

*OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

FRIDAY PM

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN SOUTH HUNTINGTON, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK APRIL 5, 1968

Last night, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. died a martyr's death.

His death snatched from American life something rare and precious: the living reminder that one man, by the force of his character, the depth of his convictions, and the eloquence of his voice, can alter the course of history.

For Martin Luther King had the courage to challenge the intolerance, injustice, inadequacies and inequities of the society in which he lived.

We grieve today for Martin Luther King and his family. But in doing so, we grieve as well for ourselves and for our nation.

For Dr. King touched the hearts of all people when he cried out,

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a Nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Martin Luther King was voicing more than his personal dream.

That dream is my dream.

I believe it is America's dream.

What will Martin Luther King's death mean for the American people?

If it becomes a signal for black Americans to strike out in rage and retaliation, then we will have made a mockery of all for which he lived and died.

If it leads white Americans, in a spirit of weariness and futility, to turn from the tortuous road which leads to progress and equality, then we will have strengthened that every doctrine which he defied -- the sense that the world has gone mad and mortal man cannot set it right.

The murder of Martin Luther King does $\underline{\text{not}}$ mean that as a nation we have somehow lost our way.

An assassin's bullet can no more indict an entire society in 1968 than it could in 1865 . . . or in 1963.

We are still, as we were yesterday, a nation strong and vital, proud of man's deeds, blest by God's gifts.

But the test of a people, like that of a man, is not how well it accepts its good fortune, but how it responds to adversity. It is precisely at such moments -- when our complacency is chattered by the thunderbolt of tragedy -- that a nation has a chance to move forward and achieve greatness.

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If the death of Martin Luther King can place in sharper focus the evils with which he daily struggled, then it can lead us to action -- and to a reaffirmation of faith in ourselves and in our nation.

Let us, then, find comfort in Dr. King's own words, a fit eulogy for himself,

"If you are cut down in a movement which is designed to save the soul of a nation, then no other death could be more redemptive."

Let us find honesty in the awareness that what Martin Luther King sought for his $\underline{\text{own}}$ people is in the best interests of $\underline{\text{all}}$ the people.

And let us find purpose and unity in the words he spoke as he accepted the Nobel Peace Prize,

"I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits."

There are things the people of America can do together.

We can pass without further delay the Civil Rights Bill now pending in the Congress.

We can mobilize the resources -- both public and private -- that will banish the spectre of poverty from our land.

The National Alliance of Businessmen is a vital factor in this effort.

Your action in providing jobs for the hard-core unemployed and jobs for disadvantaged youth this summer can be a resounding answer to the senseless tragedy of Memphis.

We can root out the last vestiges of discrimination, segregation and inequality . . .in schools . . .in employment . . .in housing . . .and in public services.

We can commit ourselves unreservedly to the broad program of action recommended by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders so that America will not become "two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal."

As individuals we can search our own souls for the remnants of prejudice and injustice.

We can fearlessly stand up for human dignity and freedom -- as Dr. King stood -- in our daily lives.

We can summon the courage for reconciliation and reject the cowardice of violence.

If we do recognize the testament in the life and death of Martin Luther King -- if we do rededicate ourselves to the mission of healing the torment of our poor and hungry, our deprived and our illiterate -- then truly this tragedy will be remembered, not as the moment when America lost her faith, but as the moment when America found her conscience.

REMARKS

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Thank you very much Mr. Gleason, and members of the welcoming committee - Mr. O'Connor who joined me, and was willing to escort me here to this luncheon, the Reverend Clergy and gentlemen.

May I just first of all say for Mr. Gleason, that if you had just waited for his full sentence you wouldn't have had that reaction - because he really did mean to say the President of the United States Senate, and that is true.

This is a very, very unusual moment, indeed a very tragic moment in American life, and I'm sure you understand why I have been tardy in my arrival. I'm extremely grateful to the very distinguished public official and citizen of your state, the Under Secretary of Commerce, Howard Samuels, for his presence here and I know that he has been filling in for me. He doesn't need to fill in for anyone, he stands in his own right. We are very grateful for his service.

I want to express to every member of this audience my thanks for your patience, your willingness to await my arrival. I hope that what I have to say to you today is worthy of your sacrifice and of your attention.

I have been with the President this morning members of our cabinet - we have had a meeting with the
outstanding leaders of the civil rights movement in America,
leaders of the Negro community in our nation - we've had a
soul-searching morning - we've had a very soul-searching
meeting. I attended the memorial services at the National
Cathedral. The President, of course, led the delegation
of the Congress, the entire membership of the Supreme Court,
the Cabinet of the United States, leaders in the civic life
of our nation. We went to that beautiful great Cathedral
to find it filled with mourners, with our fellow Americans
of every walk of life, of every race, creed, and nationality,
there to pay tribute to another American martyr - and to pay
tribute to another American citizen, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

These are very, very difficult moments to know what, very difficult moments for us and we have a difficulty knowing just what to say, but I suppose what is best to say is what flows from your heart, as well as from your mind, and early this morning you can well imagine that I had to do some changing around as to what I might say to you - and, yet, I think what I would have said to you had not this tragedy occurred, would be very much the same.

I've spoken to the length and breadth of this land on behalf of the National Alliance of Businessmen. I have said to your fellow business leaders, the imperative

necessity of your leadership now, to save this Republic, to open the doors of opportunity, and to make American citizenship first-class citizenship for everyone.

We're not here just to discuss jobs today. We're here to discuss our country. We're here to take an assessment of it - political, economic, and moral - and I can think of no better time to do it - because in an hour of tragedy, one's true character and soul, comes to light. Whatever that tragedy might be, and surely we are now as individuals - and I repeat - as individuals - required to literally open our soul, look at it - our spirit, look at it - and see if it is what we want it to be.

Last night, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. died a martyr's death - one of several martyrs in American life - and his death snatched from American life something rare and precious, the living reminder that one man can make a difference - one man, by the force of his character, the depth of his convictions, and the eloquence of his voice - can alter the course of history. What a testimonial to individualism, what a testimonial to dignity and to human purpose - for Martin Luther King had the courage to challenge the intolerance, the injustice, inadequacies and inequities of the society in which he lived - a nation that he loved - a nation of which he was a citizen - and a nation for which he prayed and worked.

We grieve today for Martin Luther King and his family - and what a tragic loss it is to the family - but in so doing I think we really grieve as well for ourselves and for our nation, because there is something of shame in all of this. This nation of law and order, that has its Presidents shot down in cold murder, and has its spiritual leaders assassinated, and has those who walk and speak and work for human rights beaten, and some killed. My fellow Americans, we cannot let this happen! Every one of us must resolve that it shall never, never, never happen again. To do less is to be unworthy of our heritage.

Dr. King touched the hearts of all people when he cried out in that memorable message in Washington a few years past, and you remember it -

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

Now isn't that the way we all want to be judged on merit, on character? The greatness of a nation is not
in its size or its wealth, but rather, what do you wish to
do with these things, and the true test of a nation is not
in its power, but the character of the men and the women
that it produces - and this is what we are talking about and that's what Martin Luther King talked about.

He was voicing more than his personal dream - and how I can still hear those words ring out from the Lincoln Memorial -

"I have a dream,"

That dream that he talked about is my dream - and I know its your dream - in fact, I believe it is America's dream.

Now, what will Martin Luther King's death mean to the American people? It is not important that you agreed with his every step - as each and everyone sought to analyze and re-analyze every move. What will it mean if it becomes a signal for black Americans to strike out in vengeance - in rage - in retaliation, as some have said - then we will have made a mockery of all for which he lived and died. This man was an apostle of non-violence, even as he was taken by an act of violence.

What will Martin Luther King's death mean if it leads white Americans in a spirit of weariness and futility to turn from the tortuous road which leads to progress and equality - then we will have strengthened that very doctrine which he defied, the sense that the world has gone mad, and mortal man cannot set it right. The murder of Dr. Martin Luther King does not mean - at least it does not mean to me - that as a nation we have some how lost our way.

We can do what we want to do my fellow Americans - it's all what we determine and will it to be. We are not the innocent victims of raging forces if we seek to control our destiny, if we exercise self-discipline, if we live by the ideals that we preach. Remember, it was an assassin's bullet - one assassin - an assassin's bullet can no more indict an entire society in 1968 than it could in 1865 or in 1963 - and people wept then, as we weep now. Good people, hundreds of millions of them.

We are still as we were yesterday - a nation that is strong and vital and proud of man's deeds, and blessed by God's gifts - and I might add - it would be well for us to remember the blessings that we have. But the test of a people, like that of an individual, of a man, is not how well it accepts its good fortune, but how it responds to adversity.

It is in the worst of times, ladies and gentlemen, that we must do the best of things. It is precisely at such moments, when our complacency is shattered by the thunderbolt of tragedy that a nation has a chance to move forward and achieve greatness. If the death of Martin Luther King can place in sharper focus the evils with which he daily struggled, then it can lead us to action and to a reapplication of faith in ourselves and in our nation, and in our soul and pain and shame, we can grow better - be better.

Let us then find comfort in Dr. King's own words, and I think they're a worthy eulogy for himself. Listen to how he spoke them -

"If you are cut down in a movement which is designed to save the soul of a nation, than no other death can be more redemptive."

You can almost say -

"O' death, where is thy sting."

Cut down in a movement to save the soul of a nation, than no other death can be more redemptive. So my fellow citizens, let us find honesty today in the awareness that what Martin Luther King sought for his own people, is in the best interests of all of the people - and to me there ought to be just one people, one citizenship, the American people.

I almost wish that I could have stood here first and led you in the Pledge of Allegiance, because our children repeat it quite often, and we adults tend not to very often, and I gather sometimes we repeat it more from memory than from conviction, or should I say, it tends to look that way, because I do not want to evaluate anyone's motivation.

But there is a great lesson of citizenship and a morality in what we have taught our young and should remember in our maturity - "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." That's what we're talking about. All people, all God's children, all American citizens, and let us find purpose and unity also my fellow Americans in the words that he spoke as he accepted the Nobel Peace Prize, and what a high honor for anyone, he says -

"I have the audacity to believe that people everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity and equality and freedom for their spirits."

The words of a great American. The spirit of this nation - "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Jefferson, who said the only legitimate objective and purpose of government is the health and the well being and the happiness of the people. This is America, this is what it's all about, this is what we mean to the world and to ourselves - if we would but only listen and only believe.

Now there are many things that we as Americans and people can do together. For example, a very obvious thing that's within our power in Washington, D. C., within less than a fort-night, within a day or two days or three

days, we can pass without further delay the Civil Rights
Bill now pending in Congress. You cannot have an
integrated bunker at Khe-Sahn and segregated neighborhoods
at home - now, let's just get it straight gentlemen - you
can't do it!

We have the obligation of freedom of choice, you cannot ask men to die for their country and not let them live in it - you cannot have a man bear the uniform of the United States and fight gloriously and bravely and then deny him an equal chance when he returns - it can't be done and, if it is, then all that we talk about is a mockery.

We are at a very, very important point in history
- we are deciding now in our time whether this will really
be a government of the people, and by the people, as well
as for the people. We're going to have to decide whether
or not American citizenship means full citizenship for
everybody or just somebody, and I don't think there is any
decision at all that we can make except that full equality
of opportunity, full equality of treatment, of education,
is in the entitlement of every citizen that bears the most
honored title in the world - citizen of the United States;

So we can pass this legislation, and I hope we will, and I think we will and I want you to tell the Congress that we should. It will be good for America, and we can

mobilize the resources, both public and private that will banish the specter of poverty from our land. Not over night, I know that, there are no instant solutions to the problems of centuries and generations, but the beginnings are imperative. What every man needs above everything else is hope - and it is the hopelessness and the despair that grips people in far too many areas of America today.

The National Alliance of Businessmen is a vital factor in this effort and I want to thank you. I don't mean to preach to you or scold you, because who is there amongst us that is without stain. I think one of the greatest things that has happened in America in recent years is this new sense of social conscience in the American business community. It's wonderful. It shows a new degree of decency and morality for all of America.

But we've got to put it to work with renewed energy - the time is running out, and who has more to lose than those who have everything to lose. So may I suggest that, in both a spirit of decent good government, good morals, and good economics, that we redouble our efforts to provide full opportunity - in this instance we speak of jobs - we speak of training and we speak of meaningful jobs, productive jobs - because with jobs comes self-reliance and self-respect, and there isn't any such thing as a good life without both self-reliance and self-respect, and

we can build, you know, wholesome neighborhoods, safe and clean, where neighbors live together. In fact we can and must do this and more.

Now your action in providing jobs for the hardcore unemployed and jobs for these disadvantaged young people this summer can be the first resounding answer to the senseless tragedy of Memphis, and ladies and gentlemen, words will not suffice - deeds - action - it is imperative that we produce results. Now we can put out the last vestiges of discrimination, and segregation and inequality, we can do it in our schools, in employment and in housing, and in public services. We can if we will and we can commit ourselves unreservedly to the broad program of action that was recommended in the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, so that America will not become two societies black and white - one black, one white, separate and unequal - that isn't America and it must never be America - to do so would be to violate the very words that I spoke a few moments ago of one nation, under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all. We dare not indulge ourselves in national hypocrisy. It's too dangerous and besides that it is evil.

As individuals we can search our own souls for the remanents of prejudice and injustice and what a sickness is prejudice, and what a burden is injustice. And we can fearlessly stand up now for human dignity and freedom for

everybody, white and black, whatever a man's creed or national origin, just as Dr. King stood and we should do it in our daily lives. For those who speak evil of another man, may I urge you to speak well of another man. Remonstrate with those who would prostrate the meaning of our democracy, who would in a sense defile it, and hold high the hand of your neighbor, or your associate, or anyone else that seeks to speak up for America and what it means.

Lincoln was right - it is the last best hope of earth, but you know what he said, we shall either nobly save it or meanly lose it, and every generation has to decide that. And we're having to decide it this day, just as we had to decide it on that day that John Kennedy was stricken, just as America had to decide it on that day that Abraham Lincoln was shot down. Every so often it seems as if divine providence tests us, and I think that the test is upon us now as never before. I believe that our tragedy can be our victory, I really believe it if we learn, if we hasten to do the good deeds that ought to be done.

Remember the words of a great Englishman who once said -

"If a man has nothing to do for his country, he shall have no love for it,"

and there are far too many in America today that have been denied their chance to do something for this country. Some of the reason of denial I do not know, but it is a fact that amongst far too many of our youth, and particularly among Negro youth, as high as 35% are unemployed, standing idly on a street corner, bitter, and listening all too often to the pervayers of division and hate.

Ne must speak up for the love of this country and not just on the love of this country but for what it means and what it stands for, and not only to speak up with words but to speak up with jobs, with homes, with good neighborhoods, with education, with help and, above all, with dignity.

People need to have a sense of pride, that comes from that fact that their hopes can be realized, that's what it's all about. I happen to believe that we can summon the courage for reconciliation in this nation.

Even now as I know there are fights in our streets, and I believe that we can reject and we must reject the cowardice of violence - the cowardice of violence. If we do - if we do recognize the testament in the life and death of Martin Luther King, if we do rededicate ourselves to the mission of healing the torment of our poor and hungry, our deprived and illiterate, then truly, then truly this tragedy will be remembered, not as the moment when America lost her faith, but as the moment when America found her conscience.

My fellow Americans, in our own way each and everyone of us, we need to seek some guidance. We need to search deeply into our very being and we need to ask ourselves this day, -

"Am I really worthy of the heritage of this land? To what do I contribute to it, what is it that I shall leave and others did not? Will the legacy that we leave behind us be one of unresolved problems, of doubts and fears, of indifference and apathy, or will what we leave for those yet to come be a great contribution to the fulfillment of ideals and indeed the very principals of this democracy? Will what we pass on to others be a better America, or will it be an America that we just used?"

We are the stewards of the last best hope of earth, and we can do no less than make it better than we found it, and that is what the National Alliance of Businessmen is all about. It is, in a sense, a revival of the human spirit for good, it is a demonstration that in the economic structure of this land, there is a great sense of decency and morality, and I know there is, and I come to you today, as your Vice-President, to ask you to do more than you ever dreamed that you could do, to ask you to open gates that have been locked for years, to ask you to find jobs that you didn't even know existed, to ask you to train people that have been called the untrainable.

I ask you to save lives, I ask you to convert human waste into human worth, I ask you to be worthy of having been created in the image of your maker and, if we are, America will be a better land because we walked here, we worked here, and we lived here.

Thank you very much.

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REMARKS VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF BUSINESSMEN SPONSORED BY

LONG ISLAND ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY
SOUTH HUNTINGTON, LONG ISLAND
APRIL 5, 1968

The National Alliance of Businessmen's JOBS program on Long Island stands for something new and important in America — a new partnership between private enterprise and the public.

You have begun the quiet work of building a new and greater unity in our nation -- a unity to include all of our citizens in the prosperity, freedom, opportunity America affords.

What you are doing, together with the Long Island
Association of Business and Industry, will mean nothing
less than full American citizenship for thousands and
thousands of people who have heretofore been denied it.

The same kind of fundamental unity-building is underway all ofver our country today.

The National Alliance of Businessmen, in cooperation with the federal government, is now acting to end the tragic waste of human resources represented by 500 thousand hard-core unemployed workers in our major cities.

Some once thought that a "cushion of unemployed men, women and youngsters at the end of the job line was an economic necessity.

Today we know it is socially intolerable...economically costly...morally inexcusable -- and just plain unnecessary.

We know the message of the National Advisory

Commission on Civil Disorders: "Pervasive unemployment and underemployment are the most persistent and serious grievances in minority areas. They are inextricably linked to the problem of civil disorder."

I strongly support the major conclusions and recommendations of the Commission's Report.

And I believe that most Americans are ready to take whatever steps are required to prevent America from becoming permanently divided between two societies, black and white... rich and poor, hopeful and hopeless.

That doesn't have to happen. And we won't let it happen.

From the economic point of view, the National Alliance of Businessmen is no welfare organization.

You know the direct costs of lost productivity... of doing business in a tight labor market... of the reduced demand for your goods and services resulting from unemployment.

Rapid and diversified economic growth has made Nassau and Suffolk counties one of the major employment markets in America. And I know that many of you are hard pressed to find skilled and productive workers.

At the same time 34 thousand hard-core unemployed workers who could fill those jobs are right in your communities.

Train them, put them to work...and the economic benefits of increased production and purchasing power will reach every citizen of Long Island.

What is true for your company and community is also atrue for the nation.

But while we talk economics, let's not forget the higher human purpose of our efforts.

We seek to transform human wastage into human worth.

We seek to save lives.

That is no exaggeration: That is our central purpose.

When we become immersed in the charts and plans, the techniques and organization of our efforts — as we must — let us pause occasionally to realize that we are saving individual men and women, not just serving national policy or corporate interests.

What greater thing is it a man can do for his fellow man than to save his life?

And through the National Alliance of Businessmen, you will have the chance to save hundreds, even thousands of lives.

You will be mobilizing the incomparable resources of the American free enterprise system in this life-saving crusade.

You will be giving new meaning to the basic values which are the backbone of our society...the capacity for self-reliance... the right to a productive job... and the personal dignity which flows from work and self-reliance.

We will be declaring a New Humanity in America... a new commitment to exploit the inherent ability and goodness found in nearly every person.

As Vice President -- and as one who has enormous faith in the capacity of our free enterprise system -- I am privileged and proud to be a part of this great effort.

. . .

One of my duties is to serve as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

Among the Council's major assignments is of coordination at the federal level a variety of programs designed to assist disadvantaged youths in jobs, education, recreation and related programs. We are particularly concerned with the special needs faced by disadvantaged youngsters during the summer months.

Without our help and yours, these young people will face a summer of unemployment and enforced idleness in 1968, when they might otherwise be engaged in activities which would help liberate them from the cycle of poverty.

For the past three years the Council on Youth Opportunity's summer job program has successfully encouraged many employers to hire extra young people during the summer months. But the employment campaign has not adequately reach into the disadvantaged areas of our major cities.

Most disadvantaged neighborhoods' unemployment has been as high as ever, frequently over 30 per cent for the non-white youngsters between the ages of 16 and 21.

This summer we must do a better job.

The federal government is prepared to make a major contribution.

We expect the federal agencies to hire at least 70 thousand needy young people -- almost double the number employed last summer.

Earlier it was announced that cutbacks in anti-poverty funds would force a reduction this summer of 74 thousand job openings in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Today I can announce our decision to finance the additional

74 thousand job openings that will bring the Neighborhood Youth

Corps up to last summer's size -- 294 thousand summer jobs.

But the federal government cannot — and should not — handle this job alone. I am confident that Long Island's business community will tackle both goals — permanent jobs for the hard-core unemployed...and summer jobs for needy youth.

For the goals are really identical. A summer job can keep a potential school dropout in school today and prevent him from becoming the hard-core unemployed worker of tomorrow.

Yes, I predict that the American business community will make the pledges...and then accept the difficult burden of seeing them 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.

And our nation will, I think, realize 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 manhoood and his
vision can combine to make him. This...is the promise
of America."

. . .

Finally, let me say a few words about a matter that is foremost in all our minds today.

Last Sunday President Johnson offered peace with honor in Southeast Asia.

He offered a peace that would save American lives and Vietnamese lives.

He offered a settlement that could bring new security and development to all the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Our President is now in Honolulu to pursue that settlement.

The road to peace is tortuous and difficult. But the beginnings are being made.

I know what it means to search for peace.

I stood through many long, hard days — as Majority Whip of the United States Senate — alongside President Kennedy as we sought a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty... as we looked ultimate danger in the face in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

I have stood beside President Johnson, day after day, as he faced decisions involving the international security of this nation.

I have been with the President in meetings of the

National Security Council -- and alone with him at lonely
hours in the White House Mansion -- in review of the various
policy alternatives facing our country in Southeast Asia.

I have given my advice. I have honestly given my viewpoint.

And when decisions finally were made -- after the crossfire of discussion and review -- I have done whatever I could to help and support the President in those decisions.

Having done this, my own course is clear in the days ahead.

I want to help my country.

I want to help my President.

I know the burdens he carries -- particularly today as he embarks on a mission we hope may finally bring peace in Southeast Asia.

I want to do nothing that in any way will impair that mission.

I want to do nothing that in any way might hinder the delicate work of diplomacy which lies ahead.

I will do everything I can to help that effort -- whatever I may be called upon to do.

I will do everything I can for the cause of peace in the world.

I will do everything I can to keep social progress moving forward in America.

I <u>will</u> do everything to sustain and carry forward the work we have begun in this country.

And I ask your help -- and the help of all Americans -- in doing this.

The world is watching us n now.

We cannot for a moment let there be any misunderstanding of our intention or our national resolve.

I call on <u>all</u> Americans, regardless of party or persuasion, to stand together now <u>in unity</u> behind the President in our national quest for peace.

It will require discipline. It will require patience.

It will require, above all, maturity.

Can we do it?

I think we can.

I know we must.

I ask your help.

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