

~~Rebbi Porath~~  
~~Dr. Sachar~~

~~Millon Elshberg~~  
~~Joel Kaufman~~  
~~Chief Justice~~  
~~Justice Basil~~  
~~Senate Colleagues~~

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY  
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY DINNER  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUNE 18, 1963

~~FORD FOUNDATION GRANT - Every 3 - Ford 11/11/34~~

~~Friends of Brandeis~~

~~Challenge~~

~~and it's always painful~~

The issue of freedom has come home.

~~a momentary lecture~~  
~~house~~

Almost two hundred years ago, our Nation was born

with a cry for freedom which still echoes across every

continent ~~of the world~~

~~in the world~~

Return uncut to

~~Sen Humphrey~~

Our American Revolution set a new and attainable goal

for all men ~~without~~ <sup>who aspired to</sup> freedom. It was a warning to the tyrants

who sponsored oppression, and to the indifferent who tolerated  
injustice.

The idea of our revolution took root in other lands,  
and spread. Over the years, we have watched the results  
as the people of other <sup>countries</sup> ~~lands~~ stood up and demanded freedom  
for themselves.

~~Ted Kennedy - Invited to Brandeis - JFK~~  
~~I became President~~

Our American idea of freedom for all men has circled the earth, moulded new nations and shaped history.

*Idea of Freedom has now*  
~~And now it has~~ returned to this land with vitality and force---to challenge us <sup>again</sup> or to haunt us.

The Negro---The American Negro---wants <sup>full</sup> freedom. And he is standing up to demand it <sup>he is</sup> *Fighting for it!*

*NOV* ~~he~~ should <sup>we</sup> be surprised by his demand or by the steps he is taking to win his rights. The surprise is that he had enough patience to wait so long ~~for others to~~ *Suffered too long!* ~~give him those rights.~~

*and* The Negro's demand for full freedom ~~for every man and woman~~ is not new; <sup>now</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> does not represent some alien philosophy. -- *Its 100% American!*

*Our forefathers*  
~~We our Nation~~ gave him the idea almost 200 years ago, with the *our Decl of Independence* ~~Constitution~~. We promised him realization of

the idea 100 years ago, with the Emancipation Proclamation.

But today, there is a tragic gap between the promise and the fulfillment of the Emancipation Proclamation. *It is that gap which is now being closed.* Gap

As a Nation, we have in recent years been preoccupied with the contest with Communism. ~~We have given only a fraction of our attention to the contest between ourselves.~~

~~As a Nation,~~ We have poured our resources and energies into a massive effort to close what we called the missile gap, *and now* the space gap.

But, We have neglected the most tragic failure of America ~~as a Nation and as a people~~ the citizenship gap.

There is a gap between what we should be and what we are. All of our people are proud to be Americans. *But* many of our people ~~have not been respected as~~ *have not been respected as* ~~are not considered~~ Americans ~~by their~~

~~follows~~, All of our people are, by the words of the Constitution, *unequal* citizens. But many of our people--~~including~~

*GM*

*have not enjoyed full citizenship*  
the Negro---~~know~~ that they are considered second-class citizens.  
*privileges, rights and duties*  
Yes, the gap exists---and it is wide. — *it must be closed.*

✓ America is behind in guaranteeing first-class citizenship to every American.

✓ America is behind in guaranteeing ~~equal~~ voting rights to Negro citizens.

✓ America is behind in opening ~~the best~~ educational opportunities to Negro citizens.

America lags in assuring equal job opportunities to Negro citizens. — *Lap in training*

✓ America, in short, is short on the freedom about which it boasts. ✓ Our Nation suffers from a lingering disease---a corroding and crippling disease of prejudice, bigotry and discrimination which take ~~their~~ <sup>its</sup> toll in poverty, illiteracy and social injustice.

*Brandeis is in the forefront of the battle against these awful enemies*

✓ We must dedicate ourselves, our energies and our knowledge to the imperative task of closing America's citizenship gap.

We must remove the disease of discrimination through new laws, new practices, through our communities and states--- and with Federal standards.

✓ Discrimination  
~~This~~ is not a local problem, or the problem of one State or area of the country. This is a national problem--- and in some ways, international.

*It weakens us at home and embarrasses us abroad*

② ✓ The basic issue today is not whether the wrongs of discrimination will be righted---they will be.

The issue is not even when equality and <sup>u</sup>all freedom will be realized for every American---that time is now, this year.

✓ The basic issue is how first-class citizenship will be won for all Americans.

This is the question: Will full citizenship rights  
*won and*  
be assured for every American by ~~statesmen and legislators~~ *law and practice*

*^*  
or by violence, disorder and demagogery?

Tomorrow, President Kennedy will offer part of the answer to this question. He will give to the Congress and the country a courageous, comprehensive and strong message on the steps needed to bring first-class citizenship to every American. His proposals will represent *a massive* effort to resolve the major issue of our time by orderly, legislative steps.

*^* There will be a long and difficult debate in the Congress on the Administration's civil rights program. I pledge my energies and *whatever legislative ability I may have* ~~my life this year~~ to securing Congressional approval for that program. It must be approved. *and* It will be approved.

A Gallup Poll of this week reports that 36 per cent of the people believe that the Administration is moving "too

fast," on civil rights.

But, I believe that this Nation has ~~in recent years~~ moved too slowly, ~~and in other years moved not at all in the cause~~ of human rights.

Fifteen years ago, in the summer of 1948, I spoke these words at the Democratic National Convention in ~~Philadelphia~~ Philadelphia.

"There are those who say to you---we are rushing this issue of civil rights. I say we are 172 years too late.

"There are those who say---this issue of civil rights is an infringement of states' rights. The time has arrived... to get out of the shadow of states' rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights.

"People---human beings---this is the issue of the 20th century. People---all kinds and sorts of people---look to America for leadership, for help, for guidance.

"...I ask you for a calm consideration of our historic opportunity. Let us forget the evil passions, the blindness of the past. In these times of world economic, political and spiritual ~~above all~~ spiritual crisis, we cannot---we must not, turn from the path so plainly before us.

~~"That path has already led us through many valleys of the shadow of death. Now is the time to recall those who were left on that path of American freedom.~~

L "For all of us here, for the millions who have sent us, for the whole two billion members of the human family---  
our land is now, more than ever, the last best hope on earth.  
I know that we can---I know that we shall---begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope---that promise of a land where all men are free and equal, and each man uses his freedom and equality wisely and well."

✓ We did make a new beginning in that summer 15 years ago.

Much has been done in those 15 years to advance the cause of  
civil rights and human rights in the United States.

*But* I am confident now that more will be done in the next  
15 months than in the past 15 years. !!

I am confident that the promise of the Emancipation  
Proclamation will be <sup>(ED)</sup>match <sup>^</sup>by performance in the next 15 months.

My confidence is based on trust in the people of the  
United States---in their basic <sup>Goodness</sup>~~goodness~~, their intrinsic de-  
cency, their enduring respect for the principles which shaped  
this Nation's philosophy of freedom.

✓ And my confidence is based on the sense of a new  
climate in America---an awareness of the moral crisis <sup>FACE</sup>~~we face~~,  
and a determination to resolve it. [Signature]

In this new climate, <sup>u</sup>~~indifference~~ has changed to con-  
cern, and personal involvement.

All of us, every citizen of this Nation, are concerned today about the moral crisis of civil rights and human rights. All of us must recognize that we are personally involved in this crisis---no matter what part of the country is ~~our~~ home.

Edmund Burke said it best to the House of Commons:

"All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world," he said, "is for enough good men to do nothing."

We have the good men. And today, they are doing something.

(END)

Excerpts of Remarks by  
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Brandeis University Dinner  
Washington, D.C.

June 18, 1963

The issue of freedom has come home.

Almost two hundred years ago, our Nation was born with a cry for freedom which still echoes across every continent of the world.

Our American Revolution set a new and attainable goal for all men without freedom. It was a warning to the tyrants who sponsored oppression, and to the indifferent who tolerated injustice.

The idea of our revolution took root in other lands, and spread. Over the years, we have watched the results. ~~At~~ sometimes proudly, sometimes fearfully ~~as~~ the people of other lands stood up and demanded freedom for themselves.

Our American idea of freedom for all men has circled the earth, moulded new nations and shaped history.

And now it has returned to this land with vitality and force--- to challenge us or to haunt us.

The Negro---The American Negro---wants freedom. And he is standing up to demand it.

We should not be surprised by his ~~firm~~ demand or by the steps he is taking to win his rights. The surprise is that he had enough <sup>PATIENCE</sup> ~~patience~~ to wait so long for others to give him those rights.

(more)

The Negro's demand for full freedom for every man and woman is not new; it does not represent some alien PHILOSOPHY force.

We---our Nation---gave him the idea almost 200 years ago, with the Constitution. We promised him realization of the idea 100 years ago, with the Emancipation Proclamation.

But today, there is a tragic gap between the promise and the fulfillment of the Emancipation Proclamation.

As a Nation, we have in recent years been preoccupied with the contest with Communism. We have given only a fraction of our attention to the contest between ourselves.

As a Nation, we have poured our resources and energies into a massive effort to close what we called the missile gap, or the space gap.

We have neglected the most tragic failure of America as a Nation and as a people---the citizenship gap.

There is a gap between what we should be and what we are. All of our people are proud to be Americans. But many of our people are not considered Americans by their fellows. All of our people are, by the words of the Constitution, citizens. But many of our people---including the Negro---know that they are considered second-class citizens.

Yes, the gap exists---and it is wide.

America is behind in guaranteeing first-class citizenship to every American.

America is behind in guaranteeing voting rights to Negro citizens.

America is behind in opening the best educational opportunities to

(more)

Negro citizens.

America lags in assuring equal job opportunities to Negro citizens.

America, in short, is short on the freedom about which it boasts. Our Nation suffers from a lingering disease---a corroding and crippling disease of ~~main~~ prejudice, bigotry and discrimination which take their toll in poverty, illiteracy and social injustice.

We must dedicate ourselves, our energies and our knowledge to the imperative task of closing America's citizenship gap.

We must remove the disease of discrimination through new laws, new practices, through our communities and states---and with Federal standards.

This is not a local problem, or the problem of one State or area of the country. This is a national problem---and in some ways, international.

The basic issue today is not whether the wrongs of discrimination will be righted---they will be.

The issue is not even when equality and full freedom will be realized for every American---that time is now, this year.

The basic issue is how first-class citizenship will be won for all Americans.

This is the question: Will full citizenship rights be assured for every American by statesmen and legislators, or by violence, disorder and demagogery?

(more)

Tomorrow, President Kennedy will offer part of the answer to this question. He will give to the Congress and the country a courageous, comprehensive and strong message on the steps needed to bring first-class citizenship to every American. His proposals will represent an effort to resolve the major issue of our time by orderly, legislative steps.

There will be a long and difficult debate in the Congress on the Administration's civil rights program. I pledge my energies and my life this year to securing Congressional approval for that program. It must be approved. It will be approved.

~~There are those in the country who say that the President is moving~~  
~~"too fast" on this issue.~~ A Gallup Poll of this week reports that 36  
per cent of the people believe that the Administration is moving <sup>"</sup>too  
fast. <sup>"</sup> ON CIVIL RIGHTS,  
(BELIEVE)

I ~~say~~ that this Nation has in recent years moved too slowly and in  
other years moved not at all in the cause of human rights.

Fifteen years ago, in the summer of 1948, I spoke these words at  
the Democratic National Convention in Chicago:

"There are those who say to you---we are rushing this issue of  
civil rights. I say we are 172 yeats too late.

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ment of states rights. The time has arrived ~~for~~....to get out of the  
shadow of state's rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine  
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(more)

"People---human beings---this is the issue of the 20th century. People---all kinds and sorts of people---look to America for leadership, for help, for guidance.

"...I ask you for a calm consideration of our historic opportunity. Let us forget the evil passions, the blindness of the past. In these times of world economic, political and spiritual---above all, spiritual crisis, we cannot---we must not, turn from the path so plainly before us.

"That path has already led us through many valleys of the shadow of death. Now is the time to recall those who were left on that path of American freedom.

"For all of us here, ~~for~~ the millions who have sent us, for the whole two billion members of the human family---our land is now, more than ever, ~~the~~ the last best hope on earth. I know that we can---I know that we shall---begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope---that promise of a land where all men are free and equal, and each man uses his freedom and equality wisely and well."

We <sup>DIP</sup>~~did~~ make a new beginning in that summer 15 years ago. Much has been done in those 15 years ~~to~~ to advance the cause of civil rights and human rights in the United States.

I am confident ~~and~~ now that more will be done in the next 15 months than in the past 15 years.

I am confident that the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation will be matched by performance in the next 15 months.

My confidence is based on trust in the people of the United States--- in their basic goodness, their intrinsic decency, their enduring respect for the principles which shaped this Nation's philosophy of freedom.

And my confidence is based on the sense of a new climate in America--- an awareness of the moral crisis we ~~face~~, and a determination to resolve it.

In this new climate, indifference has changed to concern, and personal involvement.

~~Perhaps our greatest problem in advancing civil rights is that we have not~~  
~~in the past and have~~

All of us, every citizen of this Nation, are concerned today about the moral crisis of civil rights and human rights. All of us must recognize that we are personally involved in this crisis---no matter what part of the country is your home.

Edmund Burke said it best to the House of Commons:

"All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world," he said, "is for enough good men to do nothing."

We have the good men. And today, they are doing something.

(END)



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