

Civil Rights Commission Speech

Title VI Speech

L Our meeting today is of vital importance to the future of our country.

We are here to ^{help implement} ~~the~~ the declaration of Congress

set forth in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that

no person in the United States shall, because of ~~race~~ ^{Race, color,} ~~religion~~ ^{Creed, or natural origin}, be denied the benefits of any program receiving

Federal financial assistance. L President Johnson has

stated this principle succinctly: "It is simple justice

that all should share in programs financed by all, and

directed by the government of all the people."

This is
the guiding
principle.

L I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Hannah and to the other members of the Commission for inviting us to confer on these vital matters. The Commission has always recognized the need to make accurate and authoritative information on government civil rights policies available to all interested persons. This conference will deal

specifically with the task of achieving equal opportunity
in Federally-assisted programs.

It is also fitting for the Commission to be hosting
today's meeting. Since its establishment in 1957, the
Commission has frequently called attention to many injustices
which Congress sought to remedy by the Civil Rights
Act of 1964. The American people owe a debt of gratitude
to the Commission for its objective and detailed analyses
of civil rights matters and for the wisdom ^{and} foresight, ~~strategy~~
of its recommendations. ~~it~~

During the debate on the Civil Rights Act, many persons
were shocked at certain inequities which had existed -- and
in some cases still ^{existed} -- in programs assisted with
Federal funds.

Hospitals built with Federal funds refused to admit
patients in need of care because of their color ^{or race}

Schools built and operated with Federal funds refused

to admit the children of our servicemen because of their color.

↳ Vocational training schools supported with Federal equipment and funds refused to admit students because of their race.

↳ Millions of dollars in research grants have been given to colleges which would not admit Negroes.

↳ Federally-aided health centers provided widely disparate services and facilities for Negro and white handicapped children.

↳ Local employment offices financed in full by Federal taxes referred white and Negro job applicants on a discriminatory basis.

To his honor, In recent years substantial progress had been achieved in eradicating such discrimination from Federally-assisted programs. But the need still existed for a clear statement of policy by Congress that segregation

and discrimination must be ended in activities financed
by Federal tax dollars.

↳ But it was also evident that the procedures established
by Congress to terminate these practices must recognize the
difficult and sensitive nature of this task. We sought to
insure that innocent persons would not be injured through hasty
or arbitrary action. We must always keep in mind that the
objective of Title VI is to eliminate discrimination, not to
shut down government programs or withhold funds. This is a last
resort and one that I sincerely hope will never have to be
used. ↳ We established, therefore, a variety of steps--providing
for voluntary conciliation, hearings, notification of Congressional
and judicial review--before Federal funds would be ^{terminated} ~~withheld~~.

↳ We recognized the need to gain a deeper appreciation
for the feelings of our fellow Americans--white and Negro.

↳ But armed with understanding, compassion, and a determination
to see justice preserved, all of us at the Federal, state and

local level will be able to work together in achieving the changes now required by Federal law.

While some may still disagree with the principles of Title VI, ~~it is the law of the land~~ ^{it was} supported by an overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats in both Houses of Congress. Its coverage is purposely broad and it is binding on all Federal administrators,

On every occasion when law has been invoked as the means to eliminate racial or ethnic discrimination, there have been those prophets of doom and destruction who predicted it could never be done, that resistance and disobedience would be widespread, that chaos and disruption would follow,

These predictions have been proved unfounded. These false prophets have forgotten that ["]just laws["] are themselves educational devices which by their persuasive effects bring about the necessary changes.

State and local fair employment practices laws have met with general acceptance by employers and workers. At the Federal level, our recent experience under the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights Act is further evidence that Americans by and large want to be law-abiding citizens.

Our Armed Forces, vital to the security and safety of our nation, were completely and successfully desegregated despite the warnings that it couldn't be done. We have seen major institutions in our society make these changes and we shall see many rapid changes in the days ahead.

I am confident that we will make the changes called for by Title VI and that we will do so without the disruption of needed services anticipated by some. For, in the words of President Johnson, "...the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife and change without hatred: not without differences of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the union for generations."

Title VI is an explicit mandate to eliminate

discrimination. If we all move forward, clear in our
objective, firm and unequivocal in our resolve, with
understanding and sensitivity, we will find in a short
time that we have accomplished more than we thought possible.

Now, I have a special word for the administrators of
Federal programs -- many of whom have gathered here today.

We must remember that this job will not be accomplished at

our desks in Washington. It will be accomplished by your

man in the field. He needs your constant support and

encouragement. He will be looking to you for leadership

and guidance and you must not fail him. When he is devoted

intelligent, and imaginative, he should be rewarded for

his efforts. You know that the problems will not disappear ^{quickly or} easily.

Their solution calls for our continuing and best effort.

We will need to stay with this assignment until we are

confident that equal participation in Federal programs for

all persons is a reality. ! *This is our goal*

✓ We are aware of the special problems Title VI poses
for those of you receiving funds from several Federal
agencies. ✓ President Johnson has asked me to help coordinate
all activities of the Federal government relating to civil
rights. ✓ A substantial part of this assignment will relate
to implementing Title VI in a manner which avoids dupli-
cation and the imposition of unreasonable burdens or
conflicting requirements.

✓ We have already seen 21 Federal agencies adopt
regulations reflecting consistent policy positions on
similar problems. ✓ This was accomplished by a White House
Task Force composed of representatives of the Department
of Justice, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Commission
on Civil Rights. ✓ Together they met with lawyers and
administrators from each of the departments and agencies
over a six-month period. ✓ Policy decisions were made,

specific problems of each agency were dealt with in a consistent manner, and the regulations were written and rewritten to give due consideration to the peculiarities of the many programs.

These Federal agencies also prepared a common form of assurance that has been sent to all recipients of Federal financial assistance. As we move into the next phase, the enforcement of the regulations implementing Title VI, appropriate inter-agency machinery will be developed to protect the rights of all parties.

No society can aspire to greatness, can sustain its economy, or preserve its role as a world leader without the full participation of all its citizens. The President has prescribed three basic tasks for this Administration in his State of the Union address:

1) To keep our economy growing;

2) To open for all Americans the opportunities

now enjoyed by most Americans; and

3) To improve the quality of life for all.

These objectives are interdependent. We cannot

improve the quality of our life unless we open opportunities

for all Americans. We cannot sustain an expanding economy

unless we utilize fully our most precious national resource --

our human potential. We cannot remain a world leader

unless our people are well educated, productive, healthy

and free. -- *all our people.*

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act is vital important

to the achievement of these objectives. It establishes a

framework for assuring that human resources will not be

lost -- that opportunities will be open to all -- that

every citizen will benefit from the programs devised by

Congress to improve the well-being of our people, our

economy and our Nation.

L We are not concerned here today merely with the technical language of government regulations. We are concerned primarily with the future well-being of our American people.

L We are concerned about the cities in which we live: will they in the future be the home of both Negroes and whites of all economic classes?

L We are concerned about education for our children: will ^{the quality of all of} discrimination continue to deprive ^{some of} our young of adequate preparation for life?

L We are concerned about the health and welfare of all citizens: will those in need have equal access to the facilities that can be of service to them?

ok President Johnson said in his historic Inaugural Address: "We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one

citizen, but upon all citizens." — This is the meaning of citizenship responsibility.

And the liberties, the opportunities, and the future
of all Americans will, in large measure, depend upon our
ability to achieve equal opportunity in ~~all areas of American~~
~~life.~~

This is a challenge worthy of a free people.

We are counting on each of you ~~to do your part.~~

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Thank you, Dr. Hannah, distinguished members of the Commission; the many representatives of the governmental agencies, Federal, state and local that have gathered here today for this important conference; and my fellow citizens.

I'm very happy that I've been included on this program. I see that I was to be the key-note speaker. I want you to know that I was fifteen minutes late for the late key-note -- fifteen minutes early I should say -- for the late key-note speech that I was supposed to give. I had originally been scheduled for 7:30, but Dr. Hannah told me that none of you enjoyed long lunches, and he wished that I'd come over around noon. I've been given to understand now that you have had your lunch and that you are now in the afternoon session. I must say that if this becomes a pattern in Washington, people will begin to wonder just what is happening on the banks of the Potomac. But I know that you are hard at work and that you have many things that you want to do today.

There is no area of our governmental activity or community activity that is more important than that of assuring equal opportunity for all of our citizens. Nor is there any area in which I have had a longer, continuing interest. Our meeting today is of vital important to the

future of the country. I am sure that you recognize that because of your presence here. And I have been told that a much larger group came to the Conference than had been originally anticipated.

We are here to find ways and means to help implement the declaration of Congress set forth in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That Title, in proclaiming that no person in the United States shall -- because of race, color, creed or national origin -- be denied the benefits of any program receiving Federal financial assistance.

I can assure you that the Congress gave a great deal of attention to that title. As the floor manager of the Civil Rights Act, I am well aware of the importance of the Title and of the legislative history concerning it.

President Johnson has stated the principle that underscores this Title succinctly. I quote him: "It is simple justice that all should share in programs financed by all and directed by the government of all the people." Now that is as plain and as concise a definition of what Title VI is all about as any language that you can find.

I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Hannah, the other members of the Commission, distinguished Americans, for inviting us to confer on these vital matters. The Commission has always recognized the need to make accurate and authoritative information on government civil rights policies available to all interested persons and organizations.

This Conference will deal specifically, as I have indicated, with the task of achieving equal opportunity in Federally-assisted programs.

It is also fitting that the Commission be hosting today's meeting. Since its establishment in 1957, the Commission has frequently called attention to many injustices which the Congress ought to remedy by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The American people owe a debt of gratitude to the Commission for its objective and its detailed analyses of Civil Rights matters and for the wisdom and the foresight of its recommendations.

Dr. Hannah, one of the ~~the~~ very first bills that I introduced when I came to the Senate sixteen years ago was to establish a Civil Rights Commission. I thought that this was the heart and the core of any effective action in the Civil Rights area. And it was a very gratifying experience for me to be able to vote for that legislation and to see the splendid work of the Commission under the authority of law.

Now during the debate on the Civil Rights Act, many persons in and out of Congress were truly shocked at certain inequities that have existed for so long in our nation... and in some cases still exist, particularly in programs assisted with Federal funds, remembering that these were funds that were collected from all the citizens. Hospitals built with Federal funds had refused to admit patients in need of care because of the color or the race of the patient. Schools

built and operated with Federal funds refused to admit the children of our servicemen because of their color. Vocational training schools supported in many instances with Federal equipment and funds refused to admit students because of their race. Millions of dollars in research grants have been given to colleges which would not admit qualified Negro students. Federally-aided health centers provided widely disparate services and facilities for Negro and white handicapped children. Why even local employment offices financed in full by Federal taxes referred white and Negro job applicants on a discriminatory basis. All of this is but an explanation of why Title VI.

To be sure, in recent years, substantial progress has been achieved in eradicating such discrimination from Federally-assisted programs by administrative action, by the influence of the President of the United States in several administrations there has been substantial progress. But the need still existed for a clear statement of public policy by the Congress, the representatives of the people of the United States, that segregation and discrimination must be ended in activities financed by Federal tax dollars. We have witnessed the effective action of an Executive branch in battling against discrimination, taking a stand for equal opportunity. We have witnessed effective action by our Courts in the cause of equal treatment under the law, and equality of opportunity. And the year 1964 -- at long last -- found the Congress of the United States, the elected representatives of the people of the United States, declaring its policy to end discrimination.

It was also evident that the procedures established by Congress to terminate these practices of segregation and discrimination must recognize the difficult and the sensitive nature of this Act. This isn't just a matter of writing a law, nor is it merely that of promulgating a regulation. We ought to insure that innocent persons would not be injured through hasty and arbitrary action. We must always keep in mind that the objective of Title VI is to eliminate discrimination -- not to shut down government programs or withhold funds. This is the last resort, and one that I sincerely hope will never have to be used. We establish therefore a variety of procedures and steps providing for voluntary conciliation. Here's where our Community Relations Service can do so much -- for hearing, for notification of Congressional and Judicial review before Federal funds would be terminated. In other words, your Federal Government wants to walk the extra mile in the hope that the people will observe the law rather than to compel the instrumentalities of government to enforce the law.

I was the mayor of a city of a little over half a million people. I worked very closely with my law enforcement officer until we were able to get a program of healthy, wholesome community relations. And I have said a number of times, it doesn't take a great deal of intelligence or skill for a man with a uniform and a badge and a club and a gun to enforce the law. But it does take some skill and some

understanding and quality of character and persuasiveness to gain support of a community so that there is a desire to observe the law.

What I want in America is law observance. To be sure we may very well have to engage in law enforcement, but good Americans -- Americans that understand the responsibilities of our citizenship -- Americans that really believe in the constitutional structure and system that is ours will do everything within their power to encourage observance of the law, respect for the law, compliance with the law, acceptance of the law, rather than to compel those of us who have taken the oath of office to enforce the law. But enforce it we will if compelled to do it.

Now we recognize in the discussion of Title VI and in the language of that part of the statute the need to gain a deeper appreciation for the feelings of our fellow Americans white and Negro. This is why we built in this long procedure. This is why we are having a conference such we're having today. But, armed with understanding and compassion and persevering patience and a determination to see justice preserved, all of us at the Federal State and local levels will be able to work together in achieving the changes now required by Federal law.

Let me pause for a moment to thank the many officials North and South, East and West, officials that aspire to the passage of this Act, that opposed it -- may I now thank them, appointed and elected officials, for calling upon their fellow citizens and upon the jurisdictions of government, Federal,

state and local, to respect the law and for the citizens of these jurisdictions to abide by the law and to comply with it.

I'm sure that many of you recall the many statements that were made by senators and congressmen -- some of whom had opposed this section of the bill vigorously. Nevertheless, once the law was passed by a majority and an overwhelming bipartisan majority in both Houses and signed by the President -- these senators and congressmen from areas where the implementation of this section needless to say poses some serious problems. These senators and congressmen asked their people and local officials to observe the law, the respect the law, to comply with the law, and I think they are worthy of our respect and our commendation for this fine cooperation.

Now while some may still disagree with the principles of title VI, I must repeat again it is the law of the land. And, as I said, it was supported by an overwhelming majority of Republicans and Democrats in both Houses of Congress. The Civil Rights doesn't belong to any one party, or any one individual, it belongs to the conscience of America and to men and women of conscience and conviction in all walks of life. It's coverage is purposely broad and this particular title is binding on all Federal administrators. On every occasion when law has been invoked as the ^{means} ~~XXXX~~ to eliminate racial or ethnic discrimination there have been those very vociferous prophets of doom and gloom and destruction who predicted it could never be done -- that resistance and dis-

obedience would be widespread -- that chaos and disruption would follow. Now these predictions have been proved unfounded. These false prophets have forgotten that just laws, laws that are needed, laws that are timely, are themselves educational devices which by their persuasive effect bring about the necessary changes. State and local fair employment ordinances and laws have met with general acceptance by employers and workers. In fact, we gained a great deal of experience at the local and state levels in that matter of civil rights legislation and administration -- valuable experience which will stand us well with this new comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1964. At the Federal level, our recent experience under the Public Accommodations provision of the Civil Rights Act is further evidence that Americans by and large want to be law-abiding citizens. And sometimes I wonder why there isn't just a little more copy through the widespread acceptance of and compliance with this particular part of the civil rights act -- the public accommodations feature, which during the votes in Congress so many said would never work, would never be enforced, would never be respected and yet in state after state and city after city this part of the Act is having wide acceptance and compliance. That's good news!

Oh, it doesn't make the same kind of a headline as an airplane crash or another coup in Vietnam or a little corruption does -- but it ^{is} good news ! And the one thing that the Civil Rights Commission can do and does do is to tabulate the good news. I don't believe that as an American I ~~XXXX~~

have to be aroused to action by constantly being told that everything is bad. I'd like to think that I could do something because it was the right thing to do rather than being frightened into doing it -- and I'd like to believe that my America, that our great nation, in the mean seeks to do what is right without having to be whipped into it either from fear or from exposure. And here is where the media can be very, very helpful to us.

Our Armed Services, for example, vital to the security and safety of our nation were completely and successfully desegregated despite the warnings that it couldn't be done. We have seen major institutions in our society make these changes, and I predict that we shall see many rapid changes in the days ahead. In fact, ^{we've moved} ~~XXXXXX~~ so rapidly in recent months that most reporters and agencies of information haven't been able to keep up with the developments. I am confident that we will make the changes called for by Title VI and that we will do so without disruption of needed services anticipated by some. I am also confident that for the one -- for the few places that do not readily abide by Title VI: they'll get the publicity; and the thousands that do, ^{you'll} ~~they'll~~ be forgotten and taken for granted if you're hoping to get headlines. But let that not disturb you. The good life is seldom rewarded on earth -- but proceed to try to live it.

In the words of President Johnson, "The hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without fright and change without hatred -- not without differences of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the Union for generations."

I predict that we will make these changes and that we'll do them without fright or hatred. Title VI ^{explicit} is a ~~specific~~ mandate to eliminate discrimination. There's no other way you can read it, nor should you try to interpret it any other way. If we all move forward, clear in our objectives, firm and unequivocal in our resolve, with understanding and sensitivity, we will find in a short time that we have accomplished much more than any of us thought possible. In fact, I encourage those of you who are gathered here for the purpose of this conference, to enter upon your work with a spirit of optimism and determination. If you go about it feeling that people aren't going to cooperate, you'd be surprised, they may help you out in that judgment. If you go about your work in the spirit that people will cooperate -- that there is in America an ingrained respect for the law, that it's the thing to do, I predict that you will have a wave of cooperation and compliance.

Now I have a special word for the administrators of the Federal program, many of whom have gathered here today. This job will not be accomplished at our desks in Washington. It will be accomplished by your man or woman in the field. This person -- this man in the field -- needs your constant

support, attention, and encouragement. He will be looking to you for leadership and guidance and you must not fail him.

May I add that it just isn't good enough to send out a bulletin. I've been at this governmental business a long time, and I've heard all the wonders of de-centralization. I used to teach a course in public administration. I hope the students will forgive me for what I taught them, having been in government this long. I also taught a course in political parties and congressional procedures: I hope I'll be forgiven for that, because the relationship between fact and fiction is indeed remote.

But if you think we're going to be able to do the job of Title VI by publishing another one of these multitudinous bulletins, you're dead wrong. You're ~~going~~ going to have to nurse this one through. You're going to have to take a real, continuing, personal interest -- and it's going to require the best people in your agencies to get the job done. Not the toughest ones -- it doesn't take any brains to be tough; it doesn't even take any intelligence just to be firm; but it's going to require people of sensitivity and understanding who realize the importance of this objective. And it's going to require those people at top levels, and they must follow right down through to the program in the field. It'll be time well spent and money well spent. The more that people can be brought together at the local levels to understand the implementation of Title VI, and not just here in Washington, the better this program is going to work. And I suppose it's wrong for a Vice President who has little or no authority,

and only the responsibility that is given to him by the President, to admonish anyone, but I've been in government for a long period of time. And I know you can get your name in the paper by just issuing a statement or a letter or a regulation. But I also know that that doesn't get the job done. The way you pass legislation in the Congress is to there, there, there, there, there, there, there, there. And attend to every detail. And the way you get a program initiated and carried through, particularly a program of the magnitude of this one and of the complexity and the difficulty of this one, is to make it your business, Mr. Administrator, Mr. Cabinet Officer, Mr. Assistant Secretary or Bureau Chief, whoever it is who is entrusted with these responsibilities -- don't leave this to someone else. Follow it through in the field. Go visit that person in the field and work with those local and state governmental officials. Be with them as a help-mate, as one that seeks to help and not just to enforce and direct. And when you find a person in the field who is devoted, intelligent, and imaginative, he should be rewarded for his efforts. Cite him for service beyond the call of duty. You know that the problems will not disappear quickly and easily. Their solutions call for our continued best efforts and we will need to stay with this assignment until we are confident that equal participation in Federal programs for all persons is a reality. We need to stick with this until it becomes as natural as the breath of life itself. We're going to have to overcome generations of old, bad habits.

We're going to have to re-write whole systems of procedures, and in order to get that job done you're going to have to stay with it. Be persevering and follow it through just as you would give attention to any particular personal problem in your family.

Now you're aware of the special problems that Title VI poses for those of you receiving funds ^{from} ~~in~~ several Federal agencies. President Johnson has asked me to help coordinate all the activities of the Federal Government relating to civil rights. And I must say the government may not have done much for a long time in civil rights, but it'surely did get busy in a hurry. And there have been a number of article already written that indicate a wide area of civil rights activity. In fact, the helter-skelter nature of civil rights activities unless we can properlybring them together and coordinate them and integrate them as a working instrumentality in our government.

A substantial part of this assignment of coordination will relate to the implementing of Title VI. In a manner which avoids duplication and confusion, and the imposition of unreasonable burdens and conflicting requirements. Lest there be any doubt about it, I want it quite clear that my role of coordination is not one of administration. The responsibility for Title VI is in each Agency. I'm just going to be looking over the transom. I'm going to be the monitor, in a sense, hoping that we can work together cooperatively in an effort to improve the administration. We've already seen 21 federal agencies make some very important

progress, adopting regulations reflecting consistent policies positions on similar problems. Those 21 federal agencies have done a good job. This was accomplished by a White House task force composed of the representatives of the Department~~s~~ of Justice, the Bureau of the Budget, and the Commission on Civil Rights. Together, they met with lawyers and administrators in each of the departments and agencies over a six-months period and many policy decisions were made. Specific problems of each agency were dealt with in a consistent manner and regulations were written and re-written to give due consideration to the many peculiarities of the many and diverse programs.

Now these Federal agencies also prepared a common form of assurance that has been sent to all the recipients of Federal financial assistance. And as we move into the next phase, the enforcement of the regulations implementing Title VI appropriate inter-agency machinery must be developed to protect the rights of all parties. In other words, we don't want one agency saying that it can enforce more firmly and stringently than another -- or another agency trying just to gain the popularity contest award by not enforcing it.

I don't think we'll have this problem a'tall. We are going to be able to work out inter-agency machinery that will bring about a uniformity, or at least a degree of uniformity of policy.

Now, no society can aspire to greatness and sustain its economy or preserve its role as a world leader without the full participation of its citizens. Sometimes, I've wondered how we've done so well by insisting only upon using only about three-fourths of our available talents and manpower. The President has prescribed three basic tasks for the Administration in his State of the Union address:

He has said that we must keep this economy of ours growing -- and that's about the only way I know of that you can find jobs. You can argue about jobs and job descrimination, but if there areno jobs, if the work force grows faster than the economy grows, equal opportunity for employment becomes theoretical not practical.

Secondly, he has asked -- or he has laid down as one of the basic tasks for our Administration -- to open for all Americans the opportunities now enjoyed by most Americans.

And thirdly, to improve the quality of life for all.

Now, these objectives are inter-dependent. You cannot improve the quality of life unless we have and unless we open opportunities for all Americans. Because the quality of our individual and national life is diminished or adulterated by the denial of opportunity for anyone else. We are not an island unto ourselves. And if we can believe this in terms of the relationships between nations -- and this is the doctrine of international cooperation, that we are all inter-dependent, and that a man is not an island unto himself,

nor is a nation unto itself -- then surely we can appreciate that the quality of our individual lives, is in a very real sense, weakened or adulterated, or corrupted by denial of opportunity to others.

We cannot sustain and expand the economy unless we utilize fully our most precious natural resources, our human potential.

And one of the things that I see in the President's war on Poverty is the mobilization of the resources of government and private agencies of the public and private sector for the conservation and the development of human resources.

For a long period of time we have been concerned about our trees, our water, our land, and our minerals. At long last -- as a matter of national policy -- we are concerned about our minds, about the health of our bodies, about enlightenment, training, skills, the development of the most precious possessions on the face of this earth -- human kind.

We cannot remain a world leader -- to put it simply -- unless all of our people are as well educated as they can be productive, healthy and free.

Now, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act is a part of this great program, and it's vitally important to the achievement of these three objectives -- of a growing economy, of opening up opportunities to all Americans, and of improving the quality of life for all. It establishes a framework for insuring that human resources will not be lost and that

opportunities will be opened to all, and that every citizen will be permitted to benefit under the programs devised by Congress to improve the well-being of our people, our economy and our nation.

We're not concerned here today merely then with the technical language of government regulation, important as that is. We are concerned primarily with the future well-being of our American people. We are concerned about the cities in which we will live. Will they, I ask, in the future be the home of both Negroes and Whites of all economic classes? Or, will they become some new form of ghetto.

We are concerned about the quality of education for all our children. Will discrimination continue to deprive some of our young people of adequate preparation for life?

We're concerned about the health and welfare of all of our citizens. Will those in need have equal access to the facilities that can be of service to them?

These are the questions that we must answer, and I'm sure that in our respective minds and hearts we have already made that answer.

President Johnson said in his historical Inaugural Address, "We are one nation and one people, our fate as a nation, and our future as a people rests not upon one citizen but upon all citizens."

This is what we mean by equal opportunity, and this is also what we mean by citizenship.

It's my view that the liberties and the opportunities and the futures -- the future of all Americans -- will in a large measure depend upon our ability through law, through persuasion, through example, to achieve equal opportunity in all areas of American life.

This one title, in this comprehensive Civil Rights Act, has a great deal to do with the achievement of that goal of equal opportunity. Let this word "opportunity" mean something in America. A word that has daily, practical application.

This is the challenge worthy of a free people, and quite frankly we in government wherever we are are counting on each of you to do your part.

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