

who seek work, these commissions recommended that the Government be prepared to take up the slack.

Despite sharp improvement in employment since 1963, on the average about 3 million workers are completely without work. Close to 2 million more are unable to secure other than part-time jobs, though available for fulltime work.

But these are only the persons who show up in the official monthly surveys of the labor force. Besides these groups, the Department of Labor has found, in a series of special investigations, that as high as one out of three of the hundreds of thousands of residents in our urban ghettos either has no job at all or is working at a miserably low-paying job, or is working only part-time. In each case, his income is so marginal that he and his family are mired in poverty.

Clearly, many of the governmental programs designed to reach the hard-core and others of the unemployed have failed to provide work for those who need it most.

The frightening consequences of the tensions and despair to which persistent unemployment has contributed demand aggressive and effective action by the Federal Government. While we permit our manpower resources to be seriously under-utilized, we are faced with shortages in many areas where the Government has the sole or major responsibility.

Early in 1966, the President's Commission on Automation (The National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress) called upon the Government to begin a program which has become known as "the Government as the employer of last resort." The Automation Commission identified some 5 million jobs that needed doing. Some were in the public sector solely—education, conservation, recreation. Others were in areas where non-profit private organizations and the public have joint responsibility—hospitals, health and social welfare.

The Commission members shaped their recommendations to embody two purposes: (1) to help satisfy the demand for desperately needed manpower; (2) to incorporate in the program, where necessary, the supportive services of training, education and guidance. Such programs would provide the persons employed an opportunity to improve their basic skills and ability. The qualifications so gained would help make those who stayed in the public service more productive. And it would mean that others would shift more readily to available jobs in the private sector.

The Commission recommendations were widely discussed, and served as a basis for recommendations of a similar nature by many other prestigious groups. Among the most important which endorsed strongly the concept of the government financing job opportunities for those who could not find work were:

- The Advisory Council on Public Welfare.
- The White House Conference on Civil Rights.
- The National Commission on Crime.
- The Food and Fiber Commission.
- The Urban Coalition.

Last year some eighty congressmen, following the lead of Representative James O'Hara, of Michigan, co-sponsored a bill which called for the underwriting by the Federal Government of one million jobs, primarily in State and local agencies. Recently, Senator Joseph Clark, of Pennsylvania, introduced a bill to provide jobs for 2,400,000 hard-core unemployed during the next four years. But, despite the widespread approval of the form and substance of the program, it still has not been enacted.

The tensions which pervade our ghettos, the unmet needs in so many social areas, the persistence of idle manpower, are the ingredients of a crisis which many have called the most serious since the days of the Civil War.

The President's Manpower Message laid primary stress on a Government subsidized-private enterprise effort to expand job opportunities. Such an effort can indeed reduce the overall dimensions of the problem of those who need and want jobs but are unable to find them. However, the scope of the private program in the President's Message is not nearly adequate to create the number and types of jobs so that sufficient work opportunities will be assured for the unemployed. Nor has appropriate attention been directed, so far, to such important aspects of the program, as safeguarding current work standards. The establishment of a private program cannot be a substitute for a job program in the public sector.

This was made abundantly clear in the just released report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. After a detailed review of the factors which have contributed to our urban riots, the National Commission recom-