9 going to be out of school in a few months. What about this  
10 summer? Is it going to be a productive summer or is it going  
11 to be a miserable summer? They call it a vacation. Of course,  
12 our school system is a nine-month school system, is essentially  
13 based on old agrarian attitudes. Some of these days I think  
14 this will be changed.

15 And, then, too, may I say that many of our communities,  
16 the schools are locked up. The padlock business gets better in  
17 the summer. And the windows are broken and the fences are  
18 torn down. I tried to appeal to superintendents of schools and  
19 school boards to open up this \$60 billion public school system  
20 of ours -- \$60 billion invested in school buildings and facil-  
21 ities. But we have many people that think that a school pro-  
22 gram and a school facility ought to be available for not over  
23 nine months a year.

24 Well, my good friends, I think the school facilities  
25 ought to be available year-round and we ought to find a way to



1 pay for their use the year-round, all the time.

2 (Applause.)

3 Time after time I go to a community where they say,  
4 well, we need a new playground, we need a new swimming pool,  
5 we need a new gymnasium. And I say, well, what about the one  
6 you've got at the school?

7 You know, we get a little bit, a little -- I've got  
8 to be careful of my language here, you know, as Vice President  
9 you have to be awfully careful these days.

10 (Laughter.)

11 But we do get a little out of focus once in a while.  
12 We don't always need a new playground. You don't always need  
13 another vocational shop. You don't always need another  
14 gymnasium. It may be right there, and most of the time it is.  
15 You don't always need another swimming pool. It is most likely  
16 right there. All you have got to do is convince the custodian  
17 and the superintendent to open the door, and then provide some  
18 supervision.

19 And, then I might add to some of those in business  
20 life, you too can provide a playground. If the mayor will block  
21 off the street. You don't always need a new swimming pool,  
22 sometimes a fire hydrant, if just tapped and used without the  
23 police saying turn it off, can provide a little wholesome  
24 recreation.

25 I call upon the mayors and I call upon the communities

1 of America to use what is there. We don't need to spend our-  
2 selves dizzy. We have facilities and we have manpower and we  
3 have civic clubs that need to do something. We have people  
4 in our communities that ought to be volunteering.

5 As I say to many of our young people on the campuses,  
6 if you have got half as much enthusiasm to get into these  
7 ghettos and these slums and these rural areas to help people  
8 as you have to parade and demonstrate, we will build peace  
9 because peace starts right here in America, right here in our  
10 own country.

11 (Applause.)

12 So let's get a push on this summer job program. Let's  
13 see that these boys and girls that would be potential school  
14 dropouts become constructive citizens. Let's give them mean-  
15 ingful jobs, too. Let's see that they have a work experience.  
16 I am convinced that if there is any one need in America today  
17 it is the wholesome experience of work, work. Young Americans  
18 today have a tough time. I didn't have any problem about work  
19 when I was a kid. My father owned a store and I went to  
20 business with him. But even a generous man like Henry Ford  
21 would have a little doubt about letting every member of the UAW  
22 working in his plant bring his kids along to the factory.

23 (Laughter.)

24 And you can't do it in the modern corporate setup. And  
25 you can't do it in Government. Gosh, I had a nephew that got

1 a job once in a post office and it took me two years to get  
2 rid of nepotism on me. So, what are we going to do.

3 Now, we have got to provide job opportunities, job  
4 opportunities. All of this counselling is important, all of  
5 this visiting and understanding young people is important. All  
6 of this dialogue stuff is important. I know all those words..

7 But I will tell you what is more important than any-  
8 thing: go to work, have a job, earn some money, understand  
9 work discipline, work along side of your friends and your  
10 neighbors and your compatriots; that is what builds America  
11 and that is what builds character, and that is what we have  
12 got to have for our young people.

13 As Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity  
14 Council, I ask you to help us, not at the expense of your main  
15 endeavor, not at all. But let me tell you right now that the  
16 potential school dropout today can be a constructive citizen  
17 tomorrow. It is in your hands. The jobs are in private  
18 enterprise. The government will do its fair share of hiring.  
19 We will get blamed for hiring people that didn't have jobs to  
20 fulfill or good work to perform. I know, I can read it right  
21 now. I am so accustomed -- I am not cynical, I am just  
22 factual. I know what happens. But I will tell you, they  
23 won't know whether or not what you do -- you just go ahead  
24 and hire them, give them a job, make it meaningful, show them  
25 some supervision and, above all, show them some interest.

1           What most young people need today is to be needed, and  
2 then what they need is to be needed in something that is worth-  
3 while to them. A learning experience at a work bench, a  
4 learning experience in an office, a learning experience in any  
5 kind of a job is as valuable to them as a college education.  
6 And maybe if they get a learning experience they will go on to  
7 college and then maybe their college education will be more  
8 meaningful to them.

9           So, I leave you with this thought: This is your  
10 country, the most urgent business in America today is the  
11 business of its people. Let's let the world know that this  
12 rich country -- and it is rich, despite all the headlines --  
13 that this productive country, that this country of free enter-  
14 prise, that this country of capitalism, that this country of  
15 democracy, that it cares enough about the least of these, it  
16 cares enough about the handicapped, the bitter, the frustrated,  
17 the unemployed, the helpless, that it cares enough to walk the  
18 extra mile to help them become themselves.

19           All we are asking is what that famous poet, Thomas  
20 Wolf, asked, and a poem and a bit of prose that has been almost  
21 like scripture to me in my work. He called it the promise of  
22 America, and this country has great promise. Oh, what a great  
23 country. It is not sick. It is alive. It is not immoral.  
24 It is full of the spirit, of humanism, with a great respect  
25 for divine providence. This is a great country, a country

1 that is concerned about its poor, is not sick. A country that  
2 is concerned about its unemployed is not immoral. A country  
3 that is concerned about growth being something more than just  
4 quantity but quality is not decedent. And to those who say  
5 it is sick and immoral and decedent, I say you do a disservice  
6 to your country, and you understand it not.

7 This is a great promise and it is a great hope to the  
8 whole world. Thomas Wolfe<sup>e</sup><sub>A</sub> said to every man his chance, to  
9 every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden oppor-  
10 tunity, to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself  
11 and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision can  
12 combine to make him. This is the promise of America. The  
13 fulfillment of that promise, ladies and gentlemen, is in your  
14 hands.

15 I can't think of putting it in better hands. I have  
16 full faith and confidence that it is a promise that will be  
17 fulfilled and delivered by you. So, go to work, go back home  
18 now and spread the message.

19 Thank you.

20 (Applause.)

21 MR. FORD: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President. I  
22 am sure I speak for all the businessmen here in this room today  
23 when I say that you can count on us to do the job.

24 Now, we have already made a substantial start. The  
25 fifty metropolitan chairmen and the members of the Alliance

1 board have pledged their companies to provide 27,671 jobs.  
2 This represents 9.1 per cent of our total goal of 300,000 jobs  
3 for the first year, including both the youth and the hard-core  
4 targets.

5 (Applause.)

6 Just a few words in closing. What we have heard here  
7 today should give us good reason to believe that the very  
8 future of our country may well depend on our success in helping  
9 the residents of the ghetto to earn their share of the affluence  
10 of the American economy. The people of the ghetto are looking  
11 to us to show that the rest of the country really cares and to  
12 provide reasons why they should have hope for the future.

13 If we let them down the country will suffer and so  
14 will our businesses. Every company represented here will be  
15 asked, if it has already not been asked, to make a commitment  
16 to hire a specific number of hard-core unemployed and to do  
17 whatever may be necessary to help them to become good employees.

18 But we are not asking you to make that commitment  
19 here today. It is far too serious a matter to be decided upon  
20 the spur of the moment. We hope that when you get back to  
21 your offices you will do several things.

22 First, we hope you will take steps to make it clear to  
23 every member of your management that your company is deter-  
24 mined to give the hard-core unemployed a genuine chance to  
25 show that they can do a good job for you. I can assure you

1 that very little will happen unless all of your people, right  
2 down to the first level of supervision, are persuaded that top  
3 management is fully committed.

4 Second, we hope that you will think very hard and urge  
5 your plant and branch managers to do the same about how you can  
6 the biggest possible job commitment, both in this coming summer  
7 and for the long run.

8 And, third, we hope that you will begin to make real-  
9 istic plans for keeping hard-core people on the job after they  
10 have been hired. This will be the hardest part of the task  
11 and the most important. You will have to keep track of them,  
12 know what their problems are, and help them overcome their  
13 problems in adjusting to the work and the work place.

14 Our efforts will do harm, not good, if we hire people,  
15 raise their hopes and then let them slide quickly back into  
16 idleness and despair.

17 Fourth, we hope that you will get in touch with the  
18 nearest Alliance office to find answers to your questions and  
19 help with your problems in responding to our appeal.

20 And, finally, we hope that you will get started Monday  
21 morning, if not tomorrow. Time is running out and every day  
22 counts.

23 I thank you all for coming. And now may I ask you to  
24 rise for the benediction by the Very Reverend Monsignor  
25 Lawrence J. ~~Gartwright~~, Secretary of the National Conference



1 of Catholic Charities.

2 MONSIGNOR CARTWRIGHT: In the name of the Father, the  
3 Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

4 Directly we beseech you, Almighty God, all our actions  
5 by Your inspiration and carry them on by Your gracious  
6 assistance, so that every prayer and work of ours may begin  
7 from You and through You likewise be happily ended.

8 Bless all in Your presence, O Lord, for our concern  
9 for the disadvantaged is known to You. Strengthen them and  
10 their resolve to provide employment opportunities for those  
11 least able to compete in our present occupational system. In  
12 doing this, they are amply fulfilling Your injunction to feed  
13 the hungry, cloth the naked, and give drink to the thirsty.

14 With Your help may their dedication and perseverance  
15 and personal ability bring successful progress to this work.  
16 With the proximity of this occasion to a great feast day, we  
17 ask You, O Lord, to confirm for all here present that beautiful  
18 blessing: May the road rise up to meet them, may the wind be  
19 ever at their back. May the good Lord ever keep them in the  
20 hollow of his hand. May their hearts be as warm as their  
21 hearthstones and, when they come to die, may the whail of  
22 the poor be the only sorrow they leave behind.

23 Amen.

24 MR. FORD: Let's go out and get the job done, gentlemen.  
25 The meeting is adjourned. Thank you.



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