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From the Office of:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
1313 New Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.
Capitol-4-3121, Ext. 2424

FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY P.M.'s
JUNE 23, 1964

SENATOR HUMPHREY URGES NAACP CONVENTION DELEGATES

TO HELP GOVERNMENT IMPLEMENT NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

Senate Majority Whip Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) today urged members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to assist government at all levels to help make the new civil rights law work.

Humphrey, floor manager of the bill that passed the Senate last Friday, said he would like to see all organizations in the civil rights movement "spending as much time in the halls of government as on the streets."

"I would like to see them invited to give their advice and their help in translating the provisions of the Civil Rights Act from words on the statute books into living realities in our cities, in our states, and in our nation," he told the NAACP's annual convention.

"I believe the key to our success is a living, working partnership between white and Negro Americans."

Humphrey suggested that participants in the civil rights movement work actively for better educational facilities and enlist in the war against poverty.

"In the past the tragedy has been that the self-sacrifice of Negro parents has yielded so much less than it ought," he said.

"Too many doors were shut against even the educated Negro and the Negro college graduate could expect to earn in his lifetime less than the white man who finished the eighth grade."

No child can have real equal educational opportunity, Humphrey said, if he comes from a family that does not have the means to provide the essentials of life.

"Talented and determined children have overcome such obstacles-- and all credit to them," he said. "But there is no sense and no purpose in making the upward road so difficult."

Humphrey said poverty is not inevitable "any more than racial segregation and discrimination are inevitable."

(OVER)

"We have the knowledge and the resources, for the first time in history, to banish poverty," he said. "All we need is the will--and it must be the organized will--to put our knowledge and our resources to work."

Humphrey predicted that this would be a "long, busy and constructive summer" as far as civil rights progress is concerned.

"No doubt many people will be out on the streets--including many of you in this audience," he said.

"So long as these demonstrations are in the great Gandhian tradition of non-violence--the tradition to which you in the NAACP have been patiently and heroically faithful--they will serve a good purpose."

He praised the working relationship which secured enactment of the civil rights bill and which will be so valuable in making it work.

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Ray Wilkins
Clarence Mitchell
Tom Kuchel

55th
NAACP ANNUAL CONVENTION
1
10:30 a.m.

President Arthur
Spengarn

Tuesday, June 23, 1964

Ladies and gentlemen, you have chosen a good time for this gathering. You are meeting at a watershed of our history. You are meeting as the American people are turning their backs on a tormented and unhappy yesterday and turning their faces toward the bright sunshine of tomorrow.

The Civil Rights bill is no longer a dream - no longer a legislative proposal. It is about to become the law of the land.

1960 - N.Y.

Memo - Ray Wilkins
- Clarence Mitchell
- Durkin -
- Mrs Kuchel - ✓ 1/1/64

Walter White
Spingarn

- 2 -

I wish that Mary White Ovington, Dr. Henry Moskowitz,
and William English Walling could have lived to see this
day. They would have joined with me today in congratulating
Roy Wilkins, in congratulating Clarence Mitchell, in
congratulating all the members of the NAACP staff and all
its hundreds of thousands of members.

You have performed a mighty task for democracy.

Others have labored with you, of course - the newer
Negro organizations, the liberal groups, the labor
unions, and above all the churches.

And you will pardon me if I claim a little credit
for the Congress of the United States, and even for the
Senate. I think we may have done almost as well as you
hoped, and a good deal better than you feared.

~~By Jackson~~
~~of Moral Issue~~
~~National Issue~~

↳ But you of the NAACP went into battle first - 55
years ago, to be exact - and you have been in the forefront
of the struggle ever since. So I think that today you
are ~~perfectly~~ entitled to take a special satisfaction in
the outcome.

↳ Satisfaction yes - but surcease in your labors, no.
I think I know you too well to imagine for a moment that
you will rest on your oars. For there is work to be done -
today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

↳ Ten years ago the Supreme Court handed down its
historic decision against segregation in the schools. And
ten years ago a great opportunity to win prompt and widespread
compliance with that decision was lost.

↳ All over the South there were white men and women of good will who welcomed that decision - a minority, I agree, but a significant minority.

↳ All over the South there were men and women, in great number, who thought that the Court was too hasty, too drastic, or even dead wrong in its decision - but who were willing to comply with it, because it had become the law of the land.

↳ Together, these groups may have been in a majority in most, if not all, of the Southern states. We do not know, because no real effort was made to mobilize them.

↳ But the trumpet that should have been sounded gave forth a very uncertain sound, and ^{only a} few prepared themselves for battle.

The forces of bigotry, the forces of prejudice, and advocates of massive resistance seized the initiative.

↳ So, it was left to a handful of children to show the courage and determination that too many of their elders - some of them in high places - failed to show.

↳ They walked to school through jeering mobs. They stayed in school despite the hostility of many of their classmates. And they won the respect of their teachers and their schoolmates by their determination to get the very best education that they could.

Last week, ^{just} to cite one student who represents many, Jacquelyn Faye Evans graduated with an A-plus average in her final year at high school, and was named a member of the National Honor Society. Her high school, a predominantly, white one, was in Little Rock, where ^{seven years ago} Federal troops had to enforce the de-segregation decision ~~seven years ago~~.

↳ All credit to Jacquelyn Evans, and to others like her. But, ^{had it} ~~if~~ Congress, ~~if~~ the Federal Government, ~~if~~ the White House ~~had~~ given prompt and effective leadership ^{ten years ago, this past decade} ~~these past ten years~~ would have been much less troubled and we would have been much further along the road to the genuine integration of our schools.

Today we are fortunate in having in the White House a man who doesn't float on a cloud somewhere above the battle, but plunges right into the struggle. He has been an active leader in this effort to get the civil rights bill enacted.

He doesn't dither, he decides. He doesn't agonize, he acts.

I can assure you that he will act, and act promptly, to mobilize all men and women of good will - in the North as well as in the South, in the East as well as in the West - to secure the full implementation of the Civil Rights Act.

We need to unite America, Not divide it. We need every American doing his best.

↳ We all have much work to do. As the former mayor of a great city, I have already urged the United States Conference of Mayors to call a general conference of all its members. A high responsibility rests upon these men, and they can fulfill it more fully and effectively if they counsel together. — (need backing of Community leaders)

↳ Some of my friends say that it is going to be a long, hot summer. That may be, but I say it should be a long, busy and constructive summer, as well.

No doubt many people will be out on the streets - including many of you in this audience. So long as these demonstrations are in the great Gandhian tradition of non-violence - the tradition to which you in the NAACP have been patiently and heroically faithful - they will serve a good purpose.

But I would also like to see the national, state, and local officials of the NAACP - and all the other organizations in the civil rights movement - spending as much time in the halls of government as on the streets.

*Yes - even more time in the
Halls of Govt.*

I would like to see ^{your officers} ~~them~~ invited into the offices of mayors, the offices of Governors, and the offices of the Federal Government. I would like to see them invited to give their advice and their help in translating the provisions of the Civil Rights Act from words on the statute books into living realities in our cities, in our states, and in our nation.

I believe the key to our success is a living, working partnership between white and Negro Americans. The NAACP was built through this partnership, when - in the words of Mary White Ovington - the leaders of the Niagara movement "brought their energy and ability into the service of the Association."

It was this working partnership which secured the enactment of the Civil Rights Act, and it is this kind of partnership which will make it work.

I have spoken of today's long-delayed but welcome triumph and of the challenge of our immediate tomorrow.

Now I shall say something about the day after tomorrow.

It does ^{little} ~~no~~ good to open doors if we are not ready to step through them. It does ^{little} ~~no~~ good to open doors if they open into empty space.

That is why we should keep our eyes fixed on the day after tomorrow. That is why this great civil rights movement, with its unprecedented dedication and dynamism, must enlist in the battle for a better and more adequate educational system, must enlist in the war against poverty launched by President Johnson.

I don't need to preach to you about the value of education. I think that you appreciate it much more than other Americans, because you have worked so hard to get it for your children.

In the past, the tragedy has been that the self-sacrifice of Negro parents has yielded so much less than it ought. Too many doors were shut against even the educated Negro, and the Negro college graduate could expect to earn in his lifetime less than the white man who finished the 8th grade.

Now, some of these doors are opening. Many more will open as the Civil Rights Act takes effect.

Today, opportunity greets the college graduate - opportunity welcomes the skilled worker.

That means that our educational system must be strengthened and expanded - from the elementary schools, particularly in our urban slums, all the way up to the universities. And we must put just as much stress upon quality as upon quantity. For, in this age of scientific revolution and accelerating automation and technology, there is less and less place for the half-educated man or woman. There must be only one standard - excellence.

"Freedom now" - carries with it
the responsibility for Constructive
Leadership in Education,
Housing & Jobs,

~~Moreover~~ we have come more and more to realize that the school is not an island, but a vital part of the society that surrounds it. No child can have real equal educational opportunity if he comes from a family living on relief in some urban slum, or if his father is an unemployed miner or a sharecropper on worn-out land. No child has an equal educational opportunity if he comes to school ill-fed or ill-clothed, or does his homework in a household where poverty is a constant guest.

↳ Talented and determined children have overcome such obstacles - and all credit to them. But there is no sense and no purpose in making the upward road so difficult. Poverty does not ennoble those who suffer from it, least of all those who suffer from it in our present affluent society.

Poverty
↳ It is a bitter cup which poisons all who drink of it.

Poverty is not new - what is new is that
we can do something about it.

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I know that poverty has always been with us. But we know now that it is not inevitable, ~~any more than racial segregation and discrimination are inevitable.~~ We have the knowledge and the resources, for the first time in history, to banish poverty.

All we need is the will - and it must be the organized will - to put our knowledge and our resources to work.

I am reminded of the story of a visitor to an insane asylum. He asked one of the guards if he was ever afraid that the inmates might gang up on him.

"Don't be silly!" the guard answered. "These people are crazy. They can't organize themselves."

You have shown the ability to organize, and to keep organized, over 55 years. We can all profit from your example.

moral issue
not - issue
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The world the better

Freedom the
Stronger
Justice

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Others have labored with you, of course-- the newer Negro organizations, the liberal groups, the labor unions, and above all the churches.

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Satisfaction yes - but surcease in your labors, no.

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Niagara movement "brought their energy and ability into the service of the Association."

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There is a place and a time for banners. But there is also a time to stack the banners for a while and get down to patient, infinitely detailed work of making civil rights civil realities.

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In conclusion, let me say that I am a gradualist in many things. But I am not a gradualist in civil rights.

I take an analogy from the field of mechanical engineering. The shaft of a great ship's engine has a critical speed. If you accelerate to that engine's critical speed and stay there, it will shake itself to

pieces. But if you accelerate right through that speed, there is no chance for the vibrations and strains to build up, and the engine will keep on purring like a kitten.

I think we have been, in recent years, at that critical speed, that dangerous speed, in the evolution of our racial relations. But I think that we now have the opportunity, with the Civil Rights Act, to push firmly on the accelerator, and speed forward into safety.

I know that you will keep your feet on the accelerator. And I certainly will, too. If we move with more than deliberate speed, we shall - with God's help - complete the good work.

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