

REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
AUGUST 19, 1965

I am honored to address the opening session of
this White House Conference on Equal Employment

Opportunity. - *at a time when America faces hostile forces
abroad, and painful, discouraging problems
of violence & disorder at home*

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically called for
the convening of such a conference. *we must
move forward
in a strong and
active faith!*

~~For~~ the Congress recognized that the new
responsibilities set forth in Title VII required the most
careful study, deliberation and discussion.

Through Title VII we can build a more just and
productive society where a man can be judged on his
merit alone.

In the eleven years since the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, this nation has truly

sought to secure ^{in fact} freedom for those who were, in theory,

freed one hundred years before. ~~This nation has sought~~ ^{We are now engaged}

in a massive struggle to unshackle those who have been chained by other

forms of slavery: the bonds of prejudice and discrimination.

↳ Through a series of governmental actions, culminating in the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, discrimination has been stricken from the statute books -- and legal justice has replaced legalized discrimination.

↳ But we must understand that equal justice, in law, does not mean equal opportunity in a man's life.

Although our laws are more just than before, we still must seek economic and social justice -- we

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must [^]transform the quality of existence for those who remain largely untouched by our American progress.

↳ Today our job is not only to finish tearing down walls of prejudice but also to build a nation of hope and opportunity.

↳ Civil rights programs will have real meaning for the child in the inferior school . . . the family in the ghetto . . . or the man in the relief line when these Americans have the chance to obtain a better education, a better home, a better, job, and better health care, to live in a better community.

↳ In his ^HHoward University Address, President Johnson set forth the stark dimensions of this national failure. He set forth the striking contrast between the nation where most Americans live and flourish and the

"other America" of despair inhabited by the forgotten and the impoverished. Today we witness the tragic result of this despair.

Here are some of the elements of that despair.

↳ The unemployment rate among non-whites is twice as high as among whites. Thirty-five years ago it was about equal. In fact non-whites still experience the crisis conditions of the great depression.

↳ The unemployment rate for non-white teen-age boys is 23 per cent as against 13 per cent for unemployed whites. In 1948 it was actually lower for non-white youth.

↳ Today, because of poor job opportunities, the median income of non-white families compared to whites is lower than it was a decade ago. It is, in fact, only half as large.

↳ Moreover, the latest figures on unemployment give little cause for optimism. In July, one of the best months in the history of our nation's economy, the unemployment rate fell to 4.5 per cent. Less than 4 per cent of the white working force was out of a job. But for adult non-whites, the unemployment rate actually increased.

↳ It is no exaggeration to say that non-whites, principally Negroes, are on the verge of a major economic crisis. For the gap is widening between Negro education and training on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market on the other.

↳ Automation, management techniques, and changes in consumer spending are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Jobs requiring

professional, managerial, clerical, and sales talent are on the rise.

↳ These white collar occupations account for no less than 97 per cent of the total increase in employment since 1947. The professionalization of the labor force picked up momentum in the fifties and will continue to accelerate in the months and years ahead.

↳ But many Negroes and other minorities are ~~badly~~ *poorly* prepared for this change. Three Negro men in five are unskilled or semi-skilled. And more than half the Negro men over twenty-five have less than a grammar school education. *whom fault?*

↳ In Northern industrial centers one out of every three Negro workers has suffered unemployment in the past few years. In some neighborhoods the unemployment

rate among Negroes is as high as 40 per cent.

↳ But these figures are only a reflection of two broad problems which must be confronted candidly and compassionately: problems of substance and spirit. And both categories of problems are bound, in large measure, to unemployment.

↳ We know that the problems of substance are complex and interwoven. Like an underdeveloped society, the Negro community in many cities is caught in vicious circles of ^{cruel} circumstance.

↳ In solving the Negro's problems we cannot identify a single aspect of his life and try to deal with it alone. We cannot just emphasize the need for more jobs, or better housing, or improved education.

- ↳ More jobs cannot come without better education.
- ↳ Better education depends upon stable neighborhoods.
- ↳ Stable neighborhoods require better housing and health facilities.
- ↳ And better housing and health facilities require better jobs.

To solve these interrelated problems demands a coordinated, comprehensive attack. Just as one cannot isolate a single factor and try to solve that particular problem -- so no single factor can be ignored.

↳ Nothing is more important to the Negro in his struggle to free himself from this circle of frustration than the ability to hold a good job.

↳ And problems of spirit are intimately tied to more and better job opportunities.

↳ We must understand that generations of prejudice, deprivation, and subservience have produced profound despair, apathy and mistrust *and in some, bitterness + hatred.*

↳ What can we expect when hope is resolutely crushed from the young, when there are no jobs even for the educated, and no homes in good neighborhoods even for the hard-working?

↳ Our task is both delicate and vital. We must try *to encourage* *and* *to* build the qualities of self-respect and self-confidence to replace attitudes of unimportance and inferiority.

↳ We must create a climate of equal rights and equal respect which encourages the exercise of man's unique capacities: *his* the potentiality for creativity and the motivation towards excellence.

↳ Only then will the majority of Negroes and other minorities approach the goal that is critical in their struggle -- the goal of self-sufficiency.

↳ Employment gives ^{~~- being needed -~~} purpose and meaning to men's lives -- and nourishes hope and vision in their minds.

↳ It is in the context of this dual challenge of substance and spirit that we must evaluate our efforts to insure equal employment opportunities for Negroes and other minorities.

We know that ↳ In the past, certain employers, unions, states and localities have actively sought to eradicate discrimination and help the Negro and other minorities share the benefits of the national economy.

↳ Since 1947, many states and localities have carried forward equal employment opportunity programs. As Mayor of Minneapolis, I was privileged to establish one of the first municipal FEPC ^{Commission} ~~ordinances~~ in America.

↳ Over 310 corporations have signed Plans for Progress agreements to initiate programs of affirmative action of recruitment and training. ↳ The United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have conducted outstanding seminars on a nationwide basis to promote equal employment opportunity.

↳ The AFL-CIO and the Labor Advisory Council to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity have spoken out and acted against discrimination and prejudice -- while working ^{effectively} ~~hard~~ for civil rights and FEPC legislation. ↳ The Civil Rights

Department of the AFL-CIO has also organized a number of valuable training sessions to promote equal membership policies and hiring policies.

↳ On the federal level, the efforts of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and its Executive Vice Chairman, Hobart Taylor, Jr., have helped to end discriminatory practices by government contractors, on federally assisted construction projects, and within the government itself, ↳ We owe a debt of gratitude, too, to the Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Labor, and other heads of federal departments and agencies for the work they have done.

↳ But we must frankly acknowledge that these and other efforts represent only the first step towards solving the national employment problem which plagues Negroes and other minority groups -- a problem which, as I have indicated, is becoming more severe.

↳ Many persons are still guilty of the sin of omission -- they remain indifferent to the problem or justify their good will by token gestures. Some even pursue negative policies, refusing to hire Negroes or making the conditions of membership overly complex and difficult to achieve.

↳ While we have made encouraging headway in many fields, I doubt whether anyone -- and this includes the federal government, the business community, and the labor movement can bring an unblemished record to this conference.

↳ Let us, therefore, acknowledge the fact that we have often fallen short of our goals.

↳ And let's get down to work without delay to improve this record.

First, we must see that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is fully implemented. We must eradicate all vestiges of discriminatory employment practices.

↳ I know I speak for Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. when I commit this government to an extra effort to secure prompt and equitable compliance with this historic legislation.

↳ I further pledge that the federal government will increase the effectiveness of its equal employment opportunity program dealing with government contractors and on federally assisted construction projects.

↳ We are deeply aware that uncoordinated and conflicting efforts in administration disrupt the compliance process and result in impositions upon

employers, unions and others who seek in good faith
to act in accordance with the law.

↳ And although the federal government will strive
for voluntary compliance and cooperation, we will also
enforce Title VII and the Executive Orders relating to
employment when that is necessary.

↳ But even when "overt discrimination" is ended,
we will not have met our responsibilities fully. ↳ If
we are to observe the spirit of the 1964 Act -- and we
can do no less -- we must act creatively to give Negroes
and other minorities meaningful choices about their
lives and about their life's work.

↳ We must provide additional training and education.
Those who are ignorant and unskilled today -- because
they were ignored yesterday -- must be ^{educated and} trained for the
skills needed to fill all types of jobs tomorrow.

∟ We can expect Negroes and other minorities to be vociferous in their demands for more jobs -- for training programs -- and even for on-the-job training. ∟ I do not look upon this as asking for preferential treatment. ∟ No, I see such efforts as recognizing a fundamental fact of life.

∟ We have neglected the Negro and other minorities for too many years. Now we have the task of dealing with the natural results of this neglect.

∟ If we are indeed dedicated to the proposition of equal employment opportunity, then government, business, and labor must open more jobs to Negroes -- must go out and affirmatively seek those persons who are qualified and begin to train those who are not.

But ↪ We must not go half-way in this effort. To raise the hopes of a man by training him -- and then to demolish these hopes by leaving him unemployed -- is not an acceptable policy for anyone.

↪ And cooperation must be the keynote -- cooperation between public and private sectors; among federal, state and local governments; among all interested parties.

↪ Together there is little we cannot do; divided there is little that we can.

↪ Many of you at this conference have been deeply involved in the civil rights movement since the post-war renaissance of conscience. Your dedication, determination, and concern have illuminated a new era of progress and reform.

↪ But the quest upon which we embark today will demand that you not only sustain but increase your efforts

. . . will demand that you actively seek to involve others in this quest for freedom, dignity and self-sufficiency. All of us who have been privileged to have education . . . positions of leadership and responsibility -- all of us, Negro and white -- must help the "other America" become an America that cherishes respect for law and order . . . rejects violence . . . and accepts citizenship responsibility and duty.

*Thank
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Only when the impoverished "other Americans" have full access to the common endowments of our

society will they be citizens in the full meaning of the word.

And only then will the record of American shortcomings be transformed into a chronicle of hope for all citizens of the world,

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ORIGINAL

Opening
SESSION
I.

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

ON

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Plenary Session

Initial General Session

Thursday, August 19, 1965

Washington, D. C.

WARD & PAUL

OFFICIAL REPORTERS

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

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THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
on
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Plenary Session
Initial General Session

State Department Building
Washington, D. C.

Thursday, August 19, 1965

The conference convened at 9:05 a.m., in the West Auditorium, State Department Building, the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Chairman, presiding.

PRESENT: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Chairman
Dr. Luther Holcomb, Vice Chairman
Mrs. Aileen Hernandez, Commissioner
Samuel C. Jackson, Commissioner
Richard Graham, Commissioner

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P R O C E E D I N G S

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: Ladies and gentlemen, while we waiting for the arrival of the Vice President, I would like to open the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity.

I would like to welcome you all to this Conference which the President has called, and I would like to take the opportunity to introduce to you my fellow Commissioners, those who are not preoccupied with other duties at this moment.

On my right is Commissioner Richard Graham, and behind me is Commissioner Sam Jackson.

The Vice President has arrived.

The Vice Chairman of the Commission has just escorted the Vice President to the rostrum, Dr. Luther Holcomb.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: Our beautiful feminine member has been lost somewhere, Commissioner Aileen Hernandez -- a little early for Aileen perhaps.

And also I would like to introduce some of our distinguished guests who have been good enough to join us this morning and through their departments are assisting our Commission in its work.

Secretary Udall, Secretary of the Interior.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: A very important gentleman also a round Washington, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. John Macy.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: You will be hearing from Chairman Macy tomorrow in his role of synthesizer and summarizer of the events of the next day and a half.

The Assistant Secretary of Commerce, my former colleague and close friend, Assistant Secretary Andrew Brimmer.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: The Assistant Postmaster General Richard Murphy.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Bob Wallace.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: And Commissioner Hernandez.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: As I said before, I am proud and happy to welcome you to the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity.

President Johnson has called you together as requested by the Congress to promote a better understanding of the rights and obligations set forth in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In this next day and a half, we will be discussing the application of that law to specific problems. Some of the ambiguities that must be resolved, and some of the complications and alternatives that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

will face in administering this law will be discussed.

But let us begin with what is clear and fundamental. Title VII is a ringing declaration of national purpose, to end discrimination in employment on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, or national origin.

For those of us who have fought for such legislation for 20 years or more, the law was painfully slow in coming, but it is here now, and we intend to administer it as vigorously and as wisely, as effectively, and as fairly as we can. This law can help remove bigotry. It can help to remove unfair burdens or barriers that have prevented and still prevent many of our people from enjoying the opportunities and the achievements that are rightfully theirs. Whether it will do so will depend on more than those of us in Washington offices or in state or local agencies or in Federal courts, depending in large part on the extent to those of you in business and labor provide equal employment opportunity in fact; it will depend also on the extent to which public agencies and civil rights organizations insure that full advantage is taken of the opportunity you have thus provided.

Vice President Humphrey, whose leadership in the Senate last year and in those long, long years before did so much to produce Title VII, has stated our objective very well. It is to encourage observance of the law, not just compliance with the law. This approach is required under Title VII with the power to compel nondiscrimination with the help of the courts and not

with our Commission. But even if that were otherwise, the policy would be the same, because the equality we seek is one of fact as well as law. It is one of satisfaction as well as right. It is one of achievement as well as opportunity.

We hope to provide useful information to you in this Conference about Title VII and about our plans for administering it. But more importantly we look forward to your comments and your advice as to the problems most in need of attention and the best means of dealing with them.

We know that Title VII challenges us to deal with questions of discrimination on the basis of sex, with subtle issues of religion and ethnic prejudice in positions high and low as well as with the dominant age-old matter of racial bigotry.

With your help, we will give attention to all of them. But let us acknowledge openly that the problems of the Negro employees and job seekers have a special place in the administration of this title, not in terms of seeking quotas or preferences in hiring for them, but in terms of promoting equality of opportunity for such a large group that has been so discriminated against for so long.

President Johnson has contributed so much, not only to the passage of Title VII but to making our whole society greater for all our people, chartered our course when he addressed this year's graduation class at Howard University. I quote President Johnson:

"It is the glorious opportunity of this generation to end the one huge wrong of the American nation and in so doing to find America for ourselves with the same immense thrill of discovery which gripped those who first began to realize that here at last was a home for freedom. All it will take is for all of us to understand that this country is what this country is and what this country must become. The Scripture promises ye shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart which shall not be put out. Together and with millions more we can light that candle of understanding in the hearts of all Americans and once lit it will never again go out."

It is our hope that this Conference will strike a match to help light that candle. I know that the man whom it is now my pleasure to introduce can furnish the spark today and tomorrow as he has in the years before as well as the great torch bearers in this cause.

Protocol forbids a lengthy introduction -- you are knowledgeable of him, your affection for him eliminates any need for such introduction.

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

(Standing ovation.)

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Chairman Roosevelt.

Members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the officers of the many agencies of the Government that are represented here today, our fellow citizens of labor, business, and the professions, may I first respond to my friend Franklin Roosevelt by saying that about 9:15 in the morning I have very few sparks. There ought to be a ban on making any speeches before 10. I had my three cups of coffee in the hopes that I might fire up the spirit a bit. For some reason or other, the coffee does not seem to have the same effect it had some years ago.

Truly, I am very honored to participate in this Conference, The White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity. I come this morning not to lecture or to give you a stirring oration but rather to visit with you and confer with you and, as our President says, to come and let us reason together. Let's talk about our country, about the opportunities that are ours, the challenges that we face, and, indeed, recognized some of our problems and difficulties.

It is a signal honor to be a participant and to be asked to address the opening session of The White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity.

At a time when America faces hostile forces abroad and pain-

ful and discouraging problems of violence and disorder in some places at home, we need to go on with our business of building a better society. We need, in other words, to proceed in an orderly and yet determined fashion.

I can't help but recall, as I stand before you, the words of the distinguished and great father of the Chairman of this Commission, the late and beloved Franklin D. Roosevelt. If my memory serves me correctly, the final words from the pen and mind and heart of this great man written while he was resting in his Warm Springs home at Warm Springs, Georgia, were words that went like this:

"We must move forward with a strong and active faith."

If I said nothing else today except that, and we pondered the meaning of those words, my visit would, at least to me, seem worthwhile.

Because there are very discouraging developments from day to day, if one is caught up in just current events and has no perspective of history, but if you face those daily difficulties with a philosophy of optimism and confidence, and if you resolve that, we must move forward and with a strong and active faith, then you do not tire, you do not become weary, you know that the task can be accomplished -- in fact, it must be. And that's the way that I participate this morning. It is in that spirit that I participate. It is in that spirit that many of us

here in this auditorium has, as Franklin Roosevelt said, many of us, felt better than a generation, yes, a quarter of a century, many of you have long participated in what has been known as a civil rights movement. We had to have a strong and active faith. The discouragements were incredible, but we prevailed. We shall overcome, and the fact is we are overcoming many obstacles.

I am really filled with optimism and hope about the tomorrows. I agree I am not discouraged. It takes a bit of doing to discourage me, by the way, and I am not discouraged.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically called for the convening of such a conference. I think the Congress was wise in asking that to be done. The Congress recognized that the new responsibilities set forth in Title VII required the most careful study, deliberation and discretion.

Through Title VII we can build a more just and productive society where a man can be judged on his merits alone. This Title VII in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 took more time in its formulation and in its ultimate preparation than any other part of the Act. And the reason that it required more time is because in a very real sense it is the heart of the Act.

In the 11 years since the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, this nation has truly fought to secure freedom for those who were, in theory, freed 100 years before. We have been, and we are now engaged, in a mighty struggle to unshackle those who

have been chained by other forms of slavery: the bonds of prejudice and discrimination.

Through a series of governmental actions, culminating in the 1964 Civil Rights Act or the 1965 Voting Rights Act, discrimination has been stricken from the statute books -- and legal justice has replaced legalized discrimination.

But I think we must understand that equal justice in law does not mean equal opportunity in a man's life. Although our laws are more just than before, we still must seek economic and social justice; we must transform the quality of existence for those who remain largely untouched by our American progress.

Today our job is not only to finish tearing down walls of prejudice but also to build a nation of hope and opportunity.

Civil Rights programs will have real meaning for the child in the inferior school, for the family in the urban ghetto, or the man in the relief line when these Americans have a chance to obtain a better education, a better home, a better job, and better health care, to live in a better community. That is the flesh and blood and the spirit of equality of opportunity. Then, we will be able to say that we have really taken some steps forward to eliminate discrimination and prejudice.

In his Howard University address, President Johnson set forth the stark dimensions of this national failure. That address will go down in the history of this country as one of great state papers. It was an address of courage, but also of

deep preception.

The President set forth the striking contrast between the nation where most Americans live and flourish -- our nation, where you live, where I live -- and the "other America" of despair inhabited by the forgotten and the impoverished, and I remind my fellow Americans that you do not have to travel to the Near East or the Far East or Africa to find underdeveloped areas, people who live in poverty or people who have been denied a fair chance in life. Sometimes all you need to do is to walk across the street or take the bus for a 15-minute ride.

Today, we witness the tragic result of this despair, and we witness it in flame, in debris, in bitterness, in hatred, and in a sense of hopelessness for too many.

Now, here are some of the elements of that despair, as I see it, and I say only some. No person really knows all these answers. In fact, it is very difficult to find any group of people who can identify all of the elements of the problems, but we ought to work on it.

I have often thought that if we would put as much attention to our social problems as to some of our scientific problems, we surely would be making amazing progress. (Applause.)

Frankly and hopefully we are doing a good deal more of this "attention".

The unemployment rate -- I say, here are some of the elements of feelings of despair on the part of many people, and

I want to underline that, because when you read in the newspapers and headlines, just remember what sometimes may be deep underneath of what you are reading -- the unemployment rate among nonwhites is twice as high as among whites. Just start off with that one. You can remember that one, usually.

I am an old teacher, refugee from the classroom. I always remind people of that, because politics is a precarious pursuit. I am only trying to keep my employment sheets alive. In fact, 35 years ago, the unemployment rate among whites and nonwhites was about equal. Nonwhites still experience the crisis of the Great Depression.

The unemployment rate for nonwhite teen age boys is 23 per cent as against 13 per cent for unemployed whites. In 1948, it was actually lower for nonwhite youth. In 1948, the unemployment rate for nonwhite teen age boys was actually lower than for whites, as I say. So, the conditions since 1948 have worsened, not improved.

Might I digress to say that yesterday, I placed on President's desk the report of our Youth Employment Opportunity Campaign for this summer. And I want to commend every person here on this platform that helped -- and all the way through this audience, because this was an effort of Government and the people. You may recall that President Johnson in May asked the Vice President, in cooperation with members of the Cabinet and other officers of the Government, to engage or to start a program of

intensive employment for young people out of college, young men and women out of high school, young men and women -- some of whom have been unemployed -- some school dropouts -- just young people -- people that wanted a job, not just the poor, but people who wanted a job -- to try to channel some of this energy that is in these young bodies and minds to constructive patterns, and I am happy to report to you that we were able to find jobs, through the cooperation of industry and labor, Government, and every group in our society, for approximately 800,000 young men and women between the ages of 16 and 20 over and above any estimate. (Applause.)

This is over and above any of the estimates of employment of young people, and we consider this a conservative figure because we actually cut what appeared to be the total figure by 20 per cent, so that we could say that we were given a reasonable and conservative and accurate figure as to employment. So, we made some progress.

Today, because of too many poor job opportunities, the median income of nonwhite families compared to whites is lower than it was a decade ago. It is, in fact, only half as large.

You know what I have noticed? I used to serve on the Foreign Relations Committee in the Congress, and I see the strange similarity, or, should I say the almost frightening similarity, at home and abroad in the world in which we live, despite the tremendous efforts that have been made, the gap between the rich

#3 and the poor grows. It was to this that the late, beloved Pope John addressed himself -- this gap between the rich nation and the poor nation widens, despite tremendous efforts in what we call foreign aid. And here at home the gap between what you might call those of us who participate in this society, that enjoy its benefits, the gap then, between the middle income and the higher income and the lower middle income group and the poor grows, and the gap between the white and colored grows. In fact, at an alarming rate.

The latest figures on unemployment gives us little cause for optimism on this basic problem that I am talking to you about. In July, one of the best months in the history of our nation's economy, the employment rate fell to just under 4.5 per cent. This is the lowest unemployment rate we have had for eight or ten years. Less than 4 per cent of the white working force was out of a job. But for adult nonwhites in this, the best month that we have had for 10 years, the employment rate actually increased.

It is no exaggeration to say that nonwhites, principally Negroes, are on the verge of a major economic crisis. So, the gap is widening between Negro education and training on the one hand, and the requirements of the labor market on the other.

Automation, management techniques, and changes in consumer spending are all reducing the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Jobs requiring professional, managerial,

clerical, and sales talent are on the rise.

Now, these white-collar occupations account for no less than 97 per cent of the total increase in employment since 1947.

Actually, manufacturing employment has increased very little. Up until just about a year ago it was less than it was 20 years ago.

The professionalization of the labor force picked up momentum in the fifties and will continue to accelerate in the months and years ahead. So, the projection, the prognosis, my dear friends, of the future is that there will be fewer opportunities for the unskilled and the common laborer, and the emphasis upon the skilled and the professional, and if we do not gear our training and education efforts in light of those predictions, predictions based upon a considerable amount of evidence, then our problems will intensify.

But you and I know that many of our fellow Americans, Negroes and other minorities, are poorly prepared for this change.

Three Negro men in five are unskilled or semi-skilled today -- this hour -- 9:37 according to my watch -- three out of five unskilled, and yet we know that there is such a little market for unskilled labor and more than half of the Negro men over 25 have less than a grammar school education at a time when a high school diploma is almost a basic essential, and, frankly, a college education is becoming a minimum requirement for good, substantial employment.

In northern industrial centers, one out of every three Negro workers have suffered unemployment in the past few years -- one out of every three. In some neighborhoods the unemployment rate among Negroes is as high as 40 per cent. That is why we are here this morning. But these figures are only a reflection of the two broad problems must be confronted candidly and compassionately -- problems of substance and spirit, and both categories of problems are bound in a large measure to unemployment, present unemployment, and the prospects of future unemployment or employment discrimination.

Now, some people may say, "Well, that Vice President comes over here with all these sour notes, gives us all the bad news, the world will hear all about it; and the opposition, the enemy, will talk about it, and he does not come over here and tell us a lot of sweet things." Well, I prefer to do that. As I said, I am really almost a congenital optimist. But I came to the conclusion a long time ago that the only nation that dares to admit its weakness is a strong nation. (Applause.)

And the saving Grace of this United States of America is that we are willing to look at our own dirty linen, we are willing to examine our limitations and our liabilities; and not only examine them, but we are willing to try to do something about them.

In other words, we still have concern and conscience, and as long as a rich and powerful nation such as ours is blessed by

concern over the problems of others as well as our own and conscious of our own limitations and inadequacies, then the power and the wealth of this nation will be used for constructive and wholesome purposes.

I think we ought to always be willing to stand up to facts, face them, and then, patiently, perseveringly and with forbearance for one another, seek some answers -- try to find a way out of these difficulties. That is why we are here.

Now, we know that the problems of substance are complex and interwoven. Like an underdeveloped society, the Negro community in many cities is caught in vicious circles of circumstance.

In solving the Negro's problems we cannot identify a single aspect of his life and try to deal with it alone. We cannot just emphasize the need for more jobs or better housing or improved education. More jobs cannot come without better education, and better education depends upon stable neighborhoods, and stable neighborhoods require better housing and health facilities, and better housing and health facilities require better jobs.

It is a circle -- you do with it all at once. You do not have the luxury of being able to just treat one little symptom of the problem.

To solve these interrelated problems demands a coordinated comprehensive attack, and, again, may I say, we, of this generation and of this nation, have the resources for this attack.

We have the intellectual, the material resources that are needed if we have but the will and the judgment to apply them.

Now, nothing is more important to the Negro in his struggle to free himself from the circle of frustration than the ability to have and to hold a good job. The problems of spirit are intimately tied to more and better job opportunities. We must understand that generations of prejudice, deprivation, and subservience have produced profound despair, apathy, and mistrust, and some bitterness and hatred. You cannot tell a person for 200 years to get to the back of the bus, and, then, when you pass a law and say you can ride any place, that he is going to believe -- at least, for a while. It is going to take some doing. We cannot expect, when hope is resolutely crushed from the young, when there are no jobs even for the educated and no homes in good neighborhoods even for the hard-working, we cannot expect people to be very happy, or should I put it: What can you expect?

Therefore, our task is both delicate and vital. We must try to build the qualities of self respect and self confidence to replace those attitudes of unimportance and inferiority which grip so many. We must create a climate of equal rights and equal respect which encourages the exercise of man's unique capacities -- the potentiality for creativity and the motivation towards excellence. Only then will the majority of Negroes and other minorities approach the goal that is critical in their struggle --

the goal of self-sufficiency and self-respect.

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Employment gives purpose and meaning to men's lives -- just being needed gives purpose and meaning to men's lives and nourishes hope and vision in their minds, and it cannot be a passing fancy that I speak of -- it mustn't be that we sort of get a weekend conversion. This type of religion must be deep in one's soul, for a lifetime of work. In fact, from here on out. So, it is in this context of this dual challenge of substance and spirit that we must evaluate our efforts to insure equal employment opportunities for Negroes and other minorities.

Now, we know that in the past, certain employers, unions, states and localities have actively sought to eradicate discrimination and help the Negro and other minorities share the benefits of the national economy.

There are many encouraging signs. Since 1947 many states and localities have carried forward equal employment opportunity programs. This was inspired by the Fair Employment Practices Commission of the war years.

As Mayor of Minneapolis, I was privileged to establish one of the first municipal FEPC ordinances in America.

Over 310 corporations have signed Plans for Progress Agreements to Initiate Programs of Affirmative Action of Recruitment and Training. Mr. Taylor and others that have been so vitally involved in this can be very proud of that record. These are agreements, as I say, to initiate programs of affirmative action of recruitment and training. The United States Chamber of Commerce

and the National Association of Manufacturers have conducted outstanding seminars on a nationwide to promote equal employment opportunity and, as Vice President, I want to thank you for your initiative, for your leadership. You could have resisted; it could have been different. But you made up your minds to do the job constructively.

The AFL-CIO and the Labor Advisory Council to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity have spoken out and acted against discrimination and prejudice -- while working hard for civil rights and FEPC legislation. The Civil Rights Department of AFL-CIO has also organized a number of valuable training sessions to promote equal membership policies and hiring policies.

On the Federal level, the efforts of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and its Executive Vice Chairman Hobart Taylor, Jr. has helped end discriminatory practices by Government contractors on Federally assisted construction projects and within the Government itself. Hobart, am I not correct about 8,000,000 employees are presently covered under those contracts?

So, we owe a debt of gratitude, too, to the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, and other heads of Federal departments and agencies for the work they have done. And we owe a debt of gratitude to John Macy also for the work he has done. But I think that we must frankly acknowledge that these

and other efforts represent only the first steps toward solving the national employment problem which plagues Negroes and other minorities, a problem which, as I indicated, is becoming severe and is not fading away -- and that I want to underscore, despite all of the indices, despite all of the wonderful records that we have of 54 months of expanded economy, high profits, good and profitable dividends, high wages -- all these wonderful economic indicators telling us of a growing and prospering economy -- I remind you, my fellow Americans, that the rate of unemployment of the nonwhite is not better -- it is becoming more severe -- it is becoming more difficult -- in fact, worse. That is why we have to do something.

Now, many persons are still guilty of the sin of omission. Who isn't? I plead guilty. Many remain indifferent to the problems or justify their good will by token gestures. Some even pursue negative policies, refusing to hire Negroes or making the conditions of membership overly complex and difficult to achieve. These people need to correct their attitudes and get in step with national policy.

While we have made encouraging headway in many fields, I doubt whether anyone -- and this includes the Federal Government, the business community and the labor movement -- can bring an unblemished record to this Conference. Let us, therefore, acknowledge the fact that we have often fallen short of our proclaimed goals, and let's get down to work without delay to

improve this record. What are we going to do?

First, we must see that Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is fully implemented. Know it, read it, read its legislative background, and we must eradicate all vestiges of discriminatory employment practices.

I know I speak for Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. when I commit this Government to an extra effort to secure prompt and equitable compliance with this historic legislation, and our task is to educate people to comply, to observe the law, as was said here, and when I was Mayor of my city, I used to meet regularly with my Police Department, and I said, "Look, almost anybody with a gun and a club can enforce the law. What I want you men and women to do is to be teachers -- set an example. I want you to go out and conduct yourselves in such a manner, and speak and work in such a manner that people will observe the law, and if the law is just it will be observed if we but lead, and if we but teach. There will be the few that will not comply, but they will be very few."

So, basically, the work of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and all of its advisors and all of those who are interested in its endeavors is basically to live and to preach the doctrine of compliance and observance -- just ask people to be good Americans, that's all. Tell them to quit acting un-American. Because of all of the un-American activities that I can think of, prejudice and discrimination is at the head

of the list (Applause.)

Yes, we will see prompt and equitable compliance, but I further pledge that the Federal Government will increase the effectiveness of its equal employment opportunity program dealing with Government contractors and on Federally-assisted construction projects.

We are deeply aware that uncoordinated and conflicting efforts in administration disrupt the compliance process and result in impositions upon employers, unions, and others who seek in good faith to act in accordance with the law. Therefore, we will seek to have a coordinated program. That is one of the duties of the Vice President -- as Chairman of the President's Council on Equal Employment Opportunity -- and although the Federal Government will strive for voluntary compliance and cooperation, we will enforce Title VII and the Executive Orders relating to employment when that is necessary -- we will walk the extra mile over the rocky roads of resistance and indifference.

But even when overt discrimination is ended, we will not have met our responsibilities fully. If we are to observe the spirit of the 1964 Act, and we can do no less, we must act carefully to give Negroes and other minorities meaningful choices about their lives and about their life's work. After all, this democratic experience is the right of choice -- to have some reasonable alternatives. We must provide additional training and education.

Thank goodness for the work of this Administration and the Congress in this effort.

Oh, what a remarkable record the 89th Congress -- and I may I say that even recognizing that one may get a flurry of criticism for it, may I say I know of no President in the history of this country that has given more brilliant leadership in terms of legislative programs that have been placed before the Congress than President Lyndon Johnson. (Applause.)

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Franklin, I am sure you know and feel as I do, that the work that your beloved and great father so courageously initiated, that much of that work is now being completed, and it is in the same spirit, may I say, too, of welfare, compassion, and understanding; but above all, in improving the human being, the citizen. We will provide that additional training and education. Those who are illiterate and unskilled today because they were ignored yesterday must be educated and trained for the skills needed to fill all types of jobs tomorrow. And if it is not enough for you to be persuaded that it ought to be done morally, because it is morally right, and politically sound, may I say from an international point of view, it is imperative -- imperative I think the whole justification -- at least one of the basic justifications is for the war on poverty. If you needed more justification other than the fact that we ought to do something about these deplorable conditions, one of the big justifications that we cannot afford in this country is to have 35,000,000 people living in an environment of poverty, of inadequacy or of

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limited resources. We are going to face a tenacious and ferocious opposition for the foreseeable future, and I would suggest that this kind of lingering infection of inadequately trained people, illiterate, sick, deprived, whatever their number, weakens the national strength and actually proves to be an ally to the enemy and not to the purposes of this republic.

We can expect Negroes and other minorities to be vociferous in their demands for more jobs, for training programs and even for on-the-job training. I do not look upon this as asking for preferential treatment. No, I see such efforts as recognizing a fundamental fact of life, and anytime that you feel that somebody is being a little bit too vociferous and demanding, just put yourself in his shoes. As that old Indian chief said, "Before you criticize, walk in my moccasins." When you walk around in the moccasins of others, when you walk around in the shoes of somebody else's, you begin to feel the same pain, and you might very well be just as vociferous or even more so in requiring reform.

We have neglected the Negro and other minorities for too many years. Now, we have the task of dealing with the natural results of this neglect -- it is like abusing one's body; it will catch up with you.

If we are indeed dedicated to the proposition of equal employment opportunity, then Government, business, and labor must open more jobs to Negroes, and to other minorities -- must go out

and affirmatively seek those persons who are qualified and begin to train those who are not.

But we must not go half-way in this effort. To raise the hopes of a man by training him -- and then, to demolish these hopes by leaving him unemployed, is not an acceptable policy for anyone -- it is disastrous.

By the way, you know, one of the built-in problems of a democracy -- one of the built-in assets is we do have this sense of concern, you know, and fair play, and so we do occasionally want to extend the opportunities to everybody, and we say "Well, we ought to bring in the wonders of life" -- and, of course, television has done this. Television is a powerful instrument, a powerful form of media and education. When you start to show people what they can have, you had better make possible the means of them obtaining it lawfully, orderly and properly.

My dad used to say to me, "Never give a man a T-bone steak if you expect him to live on hamburger." There is a lot to it. Simple country philosophy. When people are given the opportunity to see what the world could be like, if they could share in it, when they can see the wonders of this technology and the beauty of this country, and yet they are forced to live in asphalt and concrete and the jungles and ghettos of the broken-down hard core areas of your old cities, where it is dirty, hot, and where the water may be shut off, and the sewage

system is nonexistent, and where the job opportunities are not available, but still they have a little television -- you have trouble. You never should have let them have televisions in the first place, if you wanted to keep them in the dark.

(Applause.)

I do not want to blame the television industry for this. I want to go on record I am strongly for television. All I am saying is that the greatest potential market in the world for Americans is right here at home, and the greatest opportunity for Americans that want to do something for this world is right here at home. You can still do a lot abroad, but precept-and-example is a very powerful teaching tool.

So, I guess what I am really telling you is: We better get to work. And I have learned the hard way, as we all have, that the only way to get anything done is to resolve to do it, and cooperation must be the keynote -- cooperation between public and private sectors -- among Federal, city and local governments -- among all interested parties -- whatever the project: cooperation.

I hope that now, even as I have spoken to you, the flight in outer space is underway. The count-down was taking place. I can tell you that if this flight is successful, as I hope and pray it will be, it will be so because there was cooperation -- not because private industry stood back and said to the Government: "Oh, I don't trust you; you bureaucrat". And not because somebody in the Federal Government said, "I don't trust

you, you profit-hungry man" and not because the worker said to the management, "Look, we are antagonists".

I am chairman of the Space Council, and one thing that I have learned in that job is that anything that we do in the efforts of developing or exploring in outer space requires the most intimate cooperation. If it requires that cooperation to get a man on the moon, do you think it would require any less to help a man stand on his feet on this earth? (Applause.)

I might also add: if a nation is willing to spend \$30,000,000,000 to put a man on the moon, and I think it is a worthy project and I think we ought to do it, I believe it has a scientific potential and it is required for our purposes of national security, but a nation that is willing to spend \$30,000,000,000 to put a man on the moon ought to be willing to make some reasonable investment for a man on this earth. (Applause.)

And I know that our President feels this way, and I am sure the majority of Congress does. This is why, even though I like to look at those pictures of the moon, I would like to see just a little brighter picture of some of our cities. I would like to see some of those pock marks, the slum areas, of our cities eradicated, but that is another subject. I better not get on that. That is one I feel quite deeply about.

So, I am going to conclude now by thanking you at this Conference for being a part of this Civil Rights movement,

since the post-war renaissance of conscience. Your dedication, your determination and your concern have illuminated a new era of progress and reform. That's the torch that Franklin Roosevelt was speaking about, and you have provided the spark. But the quest upon which we embark today will demand that you not only sustain but increase your efforts -- will demand that you actively seek to involve others in this quest for freedom, dignity and self-sufficiency. You are going to have to recruit. All of us who have been privileged to have a education -- and may I say that anybody who received a good education in this country was the most subsidized individual in the United States. There has never been a living mortal whoever paid for his own education, nor did his parents ever pay for it. How can you pay for the accumulation of 5,000 years of literature that is in your libraries?

I hear these people beat their breasts and say: "Well, I am a self-made man," showing the horrors of unskilled labor sometimes. And I have heard people stand up and say: "I did it all by myself." Well, I did not. I graduated from a state university, subsidized by the people of my state. I earned my own tuition -- that was like tips in a hotel in New York. Whoever thought that tuition is paid for a college education? Every man and women in this room that received a education owes a debt to society for the rest of his days, and you ought to pray to live to be a hundred so at least you can at least pay

the interest. (Applause.)

Those of us who had that privilege, those of us who have been privileged to have positions of leadership and responsibility -- all of us, white, colored -- Negro or white -- must help the other America become an America that cherishes respect for law and order -- rejects violence -- and accepts citizenship responsibility and duty.

I wanted to add a footnote, that goodness knows, most Americans feel that way. Thank goodness, most Americans feel this way. (Applause.)

Even when you read of a riot, remember that a small minority is involved. Just remember that. (Applause.)

Most people want to do what is right, and it is our job to help them. We have been given the chance to lead now and only when we have given our minds and our hearts to the quest for equal opportunity will the eloquence of law be translated into the elegance of action, and only when the impoverished "other Americans" have full access to the common endowments of our society will they be citizens in the full meaning of the word, and only then will the record of American shortcomings be transformed into a chronicle of hope for all citizens -- for all of our people here in America and for people everywhere in the world.

I want to wish you well in this Conference. Go and work, spare no labor, do what needs to be done, set up a set of

high standards. Speak out, lead the American people. You are needed. And we think you will do the job.

Thank you.

(Standing applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT. I see Bob Weaver over there, the head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Mr. Weaver.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: Well, we are hopeful that the Vice President's schedule will give us all chance this afternoon at the reception in the Diplomatic Reception Area -- that is on the eighth floor of the State Department here -- give us all a chance to tell him personally of what a wonderful speech, wonderful impression, wonderful inspiration he gave us this morning.

Now, I would like to call on somebody to whom the Vice President referred in his speech, the Associate Counsel to the President. He has been the Executive Vice President of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity over the last four years. He will speak to us on equal employment opportunity, the road ahead. Someone we all know, respect, and have great and deep appreciation for the work he has done, and look forward to working with him in the years and months that lie ahead.

Mr. Hobart Taylor, Jr.

(Applause.)

REMARKS OF HOBART TAYLOR, JR., EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN
OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT
OPPORTUNITY, AND ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
AT THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT
OPPORTUNITY

MR. TAYLOR: Four and one-half years ago, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 creating the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The then Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, as Chairman of the new Committee, set out to develop a national program to bring into the mainstream of American life those who previously had been denied participation.

The Committee began its work in an atmosphere of fear, suspicion and distrust -- an atmosphere that had built up over decades and kept our society divided.

More than 300 years of American life, 100 years of legal emancipation for the Negro, and varying periods of exposure to American life for other minorities, had not served to eliminate for any individual born in this country to fashion a career on his merits without consideration being given to the circumstances of his ancestry.

On one hand we have said that all men are created equal, that the individual is the keystone of our democracy, that each man should be permitted to progress in accord with his abilities and his willingness to work. And on the other hand, we have said that these things are not necessarily true if the individuals

face is darker than most, or if his ancestors came from some parts of Europe, or the countries south of our border, or if he worships on a day or in a way that is different from most.

And, frankly, there was nothing in American history -- if it was read as it truly was and not as we would like to think it was -- that would have justified a different opinion on the part of the citizen labeled as a "minority group member."

Despite the circumstances of our beginning however, we stand here today with what is obviously a solid record of accomplishment.

More jobs are open to more people at higher levels and in more sections of the country than ever in history. In a recent study comparing 1963 and 1964 reports of 100 large companies employing more than 4,000,000 persons in 5,000 installations, we found that non-whites accounted for 27.9 per cent of the total increase in employment, 37.2 per cent of the increase in salaried jobs, and 26.3 per cent of the increase in hourly jobs.

We have handled more complaints and given more relief to more people in 4-1/2 years than any predecessor committee did in twice that time.

We have built a contract compliance program to check on the personnel policies and practices of companies -- and on-site reviews of individual plant installations are made at the rate of more than 7,200 a year.

We have devised a manpower profile reporting system which

last year gave us individual reports on 27,000 installations and 11 million employees and next year will increase by as much as one-third.

We have united 318 of the nation's largest corporations -- the employers of more than 8.6 million persons -- behind equal employment programs. They have formed an advisory council which meets monthly to help us expand our efforts and have donated executives to carry out programs jointly devised; they have sponsored conferences for Negro college placement officials, to strengthen the colleges' abilities to place their graduates; they are now in the midst of a dozen seminars for high school counsellors; they have sponsored conferences in every region of the nation to educate businessmen to the economic good sense of EEO programs; they have formed local associations of employers to work with local communities and their problems, and they have undertaken many other programs to expand training, education and job opportunities for minorities.

The result of all this activity has been a change in attitude on the part of the leaders of American business and industry. Historically, I think it is safe to say, business has opposed Government programs in this field. But when the then Vice President Johnson offered the leaders of our private economy the opportunity to work with us, they took it. They studied the problems, reached conclusions as to the value of solutions to their interests as well as the country's interests, and then they modified their policies and

instituted new practices in accord with their decisions. Since then, they have stood shoulder-to-shoulder with us in increasing numbers as we sought to expand economic opportunities for all our citizens.

I think their new and consistent attitude was most concretely and dramatically expressed in their support for the Civil Rights Act and particularly for Title VII, which embodies concepts that formerly were anathema to businessmen.

The Civil Rights Act was passed because they were joined in their support by the far-sighted leaders of American labor and by a host of private citizens and community leaders across the nation.

We are here today meeting under the sponsorship of the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and its great chairman, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr., who is not only the inheritor of a proud name, but who also has compiled an enviable record in his own right as a leader in the struggle for decency in American life. And we are equally proud of the four other Americans of demonstrated ability and broad experience whom the President appointed to the Commission and who have put aside their own important affairs in order to answer their country's call to service.

All that has been done to date has been made possible by the inspiring leadership of President Johnson, of former Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, the first Vice Chairman

of the Committee, and his successor, Secretary Wirtz. And I would be remiss at this point if I did not mention the substantial -- and largely unknown -- contributions made to these programs by Abe Fortas and George E. Reedy.

But all these accomplishments, both by Government and by our citizenry, have barely made a dent in undoing the social and economic effects of more than 300 years spent in developing separate societies, based on skin color, that masked the potential of millions of Americans and mocked our democratic heritage.

We realize that our task is to unite these separate societies into one truly American society -- one which gives recognition and standing and status to associations of individuals based upon merit.

We think part of the answer lies in bringing to American community life the same kind of concepts and impetus we have been able to make a part of those sectors of American economic life with which we have been able to deal effectively.

We know we must convince people that the fundamentals of the "good" life -- education, housing, responsible jobs, and participation in community life -- are not social privileges to be surrendered one by one. Rather, they are the essential elements in the development of a whole and a healthy individual, of a responsible citizen ready to take his fruitful place in society and to make his contribution to the general welfare.

And to accomplish this we are going to have to eliminate the ghettos -- the white ones as well as the black ones, the

comfortable ones as well as the depressing ones.

In ghettos, we have an incomplete view of life and a distorted concept of reality. We are as in Plato's cave -- deceived into thinking the flickering shadows upon the wall are reality.

And the ghetto spawns the social institutions which perpetuate the essential element of bigotry -- the separation of individuals based upon superficial physical characteristics such as skin color or ancestry.

We cannot delegate the work necessary to change these situations. We must follow through on the concepts we have developed in our equal employment opportunity programs.

Men live in communities. They shape men's lives, men's ambitions, even men's abilities. And their sense of participation in American life is directly tied to the quality of the community that we make available to them.

A great many people are disturbed by the recent events that have exploded onto our front pages -- but these are the realities that demonstrate what I have just been talking about.

I think all of us here and our counterparts throughout the land must demonstrate by personal example and assiduous attention to all facets of our lives that we live what we preach and that we are concerned not just with employment, but with the total social and economic environment of our citizens.

We must use our positions and our resources to bring about

significant changes in the structure of our communities.

Perhaps we do not consider our golf clubs and service clubs and bowling leagues and Boy Scout Troops and our churches and their related functions as elements in an individual's economic life. But the fact is that these associations often exercise a commanding influence on a man's career and his acceptance for advancement. Moreover, we must also recognize the psychological satisfaction that each man quests for in his associations with his peers -- and that the arbitrary denial of these associations cannot fail to blunt his initiatives and warp his outlook.

Every man has the unchallenged right to select his own associates and his own intimate friends. This privilege -- whether exercised foolishly or wisely, meanly or nobly -- is not in question. But, it should be recognized that no man has the right to deny any other man access to those associations which directly impinge on his economic well-being purely because of his race, creed, color, or national origin.

I must say frankly that our leadership, particularly certain segments of it, has shown a great tendency to substitute good will for action at the local level. There is a tendency to make courageous statements in support of change -- and then to quietly back away when friends and associates, disturbed by the threat to the status quo, give us arguments.

But we can no longer afford to do this. A moral consensus

has been reached on this issue. Now we must join together and call upon our followers and, yes, upon those who currently are in opposition, to help us to develop practical programs and take steps in our communities that will enable individuals to participate and to be productive.

This is the work upon which we must enter -- this is the road ahead -- the communication and dissemination in each of our home communities, in the organizations and institutions which we lead or support, of the concept of fairness, of treatment and acceptability of men upon personal worth and not upon accident of ancestry.

Jesue Christ summed it up centuries ago when he said, "Thou must love thy Lord and they God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment and the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Now, I have a brief personal word. It has been three years since we held a conference such as this in Washington. In the course of human events, it is somewhat unlikely that three years hence I will be before you in the capacity in which I am here today.

I want to take this opportunity to tell you how much I owe to so many of you out here, how much I thank you for the support you have given me in these past years.

You came and took me at my word, and gave your resources,

your help, and your support, and together we pointed them out. I see, in this kind of cooperation that we have been able to develop, the wonderful things we have been able to accomplish together.

My colleagues in Government, people from other agencies as well as my own dedicated staff, the wonderful people in business, so many of whom are here, the fine people in labor who came to the rescue -- all of you who did help -- I think we have made it possible, not only to make steps toward securing lives for all American but also toward unlocking that bright promise which American democracy potentially holds for all the world.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: Thank you very much, Hobart for a very fine statement.

Now, I would like to call briefly on a man whom I am sure many of you here have known over the years and during the years he has served two Presidents in the White House, a man who has been tremendously active in the whole civil rights area, who participated greatly over many, many hours and weeks and months in the work which resulted in Title VII and the whole Civil Rights Act of 1964.

I call on Mr. Lee White, Special Counsel to the President of the United States.

(Applause.)

REMARKS OF LEE WHITE, SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE
PRESIDENT.

MR. WHITE: Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

The Chairman very carefully noted for your comfort, convenience and reassurance that he was calling on me for some brief remarks. He said I could talk as long as I wanted, as long as I did not go over five minutes.

The interest of President Johnson in the work of equal employment opportunity is so well known and demonstrated so clearly by the attendance here of the top people from his Administration, and I think the commitment which has been made so frequently in words is more than matched in the performance and the deeds that all of us have seen. But it always must be added, we have so far to go and so much to do.

Title VII clearly is one of the integral pieces of what might be described as the circle of despair and disadvantage that so many of our American citizens must face -- bad housing, bad homes which result frequently in bad schools, improper education, improper training, inadequate qualifications for jobs and the corresponding lack of funds to get the housing even if it were available.

This circle must be attacked at every point, but it is clear to us as we are having discussions and conversations in preparation for the conference to be held this Fall, that one of

the most key problems faced by the minority American today is that of adequate jobs. There must be more jobs and must be more people trained -- fully trained to take them. This is a responsibility of everyone -- Government at all levels, industry, labor, educational institutions, private organizations, and private citizens. It is a job that must have the attention of the American community. We hope that it will. We hope that this particular conference here will be an impetus in that direction. We hope that in the preparation of the Fall conference, we will be able to learn from your experience here, be able to build upon it and hopefully to weave it into a total program.

We are anxious to cooperate with you. The Federal Government's leadership and interest is abundantly clear for all the proper reasons.

The final word that I would leave is that we watch with tremendous interest, as the newest of our areas of discrimination that is a responsibility of the Commission headed by Franklin Roosevelt, that of sex is being handled. It is a difficult responsibility -- it is one, as I have said, we will watch with tremendous interest.

I am reminded somewhat of the recent wisecrack I heard about women: There are only two ways to handle women, but unfortunately no one has ever discovered either one of them.

(Laughter.)

I doubt very much that this will be the experience of the

Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity.

It is my understanding that you will have an opportunity with the President tomorrow, and I think it would be a little presumptuous to extend greetings on his behalf, since he is quite a capable speaker. He is quite competent to handle his own horse of that type.

If you don't mind, therefore, I will leave to the President his own remarks.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: Your coffee break is getting shorter and shorter, but I do appreciate the wisdom of our Lee White in not going on and extending his remarks to include those of the President.

I would like to now again introduce to you somebody that I am sure many of you have worked with in his other activities over the years -- one that we are very proud to have join us in the Administration.

He has recently been appointed as the Executive Secretary of the President's Council for Equal Opportunity which, as you know, is the coordinating activity of the Federal Government to coordinate all of the civil rights activities within the Government.

I am glad now to introduce again for remarks only, Mr. Wiley Branton.

(Applause.)

REMARKS OF WILEY A BRANTON,

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

MR. BRANTON: Ladies and gentlemen. Analogies are being drawn between this decade and the 1930's -- that era when America was given a New Deal. Truly the 1960's will be remembered in history as an epoch of progress and reform. And, as in those earlier days of change, new agencies have today come to represent the dedication of the Government to confront the problems which test our times.

I am here today as the Executive Secretary of the PCEO -- The President's Council on Equal Opportunity. This agency is a striking symbol of the Government's concern with the disadvantaged and the down-trodden. It represents the determination of President Johnson that there be equal opportunity both in law and in fact. And it is most convincing evidence that the national quest for economic, political, and social justice has been extended to new spheres and has been given new impetus.

Chaired by a man who has long been a distinguished leader in the struggle for civil rights -- Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, the Council is meant to function more as a creative agency than as an administrative one. It makes recommendations to improve the implementation of existing legislation; it advises the President of inadequacies in federal laws and programs and makes suggestions for their improvement; and it performs the vital task of helping to make more efficient the diverse efforts

of government in a delicate field, to harness the vast resources of the national government in a coherent and orchestrated effort to combat the complex problems of equal opportunity.

The Council is, in short, a clearing house for ideas -- ideas that can be put into action to facilitate the national commitment to remove the ominous threads of discrimination from the fabric of society.

Our main job will be to insure that the machinery of government is streamlined and primed to do the most effective job with a minimum of effort and inconvenience. In the employment field especially, a diversity of federal commitment and responsibility could cause serious problems of inter-agency coordination. And the Council will strive for an imaginative and resourceful discharge of these varied responsibilities to help remove artificial and discriminatory shackles on equal opportunity.

We hope that these efforts will be interpreted by private groups as a statement of intent -- a desire to meet half-way in honestly implementing the law.

For only when the meaning of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is fully realized will the Negroes of this country be given a new deal -- the promise of opportunity which is, of course, as old as America itself, just long overdue in its fulfillment.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: Ladies and gentlemen, I have already

introduced the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, John Macy, and he has just told me he would prefer to restrict his remarks to his summarization and leadership of our wind-up conference tomorrow morning.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN ROOSEVELT: I have just one or two very brief announcements.

There was supposed to be a half hour of coffee discussion in the lower lobby. It is now reduced to five minutes and fifteen seconds. During this coffee break, I wish those of you who did not have a chance to register will do so, and pick up your kits. Coffee will be down in the lower lobby.

I warn you, do not let the panelists dominate you.

You dominate the panelists.

With those classic words: Have a good time. I hope we will have a successful conference.

(Whereupon, at 10:05 a.m., the initial general session was concluded.)

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