

SUBJECT: "Civil Rights -- Now Up To The People"

PARTICIPANTS: President Lyndon B. Johnson (Excerpt of Speech)  
Senator Hubert Humphrey (D.-Minn.)  
Senator Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.)

MODERATOR: Harry W. Flannery

Time: 13:20

FLANNERY: WASHINGTON REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE!

A law is the beginning of justice, not its fulfillment. As the 1964 Civil Rights Bill becomes law, only the first step has been taken. As President Johnson said recently in a speech in New York, we still have the task of struggling to eliminate the heavy weight of discrimination in the hearts of people.

JOHNSON: To give to members of minorities the training, the education and the housing which will enable them to pass through the doors of opportunity.

FLANNERY: The two men in the Senate who were mainly responsible for Senate passage of Civil Rights, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, take up this same subject for this radio station and the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. This is your reporter, Harry W. Flannery.

First, in his office in the Capitol, Senator Humphrey.

Senator, what do you specifically recommend as the next step after the 1964 Civil Rights bill is law?

HUMPHREY: Well, it took a great cross-section of America to bring this law into reality to pass it. It took a unity of effort represented by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, business, labor and the many organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, etc. It took the work of our spiritual leaders, our churches and many of our professional leaders. In other words, there had to be a great consensus in this country to get this bill passed. Once that was accomplished, once the bill was passed, now it will require the same kind of follow-through of unity of effort, and of unity of purpose on the part of many of the same groups to implement this law.

I, for example, have recommended that in each state the governor call a conference of the civic leaders of all walks of life to discuss this federal statute, to see what it means and how it applies in the respective states.

You recall that in the Senate version of the bill we place a good deal of emphasis upon local and state participation. We have, of course, the ultimate power of the Federal Government for enforcement, but we really call upon state and local authorities to take the lead because most of these problems of civil rights are intimate, personal, community problems. They are right down at the community level. So, I do believe that governors can perform a magnificent service in behalf of lawobservance, in behalf of voluntary compliance, in behalf of their strengthening

their own state laws if they will hold state-wide conferences to which are invited not only the legislators of the respective parties but, as I said, the civic leaders.

Then, mayors ought to do this in the large cities, and the United States Conference of Mayors ought to give special attention to this because many of our big cities are like pressure cookers, with tremendous social forces at work in some of the slum areas, almost ghetto areas of these big cities.

Also I hope that the respective departments of the Federal Government may want to do what they can in terms of working together with state and local government officials to implement the application of this legislation. Back this up then with, as I say, the civic leaders, giving mayors and governors and department heads, giving the kind of support that makes people recognize that the performance of duty is an honored service.

FLANNERY: And there is a great responsibility, would you say, Senator Humphrey, on the part of the Negro leaders themselves, especially in this early period of the attempt to put into being implementing a law that has been passed?

HUMPHREY: Yes, indeed. I suppose it is very easy for some of us to speak of tolerance and forbearance but I must say it would be nothing short of ironic and tragic if, in our quest for equality, that we sacrificed a sense of unity and community in America. It is going to require a good deal of self-discipline, of self-sacrifice, of responsible leadership on the part of white and Negro alike, but particularly the leaders of the great organizations. I am very pleased to see that the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have cautioned a degree of moderation, of respect for law. While demonstrations that are peaceful, non-violent should be recognized as legitimate and they should be recognized as a part of the right of petition, the right of individual citizens to petition for the redress of their grievances, it is imperative that these demonstrations be orderly and, of course, this places responsibility upon both sides, so to speak, upon local officials, upon the whites in the community to make sure there isn't any violence on their part and it also means that those who lead these demonstrations and participate in them lead them in the Gandean spirit of non-violence and of order and of respect for law and order. Because what we are seeking to do in the Civil Rights act, sir, is to bring into play in American life law and order and it would be most unbelievable and tragic if, in our desire to gain Civil Rights, we practice civil wrongs; or the desire to attain law and order and protection of the law -- full and equal protection under the law -- the laws were flagrantly violated.

FLANNERY: Isn't this a long-time job, too, Senator Humphrey, because so many of the

FLANNERY (continued): colored people do not have the education, do not have the skills that they need?

HUMPHREY: Yes. Before you can really say we have equality of opportunity in America, which is what the Civil Rights bill represents in such a specific way, before you can really say that, you do have to emphasize education, you have to attack problems of crowded living, of unbelievable social injustice and inequities in many of our large cities -- even in our rural areas. Education is the key to enlightenment, education is the key to tolerance, to forbearance. Education is the key to the good life and we need to stress education above all. We need to insist upon not only a greater quantity of education, but a better quality and we will need, in many areas of America, new emphasis upon vocational education, technical and scientific education, proper training for industrial society, for urban living, whole areas of adult education to banish illiteracy. Regrettably, discrimination and segregation wasn't only a bad social practice, but, above all, it denied vast numbers of our citizens a chance for education itself -- just the simple rudiments of education.

And so, when many people moved from the South, from the sharecropper land, for example, and came to the large city, they were not equipped for urban living, they were not equipped for industrial jobs. They weren't equipped for the life of the city. Now, all of these have to be gone into and acted upon.

And time, yes, but let's use time. Time isn't the answer. Time, well used, is the answer.

FLANNERY: Thank you, Senator Humphrey. In his office in the Capitol, Senator Dirksen.

Senator Dirksen, after Civil Rights legislation, what should the people do?

DIRKSEN: Well, from now on, of course, it becomes an exercise in public discipline and you have to rely on it, I think, in order to get the maximum benefit. To be sure, law enforcing authorities have to take account of sporadic outbursts where we have violence, as in the case of Mississippi. I do hope that a series of conferences can finally bring people into the orbit of this thing and they will become self-enforcers, so to speak.

That is, after all, the hope because all law enforcement finally resides in the moral sense of the people. If it were not so, and if people did not have regard, for instance, for the other fellow's property or the other fellow's rights, why you couldn't find policemen, sheriffs and law enforcing officials enough in this country to enforce a law. So, that is the bedrock on which it rests. And, fortunately, we have been disciplined in this field ever since this was a Republic and we are furthermore, a literate country and, therefore, we ought to be able to get the job done.

FLANNERY: You said in your final speech on the floor of the Senate that Civil Rights was an idea whose time had come. A moral responsibility that must now be assumed. How do we make the prejudiced aware of this fact?

DIRKSEN: Well, it will come, of course.

I see the softening and chastening process now. A good deal of spade work has been done in that field and I have reason to believe, from the surveys that have been made, with respect particularly to accommodations, for instance, or for the employment opportunities title, that it needs only to be triggered a little in a good many communities. And I am certain that there are people of big heart and good will in those communities who will, at long last, spearhead this effort and so it will be done.

FLANNERY: These individuals you are talking about can do some things on their own, but can they do things in getting other groups together, through organization, through government and the like?

DIRKSEN: I think so. Let us take, for instance, a typical town of maybe 50,000 people where you have a motel owner who will say, "I will be glad to go along if all my competitors will go along." All right, you are halfway down the road right then and there. Then comes the necessity for persuasion and, little by little, they will chip off from the old habit and come into the stream. I have reason to believe from the figures compiled by the Department of Justice that that is exactly what is going to happen. It is quite surprising the number of hotels, motels and stores that have already fallen into line. That is a clue to what is going to happen in the future.

FLANNERY: What about the Negro leaders themselves as leaders in this new movement after Civil Rights is a fact?

DIRKSEN: Fortunately, those who are the responsible leaders of the largest organizations in this field are already cautioning restraint. I am referring to the chairman or president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I am thinking of Dr. Luther King. Now, all along the line people like these are beginning to counsel restraint. You will, of course, have some organizations with which you will have greater difficulty. But, ultimately, they will have to fall into line. Just so the parent organizations or the larger organizations somehow get the message out to their people in due course, that will catch on and there will be something truly contagious about it.

FLANNERY: Of course this goes both ways, doesn't it, Senator Dirksen, because you mentioned Mississippi as an example, and there have been recent events employed as an example of the other side.

DIRKSEN: That is right.

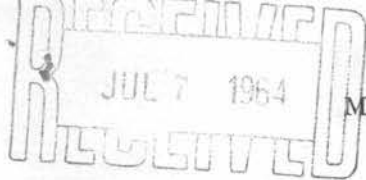
FLANNERY: What can you do about that?

DIRKSEN: Well, time will take care of it because time is the great healer. And all these forces, law enforcement, the pronouncements on restraint and so forth, have to be constantly cooperate and it has got to be a constant effort, there can be no relenting on it. But give it a year or give it two years after this becomes a full-fledged piece of law and watch the difference in the attitude in the country.

FLANNERY: Thank you, Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican of Illinois, and Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, key men in the

FLANNERY (continued): Senate approval of civil rights.

Your reporter, Harry W. Flannery, invites you to keep informed on Washington by being with us each week at this same time for this public service program brought to you by this radio station and the AFL-CIO . . . WASHINGTON REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE!



MRS. GEORGE W. HUCKABY  
6248 LUDLOW STREET  
PHILADELPHIA 39, PA.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey,  
The United States Senate  
Washington, D.C

my dear Mr. Humphrey,

On Sunday Morning July 5<sup>th</sup>,  
I was awoken to your voice.  
At that particular time, I was  
most receptive, but not able  
to retain all I heard.

Your comments seemed to  
have coincided with many of

my thoughts on the Civil Rights Law. However I would be happy if I could have a copy of these comments.

Since this was about 6 a.m. I am not quite sure of the particular station or network.

I have had occasions to visit Washington, being connected with the N. A. P. S. Please let me know when, if, and how I may visit you ~~when~~ such an occasion arises. I thank you.

May you enjoy good health & continue your work with Our Precious U. S. Gov.

Sincerely + Respectfully  
Marjorie W. Huckabee



COPY

July 16, 1964

Mrs. George W. Huckaby  
6248 Ludlow Street  
Philadelphia 39, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Huckaby:

Thank you for your kind letter. I am enclosing a copy of my remarks on the radio program, "Washington Reports to the People", of July 5.

If you ever have the opportunity to be in Washington, drop by my office for a visit.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

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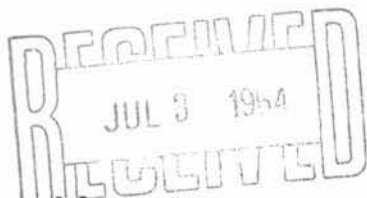
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July 2, 1964

The Honorable Hubert Humphrey  
The Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator:

Many thanks for your cooperation in connection with the recent program in the WASHINGTON REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE series.

Enclosed are a picture which was taken at the time of the taping and a transcript of the program. Also please note page 4 of the AFL-CIO News Service which is sent to 450 AFL-CIO newspapers.

If you would like to have additional copies of either, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

*Harry W. Flannery*  
Harry W. Flannery  
Radio Coordinator

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