

SPEECH BY ROBERT MORGAN
TO: WAKE COUNTY DEMOCRATIC WOMEN
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA
DATE: SEPTEMBER 26, 1974

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO BE WITH YOU TODAY.

IT IS VERY PLEASANT FOR ME TO APPEAR BEFORE A GROUP OF WOMEN WHO BELONG TO AND WORK FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND THE FACT THAT YOU LIVE HERE IN RALEIGH, WHERE THE ACTION REALLY IS, MAKES ME REALIZE THAT THIS IS NOT JUST ANOTHER CLUB.

I COME TO YOU AS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR IN THE NOVEMBER GENERAL ELECTION, AND I SEEK YOUR ACTIVE SUPPORT NOT JUST FOR MYSELF BUT FOR THE ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

WE HAVE A UNIQUE SITUATION IN NORTH CAROLINA THIS YEAR IN THAT A HIGHLY QUALIFIED WOMAN, SUPREME COURT JUSTICE SUSIE SHARP, IS THE NOMINEE FOR CHIEF JUSTICE, THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN THE STATE'S JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

NOT BECAUSE SHE IS A WOMAN, BUT BECAUSE SHE IS EMINENTLY QUALIFIED, JUSTICE SHARP WILL HAVE SOLID SUPPORT FROM DEMOCRATS AND I SUSPECT FROM MANY MEMBERS OF THE OTHER PARTY.

NOT ONLY IN NORTH CAROLINA HAVE WOMEN SCORED HEAVILY AT THE POLLS THIS YEAR.

IN CONNECTICUTT, DEMOCRAT ELLA GRASSO IS THE NOMINEE FOR GOVERNOR AND IS FAVORED TO WIN THE ELECTION IN NOVEMBER.

IN MARYLAND, THE DEMOCRATS HAVE NOMINATED A WOMAN FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE, OVER ALL, THERE ARE 44 WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS WHO WILL BE ON THE NOVEMBER BALLOT.

THE RESULTS OF THE PRIMARY SHOW CLEARLY THAT WOMEN ARE NOW A MAJOR FACTOR IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE, NOT JUST AS HEADQUARTERS VOLUNTEERS, OR TYPISTS OR PRECINCT WORKERS, BUT AS CANDIDATES.

THIS IS GOOD. BAD GOVERNMENT HAS LESS CHANCE OF SURVIVAL WHEN POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS HIGHEST. AND CERTAINLY NOTHING WAS EVER GAINED BY PERSONS WHO WERE CONTENT TO SIT BACK AND ACCEPT THE STATUS QUO.

WOMEN WHO ARE WILLING TO SIT IN THE REAR OF THE BUILDING AND LET MALES LEAD MUST DO SO THROUGH CHOICE OR BECAUSE THEY UNDERESTIMATE THEIR OWN POWER.

FOR ONE THING YOU OUTNUMBER THE MALES.

THE CENSUS OF 1950 WAS THE FIRST ONE TO SHOW THAT THERE WERE MORE WOMEN THAN MEN IN THE COUNTRY AND YOU HAVE BEEN GAINING EVER SINCE.

THE 1970 CENSUS SHOWS THERE ARE MORE THAN FIVE MILLION MORE WOMEN IN THE NATION, OR ABOUT 100 WOMEN FOR EVERY 95 MEN.

WE HERE A LOT OF TALK ABOUT MINORITY GROUPS, BUT DID YOU EVER THINK OF THE AMERICAN MEN AS ONE?

AND WOMEN HAVE MADE SOME IMPORTANT ADVANCES AS OUR WAY OF LIFE HAS CHANGED IN THE 20TH CENTURY.

IN 1900 ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE IN THE COUNTRY WERE WOMEN; TODAY THAT PERCENTAGE IS 38 PERCENT.

AS THE CIGARETTE AD SAYS, "YOU'VE COME A LONG WAY, BABY" BUT YOU HAVE MORE MILES TO TRAVEL, MORE OBSTACLES TO OVERCOME.

DESPITE LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO PROTECT WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO EQUAL PAY FOR JOBS REQUIRING EQUAL SKILLS OR RESPONSIBILITIES, WOMEN HAVEN'T ACHIEVED THEIR TRUE POTENTIAL IN THE WORLD OF JOBS AND SALARIES.

FORTUNE MAGAZINE NOTED RECENTLY THAT OF THE 6,000 TOP BUSINESS PEOPLE IN AMERICA -- PEOPLE WHO EARN OVER \$35,000 A YEAR AND WHO OCCUPY THE TOP THREE JOBS IN THE COUNTRY'S 1,000 LARGEST COMPANIES -- ONLY 11 ARE WOMEN.

AND ALTHOUGH THE EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963 REQUIRES JUST WHAT ITS TITLE SAYS, THERE HAS BEEN RESISTANCE TO IT ON THE PART OF MANY EMPLOYERS.

MY OWN SISTER, WHO TEACHES AT A UNIVERSITY IN ANOTHER STATE, HAD TO GO TO COURT TO SECURE HER RIGHTS TO EQUAL PAY WITH OTHER TEACHERS THERE.

AND WHILE 20 PERCENT OF MEN WHO ARE EMPLOYED ARE PAID \$15,000 A YEAR OR MORE, LESS THAN TWO PERCENT OF EMPLOYED WOMEN EARN THAT MUCH.

NOW CENSUS FIGURES DISPEL ANY MYTH THAT MANY WOMEN DON'T WORK BECAUSE OF REAL NEED, BUT WORK TO GET POCKET MONEY TO GET LUXURIES THAT THEY MIGHT NOT OTHERWISE BE ABLE TO AFFORD.

THE FACT IS THAT MOST WOMEN WORK BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC NEED,

NEARLY TWO-THIRDS OF ALL WOMEN WHO WORK ARE SINGLE, DIVORCED, WIDOWED OR SEPARATED, OR HAVE HUSBANDS WHO EARN LESS THAN \$7,000 A YEAR,

AND WOMEN ARE PLAYING A MUCH MORE DOMINANT ROLE IN THE FAMILY. ABOUT ONE OF TEN WOMEN WORKERS ARE HEADS OF FAMILIES AND 54 PERCENT OF THESE ARE THE SOLE SUPPORT OF THEIR FAMILIES.

YET A WOMAN WORKER CAN EXPECT TO EARN ONLY ABOUT \$3.00 FOR EVERY \$5.00 PAID A MAN IN A SIMILAR POSITION.

IT SEEMS THAT SOMEBODY ISN'T ENFORCING VERY VIGOROUSLY THE EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963.

ANOTHER BARRIER THAT HAS SUPPOSEDLY FALLEN IN THIS PAST DECADE IS JOB DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF SEX.

THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ACT OF 1972 PROVIDED THAT SUITS CAN BE FILED IN CASES OF SEX DISCRIMINATION, AND

ESTABLISHED A FEDERAL AGENCY (EEOC) WITH INVESTIGATORY POWERS,

BUT BEFORE THIS, A DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION HAD TAKEN STEPS TO BAR DISCRIMINATION IN GOVERNMENT AND BY CONTRACTORS DOING WORK FOR THE GOVERNMENT. IN 1967, PRESIDENT JOHNSON ORDERED THIS DONE BY EXECUTIVE ORDER,

HOWEVER, THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION DIDN'T GET AROUND TO DRAWING UP ANY GUIDELINES TO ENFORCE THIS UNTIL MID-1970 AND DIDN'T REALLY SPELL OUT WHAT STEPS CONTRACTORS MUST TAKE TO OVERCOME DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF SEX.

IN APRIL 1971, THE ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCED DIRECTIVES IT SAID WOULD COMBAT DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF SEX IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT. AND IN 1972, IT BOASTED THAT THE NUMBER OF WOMEN IN HIGH GOVERNMENT POSTS HAD DOUBLED AND THE NUMBER IN MID-MANAGEMENT POSTS HAD INCREASED. IT PROMISED TO PURSUE THIS VIGOROUSLY.

WELL, LIKE SO MANY PROGRAMS ANNOUNCED IN WASHINGTON WITH A LOT OF FANFARE, IT SEEMS THAT NOT MUCH RESULTED. ONLY THREE PERCENT OF THE POSITIONS IN THE TOP PAY GRADE IN GOVERNMENT ARE HELD BY WOMEN.

THEN, THERE IS THE MATTER OF CHILD CARE.

WORKING MOTHERS, ESPECIALLY THOSE JUST ABOVE THE POVERTY LEVEL WHO MUST WORK TO SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES, NEED SOME ASSISTANCE IN FINDING A DECENT PLACE WHERE THEIR CHILDREN CAN BE CARED FOR DURING WORKING HOURS.

AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY THE CHILD NEEDS A PLACE WHERE HE CAN BE CARED FOR, AND SUPERVISED AND, YES, BE TAUGHT DURING HIS FIRST FIVE YEARS BEFORE HE ENTERS PUBLIC SCHOOL.

THE FORMER REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT SEEMED TO RECOGNIZE THIS BECAUSE HE SAID, IN 1969, SHORTLY AFTER TAKING OFFICE, "SO CRUCIAL IS THE MATTER OF EARLY GROWTH THAT WE MUST MAKE A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO PROVIDING ALL AMERICAN CHILDREN AN OPPORTUNITY FOR HEALTHFUL AND STIMULATING DEVELOPMENT DURING THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF LIFE."

BUT THE ADMINISTRATION EMPHASIS HAS BEEN ON DAY CARE AS PART OF THE WELFARE PROGRAM. IF YOU WEREN'T ON WELFARE, YOUR CHILD WASN'T ELIGIBLE.

TO DEMONSTRATE HIS "CONCERN" FOR CHILDREN, THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT IN DECEMBER, 1971, VETOED A BILL AUTHORIZING \$2.1 BILLION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE CHILD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR

THE MIDDLE INCOME, AS WELL AS POOR CHILDREN. HE SAID IT HAD "FAMILY WEAKENING" IMPLICATIONS IN HIS VETO MESSAGE, BUT HE DIDN'T MENTION THE CHILDREN OF MOTHERS WHO ARE FORCED TO WORK.

THEN THE ADMINISTRATION SHOWED ITS FURTHER "CONCERN" BY TRYING TO CUT BACK THE ONLY REMAINING PROGRAM THAT PROVIDES ANY MEANINGFUL FUNDING FOR CHILD CARE, A PORTION OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT THAT IS ADMINISTERED BY HEW.

THEY DID THIS BY "IMPOUNDMENT BY REGULATION" TO RESTRICT THE OPERATION OF THE PROGRAM. AND IN EARLY 1973, HEW ISSUED REGULATIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE REQUIRED STATES TO SPEND MOST OF THE FUNDS UNDER THIS PROGRAM ON CURRENT WELFARE RECIPIENTS, LEAVING OUT ENTIRELY THE CHILDREN OF MOTHERS JUST ABOVE THE POVERTY LINE.

THERE WAS SO MUCH PUBLIC PROTEST OVER THIS THAT CONGRESS STEPPED IN AND ORDERED HEW TO SUSPEND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE IMPOUNDMENT REGULATIONS UNTIL AT LEAST DECEMBER 31, 1974. MEANWHILE, LEGISLATION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED TO GIVE STATES MORE LEEWAY IN THE USE OF THESE FUNDS.

IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT A CHILD CARE PROGRAM, PROPERLY ADMINISTERED, WILL DO A GREAT DEAL IN PROVIDING THIS COUNTRY

WITH A BETTER EDUCATED, BETTER BEHAVED CITIZENRY IN THE FUTURE BY GIVING CHILDREN OPPORTUNITIES FOR MENTAL, PHYSICAL AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT IT WILL MATERIALLY CUT WELFARE COSTS, BECAUSE IT WILL ENABLE MORE MOTHERS TO GO TO WORK AND SUPPORT THEMSELVES AND THEIR CHILDREN, RATHER THAN BEING ON THE PUBLIC ROLLS.

PERHAPS THERE IS "FAMILY STRENGTHENING" RATHER THAN "FAMILY WEAKENING" IN SUCH A PROGRAM.

PERSONALLY, I BELIEVE THAT IN MATTERS OF CREDIT, INSURANCE, EMPLOYMENT BENEFITS, PENSIONS AND OTHER RELATED MATTERS THE RULES FOR MEN SHOULD APPLY ALSO TO WOMEN.

AND YOU WILL FIND, IF YOU LOOK BACK AT THE RECORD, IT HAS BEEN DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS AND DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSES THAT ^{have} ~~has~~ ACTED -- NOT MERELY GIVEN LIP SERVICE TO -- THE ADVANCEMENTS THAT WOMEN HAVE MADE, PARTICULARLY IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS.

WE ARE NOW LOOKING TO AN ELECTION IN NOVEMBER.

THE PRINCIPAL THING WE MUST GUARD AGAINST IS APATHY.

DURING THE SPRING PRIMARY CAMPAIGN, I TRAVELED THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF NORTH CAROLINA.

I TALKED TO AND I LISTENED TO THOUSANDS OF FOLKS; I THINK I KNOW THEIR CONCERNS.

THEY ARE CONFUSED BY WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THEIR PAYCHECKS; IT DOESN'T BUY AS MUCH AS IT DID, EVEN LAST YEAR.

YOU WOMEN WHO SHOP FOR GROCERIES EVERY WEEK KNOW WHAT THE COST OF POTATOES, AND SUGAR AND MEAT HAS DONE TO YOUR FOOD BUDGET.

YOUNG PEOPLE STARTING OUT CAN'T REALIZE THEIR AMBITION TO OWN THEIR OWN HOME, NOT WITH INTEREST RATES AT NINE PERCENT AND APT TO GO HIGHER.

OLDER PEOPLE ON FIXED INCOME ARE DOWNRIGHT FEARFUL THAT THEIR MONTHLY CHECKS WON'T EVEN SUPPLY THEIR MODEST BASIC NEEDS.

AND, THE ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON WRINGS ITS HANDS AND OFFERS NO SOLUTION OTHER THAN TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THEY MUST BITE THE BULLET.

THE PEOPLE ALSO ARE SKEPTICAL AND CYNICAL.

THEY BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT, THEIR GOVERNMENT, IS SUPPOSED TO BELONG TO THEM BUT THEY DON'T THINK THAT IS THE CASE ANY MORE.

THEY BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT, THEIR GOVERNMENT, IS NOW BEING OPERATED FOR THE PRIVILEGED AND THE POWERFUL.

THEY SEE 60 CENT GASOLINE AT THE PUMPS AND READ THAT BIG OIL COMPANIES ARE REAPING UNHEARD OF PROFITS.

WE HAVE GOT TO TURN THIS COUNTRY AROUND AND GET IT BACK ON THE PROPER TRACK.

HISTORICALLY, WHEN THINGS HAVE GOTTEN TO A CRUCIAL STAGE -- AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE REACHED THAT STAGE -- THE COUNTRY TURNS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR SALVATION.

THIS IS OUR YEAR!

WE MUST NOT LET APATHY OR COMPLACENCY LURE US INTO INACTION BECAUSE WE THINK WE WILL WIN.

WE MUST WORK AND VOTE AND SEE THAT OUR NEIGHBORS VOTE IN ORDER TO FURTHER THE PUBLIC INTEREST BY ELECTING DEMOCRATS.

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