

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.
GUEST: CARL STOKES

Carl Burton Stokes is the Mayor of Cleveland, which nightmare he inherited in November of 1967 after an acrimonious campaign against Mr. Seth Rife under the sullen shadow of the explosive riots in Hough of the summer of 1966. Mayor Stokes' election was hailed throughout the country as evidence that a Negro could achieve the highest office in a major American city - in which Negroes are in the minority. I am interested in Mayor Stokes' understanding of the problems irrespective of the color of the Mayor's skin, which is irrelevant to this discussion except insofar as the fact of being Negro affects, favorably or unfavorably, the chances for a successful municipal administration in contemporary America. Mayor Stokes was brought up by his mother and grandmother after the death of his father when he was one year old. His mother worked as a housemaid, and the three of them - mother and two sons - shared a single room. Mayor Stokes was a school drop-out during the Second World War. But after serving as chauffeur for Senator Frank Lausche in 1948, he resolved to finish his secondary education, which he did, going on to the University of Minnesota where he earned a degree of law. After public service in several capacities he founded, with his brother, the firm of Stokes & Stokes. Those who are critical claim that while running for office he promised too much. I should like to begin by asking Mayor Stokes whether he would agree that one of the problems of governing the cities is politicians who promise too much?

S. (He laughs) Ha, ha. I think that that's always true. All of us, when we run, we offer ourselves as the salvation of all those that would be affected by the office for which we run. We probably, unjustifiably but understandably, offer ourselves as the panacea of all our problems and then when we are given the responsibility we then begin to explaining why you can't do it all at one time.

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B. Is that too late though?

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S. I don't think so because I think voters do understand and take many of the claims -.

B. Those who don't riot.

S. Well, even those who riot. Let's take me, for instance. So much of the reason I got - the kind of vote I got from the Negro community - close to 96% of the vote was because of a great investment of hope in me and in the promise that there was going to be a substantive alleviation of the problems. So now if that hope was really invested in me at that point^{it} was a great deal because I was a Negro but also because in my own relationships with, and my previous performances in office and my own identification with these problems. Now, however, the great burden upon me is to produce because of our ability up to this point of keeping the community relatively stable had been the continuing hope that was dramatically demonstrated in November. But it's totally necessary that I'm to produce. If I don't produce and start showing where you can touch the foundation of a new house going up or a new business within the black community that's going to produce jobs, right there, then the reaction toward me, at the minimum, would be the same as toward anybody else, any other mayor whatever his color, and maybe-.

B. Even worse,

S. Even worse because, of course, the level of hope to which I had raised the community.

B. As I understand, one of the problems of Cleveland is the same problem that other major cities in America face, namely, the incapacity, in the short term, to absorb the great immigration largely from the South and when somebody comes to New York or comes to Cleveland and starts earning let's say, \$4,000 a year, one can see that there's not going to be a surplus sufficient to create an apartment, a livable apartment, schools and what have you that will result from

his own endeavors. Now do you understand this therefore to pose a long- 3.
termx problem, a strategic problem, which the residents of the city seem to
be obdurately unfamiliar with. If you get, let's say, 100,000 people coming
into Cleveland or Syracuse or Rochester, the capital requirements to accommodate
them seem to be beyond the observable resources of the mayor to furnish. Now,
is this do you think adequately understood and is it possible to make this
understood?

S. Let me talk from the standpoint of Cleveland. In the first place, we have
an archaic governmental phenomenon here in that the mayor has only a two-year
term to try to produce things, to try to start programs. And when I say, start
programs, I mean start them. Because our town - big cities have failed - there
are those of them that have failed worse than others - and Cleveland happens to
be among them. So our problem is with that two-year term. But the problem
which you pose, - one of migration into the city - is not one that is crucial
in Cleveland of new migrants. Our problem are those who were solicited here,
brought here by industry and business during the highly productive kpost-war
period and the normal kind of migration into the big cities from the rural areas
there hasn't been a heavy influx or noticable one. Now what happeded was as we
had the increase in technology in industries and businesses, the men and women
who were formerly employed here have become displaced from the employment source
so our problem is dealing with a relatively stable number of persons who did
come here - the poor white, the Appalachian, and the poor Negro who came here
and he had accumulated here and who now reflects so many of the statistics
that are familiar in big cities except that they're a little worse here. Now
in dealing with this problem it is obviously going to require great expenditures
of money during a time that the resources of a city are actually going down
while the dependency of these groups of people ^{is} causing greater reliance upon
the services of this c ty. Now people do have a difficult time understandingx

- this. We, for instance, are trying to get an increase in the income tax 4.

in Cleveland and quite understandably some of the - in a city that has a majority white population and the majority of them are of middle-class standards - it is difficult for them to relate as to why they must continue to be taxed and the returns from that tax be spent rather disproportionately.

B. But in fact the majority of the whites voted in favor of the income tax in 1965 and the majority of the negroes voted against it.

S. But they were voting against the man who offered it - interestingly. You see that was a sort of continuing reflection-.

B. That was a kind of perverse way of expressing their dissatisfaction of the mayor, wasn't it? Against a measure that obviously ~~arg~~ argued for their own benefit.

S. Yes. But they had no confidence that that mayor was going to use those proceeds to alleviate their plight and this was one of the reasons why he subsequently lost the election.

B. So that if there were a referendum today you think that ~~the~~ the voting blocs might switch - the whites voting against the 1% income tax and the negroes voting for it?

S. I don't think so because what I'm really voicing accurately is that there is that kind of thinking among the white majority but not that their backlash, their resentment, would be enough to keep them from realizing the very real need of the city of Cleveland to have this money and meet the ~~ver~~ problems. In fact just recently we've had this kind of expression from the voters which supports what I've just said. We had the welfare levy up which meant not only the renewal of the existing levy but an increase of it and it passed overwhelmingly both in the city of Cleveland as well as in the county. So this was an expression of the fact that the community had begun to recognize that in these areas there was going to have to be more done by those who were able to afford to - make this kind of contribution. So that's why I would think that we'll have

support for the income tax but I well recognize there is some feeling 5.
out there as to how the money is going to be disproportionately spent
on the ghetto and it's just up to a guy like me to illustrate that if we're
going to - in any kind of way - effectively approach the problems of our city
there are going to have to be priorities in our spending. That really if we
had been doing these things over the years then it would not require any kind
of disproportionate spending.

B. It could have been amortized over a period.

S. That's right.

STATION BREAK

B. Now, Mayor, one of the many things that I find puzzling about municipal
finances is the generally accepted axiom that the Federal government has got
to put up the money it being generally neglected to think through the problem
of where the Federal government is going to get the money in the first instance.
Now, would you say that Cleveland is worse off than any other typical modern
American city or would you say that, roughly speaking, the problems are the same?

S. Well, I would say that Cleveland is worse off because of our failure over
the years to be doing the maximum locally toward treating problems which now,
in their accumulation -.

B. What is a typical city which has over the years done its problems locally?

S. I think that, proportionately speaking, that Detroit has far exceeded us
in this.

B. Detroit. You would consider that Detroit was exemplary in this sense.

S. Oh no. What I'm saying is that-as I indicated earlier-all of the big cities
have failed in recognizing their imperatives and the need to see the problems
that have have been dramatically revealed in the last 10 years, but they've
been accumulating in the last 20 years. But you see there was no precedent
for the mayor of a big city. He didn't really recognize these kinds of

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accumulations - persons with low skills, with inadequate education,
no education, with cultural disadvantages - in the history of our country
there just hasn't been anything to prepare the cities for this phenomenon
phenomenon that has manifested itself dramatically in the last 10 years and
what has happened is that there's also been the problem of local government
being deprived of the sources of revenue. Now, you know you and I have kicked
this around a little bit before but you know Washington, D.C. doesn't generate
money. (He laughs, as does B.)

B. I know that; I was wondering if you did.

S. That money comes from us out here. It goes to Washington and that's our
money that's there. Well, now, over the last 30 years, 35 years, the shift
of the source of collection of revenue has shifted from local government to
the Federal government with them now collecting about 60-62% of the taxes.
Meanwhile, the local government where the heavy needs have come up has been
restricted to the remainder of the 36-38% - but even there local government
doesn't get it - the States are picking it up - the counties are picking it up
and the cities are probably relegated to 7-8% of the remaining balance. In
the meanwhile, local governors throughout the country had been taxing themselves.
You know you fellows on the national scene, - you get disturbed about the
national debt - but if you take a look at it actually the national debt for
the last 20 years has gone up 112-114% but local debt has gone up over 300%.

B. By local do you mean lesser than the States?

S. Yes. Lesser than the States. And it's continuing to increase. Now I
recognize the obligation on us locally to do the maximum we can. This is one
reason why as a candidate who ran on a non-new-taxes platform I've gone back
to the citizens and said I was wrong. I now know that we've got to have more
money. I'm willing to carry the burden of it and the responsibility for it.
We do have to tax ourselves to the maximum locally. But also the Federal

government that is ~~xxxxxxx~~ collecting the great proportion of the tax 7. revenues is going to have to do more. Or if they would do this - if they would return us our tax money to the big cities, along the lines of the Heller proposal, this would stop so many of us from having to get on the trains and on the planes and in the automobiles and descending on Washington in a sort of ^{un}disorganized march dissimilar to that which is .

B. Yes. But on the other hand you are an active affiliate of an organization - Americans for Democratic Action - which is constantly urging the Federal government to accept more and more responsibility. The Federal government itself runs a deficit so how can you simultaneously urge the Federal government to undertake more and more projects and urge the Federal government to remit more and more money when it already has a deficit. You've got to give on one of these contradictory proposals, don't you?

S. I'm a very member of ADA and I've got very good friends there and I'm certain that on many approaches to the government that we do agree to support one another but of course I'm not going to permit you or ADA to commit me to some program on every specific.

B. a security risk for ADA?

S. (Stokes laughs) It's surprising how responsible they've become over the years.

B. They surprise me. (Laughter)

S. But one of the reasons for some groups to more by the Federal government has been because of the obdurate refusal on the part of state and local government to meet the problems of the big cities. So in that regard people do turn to the Federal government and it has recognized a responsibility. And you must remember this - that in the instances that the Federal government has stepped in in these years when a great involvement in local government has occurred, it has really occurred because of the failures of local government

to do those things which did create the vacuum which required the Federal 8.
government to step in.

B. The Federal government, surely, is merely an expression of an accumulation of local pressures, isn't it? I think it's very hard to maintain one's sanity and think through to the theoretical inconsistency of what you say, namely, that one unit which is instructed by 50 units should behave responsibly even while those 50 units, acting severally, behave irresponsibly. Can you explain that dilemma?

S. I'm not sure at all. If you're think about Congress - you're not asking me if they respond to the imperatives of those of us back here.

B. Well, I assume kso, because you people, everybody in this room, elects people who go to Washington. Now Washington comes out for program A but here at home our legislators who are also elected by us come out against program A.

D What is it that's happened. Is it that we have been cultimating so long the myth that if we ask Washington to do it it's not going to cost us anything - that we tend to give conflicting instructions to two sets of legislators. We tell the gang in Ohio, don't spend the money, but we tell the gang in Washington, ~~dk~~ do spend the money.

S. I'll tell you this. First, there's a terrible lack of communication between the American public and those who represent them locally; those elected locally to represent them in the national legisla tures, in Congress. I would hesitate, frankly, to try to estimate the real influence that persons in the local areas exert on their national congressmen. There just isn't that kind of communication. Congressmen do function in a relative vacuum down there. They do in kmany instances and have necessarily have had to make decisions, interestingly enough, for a body like Congress, -and we'll take the 89th CKongress - it's a good illustration. The 89th Congress was actually well ahead of the American public. The 90th Congress, however, has receded to

a fairly traditional picture in which they're probably behind even 9.
the national populace reaction to the war, reaction to the riots, reaction
to the so-called crime picture.

B. They're hidden behind really value terms aren't they? You might consider
something as being, ahead, while I might consider it, behind.

S. Not if we talk specifically on the goals of the 89th Congress.

B. Well, maybe not.

STATION BREAK

B. As I understand it, Mayor, you're saying that there is every reason to
suppose that the Congress is not accurately reflecting the national will.
There isn't a successful communication between the two groups and that the
result of this is to throw the burden on the local government where such
communication does in fact exist. Now, I tend to think that's largely correct.

As a matter of fact it's an axiom in conservatism that one of the reasons you
don't want a loose government is it tends to be unresponsive government. I
would be enormously interested in sort of the Stokes Program for diminishing
the activities and responsibilities of the Federal government so as to release
to people like yourself the resources necessary to rebuild towns like Cleveland.
For instance, what, outside the field of foreign policy, what should Congress
get out of. Should it get out of the Poverty Program, out of Medical Care, out
of Housing?

S. What you must remember, now, is that in any of these things they would get
out of that would only mean that they were transferring to us the funds with
which to do those programs which presently they're responsible for. And one
of the illustrations of this is - let's take the state of Ohio and our failure
in providing for the medically indigent person. You have to be the most abject
poor here to get any kind of aid. As to the contrary, in the state from which

you come in which a family earning \$6,000 a year, with 4 persons in the 10. family, would be eligible for Medicaid under title 19 of the Medicare Act. Well, that's realistic recognizing of the costs of medical care today. I'm sure you supported that - (Stokes laughs) - well, we won't get into that.

B. Well, when you talk about the New York taxpayers remember that their plight is unhappier than yours. (Laughter) A \$6,000 family is actually paying his medical care by taxes. I think a very competent demonstration to that effect can be made but I won't make it now.

S. All Right, we won't make it. So what we want to do, at least those of us here in Cleveland, - we'll willingly accept the great responsibility for our local solutions-.

B. Try to get some of that money back.

S. Yeah. So what do we want to do? For instance, we're engaged right now in this Cleveland Now Program in which we recognize not only an obligation but an absolute necessity that the citizen at the private sector is going to have to become actively engaged in the solutions of local problems. Actively, not just by serving on his Board of Trustees or some superlunary group of some kind but with his dollars and with his participation. This Cleveland Now program we have properly recognizes what the Federal government's involvement is going to have to be in urban renewal or in the providing of operating costs for health centers and for recreational programs for young people. But you see, part of this program recognizes some 22 million dollars from local government and then, interestingly enough, over 50% of what local government is going to do, we've required the citizens to do by raising \$11,250,000 and they've done it. This now brings the local participation - the local people participation - into their government and in this respect we have of course - you know there has been the problem of whether or not city hall has been as close to the people as it should have been during these years - and so what we are doing in the Cleveland Now program is not only anticipating the use of the dollars

but maximizing the citizen participation in the solutions of rebuilding 11.
the city. In our UrbanRenewal program which in Cleveland reflects probalby
the greatest failure of any city in the United States - projects that were
conceived 15 years ago are the primary goal of accomplishing right now of
the Cleveland Now program reflects the maximum of neighborhood decisions and
to just how we're going to rehabilitate that neighborhood - how we're going
to rebuild it. In the recreation program we've said to the citizens we need
your dollars in order to make a realistic, cultural program for the young
people this summer. We then do such things as this; we take \$125,000 of it
and divide it up among 10 groups, averaging 10-12 thousand each.

B. And you do this much more competently than any federal bureaucrat would be
able to do. Well, you said something - you've said many things that are
very interesting as regards the problem of Black Power and you are quoted as
saying, Yes, I do owe the Black Militants who halped to get me elected
something. And what I owe them is equality and opportunity. In other words,
you failed to recognize that there was any obligation to harmonize with their
extremist rhetoric. Now, I'd like to ask, what has been the response to that?
Are you in fact, as some people are rumoring, alienated from the Militants in
the Cleveland community or do you find that you have succeeded by your
reasonable approach in binding those particular wounds and in giving the solid
impression that you are making progress. Is the Nexgro community especially
cooling the situation in response to your leadership?

B. Well, first you know you use that euphemistic They and when you use They
with the slogan Black Power you have to really be more specific as to whom
your talking about because-.

B. What I would call Extremists. I happen to be in favor of Black Power
understood as you understand it.

S. That's right. So you would-.

B. The Rap Brown types.

12.

S. Well, I think that in our community in Cleveland that we have been most fortunate in that the Militants here recognize the use of Black Power as the kind of constructive tool it ought to be - participation and voting process, economic process, and not in the sense of tearing down the system. And you have to remember in 1967 when I ran we had the interesting campaign committee that represented the poor white, the Puerto Rican, the liberal Clevelander, the middle class and sometimes the upper class housewife or business man - at the same time working with the white and black welfare recipient and those who were most militant were very much a part of the campaign organization. And during the summer of 1967, for instance, we had in Cleveland a group that came from the Black community that was composed of every spectrum of expression from the Urban League to the representatives of our Afro Circle which represents the real militants in our community.

B. What I'm asking is, did the fact of your election soothe the fears, the suspicions, the rancor that had been expressed among the so-called militants, the extremists, and that exploded in the riots of 1966. What have other towns to learn from your election QUA NEGRO. You are a politician who happens to be a Negro but nevertheless there is a symbol involved in your taking office which other communities are fascinated by.

S. Well, they've just got to make people part of what they're doing. You've got to remember if I'm a mistake, then the militants shared in bringing this about and for instance now as I conduct the government I bring in to every phase of our operation, the militant, the white businessman. I'm just determined in Cleveland that people are going to work together. So if a program isn't going to work in Cleveland it will fail because of the failures of those who are conducting it and it's going to be a representative group of people who then have to accept the failure as being theirs, not Carl Stokes

B. But it won't necessarily be their failure. Perhaps it will be a 13.
failure, if indeed it fails, that is caused by the unappeaseable instincts
of a small minority in Cleveland. We have such minorities in every city -
a while ago you were talking about the great relative successes of Detroit
and we all know what happened there last summer. I don't think it was Mr.
Cavanaugh's fault; I don't think it was the fault of the bourgeois community;
I don't think it was the fault of the overwhelming majority of the people
but nevertheless Detroit did burn and I'm asking whether or not your election
makes much less likely that kind of thing happening in Cleveland.

S. Well, if you take it in that very relative sense. But if you take my
election as a panacea, as some kind of guarantee that you aren't going to
have trouble then you're just indulging yourself in doing a disservice to
yourself and the community. I really believe that my own participation in
the level of government in which I did it, coupled with the fact that I do
happen to be a Negro, does help to give me-.

B. Ah. That's what I wanted to hear.

S. An understanding. But that's only as long as I am willing to accept being
Black myself and being willing to identify, and willing to try to reflect
what government should be doing -.

B. But everything you say is said in the context of reasonableness and reason
is not triumphant these days in human affairs.

S. I don't agree with that.

B. Well, ask the ^{faculty} ~~panel~~ at Columbia University if it's triumphant there or
ask the typical policeman, or ask the ~~governor~~ typical Frenchman, ask
deGaulle (laughter).

S. deGaulle's never been reasonable. He's the best illustration of reaping
the harvest of a certain kind of unreasonableness.

B. I happen to agree with you but the majority of Frenchmen who elected him

don't.

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S. Well-I-I, ignorance is not restricted to the voters of the United States. Just because they've been voting longer doesn't mean that the Frenchmen aren't ignorant, too.

B. No. But maybe they should hate themselves, not the man they elected.

S. Well, I'm sure that they would if the human personality permitted one to do that-.

B. That's presumptuous (?) (Laughter)

S. Well, let's take Columbia University, for instance. I ~~kw~~ certainly don't know the real particulars, the real facts there.

B. Well, I do.

S. Well, I'm not sure but what there were some things, some needs, some student needs, which had they been reasonably approached, may well have hit it off. The subsequent continuing problem - I don't know but it just seemed to me as the executive head here-.

B. I'm simply saying that reason didnot prevail in Columbia.

S. You mean prevail-.

B. I'm saying that what happened is unreasonable and that under the circumstances it becomes impossible to say that reason ~~could~~ prevailed. It is unreasonable to grant to students of that university, or any other university, the right to access - to take command of buildings and deny access to them other students. It's a conspiracy to deny other people their civil rights which I think is unreasonable. Now my point is that I understand and I agree w th you that the fact of being a Black Mayor is not a guarantee against other people's extremism, but it is an important factor; that's why I want to ask you if, in a typical town, the qualifications of a Black candidate and a White candidate are approximately equal, does it not make sense to vote for the Black candidate?

S. Laughs. I'm unable to give you a categorical answer to that because when you talk about the qualifications of the white candidate and a black candidate you're talking about it on the basis of their educational accomplishments, experience, etc. You see there's another factor in there which you have not weighed, that is the extent to which either the white or black candidate personally identifies with the characteristic problems of the industrial city. In that regard, it is conceivable to me that there could be some white candidates with that factor added in which would give them more of a claim to be elected than that black candidate,-

B. Mayor Stokes, you cannot, by the rules of logic, question the hypothesis and my hypothesis is that the two people are equally qualified so you can't say that I'm now going to prove that they are not equally qualified. This is the hypothesis.

S. I accept your hypothesis.

B. You have to.

S. No, I don't.

B. By the nature of public discussion. (Laughter)

S. I can't be lead down that lane. If x we go back and say that in fact, in your hypotheses, that you have included this kind of factor-.

B. I have.

S. I think you could move within reason to give the black candidate the edge.

B. Not if, in fact we are struggling here to give special life to the symbolic mobility in America to the minority - that is to say, doesn't it make sense in the light of American tradition to give the edge to the person who has the hardest problem as the result of the historical situation and isn't this something that achieves a municipal reality in the matter of the government of the cities. Isn't it predictable that under the circumstances that if you are successful here in Cleveland it will suggest to a lot of other communities

that Negro minorities even smaller than the percentage here that there is a great deal to be said for voting for somebody in virtue of the color of his skin.

S. I think you could make that argument.

B. You don't want to make it?

S. I'm not going to make it. (laughter)

B. OK.

S. But there's another factor that you introduce, that you have to consider and that is that cities are not for very long going to continue under their present corporate structure. It's impossible for a Buffalo, for a Cleveland, to continue for very long because of the tax situation as a city within the boundary lines in which we plan it. You're going to have to go to some form of metropolitan government.

B. the tax base.

S. I mean the tax base. This then makes, you see, the question that you asked

B. More complicated.

S. Much more complicated because of so many, many more people. You're talking about the identifiable black community-.

B. Shifting the ratio back to the white majority.

S. Yes, that's right.

STATION BREAK

B. Mayor we have a question here.

Aud. Mayor Stokes, what would be the verdict on Cleveland and on the fact of your being the first mayor of a major United States City should Cleveland indeed experience a riot this summer or next summer which exceeds that in damage of the one we experienced two summers ago, not only in terms of your being re-elected or the possibility of other Negroes being elected mayors of other major cities.

S. That of course depends on the intelligence level of people being able to

understand that riots are color blind and that they are not able to buy 17.
insurance just by electing a mayor who happens to be black. Now, I'm sure
that if Cleveland does have a riot in '68 and/or in '69 that there is going to
be that kind of reaction to future political efforts of Negroes to obtain
significant office on the basis of their qualifications. But this reflects
once more on the continuing problem on the part of white America of being
able to get across this color line and understand that people are people.
The realities of it are that they are still hung up with it. There are white
Clevelanders that consider me the best insurance policy that they could have
invested here and do not even today recognize the things that I'm talking to
you about in this way right now. So I would hope, because of the efforts of
getting the American Negro into the political process which has been the
channel through which every persecuted ethnic minority group has ultimately
entered into the main stream of American life--.

B. I respectfully disagree, but go ahead. I think that primarily the avenue
to progress has been economic.

S. You're not going to be able to divorce the economics from the politics
in this country and when you consider.

B. ~~Tip~~ Tip your hat to economics and go ahead. (Laughter)

S. Yes. I welcome that correction. The political and economic process
through which every minority group has become part of the American main stream--
it will be set back, unquestionably, by some persons, just by the fact that I
happen to share the same problem that other mayors have.

B. We have a question over here and another one and then we'll go back there.

Aud. Mayor Stokes, Senator McCarthy, in his campaign for the Presidency has
advocated that the Federal government guarantee a minimum income to the poor
of this country. Is this something that you would advocate for the solution
of the problems of the city of Cleveland?

S. You mean as one of the ways to solve the problems. I think that 18.

almost every person has an understanding as to where the country is going to have to go in this regard, with the exception of a few persons, (Laughter)-.

B. A few enlightened persons. (laughter)

S. (Laughing) A few enlightened persons recognize that we are going to have to turn some kind of floor in which we say that all persons are going to be guaranteed at least some kind of living maintenance level. There are several ways you can go about it; your guaranteed annual income; your negative income tax; and there's a good argument in the elimination of the various multi-faceted programs of shifting over into this manner of at least guaranteeing that there's a basic minimum ~~xxxxx~~ on which people are going to have to live. I have no problem in agreeing with that concept myself. It's one of the things we're going to have to go to.

Aud. Mayor Stokes, you proposed the securing of 11,000 new jobs in your new program but I'm wondering how this is going to solve the problem when in fact every day you can see in the newspaper that many skilled and unskilled jobs go unfilled.

S. Because in the 11,000 job package are the job-training job capacities in which part of this, some 2,000 reflects the national lines of businessmen's commitment in Cleveland in which we literally take that person and spend that amount of money necessary to make him a mechanic, make him a machine operator, to make him a productive person. So he ultimately then will be reducing that person you read about in the employment pages of where they need a skilled person. Our objective is to make him skilled. These are not make-work jobs we envision.

B. k Yes.

Aud. I'd like to address this question to Mayor Stokes. the increasing
burden of state and local taxes and what with and funds
the preferral Federal programs available

and yourself being a good Democrat, say, accessible to these funds - why 19.
do you find it necessary for the city of Cleveland to wring further funds
out of the taxpayers to provide more programs?

S. Because that's what you talk about is-.

B. Invisible.

S. It really is. You don't really have to talk about munificence. You don't
even get there. The cost of doing something about these cities is just a - and
I'm sure Bill Buckley would agree with me - almost makes you say that it's
impossible to do and we don't have an alternative, you see. When we talk about
the billions of dollars that are necessary to rebuild the cities you have to
think about it in the same mental framework that we had in making Germany once
again a viable country after it was relatively reduced to ashes and spend a
minimum of at least some 17 billions of dollars in a foreign country in that
regard - a kind of foreign aid. We have not approached that kind of propor-
tionate spending in the cities of the United States. And it is that kind of
massive spending that you are going to have to do in the future which really
makes the spending that you apparently think is such a munificent sum at this
time quite inadequate.

B. But isn't it interesting to meditate why the private sector is unavailable
to do this. We expect? massively years and years and years and of course it
produced the most country in the world. And one wonders why the
private sector can't be assigned a continuing responsibility when it has done
so well in the past. Have you ever wondered whether some of the distortions
that keep situations from improving mightn't in fact be caused by government
itself. For instance, the monopoly labor unions, - surely drive up the cost of
construction to a point where it makes it almost unrealizable for somebody
with a small income to be able to buy his own apartment, let alone his own house
Aren't there a series of such interferences in the national free market for

perhaps
which government might very well be responsible, in which you will wind 20.
up criticizing in the plenitude of your vision.

S. (Laughs) You know, Mr. Buckley, you can throw these questions that are
so easy to agree with the general . It's a pleasure to be with
you. (Laughter) But you see once again government did have to step in. What
we must do is to bring the persons who originally built the cities back to
rebuild them and to keep a continuing investment in them.

B. Thank you very much, Mr. Stokes.