

I'm here for 3 reasons - you asked me

① Adlai Stevenson would introduce me

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

② I believe in the good work of the Anti Defamation League.

TO THE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

APRIL 8, 1965

It is indeed a high honor to receive the

Anti-Defamation League's Human Rights Award for
1965.

It is with a sense of deep humility that I

join the company of those who have received this

award in past years: ^{President} Lyndon B. Johnson, ^{President} Harry S.

Truman, Adlai E. Stevenson, Nelson A. Rockefeller,

John J. McCloy, and Paul G. Hoffman.

Knowing that ADL and "human rights" are synonymous, and knowing of your unflagging commitment to root out bigotry, prejudice, and discrimination wherever it exists, I regard this as one of the proudest moments of my life.

Thank you very much.

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"The God who gave us life," observed Thomas Jefferson, "gave us liberty at the same time."

It has, however, been the responsibility of man to preserve, protect, and defend this God-given liberty. And nowhere has this responsibility been taken more seriously than in America.

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One hundred and seventy-six years ago, this nation was new, but it was founded on ancient ideas of "popular government and equal opportunity."

That which
made it new -- ~~what~~ made it ring with hope
and promise, *and* ~~what~~ made it America -- was the new
energy, the new faith, the new dedication that
men brought to an old dream of liberty.

The pioneers of this nation were not content
with the old -- they sought the new on the farthest
reaches of our continent. *America* did not grow
by turning inward on what it had, but by reaching
out for new frontiers of opportunity and challenge.

The American dream was never conceived in the
conscience of conservatives but in the hearts of
visionaries. *And* the substance of this dream was
energy, innovation, creativity, *dignity* and freedom.

L "I believe in democracy," said Woodrow
Wilson, "because it releases the energy of
every human being." L And his program of the
New Freedom found its deepest roots in the
concept of ordering our social and economic
life in a manner which permitted each individual
the opportunity to expend his energies in building
a better America -- for himself and for his
neighbors.

L It is this capacity to release the energy
of the American people which has set this nation
apart from all others of the world.

And it is the energy, creativity, and innovation brought by Americans to the task of democratic government which has preserved this nation as a beacon of hope in a weary and struggling world.

What was new in America after the normalcy of the 1920's was the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, with its compassionate and realistic social programs for America, and its Good Neighbor policy for nations of the world.

What was new in America -- and the world -- after the ^{+ destruction} desecration of World War II was the creative force of the Marshall Plan and Point Four of Harry S. Truman which helped restore dignity and optimism to the Western world.

What was new in America after the lull of
the fifties was the New Frontier of John F.

Kennedy with its infusion of youth, talent,
vigor and confidence into our national life.

And what is new in America today is the
energy, vision, and faith of Lyndon B. Johnson
as he challenges us to join with him in building
the Great Society.

Read any period of our history, and the lesson
is always the same: democracy in America is a
and existing
difficult business. In fact, man's eternal struggle
to govern himself is the most demanding of all
human endeavors. This is just as true today as
it was in the days of this nation's birth.

The world turns -- and, like it or not, we turn with it. Man's eternal quest -- the search for justice and peace -- can only be fulfilled by the patient, unremitting application of free and searching minds to solving the problems which divide men and nations.

Thomas Jefferson ^{one} said: "If you expect a nation to be ignorant and free, you expect what never was and never will be." In 1787 the Continental Congress proclaimed in the Northwest Ordinance that "schools and the means of education shall ever be encouraged."

In 1965 we reaffirm this commitment in President Johnson's historic Elementary and Secondary Education Bill and the Higher Education Bill.

Why do we propose and advocate this legislation? Because every American must be given the opportunity to lead a meaningful and satisfying life. We cannot afford to squander the energies and abilities of a single American due to inadequate educational opportunity.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking to a tired and frightened people on the occasion of his first Inaugural, expressed a boundless confidence that a prosperous America would arise from the ashes of the Great Depression -- an America where the needs of the few would become the concern of the many. He said: "... These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us

that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow-men."

 / In 1965 -- in the midst of plenty -- we
 reaffirm our faith in this vision of compassion
 and justice through President Johnson's war on
 poverty and his goal: to achieve equality of
 economic opportunity for every American.

 / Abraham Lincoln, urging the abolition of
 slavery by the states themselves, addressed the
 following remarks to Congress in 1862: "In
 giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom
 to the free -- honorable alike in what we give and
 what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly
 lose the last, best hope of earth . . ."

✓ In 1965 we reaffirm in the Voting Rights Bill
our determination to finish this struggle to free
those Americans still held prisoner by the chains
of discrimination and segregation. ✓ We seek to

liberate the energies of 20 million Americans, who
~~have been told, again and again: We don't want~~
~~your labor -- we don't want your votes -- We~~
~~don't want your business.~~

✓ Today it is a thrilling experience to witness
Americans from all walks of life stand together
and proclaim: We shall overcome.

✓ Ten years ago this week in Montgomery, an
average American decided to stand up fearlessly in
defense of her God-given liberty. Mrs. Rosa Parks,
the Negro seamstress, refused to move to the back
of the bus.

And an unknown, young Baptist minister, Martin

Luther King, Jr., found himself leading the

historic Montgomery bus boycott.

Almost one decade later Martin Luther King

returned to Montgomery. He returned not as an

unknown Baptist preacher -- not as the leader

of a spontaneous boycott -- but as the Nobel

laureate who symbolizes America's commitment to ~~the~~

fulfillment of
~~fulfill~~ the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation.

These past ten years will be known as the

"Freedom Decade" in American history. These

past ten years have demonstrated that America

still possesses the energy, faith and spirit which

first established freedom on these shores.

✓ We know this battle is not yet over.

✓ But we also know that victory is certain. And

in winning, America -- and all mankind -- will

know that the last, best hope of earth endures.

✓ Arnold Toynbee, the noted British historian,

described the greatness of our generation with

these words: "Our age will be remembered not

for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing

inventions, but because it is the first generation

since the dawn of history in which man dared ...

to make the benefits of civilization available

to the whole human race."

✓ America -- above all other lands -- dares

to believe this is possible.

Through such programs as the Peace Corps,
Food-for-Peace, and foreign economic assistance,
we have given living meaning to the historic
words of John F. Kennedy that "... here on
earth God's work must truly be our own."

~~W~~ Thus we must resolve to make no small plans --

to accept no small results -- and to regard each
partial success as a stepping stone in the

exhilarating task of extending the benefits of
civilization to people everywhere.

ⓧ *The longest journey
is the first step!*

~~2~~ All these great plans require only energy,
creativity, and willingness of the spirit -- the
very qualities that built America into the great
nation it is today.

2 And while we need an America with the wisdom
of experience, let us never permit America to
grow old in spirit.

We must ~~not~~ always continue to be an America of
new faith in old dreams. Let us continue to be
an America eternally vigorous and creative.

Let us retain compassion in the midst of indifference,
ideals in the midst of cynicism, belief in the
midst of despair.

2 Let America continue to be what it was meant
to be by its founders -- a place for the renewal
of the human spirit and the liberation of human
energy.

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If there is anything new under the sun,
let it always be America.

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APRIL 8, 1965

Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith

My good friend, Governor, Ambassador, distinguished citizen, Adlai Stevenson; Dore Schary, and all of the many good friends who are here with us this evening; ladies and gentlemen:

I've been saying to myself here the last few moments, to follow this fellow, Adlai Stevenson, is like a freshman in college trying to write a theme after a Shakespearian play and then they're going to make judgment upon you. He is just incredibly good./ (applause) And I must be very frank with you: I'd rather be in his presence and come out second best than not be here at all. (applause).

May I join in paying my respects to the guest of honor this evening, Mr. Sachs and of course again to say hello to a dear friend Dore Schary and to express my warm regards and good feeling for the Antidefamation League.

I couldn't help but notice as I was sitting at the table, Dore, the little brochure and the statement of President Lyndon B. Johnson, and I think it's the finest compliment that could be made to the ADL. No wonder so many Presidents have so cheerfully and gratefully been the guest of the AntiDefamation League. The only addition I would say is,

no wonder that a Vice President is so happy to be at the Anti-Defamation League.

I keep telling Muriel how wonderful I find these banquets and dinners to be in New York, those that she misses and now those that she attends. This, to me, this gathering is just about the finest that we could have. I want to tell you why I'm here. First of all, I suppose on a Thursday night I might well have excused myself because my task and responsibility should be in the government to try to keep a very close eye upon the developments in the Congress. And today and tonight we have had important legislation in the Congress before us. If something goes wrong with that legislative program, I won't say that it's my fault; but I can tell you that I will hear about it (laughter) and I just don't like to be away. So we did delay our departure for some time.

But I'm here this evening. First, I'm here because I believe in the ADL. I believe in what the AntiDefamation League stands for, what it works for, and what it does.

Secondly, I'm here before Dore Schary called me (laughter) and he is without a doubt the most persuasive man since the time of Cicero or Pericles. Really, he's a sinister influence on the telephone (laughter)

And thirdly I'm here because when I hesitated for a moment saying that I might be a little busy; Dore Schary said, "Don't say another word, Hubert.... don't say another word," he said, "you know whose going to introduce you?" And I said no, who is it? He said, Adlai Stevenson. I said, I'll come -- even if I have laryngitis, I'll be there ! (Laughter and applause.)

Dory, you should have hired the Governor. You should have hired him for two or three reasons. He can write. You heard what he just said. And he's a great fiction writer, as you've heard again tonight (laughter) and he's a tremendous actor. As a matter of fact, I don't think it was Bacon at all that wrote Shakespeare, it was Stevenson (laughter and prlonged applause). It's nice to find a modest man that admits it.

(Voice "Isn't it awful the way they leak in Washington -- laughter).

Well, I'm sure you know, I consider it a high honor to receive the Anti-Defamation League Human Rights Award for 1965. I would consider it a high honor if it had never been presented to anyone else. But it is with a sense of deep humility that I join the company of those who have received this award in past years, and there have been many: The President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson. Former President of the United States, Harry S.

Truman. The distinguished former governor of the state of Illinois, the great American statesman and Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson; the governor of the state of New York, Nelson Rockefeller; and John McCloy and my good friend Paul Hoffman just to mention some.

To be in that distinguished company is a rare privilege, and anyone who wouldn't be appreciative of it and grateful for it would surely be a man of little or no sensitivity. And knowing that ADL and "human rights" are synonymous, and knowing of your unflagging commitment to root out bigotry, and prejudice, and intolerance and discrimination wherever it exists, I regard this as one of the proudest moments of my life. And I do in all deep sincerity want to thank you for singling me out for this honor which I hope I might sometime fully deserve. (Applause)

I've been reading a little of Thomas Jefferson's writings lately, and Jefferson once said, "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." It has, however, been the responsibility of man to preserve, and to protect, and to defend this God-given liberty. And I believe that nowhere in the world has this responsibility been taken more seriously than here in America.

One hundred and seventy-six years ago, this nation was new, but it was founded on an ancient idea.

The idea of philosophers of years before popular government and equal opportunity. And that which made it new, and made it ring with hope and promise and made it America was the new energy, the new faith, and the new dedication that men of those days brought to the old dream of liberty.

Liberty is as old in its dream as man himself. The pioneers of this nation were a reckless people as we are in this generation. And they were not content with the old. They sought the new on the farthest reaches of our continent. America did not grow by turning inward on what it had, but rather by reaching out for new frontiers of opportunity and of challenge.

Nor did America grow to its present stature by bemoaning its problems and its difficulties, but rather by turning those problems and difficulties into the affirmative of challenge and opportunity.

I should like to say that the American dream was never conceived in the conscience of conservatives but rather in the hearts of visionaries. And the substance of this American dream was energy, innovation, creativity, human dignity and freedom. Woodrow Wilson said "I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being." And his program of the New Freedom found its deepest roots in the concept of ordering our social and economic life in a manner which permitted each individual ~~the mass~~ -- not the mass, but each individual --

the opportunity to expend his energies in building a better America -- for himself and for his neighbors.

Wilson taught us above us above all individual responsibility and as the philosopher of democracy, and I think one of our greatest, taught us the true meaning of human dignity.

It's this capacity to release the energy of the American people which has set this nation apart from all others in the world. And it is the energy, the creativity, the innovation brought by Americans to the task of democratic government which has preserved this nation as a beacon of hope in this weary and struggling world.

Adlai Stevenson has told us tonight that to preserve these institutions of freedom and democracy is the most difficult of all tasks. I believe it was Winston Churchill who once said that Democracy is the worst form of government except all others. It's not an easy system or social order, but it is the better.

Now what was it that was new in America after the normalcy of the 1920's. It was the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt with its compassionate and realistic social program for America, and its Good Neighbor policy for the nations of the world. What was new in America? In fact which was new in America and in this world after the terrible destruction of World War II was the creative

force in this nation of the Marshall Plan and the Point Four program of Harry Truman which helped restore dignity and optimism to the Western World and that which was new in America after the lull of the 50's was the New Frontier of John F. Kennedy with his infusion of youth and of talent and of vigor and of confidence in our national life; and that which is new in America today is the energy and the competence and the vision and the faith of Lyndon B. Johnson as he challenges each and every one of us to join him in building the Great Society.

Jefferson said that to expect a nation to be ignorant and free, we expect what never was and never will be. This statement is so appropriate tonight because it tells so much about America. In 1787 the Continental Congress proclaimed the Northwest Ordinance and in so doing these words were written in public law "Schools and the means of education shall ever be encouraged."

From the inception of this Republic, education has been looked upon as the wisest investment for freedom and opportunity. And it is yet today. In 1965 we have reaffirmed this old commitment of our young nation, in President Johnson's program of Elementary and Secondary Education, in what he called the equal opportunity in education measure

and his higher education bill. It was this bill that kept me back in Washington tonight, deeply concerned less it be emasculated by an amendment. Because for the first time, my fellow Americans, since the days of the Civil War, we are about to pass a comprehensive aid to education measure that is directed toward the well being and the welfare of the students and will permit 48 million young Americans an opportunity (applause).

I've answered the question why we proposed and advocate this legislation. Because every American must be given the opportunity to lead a meaningful and satisfying life. The drag on this social structure and economy of ignorance and illiteracy is more than we can afford in a competitive world. Nor can we afford to squander the abilities of a single American due to inadequate educational opportunity. We judge our government and our society by what happens to the individual and it should be an article of faith that every individual is entitled to an opportunity to make the most out of his life,=to release his talents to emancipate his energy and a government worthy of respect and support will attempt to give leadership to a society to accomplish that goal. Franklin Roosevelt speaking to a tired and frightened people on the occasion of his first Inaugural expressed a boundless confidence that a prosperous American would arise from the ashes of a great depression. And America where the

needs of the few, as he put it, would become the concern of the many. He said, these dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto, but a minister to ourselves and to our fellowman. Words of inspiration, new inspiration that produced phenomenal results.

In 1965 in the midst of unprecedented plenty we reaffirm our faith in the vision of compassion and justice. In President Johnson's war on poverty and his goal to achieve equality of economic and social opportunity for every American. Lest you haven't gathered it by now, the theme of this government today is the expansion of the frontiers of freedom and the extension and the expansion of the areas of opportunity because freedom and opportunity march together. There is no opportunity without freedom. And there is little hope for freedom without opportunity.

Abraham Lincoln urging the abolition of slavery by the states themselves expressed the following remarks to Congress in 1862: He said, "in giving freedom to the slaves, we assure freedom to the free. Honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. " And then those words which live with us forever, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope on earth."

Those words of 1962 are more meaningful today than when they were written and when they were spoken. Just as the words of Lincoln in his Emancipation Proclamation are today living doctrine for this generation

of Americans.

In 1965, we reaffirm in the Voting Rights Bill, our determination to finish the struggle to free those Americans still held prisoner by the chains of discrimination and segregation. We seek to liberate the energies of 20 million Americans, 20 million Americans who are crying out for their chance to contribute to contribute their fair share to this economy and this country. And as surely as I am standing before you, that Voting Rights bill will be added to the galaxy of Civil Rights legislation that is presently on our statute books and that bill will be on the desk of the President of the United States for his signature before the first day of May, 1965. (applause)

These are troublesome days and they are exciting days and for the tired and the weary, I suppose they are almost too much. But may I make my plea once again, if you are weary and if you are tired, there is compassion for you, but please step aside. For those who are not yet weary and not yet tired. For those who know that there is work to be done. Because this cause of freedom and democracy has ~~xx~~ little room for those that hold back.

It's a thrilling experience, isn't it, to witness Americans from all walks of life, standing together to hear them proclaim even as our ~~xxxxx~~ President proclaimed it "We shall overcome" (Applause)

I just love the confidence and the conciseness of that phrase. It tells its own story, not filled with doubt and uncertainty. It is a statement of advocacy and positive optimism. Ten years ago this very week in Montgomery, Alabama, an average American decided to stand up, and to stand up fearlessly in defense of her God-given liberty. Mrs. Rosa Parks, the Negro seamstress refused ten years ago this week to move to the back of the bus. She was like the embattled farmer at Lexington and Concord who refused to be moved by the forces of oppression.

An unknown young Baptist minister -- it seems almost incredible now to say that he was unknown -- Martin Luther King, Jr. found himself leading an historic Montgomery bus boycott and almost one decade later, this fellow American, Martin Luther King, returned to Montgomery. He returned, not as the unknown Baptist minister, not as the leader of a spontaneous bus boycott, but as a Nobel Laurette who symbolizes America's commitment to the fulfillment of the promise of the Emancipation Proclamation. All in ten years from -- almost an unknown human being to one of the best known Americans of all time.

These past ten years, I believe, will be known as the Freedom Decade in American history. These past ten years have demonstrated that America still possesses the energy and the faith and the spirit which first established freedom on these shores. And what I like best

about these past ten years is that we haven't been reading history, we've been writing it. And we've been writing chapter after chapter, verse and verse of freedom -- at home and abroad -- writing it in Selma, and Montgomery and Birmingham, and Mr. Ambassador in the United Nations and in Europe and in Africa and in Asia through our program of foreign aid, of assistance, of diplomacy, and of international organization.

Oh, we know the battle is not yet over. But we also know that the victory is certain. And in winning America, and indeed all mankind, will know that the last best hope on earth endures.

That famous British historian, Arnold Toynbee, described the greatness of our generation with these meaningful words: "Our age will be remembered not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which man dare ... to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

What a privilege it is to live at this time. And how little patience we should have with those who feel that these times are too difficult. American, above all other lands, dares to believe that the promise and the words of Toynbee "to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race" is possible.

But we must resolve to make no small plans and to accept no small results and to regard each partial success as a stepping stone in the exhilarating task of extending the benefits of civilization to people everywhere.

I believe it was President Johnson who said at the ADL dinner in Washington that the longest journey is the first step. And we're making those first steps.

We're making them in international organization in the U.N.; we're making them in foreign aid and the Peace Corps, in the Food for Peace Corps; we're making them everyday. And we have to have the persevering patience to take the second and the third steps. Because all of these great plans require commitment. And why we need an America, an America the wisdom of ^{its} ~~the~~ states, that it never permit America to grow old in spirit.

We must always continue to be an America of new faith and old dreams. Let us continue therefore to be an America eternally vigorous and creative. Retain compassion in the midst of indifference, ideals in the midst of cynicism, and belief in the midst of despair.

Let all America continue to be what it was meant to be, a place for the renewal and the liberation of the human spirit. That's its destiny. Then and now, and in the days to come. And if there is anything new under the sun, let it always be America.

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