

From the Office of:

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The following is the text of an address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn) prepared for a convocation at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Friday evening, January 17:

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If I were a college student as this year, 1964 opens, I am sure I would be one of the "angry young men."

Even at my age, if you will forgive me, I look back in anger at 1963 almost as much as in grief.

It's particularly painful to people whose pride has been their faith in liberty and justice to find out too late that the senseless act which took the life of our beloved President was born in a climate of extremism, hatred and violence.

Such a climate could grow only because of our national indifference to the consequences of seemingly isolated events.

It seems almost unbelievable to look back at the events of 1963. Ours is a nation with such strong aspirations for peace and good will toward all men that we were able to bring forth a nuclear test ban treaty of great potential world-wide significance.

Yet during that same year the same nation spawned a terrifying record of violence to human values among its own people.

I am angry about that record--but I am even more angry about the national indifference--a national indifference that permitted such "isolated" events as .....

- the terrorist bombing in Birmingham that took the lives of four young girls while they were attending Sunday School in their church.
- the hate riots at the University of Mississippi that claimed two more lives.
- the sniper murder of civil rights leader Medgar Evers in Mississippi.
- the wanton shooting of Baltimore's Freedom Walker, William Moore, while he was walking along an Alabama highway.
- the use of such "civilized" police methods as dogs, high pressure hoses and electric shock cattle prodders on citizens who are asking for their God-given rights.

I can't think of a record that could be better calculated to produce a generation of angry citizens.

And I am angry, too, with the Congress because we have done nothing to temper such events. Even worse, we have contributed, by our delay, to the despair of those who have a right to expect more of their elected representatives.

I am angry, finally, with the indifference or poor judgment of those public officials--North and South--who have contributed to the breakdown of the processes of the law and

(MORE)

have forced many thousands of our citizens to use protest demonstrations in the streets to exercise their right to petition for the redress of their grievances.

*These evils the American world righteous indignation at the*

The time has come for us to ~~transform~~ our anger into action.

*believe all of us should join*

First, I ask you to join me in creating a new national climate--one that will respond to President Johnson's call for an end of hatred and rancor and the beginning of a new tolerance of difference whether that difference be political, or religious, or racial, regional, or racial.

*1963*

The abolitionist founder of this University, "Old Johnny Hopkins"--as you students call him in your song--understood that spirit and I can think of no better place for us to begin creating that new national climate than right here at his college.

Second, I ask you to join the leaders of both parties who want a good civil rights bill. We have the opportunity. The bill now awaiting action in the House is the best civil rights legislation ever presented for a vote in Congress. It is a bi-partisan bill.

*to court*

*This Bi-Partisan Bill*

It will give us an effective national policy and the machinery to insure that no American will be denied the right to vote because of the color of his skin.

It will give us new machinery to make sure schoolrooms are open to all children, regardless of their color.

It will make sure that no American will have to face the indignity of being refused service at a public place because of his color.

Finally, I ask you to join me in calling upon all your Senators to take a stand against a civil rights filibuster. If this civil rights bill is supported in the Senate with the same spirit of bi-partisanship shown by House Minority Leader Charles Halleck then we will have a truly meaningful bill--filibuster or no filibuster.

There are many people who believe this bi-partisan bill is not strong enough. And I can sympathize with them because there are some sections I would like to strengthen. But I for one am not going to complain loudly, because the primary point is that a bi-partisan agreement has been reached on an effective bill.

I can't emphasize enough the importance of bi-partisanship on this issue--which is as President Johnson put it in his State of the Union message, a "moral" issue.

And I want to take this opportunity to salute the statesmanship of such Republicans as House Minority Leader Charles Halleck and Rep. William McCulloch of Ohio, the ranking minority member on the House Judiciary Committee. Both of these men played a key role in hammering out the bi-partisan bill that is now awaiting action by the House.

I also want to take this opportunity to salute the statesmanship and the leadership of President Johnson on this issue. He has served notice on the Congress that civil rights legislation is going to have the same top priority in his Administration that it had in the Kennedy Administration. And he means it.

President Johnson's firm leadership on this matter comes as a surprise to some of my more cynical liberal friends. But I'm afraid they just aren't familiar with Lyndon Johnson's record.

(MORE)

They fail to remember that his idol and political mentor was Franklin D. Roosevelt. They fail to remember that he became all too familiar with the ugly pattern of discrimination against Mexican-Americans when he was a young school teacher in South Texas.

They fail to remember he was not among the signers of the Southern Manifesto in 1956. And they do not give him enough credit for initiating and engineering the passage of the only two civil rights bills we've had in 100 years.

Now all this is hardly what you'd call an easy political feat for a man from a state that was once part of the Confederacy.

I have every confidence that the House will pass this civil rights bill within the next few weeks and then our real difficulties will come in the Senate.

Passage in the Senate will depend very greatly upon the degree of bi-partisan cooperation we get. Without bi-partisan cooperation we won't be able to pass a bill. There's no use kidding anybody about it. ~~The Southern~~ Southern Senators are not going to vote for a civil rights bill; that's one of the facts of life. They are prepared to wage an all-out filibuster against the bill and we will need a two-thirds vote to stop this filibuster and bring the bill itself to a vote.

In order to get that two-thirds vote the Democratic leadership in the Senate will have to call on Senator Everett Dirksen, the Minority Leader, for Republican help. We'll need a minimum of 25 Republican votes to end the filibuster.

Therefore, I appeal to the party of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Leadership in the Senate to act in the spirit of Lincoln, the Great Emancipator just as I appeal to the party of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson to act in the spirit of those two great Americans.

You students may rightly ask now where do I come in? What can I do? Well, let me emphasize that your roles are important. One of the first places you can start is in your everyday life--by helping instill in the community a greater spirit of tolerance of differences and respect for the dignity of an individual.

And for those who think this is about all that any student could do let me remind you that the struggle for civil rights has been advanced to its present stage by the actions of a younger generation that isn't satisfied with piecemeal progress.

Fifteen days from now an anniversary may pass unnoticed--but the chain of events that just four North Carolina College students began in Greensboro that afternoon on February 1 in 1960 has hardly been off the front pages since.

When those four students became sit-ins at that first lunch counter, I doubt that they realized they were launching a social revolution that would grip this country and the entire world.

Those young people turned their frustration and their righteous anger into action and made America face up to the moral issue of civil rights--not only in the South where the problem is more apparent, but also in the North where indifference and hypocrisy hide the private feelings.

In doing this these young students have also forced the American people to look at another great national problem--the gnawing aggravations of unemployment and poverty in what has been called our "affluent society."

(MORE)

For the average Negro the issue of civil rights is tied directly to the problem of jobs. For the average Negro the most immediate problem is finding a job that pays him enough money to feed, clothe and house his family.

It's fine and dandy to have strong civil rights laws on the books and all that, but to paraphrase one of comedian Dick Gregory's best lines--it doesn't mean a heck of a lot that you can sit at a lunch counter if you don't have a dime for the cup of coffee.

It would be foolish for anyone to think that civil rights is merely a narrow legal issue. It goes far beyond that. It is a moral issue. It is a political issue. And it is an international issue.

And I say to you that those fighting for civil rights are right morally and they are right politically. And internationally it's imperative that we come to the world with clean hands. How, I ask, can a nation that denies or ignores the rights of its colored citizens continue to be the leader of a world that is more than half colored? My answer is that such a nation can't. Instead we must set an example for the world of respect for human dignity, of equal rights for all its citizens and first-class citizenship for all Americans.

Before we can bring "first-class citizenship" to all Americans we must act boldly on many fronts to correct the conditions that breed the depressing poverty that underscores so much of the tension that has been erupting in our land.

We have to correct what has become a "citizenship gap" in this country--the gap between the promise and the fulfillment of our Constitution and the Emancipation Proclamation; the gap between the promise and the fulfillment of our great free enterprise system.

For the average Negro family this "citizenship gap" means an income that is far less than the average white family--60 percent make less than \$4,000 a year compared to only 28 percent for white families. Not only that, but the dollar gap between white and non-white wages has increased. In 1939 the difference was about \$650 a year. Now it has grown to more than \$2,000.

But poverty is more than being without money. It also is being without knowledge, being without even the means to help yourself. Neither the poverty nor the ignorance of the sharecropper is very much different than that of his brother living in the pressure-cooker atmosphere of our big cities.

We are going to have to muster all the resources we have to bring new educational techniques and vocational and technical training to youth so they can be equipped to earn a living in this complex society of ours. This is just as true in our big cities as it is in our depressed rural regions.

Last year Congress took its most decisive step in education in more than 100 years by approving more than \$3 billion in federal aid to colleges and vocational programs. This is a good beginning. But it is only a beginning.

We need a growing economy. We need growing opportunities for all our citizens. We need growing minds for the new technology that is producing more things with fewer hands. We need new approaches to the new problems that this technology is creating.

(MORE)

As I look forward to this fall's election I would like to remind you that one of the best ways of doing something constructive about solving the problems of surplus food or surplus workers, as well as civil rights, is to make sure that the Congressmen who are indifferent to these problems are declared surplus.

The great moral issues involved in the civil rights struggle today are not very different from those of 1948. I am proud to have been among those that year who fought for a strong position on the issues in the Democratic National Convention. And I am proud to have been among those in the Senate since then who have advocated a strong national commitment to the advancement of equal opportunity for all. What we began then remains at issue today. We must today, more than ever before, "get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights."

I am proud to say that I am part of the Johnson Administration team which has made that strong civil rights commitment and equally determined pledge to wage unrelenting war on poverty. President Johnson believes strongly that each of these pledges are part of the same package because increasing job opportunities go hand in hand with the goals of the civil rights fight.

One of the best ways we can wage this war is to enact the tax cut bill proposed by the late President Kennedy. This measure will help create a climate of expansion in our business community and thus lead to increasing job opportunities.

But this is only a good beginning--only a part of a long and continuing war that others beside the federal government must also wage. As President Johnson said in his State of the Union message, the war against poverty "must be won in the field--in every private home and every public office from the courthouse to the White House."

"It will not be a short or easy struggle," President Johnson said. "No single weapon or strategy will suffice--but we shall not rest until that war is won. The richest nation on earth can afford to win it. We cannot afford to lose it."

As I look out on this student body I am reminded that one of John F. Kennedy's greatest contributions as President was the new confidence and pride and idealism he instilled in the young people of this nation. And by doing that he really got this country "moving again."

To keep that momentum up, our job--yours and mine--is to convert that idealism--and yes, that anger at the assaults on human dignity--into energy. We have to turn our frustrations into action. Turn our despair into hope.

We must once again dare to dream--for those who dare are the men who will make their dreams become deeds.

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Stavel

Excerpts of Remarks  
by

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Convocation of Johns Hopkins University

January 17, 1964  
Baltimore, Maryland

my introduction

"Surprised  
mother in law"

If I were a college student <sup>in</sup> ~~as~~ this year 1964  
~~opens~~, I am sure I would be one of the "angry  
young men."

Even at my age, if you will forgive me, I  
look back in anger at 1963 almost as much as in  
grief.

It's particularly painful to <sup>anyone</sup> ~~people~~ ~~these~~  
~~with~~  
~~pride has been their~~ faith in liberty and justice  
to <sup>realize</sup> ~~find out too late~~ that the senseless act  
which took the life of our beloved President was  
born in a climate of extremism, hatred and violence.

yes, realize

Such a climate could grow only because of  
our national indifference to the consequences  
of seemingly isolated events.

It seems almost unbelievable ~~to~~ <sup>when one</sup> look back  
at the events of 1963. <sup>Here</sup> ~~Our~~ is a nation with  
such strong aspirations for peace and good will  
toward all men that we were able to bring forth  
a nuclear test ban treaty of great potential  
world-wide significance.

Yet during that same year the same nation  
spawned a terrifying record of violence to human  
values among its own people.

I am <sup>and concerned</sup> angry about that record--but I am even  
<sup>concerned</sup> more ~~angry~~ about the national indifference--an  
~~national~~ indifference that permitted such  
"isolated" events as .....

L--the terrorist bombing in Birmingham *alabama*  
that took the lives of four young  
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L--the "hate riots" at the University of  
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L--the sniper murder of <sup>the</sup> civil rights leader  
Medgar Evers in Mississippi.

L--the wanton shooting of Baltimore's  
Freedom Walker, William Moore, while  
he was walking along an Alabama highway.

L--the use of such "cruel and ~~and~~ *Sadistic*  
"civilized" police  
police methods as dogs, high pressure hoses  
and "electric shock <sup>"</sup> cattle prodders on american  
citizens who <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ asking for their God-  
given rights. *and constitutional rights.*



I can't think of a record that could be better calculated to produce a generation of angry citizens.

*and an atmosphere filled with hate and violence,*

And I am angry, too, with the Congress because we have done <sup>little or nothing</sup> ~~nothing~~ to temper such events. Even

worse, we <sup>may</sup> have contributed, by our delay, to the despair of those who have a right to expect more of their elected representatives.

*and* I am angry, ~~finally~~, with the indifference or poor judgment of those public officials--North and South--who have contributed to the breakdown of the processes of the law and <sup>thereby</sup> have forced many thousands of our citizens to use "protest demonstrations" in the streets to exercise their right to petition for the redress of their grievances.

The time has come for us to transform our anger into action. *our pain into relief*

*Such a... 46... make a... make a...*

First, I ask you to join me in creating a new  
S. C. S. S. S.

*After 4A*

(4a)

SINCE EARLY LAST SUMMER, ONE OF THE NATIONAL FOCAL POINTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE HAS BEEN HERE IN MARYLAND -- IN THE CITY OF CAMBRIDGE. THE SITUATION THERE BECAME SO TENSE THAT IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE GOVERNOR TO ORDER THE MARYLAND NATIONAL GUARD INTO CAMBRIDGE TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER. YOUR OWN SENATOR, MY FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE DAN BREWSTER, WHO HAS A LONG RECORD OF DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF IRRADICATING EVERY VESTIGE OF SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP, HAD THE COURAGE TO PERSONALLY INTERCEDE IN THE SITUATION AT A TIME WHEN IT APPEARED THAT ANOTHER OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE WAS IMMINENT. THROUGH HIS EFFORTS AND WITH THE COOPERATION OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS ~~THERE~~ THE CAMBRIDGE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE WAS REVITALIZED AND EXPANDED. LATER THIS MONTH, MEMBERS OF THAT COMMITTEE WILL MEET WITH SENATOR BREWSTER IN WASHINGTON TO REVIEW PROGRESS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE TO DATE AND CONFER WITH FEDERAL AND STATE OFFICIALS ON PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

LAST YEAR THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY ENACTED A PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS LAW BUT 12 OF MARYLAND'S 23 COUNTIES WERE EXEMPT FROM THE OPERATION OF THAT LAW. PASSAGE OF THE OMNIBUS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL NOW BEING DEBATED IN CONGRESS WOULD ELIMINATE THAT UNFORTUNATE GAP. <sup>Senator</sup> DAN BREWSTER IS ONE OF THE CO-SPONSORS OF THAT BILL WHICH I AM CONFIDENT WILL BE ENACTED THIS SESSION. ~~I AM~~

PROUD TO SERVE WITH A SENATOR <sup>Brewster - Amen</sup> LIKE DAN WHO BACKS UP HIS WORDS WITH POSITIVE ACTION.

Senators Beall & Brewster have again & again had the courage to stand up for civil RTS. <sup>pick up on 8/4. "back"</sup>

Be worthy of JFK

-5-

national climate--one that will respond to President  
Johnson's call for an end of hatred and rancor and  
the beginning of a new tolerance of difference whether  
that difference be political or religious or racial.

The abolitionist founder of this University,  
"Old Johnny Hopkins"--as you students call him in  
your song--understood that spirit and I can think

of no better place for us to begin creating ~~that~~ <sup>our</sup>  
<sup>of understanding and tolerance,</sup>  
new national climate than right here at his ~~college~~ <sup>university</sup>.

<sup>and support</sup>  
Second, I ask you to join the leaders of both <sup>political</sup>  
parties who want a good civil rights bill. We have  
the opportunity <sup>for success</sup>. The bill now awaiting action  
in the House is the best civil rights legislation  
ever presented for a vote in Congress. <sup>and</sup> It is a  
bi-partisan bill.

It will give us an effective national policy  
and the machinery to insure that no American will

be denied the right to vote because of the color  
of his skin.

It will give us new <sup>guarantees</sup> ~~machinery~~ <sup>that</sup> to make sure school-rooms are open to all children, regardless of their color.

It will make sure that no American will have to face the indignity of being refused service ~~or~~ <sup>accommodation</sup> at a public place because of his color.

~~and~~ Finally, I ask you to join me in calling upon all ~~your~~ Senators to take a stand against a civil rights filibuster. If this civil rights bill is supported in the Senate with the same spirit of bi-partisanship shown by House ~~Minority Leader~~ <sup>Leadership</sup>

~~Charles Halleck~~ then we will have a truly meaningful bill--filibuster or no filibuster.

<sup>of course</sup> There are many people who believe this bi-partisan bill is not strong enough. And I can sympathize with them because there are some sections

I would like to strengthen. / But I for one am not  
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They fail to remember that his idol and  
political mentor was Franklin D. Roosevelt. They  
fail to remember that he became all too familiar  
with the ugly pattern of discrimination against  
Mexican-Americans when he was a young school teacher  
in South Texas.

They fail to remember he was not among the signers of the Southern Manifesto in 1956. And they do not give him enough credit for initiating and engineering the passage of the only two civil rights bills we've had in 100 years. 1957, 1960

Now all this is hardly what you'd call an easy political feat for a man from a state that was once part of the Confederacy.

I have every confidence that the House will pass this civil rights bill within the next few weeks and then our real difficulties will come in the Senate.

2 Passage in the Senate will depend very greatly upon the degree of bi-partisan cooperation we ~~can~~ *can have*.

Without bi-partisan cooperation we won't be able to pass a bill. There's no use kidding anybody about it. The Southern Senators are not going to

vote for a civil rights bill; that's one of the facts of life. They are prepared to wage an all-out ~~filibuster~~ <sup>battle</sup> against the bill and we will need a two-thirds vote to stop this filibuster and bring the bill itself to a vote.

In order to get that two-thirds vote the Democratic leadership in the Senate will have to call on Senator Everett Dirksen, the Minority Leader, for Republican help. <sup>and</sup> We'll need a minimum of 25 Republican votes to end the filibuster.

Therefore, I appeal to the party of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Leadership in the Senate to act in the spirit of Lincoln, the Great Emancipator just as I appeal to the party of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson to act in the spirit of those two great Americans.

(Pause)



You students may rightly ask ~~now~~ where do I come in? What can I do? Well, let me emphasize that your roles are important. One of the first places you can start is in your everyday life-- by helping instill in the community a greater spirit of tolerance of differences and <sup>as greater</sup> respect for the dignity of an individual.

And for those who think this is about all that any student could do let me remind you that the struggle for civil rights has been advanced to its present stage by the actions of a younger generation that isn't satisfied with piecemeal progress.

↳ Fifteen days from now an anniversary may pass unnoticed--but the chain of events that ~~just~~ four North Carolina College students began in Greensboro that afternoon on February 1 in 1960 has ~~hardly~~

been ~~off~~ <sup>on</sup> the front pages <sup>ever</sup> since.

When those four students became sit-ins at that first lunch counter, I doubt that they realized they were launching a social revolution that would grip this country and the entire world.

↳ Those young people turned their frustration and their righteous anger into action and made America face up to the moral issue of civil rights-- not only in the South where the problem is more apparent, but also in the North where indifference and hypocrisy hide private feelings and practises

↳ In doing this, these young students have also forced the American people to look at another great national problem--the gnawing aggravations of unemployment and poverty in what has been called our "affluent society."

TO the vast majority <sup>13</sup>

~~For the average~~ Negro the issue of civil rights

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too many average Negro<sup>s</sup> the most immediate problem is finding

a job that pays him enough money to feed, clothe

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It's fine and dandy to have strong civil rights laws on the books and all that, but to paraphrase one of comedian Dick Gregory's best lines--it

doesn't mean a heck of a lot that you can sit at a lunch counter if you don't have a dime for the cup of coffee.

It would be foolish for anyone to think that civil rights is merely a narrow legal issue. It goes far beyond that. It is a moral issue. It is a political issue. And it is an international issue.

And I say to you that those fighting for civil rights are right morally and they are right politically.

And internationally it's imperative that we come to the world with clean hands. How, I ask, can a nation that denies or ignores the rights of its colored citizens continue to be the leader of a world that is more than half colored. ~~My answer~~

*Our role of world leadership demands that*  
~~is that such a nation can't. Instead we must set~~

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an example for the world of respect for human dignity, of equal rights for all its citizens and first-class citizenship for all Americans.

↳ Before we can bring "first-class citizenship" to all Americans we must act boldly on many fronts to correct the conditions that breed the depressing poverty that underscores so much of the tension that has been ~~gripping~~ *gripping* in our land.

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*Citizenship gap*

promise and the fulfillment of our Constitution  
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But poverty is more than being without money.  
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But it is only a beginning.

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opportunities for all our citizens. We need growing  
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things with fewer hands. We need new approaches to  
the new problems that this <sup>fabulous</sup> technology is creating.

*and, by the way,*

As I look forward to this fall's election I  
would like to remind you that one of the best ways  
of doing something constructive about solving the  
problems of surplus food or <sup>surplus workers</sup> ~~surplus workers~~, as  
well as civil rights, is to make sure that the *members of*  
Congressmen who are indifferent to these problems  
are declared surplus. # (Pass)

The great moral issues involved in the civil  
rights struggle today are not very different from  
those of 1948. I am proud to have been among those  
<sup>in 1948</sup> ~~that year~~ who fought for a strong position on the *Civil Rights*  
issue in the Democratic National Convention. And

I am proud to have been among those in the Senate  
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~~since then~~ who have advocated a strong national  
commitment to the advancement of equal opportunity  
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We must <sup>now</sup> ~~today~~, more than ever before, "get out of  
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I am proud to say that I am part of the Johnson  
Administration team which has made <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ strong  
civil rights commitment and <sup>an</sup> equally determined  
pledge to wage unrelenting war on poverty.

<sup>The</sup> President ~~Johnson~~ believes ~~strongly~~ that each of  
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One of the best ways we can wage this war is  
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climate of expansion in our business community and thus lead to increasing job opportunities.

But this is only a good beginning--only a part of a long and continuing war that others beside the federal government must also wage. <sup>the</sup> As President

~~Johnson~~ said in his State of the Union message, the war against poverty "must be won in the field-- in every private home and every public office from the courthouse to the White House."

And "It will not be a short or easy struggle,"

~~President Johnson said.~~ "No single weapon or strategy will suffice--but we shall not rest until that war is won. The richest nation on earth can afford to win it. We cannot afford to lose it."

As I look out on this student body I am reminded that one of John F. Kennedy's greatest contributions

as President was the new confidence and pride and idealism he instilled in the young people of this nation. And by doing that he really got this country "moving again."

To keep that momentum ~~up~~ our job--yours and mine--is to convert that idealism--and yes, that righteous anger at the assaults on human dignity--into energy ~~and~~ We have to turn our frustrations into action. Turn our despair into hope.

We must once again dare to dream--for those who dare are the men who will make their dreams become deeds.

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# Minnesota Historical Society

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