

The problems of racism, vastly inferior education, underemployment, unemployment and family disorganization create the conditions in the ghettos characterized by insecurity and tension, poor health, a high incidence of major disease, high infant mortality rates and poor sanitary conditions.

Despite this troubled picture of a great society in conflict contending with social forces and political and economic urgencies that will test the vitality of our very foundations we cannot help but feel that America is struggling desperately to achieve her promise.

The growing economy, the awareness of the need for social change, the protests of the Civil Rights groups and the passage of a great variety of social legislation indicate a viable and restless spirit.

A recent report, Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States issued in October 1967 describes some advances made by nonwhites in American society. Here are some of the highlights of the report:

- Although Negro family income remains low in comparison with the rest of the population, the incomes of both whites and Negroes are at an all-time high and during the last year the gap between the two groups has significantly narrowed.

- Today, over 28 % of the nonwhite families receive more than \$7000 a year -- more than double the proportion with incomes that high seven years ago, as measured in constant dollars taking into account changes in prices. Outside of the Southern Region, the percentage of Negro families with incomes of \$7000 or more rises to 38%.

● Unemployment rates for nonwhites are still twice those of whites, but the level for both groups has dropped dramatically. For nonwhite married men, who are the chief providers in nearly three-fourths of the nonwhite homes, the unemployment rate dropped at a faster rate than for white married men during the last five years and now stands at about 3-1/2 %.

The rash of legislation and the creation of new programs during the sixties attest to the vigorous efforts of a great nation to strike down the barriers to equality that have historically existed in America, and these are achievements that are a source of pride to all America.

The CRA of 1964 has brought immense gains. No longer are nonwhites denied access to public accommodations. The desegregation of hospitals and the entry of Negroes into additional colleges and universities are results of the Act

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has had a healthy impact on the body politic. Gains are being made as we know in the voter strength of nonwhites across the Nation. We have only to look at the State of Mississippi as a striking example. For the first time Negro Mayors are effectively leading three major American cities including the Nation's capitol.

When we view the results of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and recent Supreme Court Decisions we realize that the legal foundations of racism in this country have been effectively destroyed.

Billions of dollars have been appropriated by the Congress to create a great variety of programs designed to better the lives of alienated people across the land. The Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Operation Mainstream are just a few of the programs funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity to assist youth and older workers in their quest for a better life. Headstart, a program to enable impoverished children to begin school with a better chance for success is another program begun in recent years.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provides millions of dollars to upgrade the quality of education for young people in schools across the Nation.

Turning to our own programs in the Department of Labor we see evidence of vigorous action to better the lives of the disadvantaged and nonwhite.

I would like to summarize briefly here three special program developments:

The Concentrated Employment Program is a reaction to the President's directive in his 1967 State of the Union Message that governmental actions be redeployed so as to provide concentrated assistance to the most disadvantaged and the needy. This program seeks to enlist the active cooperation of business, labor and other community interests; to provide a wide range of counselling, health, education and training services as needed by the individuals

being served; to provide the follow-up assistance necessary to assure that a job, once obtained, will not quickly be lost; and to combine in a single project contract the training and work-training ingredients available under the various legal authorization appropriations.

By the end of fiscal 1968 it is anticipated that Concentrated Employment Programs will have been established in 76 urban slum and rural poverty areas. In 1969, we anticipate 99 urban and 47 rural areas.

The Model Cities Program, established under the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, will develop broad attacks on the social, economic and physical problems of depressed urban areas. The coordination of federal, State and local efforts required by this Act includes the commitment of the Department of Labor to carry out the manpower aspects within the framework established by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Sixty-five Model City planning grants were approved at the end of 1967 and these have included manpower components. Work and training opportunities for neighborhood residents will be an integral part of every Model Cities plan. Hopefully, there will be a substantial reduction of unemployment and under-employment as a result of these Manpower components.

Where possible, CEP and Model Cities neighborhoods will be aligned. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Labor, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will bring together in neighborhood centers all of the services administered by these Departments.

All in all, when these three programs and all other employment service programs administered by the Department of Labor are combined, we find that they will provide some 1,300,000 training and employment opportunities in 1969.

What are we doing within our own ranks to help improve the situation? Two notable areas can be cited. In 1961, only 11.4 percent of the Negroes in the Department of Labor were at levels between GS-5 and GS-11. In September of 1967 this percentage had risen to 24.9 percent. In 1961, only 1.5 percent were at levels between GS-12 through GS-18. In September of 1967 this had risen to 6.5 percent.

The Department has also taken note of Title VI, Sec. 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which provides that "No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

The JCBS program - which stands for Job Opportunities in the Business Sector - is a new partnership between government and private industry to train and hire the hard-core unemployed in our cities. A total of \$350 million will be devoted to this project - \$106 million for fiscal 1968, \$244 million for fiscal 1969. The target is to put 100,000 men and women in jobs by June of 1969, and 500,000 by June of 1971. This all out attack on the problem of the jobless in our cities is priority business, for the future of our cities is deeply involved.

Section 602 directs every Federal Department to "issue rules, regulations, or orders" that will effectuate the provisions of Section 601.

The language contained in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act clearly acknowledges that the mere publication of regulations banning discrimination would not be sufficient to end discrimination. The Act not only states that

discrimination in Federally financed programs shall be prohibited and that rules and regulations so stating shall be issued, but more importantly, directs that steps shall be taken by the Federal departments and agencies concerned to see that these rules and regulations are in fact complied with.

To this end, the Department of Labor has established in the Office of the Secretary of Labor the Office of Equal Opportunity in Manpower Programs, and has delegated to the Special Assistant in charge of this office the responsibility to direct and coordinate the Department's civil rights program.

The Special Assistant is authorized to assume jurisdiction over all matters involving the achievement of the objectives of Title VI.

In 1967, 224 complaint investigations were made by this office and 121 full compliance reviews were conducted in 47 states.

These reviews and complaint investigations revealed a wide variety of discriminatory practices. Among these practices in the State Employment Security agencies were discriminatory referrals to employers by Employment Security agencies, inadequate and discriminatory training procedures, segregated facilities, undercoding and misclassifications and inadequate training of staff on Civil Rights and Departmental regulations.

Investigations of apprenticeship programs revealed a pattern of discriminatory practices. Nonwhites often did not have equal access to information on current or future apprenticeship programs. Standards for selection often were not identical for whites and nonwhites. Nonwhites often were judged more rigidly than whites. When nonwhites were admitted to apprenticeship programs, often they were mistreated or provoked into withdrawing.

Discriminatory practices were found in other Manpower programs:

- a. Physical facilities were often segregated (locker rooms, water fountains, toilet, shower)
- b. Wage rates were often different between white and nonwhite
- c. Work sites were often segregated
- d. Difference in opportunity for advancement were often found between white and nonwhite
- e. Quantitative and qualitative difference existed in training and instruction
- f. Nonwhites were often assigned lower work classifications
- g. Sessions and instructors were often segregated

While the extent of discriminatory practices in manpower programs should in no way be minimized it can be said that State and local officials more often than not are now indicating sensitivity to the problem and are moving toward compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.



Negotiations between the Equal Opportunity Office and State and local administrators have produced a great variety of far reaching changes in many of the Manpower programs.

Some typical agreements to effect these changes are as follows:

Steps are being taken to make certain that appropriate classifications are assigned to persons classified heretofore in service occupations only.

Steps are being taken to improve the image of State Employment Security Agencies by establishing local MDTA committees made up of all segments of the community. Local managers' contacts with the nonwhite communities extend to include nonwhite community leaders.

State Employment Security Agencies are being encouraged to exert more effort to recruit nonwhite staff through the State Merit Systems. This includes continuing visits to colleges and universities, including predominantly Negro schools.

Periodic checks are being made of classification practices in each local office and the results of such checks are reported through the respective lines to the State offices.

Local offices now review the results of job referrals to detect possible racial discrimination and follow-up with employers who appear to discriminate.

Agencies are to undertake a broad program of training on civil rights to assure that all staff members are thoroughly familiar with laws, policies, regulations and procedures established to assure nondiscrimination in services.

Intensified efforts are being made to place nonwhite graduates of MDTA white collar courses.

The provision of separate facilities for whites and nonwhites has been discontinued.

A great number and variety of far reaching changes have taken place in the manpower programs as a result of the agreements reached between the Equal Opportunity Office and State administrators.

Reclassification has resulted in an expansion of employment opportunities for minorities in other than traditional jobs. Enforcement of the Departmental policy forbidding service to employers who discriminate has enabled minorities to obtain jobs in the private sector that historically have been denied to them. Segregated facilities have been eliminated. The quality of counseling services to minorities has improved. Testing instruments for minorities have been called into question and their use as exclusionary devices is now being challenged. Increasingly, through the efforts of this office, minority youth are making breakthroughs in the apprenticeship programs.

The Workers Defense League Program and other organizations working in conjunction with the building and construction trades has set up a program using Manpower Administration monies for a remedial education program to bring minority group youth to the employable level in the apprenticeable trades.

Stepped up activities since 1962 have resulted in increases in the numbers of minorities in State employment security agencies across the nation in areas having a large proportion of minorities. These increases are evident in management-professional and clerical categories. New Jersey, for example, had a total minority staffing in 1962 of 257. The figure had increased to 359 in 1967. The management and professional category jumped from 171 to 234 in New Jersey. Mississippi showed an increase in management and professional positions going from 0 in 1962 to 6 in 1967. South Carolina showed an increase in management and professional occupations during this period going from 0 in 1962 to 4 in 1967. Arizona had 17 minorities in 1962 in professional and management categories and 54 in 1967.

This talk was intended to deal with the social urgencies of a great Nation. I would like to close with some comments on our present social confrontations made by Kenneth Clark, a noted Negro educator and expert on Negro-American affairs. Dr. Clark states:

"It is all too clear that among the casualties of the present phase of American race relations are reason, clarity, consistency and realism. Some 'Black Power' spokesmen like their white segregationist counterparts demand the subjugation of rational and realistic thought and planning to dogmatism and fanaticism. By their threats and name calling, they seek to intimidate others into silence or a mouthing of their slogans.

"To be effective and to increase their chances of survival in the face of name calling, verbal racial militants, Negroes and concerned whites must demonstrate that they are fully concerned and can bring some positive changes in the following intolerable areas of ghetto life:

1. Criminally inefficient and racially segregated schools
2. Dehumanizingly poor housing
3. Pervasive job discrimination and joblessness
4. Shoddy quality of foods and high prices in local stores
5. The dirt, filth and stultifying drabness of ghetto streets and neighborhoods
6. The adversary relationships between police and the residents of the ghettos

This requires the mobilization and use of human intelligence to define the problems, to study and analyze them and to develop practical and implementable solutions to them. This cannot be done on the basis of race. Whites and Negroes must join together in our experiment to determine whether systematic and empathetic use of human intelligence and training can be a form of power

which can be used constructively in the quest for solutions of long standing urban and racial problems."

This has been the historical direction of the NAACP. Its great contribution at this time can be to orchestrate across racial lines the vast intelligence found in all racial groups into a formidable power base to direct an unyielding attack on the divisiveness in this great land, and to steer America back to the great promise she offered mankind so many years ago.

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MDTA Education Center; and 160 at the St. Petersburg, Fla., Technical Educational Center.

A \$121,600 project in Louisiana will permit the individual training of 200 persons in various public and private training facilities. Similar training will be given 100 persons in Oregon, and 70 in Washington.

A youth project at the MDTA Training Center in Houston, Texas, will prepare 120 young people to take jobs as stenographer, cook or in the clerical occupations.

At the State Training School in Red Wing, Minn., a reformatory for boys under 18, 110 of the inmates will be taught basic education, combination welding and automotive services. The State will furnish \$41,098 of the \$117,937 investment.

A special "redevelopment area" project for Washington, D.C., involving \$87,641 in MDTA funds, will train 30 persons to take clerical or secretarial jobs.

Other skills to be taught cover a wide range, including shirt pressers in Fresno, Calif.; machinery maintenance mechanics in Barrow, Alaska; dairy farm hands at Merced College, Calif.; short order cooks in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.; and water and sewage utilities operators in Waco, Texas.

Since the start of MDTA training in 1962, more than 13,000 classroom-type projects have been approved, offering training to about 800,000 people in some 600 different occupations.

During the last two years almost two-thirds of those enrolled have been disadvantaged, which means generally not only unemployed or underemployed, but from a poverty level and either a school dropout, minority member, under age 22 or over 45, or handicapped. (More)

Increasing numbers of trainees are being drawn from the ranks of the hard-core unemployed. Potential participants are sought out, tested and counseled, and referred to training by the more than 2,000 local public employment offices of the Federal-State employment security system which operates under the guidance of the Labor Department's Manpower Administration.

The local employment offices are also responsible for placing the trainees in jobs after they complete MDTA courses. Follow-up reports on 200,000 of them during the year after graduation showed that 9 out of every 10 were working.

MDTA is administered jointly by the Departments of Labor and HEW. Funds for training facilities, instructors, and equipment is provided through the departments of vocational education in the various States, and weekly allowances to trainees, most of whom are heads of households, through the State employment security agencies.

The 104 projects announced today are listed below:

It is already apparent in the reception the Civil Disorders Commission Report has received how important today, with respect to this gravest domestic concern, is this balance Hillman described -- between the weak but united forces of reaction and the superior but divided forces of liberalism.

The "inactionaries" -- to soften Hillman's phrase a little without really changing it -- have immediately and unequivocally taken their position regarding the Report. They are against it -- united against it. It not only indicts the status quo with unprecedented sharpness, but charges the offense primarily to the "pillars of society." And it demands action -- massive action -- now. So all the forces of inaction -- or reaction -- are united instantly and automatically against it -- the forces of false pride and false economy, of bigotry, of ignorance, of egotism, of selfishness, of fear. They don't need a battle plan. All who say NO, regardless of their reasons, are at once effective allies.

And the liberals?

Why, we support the Report.

"In general" that is. This is the rub. We know the Report is essentially right -- that any weaker report would have been wrong -- a disservice -- dangerous. But we have different qualifications and



reservations about it -- and, more significantly, different ideas about what to do to meet the problem itself. This makes sense -- for the right answers are by no means clear. Yet this is also exactly what Sidney Hillman was talking about that day at the Executive Board.

I suggest, tonight, only one element in what seems to me the necessary affirmative response to the Commission Report, but that element which will determine whether the forces of liberalism can be effectively mustered in its support.

It is in form a report, with recommendations, to the President. It will be effective only as it is recognized as essentially a report to the American people.

So long as attention is centered, as it has been so far, only on its proposals for government action and programs, the Report will serve principally only as a sharper focus for controversy. The real question is what response it will evoke from people as individuals.

Among the enemies of the Report will be those "liberals" who read it, nod their heads gravely, think how nice it is to have pled guilty, to have sent up a mea culpa, and who then say in effect: "OK. It was our fault. We have apologized. Now let's shake hands and forget it."

Standing next to them will be those whose reaction is one of rejoicing that it has now been made clear what the Government is to do, so the rest of us can stop worrying about it.

This Report will be effective only as there is recognition that behind all the analyses, programs and policies lies a much deeper question -- what sort of society are we to be in America? Do we accept a sort of drift towards factual Apartheid? Do we see ourselves as racists? Do we believe value and opportunity ought to depend upon pigmentation? No government, no laws can answer these questions for us. They are our questions, asking for our answers.

In theory, of course, we know the answers we ought to give as Americans. We were the first known community to derive its existence not from nation or geography or history but from a "proposition" that all men are created equal.

We are moreover a community deeply rooted in the religious tradition that equal metaphysical value belongs to all human souls, in which the neighbor is "another self." If we aspire to greatness from heritage, we cannot be racists. It would be, to put it at the most worldly level, "un-American." In the roots of the soul, it would deny the Kingdom of God.

But these aspirations become operating principles only in the decisions of citizens. It is not enough -- although it is a lot -- to pass laws. For laws that are not deeply and creatively observed do no more than constrain the grosser breaches of the rules. They are valuable.

They set limits. They prevent us from enduring the iron hopelessness of formal Apartheid. But we know from the laws about education that a real breakthrough to full racial equality lies beyond the reach of courts. We come back to citizens. What will we do? What will you do?

The risk of hateful racism in this country goes far beyond the issues that law or legislation can reach. Of course we must have the jobs. Of course we must re-fashion our center cities and break the intolerable restrictions on housing. But our "minorities" could still then have to move about in an unaccepting and wounding environment. There is demanded of the majority, who to an overwhelming extent command the riches, the opportunity and the power in their community, a more personal dedication to the achievement of civil rights. Without this, the statutes may be in the books, but they will not be in the cities.

The prerequisite to a deeper conversion to the cause of racial equality is knowledge -- not of statistics -- the "facts that are often the enemies of truth" -- but knowledge of living facts.

I plead that the Commission report be read -- in schools, in colleges, in homes. There are so many false stereotypes growing up -- of lawless rioters, arsonists, do-nothing no-goods lounging about on welfare or producing inconceivable numbers of illegitimate children. Let us at least know the facts -- the trap of the ghetto when jobs move

out and workers cannot follow -- a 30 percent unemployment rate -- rat-ridden tenements. Most Americans have never set foot in a ghetto and have no conception of the chasm between the neat white-single-family houses -- often built with a federal mortgage -- and the barns in the center-cities -- built in the 1860's and now housing their third or fourth in-migration of the unskilled and the poor.

Then, knowing the facts, let us as individuals ask our conscience what we could have made of ourselves in such conditions and whether the worst nightmare we can think of is that a child of ours should have to suffer that fate. And if not our child, why any child? Are other children less innocent, less helpless, less deserving by some fatal congenital flaw of a share in America's abundance?