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ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND COMMENCEMENT

June 5, 1965

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President Elkins, Members of the Board of freisters, distinguished deans and faculty, members of the Class of 1965, parents, and distinguished quests.

It is with a deep sense of honor -- mixed with a special feeling of pleasure -- that I accept this

degree from the University of Maryland.

from one of America's great institutions of higher learning.

Chartered and opened in 1807 as the College of Medicine of Maryland, this institution became a university in 1812. Today your schools and

Elyment .



endeavor -- and you carry the lamp of learning to every corner of the globe.

In particular, I noted with great pride that

Chancellor Ludwig Erhard received an honorary

degree from the University of Maryland at the

recent commencement of your university's branch

in the Federal Republic of Germany. And it is

also a matter of some pride to speak at the

commencement of the IC4A track and field champion.

But I am especially pleased to be here today for another and quite personal reason. It is past 16 years the Humphrey family has considered Maryland to be its second home. We moved to Maryland in 1949 when I began my freshman term as a United States Senator --

Mr my country country

and we have come to cherish our home in Chevy Chase. Despite suggestions to move the Vice President to larger quarters, the Humphrey family is still happily in residence at the same old stand. And we love it. Z Today I wish to raise for your consideration a question of utmost importance facing the people of this nation: How can we conserve most effectively the human resources of America? President Woodrow Wilson once observed: "I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being." It has been our remarkable capacity to release the energy of the American people which has set

this nation apart from all others of the world.

And it will be the energy, creativity, and determination brought by Americans to the task of democratic government which will preserve this nation as a beacon of hope in a weary and struggling world.

The American people must take seriously the necessity of using to the fullest our vast reservoirs of untapped human skills, intellect, and ability existing in this country. We can no longer afford the luxury of squandering these human resources through poverty, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, or discrimination.

We must, in particular, come to understand that discrimination can assume many forms and many Rural families trapped in the never-ending cycle of low income and inadequate educational opportunities are the victims of discrimination

just as directly as Negro families striving to free themselves from the hopelessness of the urban ghetto.

Unskilled workers cast on the scrap heap of the technologically unemployed are lost to this nation just as completely as Spanish-speaking

Americans unable to locate sustained and meaningful employment opportunities.

The simple truth is this: America needs
everybody in the difficult business of making democracy
w ork. And -- for the first time in recorded history -we possess the economic wealth and the intellectual
attainment required to make every American a full
partner in this noble enterprise.

I wish to reflect briefly upon one area of particular significance at this juncture in our nation's history: our efforts to root out and destroy

prejudice.

Today we stand upon the threshold of a challenging new era in the struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity in America.

Looking back over the past generation, we see a historic victory has been achieved: Namely, the elimination of legalized prejudice and

discrimination in America.

Where schools, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, public parks and public transportation facilities operated on a segregated basis, they usually did so with either the explicit or implicit consent of local, state or national law.

Whether in a court of law, or on the sidewalk in front of a segregated restaurant, the civil rights movement has been primarily concerned with tearing

down these barriers of legalized discrimination. With the series of historic Supreme Court decisions culminating in Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954-- and with the series of Congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -this initial phase of the civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close. I am especially pleased to report that the response to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been most heartening. In our Southern states, in determination to particular, we have comply with the provisions of this legislation. And while the press has told of instances where people attempted to thwart the law

the real story has been the far greater evidence of widespread compliance in all sections of the country.

Many brave and courageous persons -- both black and white -- have been willing to risk their lives, and sometimes to lose their lives, in carrying forward this assault upon the barriers of legalized discrimination.

In large measure we can look with pride upon
the dignity and compassion -- yes, even the love -which has characterized the efforts of these courageous
Americans.

Their actions have demonstrated for every person in this country and around the world that freedom still lives here. They have shown us again that the quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling force in the world.

We see that victory is not far off -- yet, we also know that the struggle has only begun.

And, in many respects, the most difficult and challenging days for America lie just ahead.

In the next few years, we must determine whether or not we can build successfully on this foundation of equal rights and opportunity.

We must discover whether or not American Negroes and other minority groups can now be brought fully into the mainstream of our political, economic and social life.

Our task will be one of complementing the reality of "equal rights" with the attitude of "equal respect" among all peoples and races in America.

11

For only when equal respect drives out the completely the false doctrines of racial superiority will we have fashioned in America a national community worthy of our promises of the past and hopes for future.

and respect between Negroes and white persons. It is found in history. It is found in the arts. It is found in the great achievements of countless men and women.

On too many occasions we have failed to acknowledge the remarkable contributions of Negroes particularly to the sum total of human knowledge and achievement. From earliest times in Africa up to the present day in America, the accomplishments of Negroes have been obscured by false history,

incomplete history, and rationalized history. And this misleading and misread historical record has played its part in discouraging a climate of equal respect among peoples of all races. With the help of archaeology, with the careful study of African art, with ancient documents and writings, we are just now beginning to rediscover Africars many contributions to the expansion of human knowledge, Negroes participated from the very beginning in the discovery and exploration of the New World, And they participated not simply as slaves, but just as frequently as soldiers and sailors, as Jesuit missionaries and as free settlers Twenty-six of the forty-four settlers who established Los Angeles in 1781 were Negro

The founder of Chicago was a Haitian Negro,
educated in France. When he encountered
'job discrimination' in New Orleans, he traveled
up the Mississippi, eventually establishing the
first permanent residence on the site of the
present-day metropolis.

How many of us recall that the <u>first</u> man to lose his life in the cause of American independence was a runaway slave, Crispus Attucks? You will find his name on a monument on the Boston Common, commemorating the Boston massacre of March 5, 1770. And do we realize that 30,000 Negroes fought shoulder to shoulder with General Washington in our War of Independence?

How much do we remember of Frederick

Douglass, a self-educated former slave who overcame tremendous obstacles to attain world renown as an abolitionist orator and publisher and who served

in high government posts in the administration of five Presidents?

How many of us realize that the man credited with perfecting the technique of blood transfusions was a Negro, Doctor Charles Drew? How many millions of persons are alive today because of the pioneering research of this skilled physician? are are, of course, many more instances and vegroes and people of other minority groups who have made outstanding but unsung contributions to this nation's history. And there exists today across America what Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, has described as the quiet revolution -- a revolution stemming from the dramatic increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools . . . from the rising level

of income among Negroes . . . and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

These men and women are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice . . . of closed doors . . . of limited or non-existent educational opportunities . . . and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this often implied second-class citizenship and back-of-the

oh, / Will we be able to calculate the loss to

America -- and to the entire world -- of the potential talent among our Negro citizens which we exertheless sacrificed -- and are still sacrificing -- for reasons of prejudice and discrimination?

Will we be able ever to realize the terrible human price we have paid in supporting this system of

second-class citizenship?

Today we have finally struck down the supporting members of this structure of prejudice. And today we are taking long-overdue steps to build a climate of "equal respect" for Negro Americans -a climate where each person will have an opportunity to seek fulfillment as a unique and creative individual Ker surely these are the essential elements of man's humaness. The potentiality for creativity and the ability to pursue excellence. In business, in education, in the professions, in the arts, we are striving to provide I the chance to exercise their uniquely human qualities. And through such massive efforts as the anti-Mangower Training + Developael poverty program, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, we are attempting to reach down into the ghetto, into the

slum, and im rural areas to give the forgotten youngster a chance to function as a creative, productive and responsible human We must extend the hand of opportunity to this forgotten individual caught in the ghetto-But it must necessarily remain the responsibility of the individual -- as it is the responsibility of grasp this hand firmly and with determination... For any person -- whether white or the pursuit of excellence and creativity involves the willingness to accept responsibility and the courage to take risks. These are the qualities And these are the upon which respect thrives.

qualities so abundantly evident in the lives of

the Negroes I have noted.

Humini Exullence: the challenge of excellence and creativity and ultimately prevailed. I am fully confident that this era will be remembered as the time when America provided every person with an opportunity to accept this challenge -- when we discarded forever the shroud of hate and bigotry for the shining mantle of human freedom and dignity.

This will be the time when the human resources

of America were the harnassed in the exhilterating

w ork of extending the blessings of freedom

and justice to peoples everywhere.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, D.C.

To. Ruth

From: July

Re: U. M. M. Mansconpil -

(UN. edited)

ADDRESS BY

HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AT

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
JUNE 5, 1965

Mr. Elkin

, Governor Tawes,

Mr. McCormack, Members of the Board of Regents, distinguished Deans and Faculty, Members of this Class of 1965, parents and families, my fellow citizens.

First may I express from this public platform what you have expressed by your applause of profound appreciation and gratitude as indeed enthusiastic response to the beautiful music of the University Choral Group under the direction of Professor Spinman. What a wonderful, wonderful rendition of beautiful hymns that surely sets the tone for this significant and important occasion.

Secondly, I want to say to Mr. McCormack that while you indicated that when one chorus woppered into a glass, it may mean a short speech, you should not be deceived in this instance.

It's a beautiful day, one that I know will live in your memory for the rest of your life and surely a day of commencement should be a day of sunshine, and in this instance divine providence has given us the sunshine in nature that I am sure is in your hearts.

Now I have read on the program, or in the program and in my letters that somewhere along in these proceedings I am to be honored among others with an honorary degree. Lest anyone change their mind, I thought I would mention that early. And I want to say to Dr. Elkton, the Board of Regents of and the people of this great Free State that I accept it with a deep sense of honor mixed with a special feeling of pleasure. I am very honored to be amongst those you have selected to receive this degree

from one of America's greatest institutions of higher learning.

My research tells me that this University was chartered and opened in 1807 as the College of Medicine of Maryland. Subsequently, it was made one of the great land grant colleges of America, and land grant colleges that have been the bulwark of our broad system of higher education.

This institution became a university in 1812, so what a rich history it has. And today, your school and faculty cover almost every field of human endeavor. You carry the lamp of learning thankfully to every corner of the globe. And particularly, I have noted with great pride that which has been mentioned here already.

Honorary Degree from the University of Maryland at the recent commencement of your University branch in the Federal Republic of Germany. This is indeed what we mean by cultural exchange and a universality of learning. And I must say that it is a matter of some pride, I hope to you, and me to speak on the campus and at/commencement of the the intercollegiate track and field champions. So your glories go from the arts through that of athletics.

I am especially pleased to be here today for quite another personal reason. For the past 16 and a half years the Humphrey family has considered Maryland to be its second home. We moved to Maryland in 1949, when I became a freshman United States Senator. And we've come/cherish our little home in Chevy Chase, Montgomery County, and despite suggestions to move the Vice President to larger quarters, the Humphrey family is still happily in residence

at the same old stand and we love it. Today I wish to raise for your consideration a question which I hope is to you as it is to me of utmost importance facing the graduates of this year and facing this Nation in the years ahead. The issue is and the question is how can we serve and develop most effectively our most precious asset, the human resources of America? And I add resources that have been tragically wasted and all too often ignored.

President Woodrow Wilson once observed, I believe in that democracy because it releases the energy of every human being. It has been our remarkable capacity to release the energy of the American people, which has set this Nation apart from all the rest of the world. And it will be the energy, the creativity and the determination brought by Americans to the path of democratic governments which will preserve this Nation as the beacon of hope in a wweary and a struggling world.

The American people must take seriously the necessity of using to the fullest our vast receiver.

reservoirs of untapped human skills, intellect and ability. Our responsibilities will not be left in the days ahead; left at home or abroad. Whether we like it or not, this Nation bears the mantle of leadership and leadership is not a luxury, it is a high and heavy responsibility. It is a burden, and it is a duty.

And that burden, duty, and responsibility should not be borne by the few, but by the many.

We can no longer afford the luxury, therefore, of squandering. I repeat, of squandering these human resources to poverty in the richest of all lands; in disease in a nation which prides itself upon the healing arts; in illiteracy in a nation that cherishes education; in unemployment in the most rapidly expanding economy in the world; and in discrimination in a Mation that proclaims emancipation.

And we must in particular come to understand that discrimination, like war, can assume many forms, and many faces. Rural families clasped in a never ending cycle of low income and inadequate educational opportunities are the victims of discrimination, just as surely as if they were discriminated against because of race. Yes, they are the victims of just as directly as Negro families, striving to free themselves from the hopelessness of our modern, urban ghettos.

Unskilled workers, passed upon of the technologically unemployed are lost to this nation just as completely as hundreds of thousands of Spanish-speaking Americans, unable to locate the same and meaning-ful employment opportunities.

These are some of the facts that you face, and may I say to those who are privileged to have an education at the public expense, and we all do, no man

or woman ever pays for his education. How can you pay
for the accumulation of literature in your library,
through the hundreds and thousands of years of man's
ingenuity and intellect. How could you ever pay for
the arts, the music, the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of untold generations before you?

If ever there was a group of individuals that have been privileged that could be called the special elite that have been privileged and subsidized by the rest of the community, it is the college student and the college graduate. And I say that as one who has graduated from two great State Universities. I shall never be able to pay my debt to those who made this possible. Nor shall you. But may I suggest that the longer you wait, the more you'll owe. So get busy in the realm of service.

Now the simple truth is that America needs everybody, not just you. It needs everybody in **x** the difficult business of making our system and our democracy, and our economy work. For the first time in recorded history, we possess the economic wealth and intellectualizationment required to make every American a full partner in this, the noblest, of social enterprises.

I wish to reflect then briefly upon one area of overriding significance to you, to our Nation, and to the world. At this juncture of our Nation's history, our efforts to root out and to destroy for once and for all the ancient curse of racial prejudice.

My fellow Americans of the 1930's didn't teach us that appearement is not the path to peace and that racial intolerance is but consulate evil. If it didn't teach us those two things, then we are unworthy of the citizenship that we claim inverse and unworthy of the

privileges that/ours. The thirties xxxx should have been indelibly imprinted upon our souls and minds. The thought that you cannot xxx corrupt principle without being corrupted. Today we stand upon the threshhold of a challenging, new x era in human relations in the struggle for civil rights and for equal opportunity in this blessed America.

Looking back over the past generation, we see a historic victory has been achieved, namely, the elimination of legalized prejudice and discrimination in America in schools or restaurants and hotels and hospitals and public parks and public kreek transportation facilities, operated on a segregated basis. They usually did though with either the explicit or the implicit kreek contempt of local, state or national law. Whether in a court of law or on the sidewalk in front of a segregated restaurant the civil rights movement has been primarily concerned with destroying

and tearing down these barriers of legalized discrimination.

And with the series of historic Supreme Court decisions, culminating in Brown v. The Board of Education in 1954. And with the series of Congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 to and to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, this initial phase of the Civil Rights struggle that we've heard so much about, read so much about is now going drawing to a close.

We've come through one of the most dramatic chapters of our M history and we have come through it fairly well with more order, with more sense of self-discipline. When you consider the importance of the past and the obstructions encountered, we've come through with that more order than any society which you can think of.

And I am expecially pleased to report that the response to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been most heartening.

In our Southern States, often selected, may I say, by some for special comment, adversely, most often.

In those southern states, in particular, we have witnessed determination to comply with the provisions of this legislation. And while the media of our new have told us of instances where the people attempted to force the law, the real story has been the far greater evidence in the southernx states, yes, throughout America, of widespread compliance with the law.

I, for one, as an official of this Government publicly express thanks and again ask for even greater achievement. Many brave and courageous persons, both colored and white, having been willing to risk their lives and sometimes to lose their lives in carrying forward this

assault on the barriers of legalized discrimination.

In large measure, we can look with pride upon the dignity and compassion, yes, even the love which has characterized these the efforts of this courageous Americans. Their actions have demonstrated for every person in this Country and around this world, most of which by the way he is colored that freedom still lives here, that the Declaration of Independence is not a historical document, but a living instrument.

They have shown us again that the quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling force in the world.

We see now that that victory is not far off.

Yet we also know that the struggle has only begun. And
in many respects the most difficult and challenging days
of all of this lie ahead.

In the next few years you, we, must determine whether or not we can build successfully on this foundation of equal rights and opportunity. We must discover whether or not American Negroes and other minority groups will now be brought fully into the mainstream of our political, economic and social life.

Our paths will be one of complementing the reality of equal rights with the attitude toward equal respect among all people and races in America. And I say to this audience that this is no longer a matter of domestic concern, it is an international imparity.

There is no force that man can create in weapons or economics that can substitute for the force of respect and equality among people. And unless this great Nation in its role of leadership understands this, it will be the defeated and it will violate its as the steward and custodian of the cause of freedom.

For only when equal respect removes completely the false doctrines of racial superiority will we have fashioned in America a national community worthy of the promises of our past and the hopes of our future.

There is, of course, a policy or basis for equality and regard and respect among peoples, among Negroes and White persons. It is found in our history which, by the way, is a history too little known. It is found in our arts. It is found in the great achievements of countless men and women on too many occasions.

We have failed to acknowledge the remarkable contributions of Negroes particularly in the sum total of knowledge and achievement. We have thought all too often of the pattern of servitude, of menial work. When But from the earliest times in America and from the earliest times in Africa, up to the present day in America, the accomplishment of the Negro has been obscured by false history, false reporting, incomplete history, and rationalized history.

And this misleading and misread historical record has played its part, warping the attitude of mankind and discouraging a climate of equal respect among peoples of all races. But with the help of archaeology and with the careful study of the true history of African art with ancient documents and writings, we are now beginning to rediscover Africa's many contributions to the expansion of human knowledge.

Negroes participated from the very beginning in the discovery and exploration of the new world. And they participated not simply as slaves, as our youngsters are taught, but just as frequently as soldiers and sailors and Jesuit Missionaries and pre-settlors.

26 of the 44 settlors who established the great City of Los Angeles in 1781 were Negroes. The Founder of Chicago was a Haitian Negro educated in France. When he encountered job discrimination in New Orleans he traveled up the Mississippi and, eventually establishing the first

permanent residence on the site of that present-day giant metropolis.

How many of us recall that the first man to lose his life in the cause of kkexwax American independence? was a run-away slave who wanted freedom, Chrispus Attucks? You will find his name on the monument on the Boston Common, commemorating the Boston Masaere Massacre of March 5, 1770.

Do you realize or do we realize that 30,000

Negro soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder with General

Washington in our War of Independence? Harm How much do

we remember of Frederick Douglass, a self-educated slave

who overcame tremendous obstacles to attain world-renown

as an abolitionist orator and publisher and who served in

high government posts in the Administration of 5 Presidents.

How many of us realize that the man credited with perfecting the technique of blood transfusion was a Negro

a doctor by the name of Charles Drew? And how many millions of persons are alive today because of the pioneering research of this skilled scientist and physician?

Yes, the history books are replete. I shall not burden you with them except to say that in these days we now reflect upon the greatness of so many. The George Washington Carver, the Booker T. Washington, the Marian Anderson. These are the great names -- the Roland Hayes, the athletes too numerous to number -and now thousands and thousands who participate in the life of our community. And there exists across America the Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League who has described as the quiet revolution, a revolugation stemming from the dramatic increase in Negro enrollment in college and professional schools. From the rising level of income among Negro families and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general. There is a rebirth of freedom and responsibility. These men and women are succeeding, despite the handicaps of prejudice that we've imposed, the closed doors from some people of closed minds and hearts, of limited or non-existent educational opportunities, and of the deep psychological wounds of being a Negro in a period where this often-implied second-class citizen and back-of-the-bus treatment. Oh, we will we ever be able to calculate the loss to our America and to the entire world of these tragic sins and crimes against humanity -of the potential talent which has been lost in the by-gone years among our Negro citizens and wath other minorities, Talents that we have sacrificed and regrettably in many areas are still sacrificing for the reasons of prejudice and discrimination.

Will we ever be able to realize the terrible human fight that we have paid in supporting this system, this discrediting system of second-class citizenship. But today we have finally struck down the supporting members of this structure of prejudice. And today we're taking long-overdue steps to build a climate of equal respect for all Americans, White and Colored, wheter wherever they may come from, a climate of equal respect where each person will have an opportunity to see fulfillment as a unique creative individual. Surely these are the essential elements of man's humane. Those elements of potential for creativity and the ability to pursue excellence in business, education, the professions or the arts. We are striving now at long last to provide for all the deprived for all of those that were not given the opportunity of the benefits of our society, to provide them the chance to exercise their uniquely human qualities and we'll be the richer for it. We'll be the better for it, the more just

and the more free. Through such massive efforts as the Anti-poverty Program, striking at the roots of this ancient curse of poverty not only of the purse but of the spirit. Through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, directed to remedy some of the inequities and inequalities for education structures and the Higher Education Act, we are attempting to reach down into the ghettos into the urban slum and the rural areas to give the forgotten youngsters a chance to funcation as a creative and productive and responsible human being.

We must, my fellow Americans, we must extend the hand of opportunity -- not to the so-called forgotten man, but to our fellow man, The individual caught up in this ghetto of prejudice and inequality. But it must necessarily remain the responsibility of the individual to reach out and to reach up tograsp his hand firmly and with determination

And it is our duty and privilege to take the message to those who so long have wondered if their chance would ever come -- to take the message now that the day of opportunity is here, and the individual can have it if he will but seize it or any person, whether White The or Colored. in pursuit of excellence and creativity involves the willingness to accept responsibility and the courage to take risks. These are the qualities upon which respect thrives.

This government owes no one a living, but this government owes everyone a chance. This government owes no one constant protection.intermex in terms of your income your and/worldly needs. But it owes everyone the opportunity to provide his own protection and it is these qualities of self-reliance, a partnership between people and their government that will make freedom more than a word in history, but a fact of life.

exciting and dramatic development -- Gemini IV akre astronauts in orbit, walking freely and floating freely in space.

What an exciting time. This is a good time to realize.

I have never believed that any yesterday is as good as today. And I have always been of the opinion that tomorrow would be just a little better if we willed it.

The good history is written about persons

who have that sense of determination and optimism and

who have accepted the challenge of excellence because

of
only through excellence can man perform the feats/science

and technology that we now witness in outer space and
only through excellence and creativity can we receive

achieve the impossible and to achieve less is to fail.

I am fully confident that this era will be remembered as a time not when we created the greatest instruments and the most powerful instruments of destruction, but rather the greatest opportunities for the good life.

provided every person with an opportunity to accept this challenge of excellence, of creativity, of self-reliance. And it will be remembered as the era of opportunity when we decided forever the ugly shroud of has hate which is poisoned the bloodstream of many a N nation and to its destruction. And we will shed the shroud of bigotry for the shining mantle of human freedom and dignity.

achievements will not be in the areas of science and technology but will be in the field of the humanities, of human relations. This will be the time when a human resources of America, the/xtruly God-given resources.

The highest and the most exhilarating work of mankind.

The honest and mank exhilarating experience of extending the blessings of freedom to make more people here and elsewhere and of opportunity for all and justice to

to people everywhere. This is your challenge. More importantly, it is your privilege. No generation ever had it so good and no generation has ever been expected to do so much. I predict that our hopes will be fulfilled.

INFORMATION

PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY Washington 25, D. C.

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND COMMENCEMENT, JUNE 5, 1965

President Elkins, Members of the Board of Trustees, distinguished deans and faculty, members of the Class of 1965, parents, and distinguished guests.

It is with a deep sense of honor -- mixed with a special feeling of pleasure -- that I accept this degree from the University of Maryland.

I am honored because I receive this degree from one of America's great institutions of higher learning.

Chartered and opened in 1807 as the College of Medicine of Maryland, this institution became a university in 1812. Today your schools and faculties cover almost every field of human endeavor -- and you carry the lamp of learning to every corner of the globe.

In particular, I noted with great pride that Chancellor Ludwig Erhard received an honorary degree from the University of Maryland at the recent commencement of your university's branch in the Federal Republic of Germany. And it is also a matter of some pride to speak at the commencement of the IC4A track and field champion.

But I am especially pleased to be here today for another and quite personal reason. For the past 16 years the Humphrey family has considered Maryland to be its second home. We moved to Maryland in 1949 when I began my freshman term as a United States Senator -- and we have come to cherish our home in Chevy Chase. Despite suggestions to move the Vice President to larger quarters, the Humphrey family is still happily in residence at the same old stand. And we love it.

Today I wish to raise for your consideration a question of utmost importance facing the people of this nation: How can we conserve most effectively the human resources of America?

President Woodrow Wilson once observed: "I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being."

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

And it will be the energy, creativity, and determination brought by Americans to the task of democratic government which will preserve this nation as a beacon of hope in a weary and struggling world.

The American people must take seriously the necessity of using to the fullest our vast reservoirs of untapped human skills, intellect, and ability existing in this country. We can no longer afford the luxury of squandering these human resources through poverty, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, or discrimination.

We must, in particular, come to understand that discrimination can assume many forms and many guises. Rural families trapped in the never-ending cycle of low income and inadequate educational opportunities are the victims of discrimination just as directly as Negro families striving to free themselves from the hopelessness of the urban ghetto.

Unskilled workers cast on the scrap heap of the technologically unemployed are lost to this nation just as completely as Spanish-speaking Americans unable to locate sustained and meaningful employment opportunities.

The simple truth is this: America needs everybody in the difficult business of making democracy work. And -- for the first time in recorded history -- we possess the economic wealth and the intellectual attainment required to make every American a full partner in this noble enterprise.

I wish to reflect briefly upon one area of particular significance at this juncture in our nation's history: our efforts to root out and destroy in America the ancient curse of racial prejudice.

Today we stand upon the threshold of a challenging new era in the struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity in America.

Looking back over the past generation, we see a historic victory has been achieved: Namely, the elimination of legalized prejudice and discrimination in America.

Where schools, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, public parks and public transportation facilities operated on a segregated basis, they usually did so with either the explicit or implicit consent of local, state or national law.

Whether in a court of law, or on the sidewalk in front of a segregated restaurant, the civil rights movement has been primarily concerned with tearing down these barriers of legalized discrimination.

With the series of historic Supreme Court decisions culminating in <u>Brown</u> vs.

<u>Board of Education</u> in 1954 -- and with the series of Congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- this initial phase of the civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close.

I am especially pleased to report that the response to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been most heartening. In our Southern states, in particular, we have encountered determination to comply with the provisions of this legislation.

And while the press has told of instances where people attempted to thwart the law, the real story has been the far greater evidence of widespread compliance in all sections of the country.

Many brave and courageous persons -- both black and white -- have been willing to risk their lives, and sometimes to lose their lives, in carrying forward this assault upon the barriers of legalized discrimination.

In large measure we can look with pride upon the dignity and compassion -yes, even the love -- which has characterized the efforts of these courageous
Americans.

Their actions have demonstrated for every person in this country and around the world that freedom still lives here. They have shown us again that the quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling force in the world.

We see that victory is not far off -- yet, we also know that the struggle has only begun.

And, in many respects, the most difficult and challenging days for America lie just ahead.

In the next few years, we must determine whether or not we can build successfully on this foundation of equal rights and opportunity.

We must discover whether or not American Negroes and other minority groups can now be brought fully into the mainstream of our political, economic and social life.

Our task will be one of complementing the reality of "equal rights" with the attitude of "equal respect" among all peoples and races in America.

For only when equal respect drives out completely the false doctrines of racial superiority will we have fashioned in America a national community worthy of our promises of the past and our hopes for the future.

This is, of course, basis for equality of regard and respect between Negroes and white persons. It is found in history. It is found in the arts. It is found in the great achievements of countless men and women.

On too many occasions we have failed to acknowledge the remarkable contributions of Negroes particularly to the sum total of human knowledge and achievement. From earliest times in Africa up to the present day in America, the accomplishments of Negroes have been obscured by false history, incomplete history, and rationalized history. And this misleading and misread historical record has played its part in discouraging a climate of equal respect among peoples of all races.

With the help of archaeology, with the careful study of African art, with ancient documents and writings, we are just now beginning to rediscover Africa's many contributions to the expansion of human knowledge.

Negroes participated from the very beginning in the discovery and exploration of the New World. And they participated not simply as slaves, but just as frequently as soldiers and sailors, as Jesuit missionaries and as free settlers.

Twenty-six of the forty-four settlers who established Los Angeles in 1781 were Negro. The founder of Chicago was a Haitian Negro, educated in France. When he encountered "job discrimination" in New Orleans, he traveled up the Mississippi, eventually establishing the first permanent residence on the site of the present-day metropolis.

How many of us recall that the <u>first</u> man to lose his life in the cause of American independence was a runaway slave, Crispus Attucks? You will find his name on a monument on the Boston Common, commemorating the Boston massacre of March 5, 1770. And do we realize that 30,000 Negroes fought shoulder to shoulder with General Washington in our War of Independence?

How much do we remember of Frederick Douglass, a self-educated former slave who overcame tremendous obstacles to attain world renown as an abolitionist orator and publisher and who served in high government posts in the administration of five Presidents?

How many of us realize that the man credited with perfecting the technique of blood transfusions was a Negro, Doctor Charles Drew? How many millions of persons are alive today because of the pioneering research of this skilled physician?

There are, of course, many more instances and many more names of Negroes and people of other minority groups who have made outstanding but unsung contributions to this nation's history.

And there exists today across America what Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, has described as the quiet revolution -- a revolution stemming from the dramatic increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools. . . from the rising level of income among Negroes . . . and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

These men and women are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice... of closed doors... of limited or non-existent educational opportunities... and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this often implied second-class citizenship and back-of-the-bus.

Will we be able ever to calculate the loss to America -- and to the entire world -- of the potential talent among our Negro citizens which we nevertheless sacrificed -- and are still sacrificing -- for reasons of prejudice and discrimination?

Will we be able ever to realize the terrible <u>human</u> price we have paid in supporting this system of second-class citizenship?

Today we have finally struck down the supporting members of this structure of prejudice. And today we are taking long-overdue steps to build a climate of "equal respect" for Negro Americans -- a climate where each person will have an opportunity to seek fulfillment as a unique and creative individual.

For surely these are the essential elements of man's humaness: The potentiality for creativity and the ability to pursue excellence. In business, in education, in the professions, in the arts, we are striving to provide Negroes and other minorities with the chance to exercise their uniquely human qualities.

And through such massive efforts as the anti-poverty program, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, we are attempting to reach down into the ghetto, into the slum, and into rural areas to give the forgotten youngster a chance to function as a creative, productive and responsible human being.

We must extend the hand of opportunity to this forgotten individual caught in the ghetto. But it must necessarily remain the responsibility of the individual -- as it is the responsibility of every human being -- to grasp this hand firmly and with determination.

For any person -- whether white or Negro -- the pursuit of excellence and creativity involves the willingness to accept responsibility and the courage to take risks. These are the qualities upon which respect thrives. And these are the qualities so abundantly evident in the lives of the Negroes I have noted.

History is written about persons who accepted the challenge of excellence and creativity and ultimately prevailed. I am fully confident that this era will be remembered as the time when America provided every person with an opportunity to accept this challenge -- when we discarded forever the shroud of hate and bigotry for the shining mantle of human freedom and dignity.

This will be the time when the human resources of America were truly harnassed in the exhilarating work of extending the blessings of freedom and justice to peoples everywhere.

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