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RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXECUTIVE SEMINAR DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON, D.C.



BY:

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RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

THE PROBLEM OF IMPROVED RACE RELATIONS IN THE U.S.A.

CONTINUES TO CHALLENGE THE BEST WE HAVE TO OFFER IN

AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. IN GOVERNMENT AS IN THE NONGOVERNMENT SECTOR, WE COULD MAKE A CASE TO PROVE A

RECORD OF ENCOURAGING PROGRESS. IF WE ARE PESSIMISTIC

BY NATURE, WE MAY WELL MAKE A CASE OF DISCOURAGEMENT.

MINDFUL OF THE DIFFICULT ROAD AHEAD IN THE FIELD OF RACE
RELATIONS, I CHOOSE TO VIEW THE RACE RELATIONS PICTURE
IN THE U.S.A. AS ONE OF ENCOURAGING SUCCESS WHILE AT
THE SAME TIME POSING CHALLENGING, AT TIMES EVEN STUBBORN,
OBSTACLES AHEAD.

I SHALL NOT BORE YOU WITH A LONG RUN OFF OF NUMEROUS
STATISTICS THAT COULD BE USED TO PROVE EITHER SIDE OF THE
COIN. BUT YOU MAY FIND IT INTERESTING TO KNOW THAT OUR
GOVERNMENT'S EXPENDITURES IN CIVIL FIGHTS AND RELATED

\$1.1 BILLION IN 1970. WE'LL SPEND \$604 MILLION IN 1975 AS AGAINST
\$1.1 BILLION IN 1970. WE'LL SPEND \$604 MILLION IN 1975 ON
CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT AS AGAINST \$75 MILLION IN 1969.
THOSE OF YOU FROM THE MILITARY WILL BE INTERESTED TO KNOW
THAT YOUR 1975 BUDGET WILL PROVIDE \$51 MILLION FOR PROGRAMS
TO ASSIST EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. THIS WILL REPRESENT A 5%
RISE IN OUR BUDGET.

MINORITY GROUPS MAKE UP 20. 4% OF ALL FEDERAL EMPLOYEES AS OF MAY 31, 1973. THIS IS A ONE PERCENT INCREASE FROM NOVEMBER 30, 1969.

THE NUMBER OF MINORITIES IN GS-16-18 SUPERGRADE

NUMBERS 202, REPRESENTING AN INCREASE OF 4 PERCENT FOR THE

YEAR MAY, 1972 THRU MAY, 1973.

WE NOTE A 400% INCREASE IN THE BUDGET OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1970 AND 1975; -\$11 MILLION TO \$53.7. THIS IS MOST SIGNIFICANT BECAUSE THE E.E.O. ACT IS A MAJOR FOCAL POINT FOR

ASSURING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR MINORITY CITIZENS.

THROUGH THIS COMMISSION THE GOVERNMENT CAN:

- A. B RING SUIT IN U.S. DISTRICT COURTS TO ENFORCE NONDISCRIMINATION;
- B. FILE CIVIL ACTION AGAINST PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION;
- C. INVESTIGATE CHARGES INVOLVING EMPLOYEES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

IN THE AREA OF MINORITY ENTERPRISE, EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. MORE FUNDS ARE BEING SPENT -- EVEN CONSIDERING A DEFLATED VALUE OF THE DOLLAR -- TO IMPROVE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, FIGHT DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND PROCESSING A MAJOR WAR ON THE DRUG PROBLEM.

IN COMPARING 1974 AND 1970, WE NOTE AN INCREASE FROM \$690 MILLION TO \$754 MILLION IN 1975. WE ARE EXPANDING THE GOVERNMENT'S DRUG TREATMENT CAPACITY, INCLUDING A VA

TREATMENT PROGRAM FOR 18,000 VETERANS IN 1973.

WE ARE ATTACKING ECONOMIC POVERTY AND OTHER SOCIAL

ILLS THROUGH:

- A. FEDERAL OUTLAYS FOR BENEFITS TO LOW-INCOME
 PERSONS FROM \$15. 9 BILLION IN 1969 TO AN ESTIMATED
 \$32. 2 BILLION IN 1975.
- B. FIVE FOLD INCREASE IN FEDERAL FOOD AID FROM \$1.2 BILLION IN 1969 TO \$5.8 BILLION IN 1975.
- C. OF ALL THE OEO MAJOR PROGRAMS, ONLY ONE -COMMUNITY ACTION -- WILL BE PHASED OUT. BUT COMMUNITY ACTION WILL BE REPLACED WITH A PROGRAM OF
 DIRECT SUPPORT.
- D. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES WILL BE FUNDED FOR \$39.3 MILLION IN 1975.
- E. AN ESTIMATED 200, 000 WELFARE RECIPIENTS WILL BE
 PLACED IN JOBS UNDER OUR WORK INCENTIVE (WIN) PROGRAM.



F. FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR EMPLOYMENT RELATED CHILD CARE WILL COME TO \$586 MILLION IN 1975 AS AGAINST \$143 MILLION IN 1970.

THIS IS PROGRESS, TANGIBLE AND ENCOURAGING.

BUT NOW MY FELLOW PROBLEM SOLVERS. WE MUST MOVE

ON TO THE MORE DIFFICULT STRETCH ON THE ROAD TO PROGRESS.

WE HAVE HAD THE DECADE OF CIVIL RIGHTS CONFRONTATION IN

THE 60'S. NOW, WE MUST CAREFULLY CONCEPTUALIZE, PROGRAM

AND ATTACK VIGOROUSLY THE REMAINING SOCIO-ECONOMIC ILLS.

WE FIND INEQUITIES STILL IN ALL THE AREAS I LISTED EARLIER IN MY REMARKS CITING PROGRESS. FOR AS PROGRESS IS MADE, GREATER AND MORE PERSISTENT DEMANDS FOR SWIFTER AND MORE NOTICEABLE CHANGES ARE BEING MADE.

AS FAR AS THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF OUR GOVERNMENT IS CONCERNED, I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST A COURSE OF ACTION.

THIS COURSE WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US AS PARTNERS TO MOVE FORWARD IN A LEADERSHIP ROLE.

LET'S START WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT SINCE WE ARE HERE AT THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SEMINAR.

EARLIER THIS YEAR, SECRETARY KISSINGER MET WITH A COMMITTEE OF BLACK EMPLOYEES FROM STATE, AID AND THE U.S.I.A. THE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED:

- 1. AN INCREASE IN THE APPOINTMENT OF AMBASSADORIAL AND OTHER SENIOR LEVEL POSITIONS -- NOT JUST IN AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN NATIONS BUT WHEREVER THE U.S. INTEREST IS INVOLVED.
- 2. AN UPWARD MOBILITY PROGRAM FOR MINORITY PERSONNEL.
- 3. STRENGTHEN THE MID-CAREER RECRUITMENT AND LATERAL ENTRY PROGRAM IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMUNITY IN ORDER TO ASSURE A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE OF BLACK PERSONNEL IN THE MID-LEVEL. THIS WOULD ASSURE A MORE CONSTANT FLOW TO SENIOR LEVEL POSITIONS.
- 4. STRENGTHEN STATE'S EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

 OFFICE.

I UNDERSTAND THAT THE SECRETARY IS PROCEEDING TO
LOOK INTO THE REQUESTS OF THE BLACK REPRESENTATIVES AND
THAT THE LINES OF COMMUNICATIONS ARE ACTIVE BETWEEN
STATES '7' FLOOR AND THE BLACK REPRESENTATIVES.

THE SITUATION IN STATE IS SIMILAR TO JUST ABOUT EACH
AGENCY IN THE FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT INSOFAR AS A PAUCITY
OF BLACKS EXISTING IN THE MIDDLE AND SENIOR GRADE POSITIONS.

ALTHOUGH EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS ARE
ON THE TABLE OF ORGANIZATION IN ALL AGENCIES, THE EXTENT
OF THEIR EFFECTIVENESS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE AMOUNT OF
INTEREST, OR LACK OF IT, THAT IS EXPRESSED CONSTANTLY
BY AGENCY AND BUREAU HEADS.

THE BIGGEST CONTRACTOR SOURCE IN THE NATION IS THE

U. S. GOVERNMENT. OUR DETERMINATION TO ENFORCE VIGOROUSLY

THE NON-DISCRIMINATION PROVISION THAT APPEARS IN A LL

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS CAN HASTEN THE REALIZATION OF EQUAL

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE OR COLOR.

I AM FREQUENTLY ASKED AROUND THE COUNTRY, "IS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEAD?" MY CONSISTENT AND PERSISTENT ANSWER IS A LOUD NO. THE EMPHASIS OF CAREFUL PLANNING IN AND EXECUTION OF ECONOMIC PROGRAMS IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THE ERA OF CONFRONTATION IN THE 60'S HAS BEEN REPLACED WITH A FAR LESS DRAMATIC, BUT I BELIEVE A MORE DIFFICULT BUT PRODUCTIVE IMMEDIATE AND LONG RANGE PROGRAM.

MINORITIES HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THE POLITICAL APPROACH.

GREATER EMPHASIS ON REGISTRATION PROGRAMS, DEFINING

POLITICAL ISSUES AND APPROACHING THE VOTING BOOTH IN

LARGER NUMBER.

AS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, CITY MAYORS STATE OFFICIALS,
LOCAL, COUNTY AND FEDERAL JUDGES, MINORITIES ARE ENTERING
THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN LIFE. AT SOME POINTS, THE
STREAM IS WIDER THAN AT OTHER POINTS AND MORE TIME IS
NECESSARY TO CROSS. BUT MINORITIES ARE MAKING IT TO

THE OTHER SIDE, THE SIDE OF BETTER OPPORTUNITIES IN JOBS, HOUSING, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SERVICE.

THE TASK AHEAD THAT MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES HAVE

POSED FOR THE LEADERS OF STATE IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME

FOR THE REST OF THE FEDERAL AGENCIES. INDEED, JUST LOOK

AT THE MAKE UP OF THE SELECT TOP EXECUTIVES WHO MAKE UP

THIS AUDIENCE TODAY. DOES THIS NOT SAY SOMETHING AS TO

WHERE WE ARE AND WHERE WE MUST GO TO ASSURE THE PROMISED

AMERICAN DREAM TO MINORITY CITIZENS?

UNDER UTILIZATION OF A PERSON'S TALENT NOT ONLY ROBS

HIM OF HIS OPPORTUNITIES BUT ALSO ROBS THE AGENCIES OF

ACHIEVING MAXIMUM PRODUCTION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF

AN EMPLOYEE'S CAPABILITY. MY RESPONSIBILITIES AS A

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, AND THE SIMILAR TASKS OF

MY PREDECESSORS IN THIS OFFICE AND IN THIS ADMINISTRATION

AS WELL AS PRIOR ADMINISTRATIONS IS A RECOGNITION AT THE

HIGHEST LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

OF ASSURING EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT HAS FOUND THAT IN THE ARMED FORCES AN INTEGRATED FIGHTING FORCE AND A SYSTEM OF PROMOTION VOID OF RACIAL BIAS HAS PAID HANDSOME DIVIDENDS ON THE BATTLEFIELDS, IN TROUBLED NAVY WATERS, IN AIR FORCE SORTIES, AND IN PEACETIME UNITS OF THESE SERVICES.

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION PERSISTS IN NEW WAYS

AND CONSTANT EMPHASIS TO PROVIDE FEDERAL AGENCIES WITH

THE BEST AVAILABLE TALENT IRRESPECTIVE OF MINORITY STATUS.

BUT WHILE WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY ON THE ROAD TO JOB

EQUALITY, FAR TOO MANY MIDDLE LEVEL AND SENIOR LEVEL

EXECUTIVE BUREAUCRATS FIND WAYS AND MEANS IN THEIR

OFFICIAL POSITIONS TO FRUSTRATE CLEAR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

POLICY; POLICIES THAT AT VARIOUS TIMES AND IN NUMEROUS

SITUATIONS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED AND SUPPORTED BY LAWS OF

THE CONGRESS, DECREES OF THE HIGHEST FEDERAL COURTS AND

REPEATED EXECUTIVE ORDERS.

INDEED, THOSE OF YOU, HIGH LEVEL AND EXPERIENCED

FEDERAL EXECUTIVES -- IN THE FINEST DEFINITION OF THE TERM,

BUREAUCRATS, CAN FIND NO MORE CHALLENGING AND REWARDING

GOALS IN CAREERS THAT MUST BE DISTINGUISHED, OR POTENTIALLY

SO, OTHERWISE YOU WOULDN'T BE SITTING HERE -- THAN

VIGOROUS INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENT, PERSONAL AND OFFICIAL -
TO THE VISIBLE EVIDENCES OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

YOU SEE, THE ERA OF THE 70'S WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT THAN
THE DRAMATIC ACTION -- OFTEN CONFRONTATION OF THE 60'S.
BUT THE 70'S WILL PROVIDE SERIOUS DELIBERATIONS AT EVERY
SIGNIFICANT LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT TO DESIGN AND EXECUTE
PROGRAMS IN THIS BROAD CIVIL RIGHTS ARENA.

WHAT IS THE OVERALL RECORD IN ADVANCING CIVIL RIGHTS

FOR ALL AMERICANS DURING THE PAST DECADE... IN GOVERNMENT

AND IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR? I SAY THE PROGRESS HAS BEEN

TREMENDOUS. THERE CAN NEVER BE ENOUGH PROGRESS IN THE

AREA OF CIVIL RIGHTS UNTIL ALL AMERICANS ARE ASSURED OF

PARITY ACROSS THE BOARD. BUT WHEN WE LOOK AT THE RECORD

WE MUST AGREE THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE.

TO UNDERSTAND THE EXTENT OF THAT PROGRESS BECAUSE WE ARE
TALKING ABOUT NEW TACTICS IN THE 70'S TO RESOLVE ADDITIONAL
PROBLEMS CREATED BY PROGRESS MADE DURING THE PAST
DECADE. MOST OF THE SYMBOLIC, EARLY GAINS STEMMING
FROM CIVIL CONFRONTATION ARE BEHIND US. WHAT REMAINS
IS THE LESS SPECTACULAR TASK OF RESOLVING THE MORE COMPLEX
AND DIFFICULT ISSUES AHEAD IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS
AS WELL AS MINORITY RIGHTS. IT IS, IN MY VIEW, INDEED A
SIGN OF MATURITY THAT IN TEN YEARS CIVIL RIGHTS ENFORCEMENT
HAS BECOME A PART OF THE BASIC FABRIC OF AMERICAN LIFE.

IN THE 60'S WE WERE ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS OF FREEING

OURSELVES FROM THE MENTAL CHAINS OF SLAVERY AND SECOND-CLASS

CITIZENSHIP. THROUGH BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS WE PRESSED OUR

BILL OF PARTICULARS BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WITH SIT-INS

JAIL-INS AND COUNTLESS OTHER FORMS OF MASS PROTEST.

NOW THE TACTICS HAVE CHANGED. MOST OF THE LAWS ARE NOW ON THE BOOKS. WE HAVE PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS AND VOTING RIGHTS LAWS. WE REALIZED IN THE 60'S THAT IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE ACCESS. WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN LESS DRAMATIC INVOLVEMENT. WE WANT TO OWN SOME OF THOSE LUNCH COUNTERS, HOTELS AND GAIN SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR CONTRACTS. WE ARE FINALLY TALKING ABOUT BECOMING PRODUCERS AS OPPOSED TO AGE-OLD CONSUMERS IN THIS GREAT CAPITALISTIC DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. WE ARE TALKING ABOUT GAINING A REAL PIECE OF THE AMERICAN PIE. NOW THAT WE HAVE MADE IT INSIDE THE FACILITY. WE NOW WANT A PIECE OF THE ACTION ... AND RIGHTLY SO -- THIS IS WHAT THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS ALL ABOUT.

THE MOMENTUM OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS CONTINUING,
EXPANDING, AND ACHIEVING GREATER CONCRETE SUCCESSES IN
BOTH OLD AND NEW AREAS OF ENDEAVOR.



ONE HAS ONLY TO LOOK AT WHAT IS OFTEN DESCRIBED AS

THE EMERGING NEW PHENOMENA IN THE MINORITY COMMUNITY -
THE MINORITY ELECTED OFFICIAL. TOM BRADLEY IN LOS ANGELES,

MAYNARD JACKSON IN ATLANTA AND COLEMAN YOUNG IN DETROIT.

THESE ELECTION VICTORIES REPRESENT -- AS MUCH AS ANYTHING -
PROGRESS MADE IN THE 60's.

SO, IF WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN A SINGLE DECADE -AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE -- WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT WE
HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE OUR CONSTITUTIONAL
CONCEPT OF EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL. FOR IT IS ONLY THROUGH
CONTINUED DEDICATION THAT WE WILL FINALLY REACH THE DAY
THAT MEN LIKE DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING ENVISIONED FOR US
ALL IN HIS HISTORIC DREAM OF A DECADE AGO.

THANK YOU.

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RACE RELATIONS AT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

The problem of improved race relations in the U.S.A. continues to challenge the best we have to offer in leadership, issues on the American scene. In government as in the non-government sector we could make a case to prove arecord of encouraging progress. If we are pessimist by nature we may well make a case of discouragement. Mindful of the difficult road ahead in the field of race relations, I choose to view the race relations picture in the U.S.A. as one of encouraging success while at the same time posing challenging, at times even stubborn, obstacles ahead.

I shall not bore you with a long run off of numerous statistics that could be used to prove either side of the coin. But you may find it interesting to know that our government's expenditures in Civil Rights and related Social Programs will be \$31/2 billion in 1975 as against \$1.1 billion in 1970. We'll spend \$604 million in 1975 on civil rights enforcement as against \$75 million in 1969. Those of you from military will be interested to know that your 1975 budget will provide \$51 million for programs to assist equal opportunity. This will represent a 5% rise in our budget.



Minority groups make up 20.4% of all federal employees as of May 31, 1973. This is a one percent increase from 11/30/69.

The number of minorities in GS-16-18 supergrade numbers 202 , representing an increase of 4 percent the year May 1972 thru May 1973.

We note a 400% increase in the budget of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission the period between 1970 and 1975, \$11 million to \$53.7. This is most significant because the E. E. O. A. is a major focal point for assuring equality of opportunity for minority citizens. Through this commission the government can:

A. bring suit in U. S. deshirt court to
efore nondiscrimination;

B. felo civil action against patterns of
anyloguet descrimination;

C. investigate charges involving employees
of slate and local governments.



In the area of minority enterprise equally significant and encouraging progress is being made. More funds are being spent - even considering a deflated value of the dollar - to improve educational opportunities, MMXX fight discrimination in housing make a major war on the drug problem.

In comparing 1974 and 1970 we note an increase from \$690 million to \$754 million in 1975. We are expanding drug treatment capacity, including provide a VA treatment/for 18,000 veterans in 1973.

We are attacking economic poverty and other socialills through:

- a. federal outlays for benefits to low-income persons from \$15.9 billion in 1969 to an estimated 32.2 billion in 1975.
- b. Five fold increase in federal food aid from \$1.2 billion in 1969 to \$5.8 billion in 1975.
- c. Of all the OEO major programs only one community action will be phased out. But community
 will be replaced with a program of direct support.
 - d. Community Development Activities will be funed for \$39.3 million in 1975.
 - e. An estimated 200,000 welfare recipients will be placed in jobs dunder our Work Incentive (WIN) program.
 - f. Federal support for employment related child care will come to \$586 million in 1975 as against \$143 million in 1970.

This is progress tangible and encouraging. But now my fellow problem solving. We must move on to the more difficult stretch on the road to progress. We have had the decade of civil rights confrontation and in the 60s. We must carefully conceptualize, program and attack vigorously the remaining socio-economic ills.

We find equities still in all the areas I listed earlier in the fremarks. For as progress is made, or greater and more persistent demands are made for swifter and more noticeable changes.

Spila

a course of action which we can proceed as partners in a leacership role. In our own agencies of government mention

still are limited to the classification and dead and jobs.

Since Thear the classification and dead and jobs.

example the picture while improved from a few years ago, still does not loom as a model to project to our countrymen and the outside

World Sels Dept at State Dept at And the Black of the Sels Dept at the Best of the Best of

Let's start with the State Dept. since we are here at the Foreign Affins Seminor

Earlier this year Secretary Kissinger met with a committee of black employees from State, AID and the U.S.I.A. The committee recommended:

- An increase in the appointment of Ambassadorial and other senior level positions - not just in Africa and the Caribean nations but wherever the U.S. interest is involved.
- 2. An upward mobility program for minority personnel.
- 3. Strength the mid-career recruitment and lateral entry program in the foreign affairs community in order to assure a substantial increase of black affairs in the mid-level. This would assume a more constant flow to senior level positions.
- 4. Strength Stress Equal Employment Opportunity Office.

I understand that the Secretary is proceeding to look into the requests of the black representatives and that the black representatives are active between States "7" floor and the black representatives.

The situation in State is similar to just each agency in the federal establishment insofar as a paucity of blacks existing in the middle and senor grade positions.

Although Equal Employment Opportunity progress are on the table of organization in all agencies, the extent of their effectiveness is consistent with the amount of interest, or lack of it, that is expressed constantly by agency and bureau heads.

The biggest contractors source in the nation is the U.S. government. Our determination to enforce vigorously the non-discrimination provision that appears in all government contracts can hasten the realization of equal opportunity for all irrespective of race or color.

I am frequently asked around the country, "Is the civil rights movement dead". My consistent and persistent answer is a loud.

NO. The emphasis of careful planning in and execution of economic programs is the order of the day. The era of comportation in the '60s has been replaced with a far less diameter but _____ believe a more difficult but productive immediate and long range programs?

Minorities have concentrated on the political approach. Grater emphasis on registration programs, defining political issues and approaching the voting book in larger number.

Member of congress, city mayors, state officials, local, county and federal judges, minorities, are entering the main stream of American life. At some points the stream is wider than at other points

and more times is necessary to cross. But minorities are making it to the side, the side of better opportunities in jobs, hou sing, education and public service.

