

its being simply a product of the equation of fiscal and economic policy and of the expansion of the economy.

We just assumed there would be employment or unemployment depending on whether times were good or bad. That was the first stage.

We have been for about 6 or 7 years now in the second stage, which represents a very considerable advance. Now, in the manpower program we are recognizing that a lot of people are unemployed even when there are job possibilities, and we have to develop their capacity to fill the jobs, as well as develop the job opportunities.

That is a very important second step, and one which I do not mean to minimize in its significance at all.

But I think we are well reminded that we are in danger of taking a new form of deterministic approach in which we set up the economy as an end instead of a means, which is all it can be—we set up manpower programs as programs. And we are leaving out, or not yet paying enough attention to the fact that in a very real sense, man does not live just by a job alone—at least in the income sense.

What I am trying to suggest is that I think we are moving now into a third stage in which the quality of work is going to receive a good deal more attention than it did before—when we talked only about the quantity.

We are still measuring unemployment, even in our most advanced current stages, in terms which mean that if an individual has half of his or her capacities used, he or she is fully employed.

Now, that is an old barnacle definition of employment, which is cast entirely in terms of what the system wants instead of what the individual can do.

Now, this is very relevant all the way up and down the employment line. But, it comes into its sharpest focus in connection with our approach to the problem of the currently disadvantaged workers. And I am suggesting in this statement, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that we will make a great mistake if we conceive of this civil rights revolution as being an economic revolution, when in fact it is a social revolution. It would be entirely possible to offer every Negro in this country a job as a hired hand, or as a permanent Government employee, give him a permanent Government shovel, or give him guilt-edged Government guarantees—and I spell that g-u-i-l-t. You can give him all of those things and not get to the heart of the civil rights revolution—because it is not going to answer the problem that this country brought on itself, simply to offer any kind of job, on any kind of terms, to the people that we are talking about here. It involves a great deal more than that. It involves making them full participants in the whole work relationship. It involves a great deal more than just a paycheck for whatever job may be involved.

I would be glad to go into this further.

I would recognize it has not a great deal of immediate relevance, except for this point. We have not got time to make another round of mistakes as far as the civil rights revolution is concerned. And to whatever extent we approach it at this time on too narrow a basis, we are going to run out of time. And to whatever extent we feel we can meet its demands today, simply by offering any kind of job at any kind of rate under any circumstance to these people, we are going to be wrong.

I want to make it perfectly clear what I am talking about lies very