

(from Ofield Dukes)



THE

Denver Hilton

Denver 2, Colorado

Background information on National Baptist Convention

This is the 87th convention. The 20,000 delegates and visitors represent 30,000 member churches in about 40 states.

You will note in press clippings that Reverend Jackson at a press conference and in his annual address emphasized his strong support of President Johnson and his policies in Vietnam and his civil rights program in this country.

You will share the platform with Flint Mayor Floyd McCree, who is scheduled to speak at 8 p.m. Mayor McCree should be through by the time you arrive.

Following your speech, the five student winners of the Convention's annual oratorical contest will be announced.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In your opening remarks, you may want to touch upon the following:

LBS | President Johnson's thanks for Reverend Jackson's
friendship .. but even more important than that ... his
leadership and loyalty to his country.

Reverend Jackson is a man of great and abiding faith ...
faith in God ... faith in his country.

And what does the Bible say about faith?

Faith
↓

"For by grace are ye saved through faith: It is
the gift of God ..."

Without faith , it is impossible to live a full and
meaningful life. And Dr. Jackson has not only lived a
spiritually abundant and fulfilling life, but he has,
since 1953, shared that life of faith and hard works and
dedicated leadership with the six million members of the
National Baptist Convention, U.S. A.

Let me also thank all of you not only for your faith in
the American democracy but also for being Christian soldiers
marching, praying and working for a better life, a life full
of faith, hope and happiness for all of God's children,
regardless of race or creed.

(You may want to mention somewhere that you have on your
staff a product of the Baptist church, a former Sunday School
teacher, and B-Y-P-T-U leader, who presently maintains
membership in a Baptist church in Detroit and another in
Washington, D. C.)

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
THE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION

DENVER, COLORADO

September 8, 1967

Dr Jackson

~~*Mayor Hynd Mc Cree*~~

Lt Gov Mark Hogan

Every convention of Americans, brought together in 1967 around the theme of moral and spiritual principle, must convene with a new sense of urgency and seriousness.

Through the events of the past several weeks in the streets of our cities, we have heard once again the voice of the ancient prophet: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge."

It is tragic irony that these outbreaks have occurred in the 1960's, at a time when we have seen more and faster progress than ever before in extending equal opportunity to all Americans.

Democratic process

Never has due process of law served so well to redress the legitimate grievances of America's minorities. Never have free speech, free assembly, free press so actively served the cause of justice.

Never have the power and resources of government been so heavily concentrated on the removal of *inequality and injustice* in our society.

But, The kingdom is not here yet.

Because, It is true that the income of the average Negro male is still *below* ~~only about half~~ that of the white male. It is still true that too many Negro children, because of poverty, are reared in homes without fathers. It is still true that in this land of prosperity some Negro families do not have enough to eat; it is still true that very many Negro children do not have equal educational opportunity.

But at the same time there are changes going on deep down in American society. The American Negro is marching, steadily, peacefully, with patient determination, toward social and economic equality. *And America is responding.*

We have a Negro Justice on the Supreme Court.

We have a Negro Mayor of the Nation's Capital a Negro Senator, a Negro Cabinet Member. A Negro commands a warship in our United States fleet today.

There are Negro Vice Presidents of the Bank of America, of Pepsi Cola, of American Telephone and Telegraph. There are Negro Methodist Bishops presiding over white pastors in New Jersey and Iowa. Negroes serve in the Georgia State Senate. Connecticut has a Negro Treasurer, Illinois a Negro Chief Auditor.

*Legislators, councilmen
athletes, artists
Doctors, Lawyers*

There are successful Negro doctors and lawyers throughout America. We see Negro hostesses on the airlines and Negro clerks at the airline counters. Negro colleges swarm with recruiters from big businesses every year.

Why have these changes occurred?

They have occurred because a massive, peaceful civil rights movement brought the injustices of racial prejudice and oppression to the attention of an American people who basically believe in justice.

They have occurred because our Supreme Court truly represents justice. *They have occurred*

They have been achieved because of unprecedented legislation passed by Congress - legislation for civil rights...for health...for education and job training...for development of human resources.

became a courageous President, Lyndon Johnson, has given strong leadership the cause of social justice and human dignity.

social justice and human dignity.

They have been achieved because a majority of American people and a majority of their elected representatives have been prepared to move forward toward a society of equal opportunity for all.

Most importantly, they have been achieved by Americans of all colors and creeds working together.

L Together we set out to build a freer society for all Americans.

L Together we have borne the pain and drudgery of eradicating a legacy of prejudice and poverty.

L Together we have come part of the way on a very long and difficult journey.

L There are today some men of faint heart, both white and Negro, who wonder if our journey is worth-while.

Some white Americans say we have gone too far, too fast. They want to put on the brakes, even retrace our steps. They would "punish" a few criminal rioters by withholding opportunity from the low-abiding, patriotic, God-fearing majority.

At the same time we hear the cynical call of black militants who speak a strange word of hopelessness at a time when hope has begun to rise. They would retreat to a never-never land of hot, black anger.

Last third of the 20th century
America in the ~~1960s~~ 1960s cannot and will not tolerate separatism or go-slowism if we are to reach our destination - our democratic destiny.

We cannot fall into the trap of extremists,
black or white, who want to force us into a dual
society based on race, ^{a society that denies} ~~who deny~~ the Christian
tenets of human dignity, brotherhood of men,
love of one's neighbor,

∟ We cannot feebly admit that the moral
and spiritual fiber of this nation, which has
brought us so far, is insufficient to embrace the
principle of equal opportunity for all of our citizens.

∟ We must remain one people and continue to
refine the process of justice and equal opportunity
for all; for the alternative is less progress, more
violence, less hope, more misery.

∟ We shall reach our destination either as one
people or not at all.

Unity

~~Now,~~ ^Events like those we have witnessed this summer quickly bring the words "law and order" to our lips.

I think we can all agree that law and order must be maintained, and justice must be served, at all levels.

∟ The cost in human suffering and damaged property as a result of this summer's riots has weighed most heavily on those who could least afford it.

∟ The revulsion produced by violent acts and violent talk could easily destroy our chances for broader civil rights ~~legislation~~ and better opportunity programs.

We simply cannot allow the gains made thus far to be squandered because of some ~~untested~~ ideology ^{and hate} of violence, or sacrificed for a bottle of liquor dragged

through a broken store window.

But let us be sure what kind of law and order we are talking about.

~~✓~~ ^{must} We can put down the riots, clean up the debris, jail the snipers and silence the guns. The stores ^{must} ~~can~~ reopen, the ~~sidewalks~~ ^{streets once again} can become thick with ~~shoppers.~~ ^{be made safe. The minimum requirement of} ~~This is every decent~~ Business as usual - that is what some people ~~call law and order.~~

~~✓~~ But America must do better than that. We know very well that there is a higher law and a deeper order - the higher law which dictates full and equal opportunity for every man; the deeper order of a community where all men are truly brothers.

Many years ago a young Jew named Jesus, standing on the shoulders of the great prophets of Justice, Amos and Micah, and drawing heavily upon the Hebrew heritage of one God whose nature is redeeming love, proclaimed to the world that higher law will always be the basis of an abiding order,

↳ He said that all law depends upon this:
"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart
and mind and soul and strength, and thou shalt
love thy neighbor as thyself."

↳ So, while we must have immediate law and order in the streets, our aim is a higher law operating in the American conscience and a deeper order emerging throughout the land.

↳ While we enforce civil laws that prevent looting, burning, and killing, we must also enforce those moral laws

...that protect children from the indelible
stains of a slum beginning,
...that guarantee employment to those who
want to work,
...and that assure every citizen of this
Republic that his intelligence and
commitment to decency - not the place
where he was born, the creed he professes,
or the color of his parents - will determine
his chances in our society.

The American people feel indignant when a
store is looted or a policeman is shot by a
frenzied sniper; but they must learn to feel the same
indignation when a rat bites a child or a church or school is
burned by someone with the fires of ^{racism and} hate in his
heart.

∠ If this higher law is truly to enter the minds and hearts of all Americans...and if this nation is truly to achieve a deeper order...an especially heavy responsibility falls on religious leaders and those who believe in the Old and New Testaments.

∠ It is not enough to worship in our churches and send missionaries abroad. It is not enough to sing and pray, and deplore the vandalism of unruly teenagers. The Prophet Amos said, it is not enough "to play the violin and burn the incense in a solemn assembly."

∠ It is up to all of us to do everything in our power to see that the lofty ideal of a higher law is translated into noble deeds and works.

∠ Congress needs to hear your voices loud and clear. There are today programs before Congress which desperately need the support of every American who seeks a constructive, positive solution

to the trials of the past few weeks.

Take the Model Cities program, for example. That is a program designed to root out slum conditions through a coordinated, well planned effort at all levels in the public and private sectors. This is not just a federal program, but one specifically designed to encourage action and initiative in all parts of our society.

The President asked Congress to authorize 2.3 billion dollars for the first six years of this program. That request was reduced by Congress to 900 million dollars for two years.

This year the President has asked for full funding of the model cities - 662 million dollars. The House of Representatives has already cut that request to 237 million dollars.

~~America needs a fully funded Model Cities~~
~~program.~~

America also needs other programs now pending
before Congress ~~programs which have been pending~~
~~since the beginning of this session.~~

- The Civil Rights Act of 1967;
- The Economic Opportunity Act;
- Rent supplements;
- Crime control;
- Firearms control;
- Urban renewal;
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act;
- Manpower Development and Training Act;
- Food stamps;
- Child nutrition and school lunch program;
- Community health services;
- Neighborhood facilities;

- Home rehabilitation;
- Family relocation allowance;
- Rat extermination;
- Mental health;
- Mental retardation;
- Hospital modernization;
- Maternal and infant care.

It was churchmen who led the way in civil rights. It was churchmen who passed a resolution endorsing an anti-poverty program two years before we enacted it in Washington. Now I turn to you once again asking support for these vital programs, which are as important in the 1960's as Social Security and rural electrification were in the 1930's.

Now those programs are going to help a lot of people, but the most they can do -- and the most they should do -- is provide a full measure of opportunity for those Americans who do not now have it. *Americans deserve more than charity or pity - Americans deserve opportunity and a chance.*

Government can build schools and houses. It can offer scholarships. It can provide better health facilities.

But when all is said and done, it is up to the individual to use the gifts his Creator gave him to their best advantage. ~~the~~

You, as shepherds and teachers, have a heavy responsibility to see that the people you lead are ready to make the most of the opportunities which are increasingly available to them. *a new day has arrived - things are changing and for the better.*

It is from within the walls of your churches that many of the historic civil rights marches of the last decade have set out.

Now a new generation must go forth from those walls equipped to take full advantage of the rights won by their predecessors. They must go forth with pride in their cultural heritage, hope in the future, and the courage and determination to carry on the day in, day out struggle for a better, freer America.

For it is the individuals, not the government, which make a nation strong.

Dr
Jackson

And they must go forth prepared to serve their community and their nation. As a great philosopher said, "Let a person have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it."

Woodrow Wilson understood the destiny of America well. I shall conclude with his words: "My dream, he said, is that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights, and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of all humanity."

My friends, that is no longer only a dream. The dawn is breaking, and we now know that the full light of day must certainly come.

* * *

87th ANNUAL SESSION

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U.S.A., INC.

[Handwritten signature]

Address of

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

8:30 p.m., Friday, September 8, 1967

City Auditorium

Denver, Colorado

1 . . . Address of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey be-
2 fore the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., at 8:30 p.m.,
3 September 8, 1967, in City Auditorium, Denver, Colorado . . .
4

5 Our dear and beloved friend, Dr. Jackson, leader and
6 great pastor, great servant of God and man; my fellow Americans;
7 and may I for a moment just pause to pay my respects to a very
8 distinguished American that graces this platform tonight. He
9 occupies a high position in the government of the State of
10 Colorado, a fine young man with his very lovely wife Nancy, the
11 Lieutenant Governor of Colorado, Mark Hogan. [Applause.]

12 Dr. Jackson, ^(Lieutenant) ^(Mark Hogan) Governor, and my friends of the National
13 Baptist Convention; ^{and my fellow Americans.}

14 I know this is going to be a great night, at least for
15 me. I can feel it already.

16 I am going to talk very candidly to you. ^(As) I said to Dr.
17 Jackson, "well, I can't claim to be a Baptist. I guess I must
18 have slipped from grace somewhere along the line, but I was
19 brought up a Methodist, and I do have a little hallelujah spirit
20 in me." [Applause.]

21 Dr. Jackson, you may be interested in knowing that only
22 Friday of last week I was at DePauw University in Indiana to do
23 honor to an old friend of mine who was the minister at Hennipen
24 Avenue Methodist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota, when I was a
25 Sunday School teacher there in the University of Life program for

1 our young people. This gentleman was then the Reverend Richard
2 Raines. He is just now retiring as the Bishop of the Methodist
3 Church in Indiana, Dr. Richard Raines. What a wonderful time we
4 had together, talking together, singing together, visiting
5 together, walking together, praying together, and patting each
6 other on the back. It was a great night, great afternoon.

7 So I have been with my friends of the Christian faith
8 and have been with my friends of the clergy.

9 The first thing I want to do tonight is to express to
10 you, the delegates to this Convention, and to all the others that
11 have joined us here, the sincere and personal thanks of the Presi-
12 dent of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, to Dr. Jackson for his
13 remarkable leadership. [Applause.] I think you ought to know

14 that I don't make many trips that the President doesn't know
15 about. [Laughter and applause.]

16 Dr. Jackson, I don't know how you get along with your
17 vice presidents, whether you're able to hold them in check or not,
18 but my President and your President, Lyndon Johnson, he knows
19 where the Vice President is going. Sometimes he doesn't know what
20 I am going to say, but he at least knows where I am going.

21 [Laughter.] And he knows who I am going to see. And yesterday
22 when I saw the President he wanted me to express not only a thank
23 you to Dr. Jackson and to the National Baptist Convention but he
24 wanted me to express to the delegates here the fact that you
25 already know, I am quite sure, that this is not just an official

1 thanks; it is an expression of friendship, an expression of sin-
2 cere friendship. [Applause.]

3 I know that Dr. Jackson, the Reverend Jackson, has said
4 some wonderful things in this Convention about the President and
5 our country; but what's the most important thing is the leadership
6 and loyalty to his country. [Applause.]

7 Now, I could scold Dr. Jackson for a moment here, if he
8 would let me, because he's already made all the speeches that
9 anybody needs to make to any group of people. [Laughter.] But I
10 suppose Vice Presidents are supposed to be humble anyway, and
11 when you listen to a President of the United States or a President
12 of a National Baptist Convention a man ought to be humble, and he
13 knows he's heard the word before. But I do say in all sincerity
14 that I have read the proceedings of this meeting and that an hour
15 ago, while I was getting ready to come here, one of my close aides
16 was reading to me from the reports of the press here in Denver,
17 Colorado, what has been said here and what's been done here. Can
18 I say to you, as your Vice President, thank you, thank you for
19 what's been done. [Applause.]

20 The Reverend Jackson is a man of great and abiding
21 faith. Faith in you. But, first of all, faith in God, faith in
22 his country. And you know what the Bible says about faith. (And
23 now remember I am just a layman, I am not a clergyman; I may slip
24 a little here. I see there are several others around here that
25 are like that, too.) The Bible says, "For by grace are ye saved

1 through faith." It is the gift of God. And if I have ever seen
2 a living embodiment of faith, I see it in the leader of the
3 National Baptist Convention, the Reverend Doctor Jackson.

4 [Applause.]

5 You and I know that without faith it is impossible to
6 live a full and meaningful life. I have been preaching this all
7 day long in Colorado, wherever I have been, if some of you have
8 listened to the radio or been to our other meetings. Dr. Jackson
9 has not only led a spiritual, abundant, fulfilling life, but he
10 has ~~particularly, I know, since 1953,~~ shared that life and faith
11 and hard work and dedicated leadership with better than six
12 million members of the National Baptist Convention in the United
13 States of America.

14 Let me also make one other expression of thanks, not
15 only for your faith in American democracy but also for being
16 Christian soldiers, marching, praying, and working for a better
17 life. You know, one of my favorite songs is "Onward Christian
18 Soldiers." As a matter of fact, don't get me started on my favor-
19 ite hymns or we'll start singing them tonight. [Laughter.] I was
20 brought up with those old hymns, "Abide With Me" and "Rock of
21 Ages," and I guess that is pretty good because those are the
22 basic, fundamental tenets of faith that every person needs in
23 these days.

24 ~~Well,~~ ^{I think that} every convention, every meeting of Americans
25 brought together in 1967 around the theme of moral and spiritual

1 principle must convene with a new sense of urgency and serious-
2 ness.

3 We live in perilous times, but we live in the most
4 exciting of times, too, and I didn't come here tonight to spread
5 doom and gloom. I am a man of faith and optimism. I am a man
6 that believes in our God, and I am a man that believes in our
7 country, and I believe that history is on our side.

8 ~~Now,~~ ^(and) through the events of the past several weeks, ~~yes,~~
9 ~~several~~ months, in the streets of our cities we have heard once
10 again the voice of the ancient prophet, ^(who said:) ~~and you remember those~~
11 ~~words:~~ "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's
12 teeth are set on edge." Good scripture even for modern day people.

13 It's a tragic irony that these outbreaks should have
14 occurred in the 1960's, at a time when we ~~know that we~~ have seen
15 more and faster progress than ever before in extending equal
16 opportunity to all Americans, ~~At a time, my dear friends,~~ when
17 the Constitution of the United States is a Constitution for each
18 and every one of us, when second-class citizenship has been
19 struck down and first-class citizenship is here. ~~My dear friends,~~

20 we are living in a time when we're no longer going to speak to
21 each other in terms of race, or going to speak in terms of each
22 other's color. I long to live to see the day when we live just
23 as Americans, not as white Americans or black or brown or yellow
24 Americans, but just as citizens of the United States of America.
25 ~~And I think we're coming fast to that day.~~

1 Never has due process of law served so well to redress
2 the legitimate grievances of America's minorities. Never have
3 free speech, free assembly, free press so actively served the
4 cause of justice. Never have the power and resources of Government
5 been so heavily concentrated on the removal of inequality in our
6 society. ~~Your government is your partner in this effort for true~~
7 ~~equality today in the United States of America.~~

8 But I do not look ^(at the world) through rose-colored glasses, I do
9 not live in a fool's paradise; I know the Kingdom is not yet here.
10 I ^(know) ~~note that it is true~~ that the income of the average Negro male
11 is still ^(far) below that of the white male. I know it is still true
12 that too many Negro children, because of poverty, are ~~often~~ reared
13 in homes without fathers. I know it is still true that in this
14 land of prosperity ~~-- and my, how prosperous it is --~~ some Negro
15 ^(-- and white families --) families do not have enough to eat. ~~And, I might add, some others,~~
16 ~~too.~~ Poverty knows no race. ~~[Applause.]~~

17 I know ~~that~~ it is still true that all too many Negro
18 children do not have equal educational opportunity. But I also
19 know something else: More has been done in the last ~~ten years,~~
20 ~~yes, in the last~~ five years, ~~the last two and three years,~~ to
21 correct these injustices, than in the preceding two hundred.
22 ~~[Applause.]~~

23 There are great changes taking place ^(deep down) in American
24 society. ~~Deep down in our society.~~ The American Negro is march-
25 ing steadily, peacefully ^(in most cases) ~~(most of them [applause])~~, with a patient

1 ~~persevering~~ determination towards the goal of social and economic
2 equality.

3 And, ~~can I say from this platform~~ that every American
4 owes ~~every~~ Negro a debt of gratitude for ~~infinite~~ patience and
5 ~~for~~ devoted patriotism. ~~It needs to be said. I said to Dr.~~

6 Jackson what a pity it is that his voice and his words are not
7 spread across every newspaper in America, on every television
8 screen. [Applause.]

9 The authentic voice of America has been heard from this
10 platform. Not just Negro America, not just white America, but
11 the authentic voice of America has been spoken by this good man
12 and servant, Dr. Jackson. [Applause.] Now, I expect to be
13 criticized for that by some quarters, and I will welcome it.

14 ~~Let's take a look at the record.~~ We have a Negro
15 Justice on the Supreme Court, ~~and there are only nine on there,~~
16 ~~you know.~~ We have ~~in the Nation's Capitol~~ this week, by appoint-
17 ment of the President of the United States, ~~one of the largest~~
18 ~~cities in the world, one of the finest cities in America, we have~~
19 a Negro ~~that is~~ Mayor of Washington, D. C. [Applause.] And,

20 might I add, I have heard of cities being named after a man, but
21 I said to my friend in Washington, "I never knew that they had a
22 name of a city for you before you got to be Mayor."

23 We have a Negro United States Senator, ~~and he's a good~~
24 ~~one, too, from the State of Massachusetts.~~ We have a distin-
25 ~~guished, educated man of Negro ancestry that is a~~ member of the

1 President's Cabinet, ~~and he's a good man, too, and my friend.~~

2 ~~[Applause.] And today a Negro commands one of the finest war-~~
3 ~~ships in the United States fleet. And Negro men are in command~~
4 ~~of our troops, integrated troops, fighting as they never fought~~
5 ~~before. And the Negro soldier in Vietnam is giving an account~~
6 ~~of himself that will stand in the annals of American history as~~
7 ~~heroism and courage. [Applause.]~~

8 Yes, things are changing, ~~you bet, and they're changing~~
9 ~~for the better, too, despite what some people say.~~ There are
10 Negro Vice Presidents of the Bank of America, ~~They have got a~~
11 ~~lot of money. Now, I don't want to get accused of any commer-~~
12 ~~cials, but Pepsi-Cola has got one, too. And the Vice President~~
13 ~~of the largest corporation of America, the American Telephone and~~
14 ~~Telegraph Company, AT&T, happens to be a man of Negro ethnic~~
15 ~~origin. And there are Negro Methodist Bishops presiding over~~
16 ~~white pastors in New Jersey and Iowa.~~ *Negroes serve in*

17 ~~There are Negroes serving in~~ state senates and state
18 legislatures right here in Colorado and in ~~other states, too.~~

19 ~~Many states,~~ Georgia and California and New York. *(and other states as well)* ~~You name them,~~

20 ~~they are there.~~ Connecticut has a Negro Treasurer and Illinois
21 a Negro Chief Auditor. ~~And, my goodness, how do you think we~~

22 ~~would win the Olympics -- [Applause.] How do you think we would~~
23 ~~win the Olympics if there were not Negro athletes? But they are~~
24 ~~also American athletes!~~

25 ~~Successful doctors and lawyers and artists and musicians~~

throughout America.

1 ~~what wonderful people!~~ Why, we see Negro hostesses on the air
2 lines, and clerks in banks, and at the air line counters, and our
3 Negro colleges today swarm with recruiters from big businesses
4 every year, looking for trained young men and women.

5 Ladies and gentlemen, the gates of opportunity are
6 open. [Applause.] What you and I need to do is tell the younger
7 generation that the gates are open and, if need be, grab them by
8 the hand and help them walk through those gates. [Applause.]

9 Why have these changes occurred? ~~Well, it was inevit-~~
10 ~~able in a free society that it would have to occur, because you~~
11 ~~can't be half free and half slave, and you can't have liberty for~~
12 ~~some and not for others. But they have occurred for other reasons,~~
13 ~~too, because of massive, peaceful civil rights movements that~~
14 ~~brought the injustices of racial prejudices and oppression to the~~
15 ~~attention of the American people. And the American people~~
16 ~~basically are fair; they want to do what's right, if you give~~
17 ~~them a chance.~~ These great success stories have occurred because

18 the highest court of our land, the Supreme Court, truly represents
19 justice ~~and lays down the law of the land under the Constitution~~
20 ~~that equal opportunity and equal treatment under the law, and~~
21 ~~due process under the law, means exactly what it says:~~ for every
22 American. [Applause.]

23 ~~And, I might add, they have occurred because a courageous~~
24 ~~President~~ -- ~~and~~ let me underscore it -- a man from the South, ~~a~~
25 ~~courageous President, Lyndon Johnson~~ [Applause.] -- has given

1 ~~strong and~~ unrelenting leadership and commitment to social
2 justice and equal opportunity ^{for} every American. ~~[Applause.]~~

3 I know the favorite pastime in America is picking on
4 the President, and when they run out of that they take on the
5 Vice President. I think they ought to turn it around, pick on
6 me first. I don't have as much to do as the President does. But
7 let me tell you, I have been with our President when his critics
8 have tried to make life difficult for him; I have been with him
9 when some old friends have said, "Mr. President, you're going too
10 far too fast." I have been with him when they said, "Mr.
11 President, don't you know people don't appreciate what you're
12 doing?" And I have heard the President of the United States say,
13 "As long as I am in the White House there will never be a color
14 sign on this door. Americans are Americans." [Applause.]

15 # ~~Yes, we have made great progress. We have achieved this~~
16 ~~progress~~ ^{And they have occurred} because of unprecedented legislation passed by the
17 Congress ^{ce} legislation for civil rights, health, education, job
18 training, for development of human resources. ~~And all of this~~
19 ~~is a part of civil rights. What good does it do to have no dis-~~
20 ~~crimination in employment on the basis of race, creed or color~~
21 ~~if you are unemployable? You have to have skill, job training,~~
22 ~~education. So we're making liberty and freedom real by adding~~
23 ~~to it opportunity. Opportunity through learning for our young~~
24 ~~people.~~

25 We have made a lot of progress. ~~We have achieved this~~

1 ~~progress basically~~ because Americans of all colors and creeds have
2 worked together, marched together, talked together ^{and} prayed
3 together, ~~and been together.~~ The word, my friends, is together.

4 Remember what Benjamin Franklin said when he was writing the
5 Constitution, or helping to write it. When it looked as if our
6 country would never be a country, when it looked as if we had
7 failed even as we were being born, Benjamin Franklin rose in the
8 midst of our forefathers and he said, "We'll either hang together
9 or hang separately." [Applause.] My fellow Americans, we'll
10 either be together as Americans or we'll be divided and we'll be
11 torn apart separately.

12 ~~So I come here tonight to tell you that~~ together we
13 set out to build a freer society for all Americans, ~~no matter~~
14 ~~who they are.~~ Together we have borne the pain and the drudgery
15 of eradicating a legacy of prejudice and poverty. Together we
16 have come part of the way on ^(a) ~~the~~ very long and difficult journey.
17 ~~And remember that old Chinese proverb that the longest part of the~~
18 ~~journey is the first step, and we have made that first step. In~~
19 ~~fact, we have made many steps in the right direction. [Applause.]~~

20 Now, I know that there are today some men of faint
21 heart, both white and Negro, who wonder if our ~~-- if this~~ journey
22 is really worth while. ~~There are those sunshine patriots that~~
23 ~~just can't stand the tough days.~~ There are some white Americans
24 ~~that~~ say we have gone too far and too fast. They want to put on
25 the brakes ^(or) ~~They'll do it even to the point of throwing themselves~~

1 ~~through the windshield. [Laughter.] They even want to retrace~~
2 ~~our steps. Why, I even find them singing that song, "Stop the~~
3 ~~World, I Want to Get Off."~~ And once in a while I think it would
4 ~~be a good idea. [Applause.] Not for me, for them. [Laughter.]~~
5 ~~Why,~~ these same Americans would punish a few criminal rioters by
6 withholding opportunity from the vast majority of law abiding,
7 patriotic, God-fearing American citizens. ~~[Applause.] Any~~
8 ~~excuse to stop progress.~~

9 At the same time, ~~though,~~ we hear the cynical call of
10 ~~what they term themselves to be,~~ black militants, who speak a
11 strange word of hopelessness at a time when hope ^(has begun to) ~~is on the rise.~~
12 They would retreat, ~~and have you retreat and have America retreat,~~
13 to a never-never land of hot, black anger. ~~And I say to you, my~~
14 ~~friends, that those who preach hate, those who preach violence,~~
15 ~~white or black, are unworthy of the trust of this country.~~

16 ~~[Applause.]~~

17 As your Vice President let me make it clear what my
18 position is: ~~This is the last third of the Twentieth Century.~~
19 ~~Some of you are going to live to see the year 2000. I am working~~
20 ~~on it; I hope I make it, too. But I know this, that in this last~~
21 ~~third of the Twentieth Century,~~ ^(in the 1960s) America ~~can not, must not, and~~
22 ~~will not tolerate separatism.~~ ^(or go-slowism) We can't do it if we are to reach
23 our destination. ~~We can't do it if we're to reach this destina-~~
24 ~~tion~~ of a democratic society. I have said to those that preach
25 ~~that doctrine of separatism, "Don't deny me, don't deny my~~

I say to those who preach the doctrine of
separation, "Don't deny me and my

1 friends ~~and brothers and sisters~~ the chance to walk alongside of
2 you and be a part of you." ~~We want to work together, all of us,~~

3 ~~every one of us.~~ We can not and we must not fall into the trap

4 of ~~the~~ extremists. I know they make the news. You never get

5 any headlines for driving your car safely, but just have an

6 accident -- [Laughter.] You're not going to get any headlines

7 because you love your wife and come home every night and are a

8 sober man, but just try it the other way sometime. ~~Yes, it's the~~

9 extremist that seems to get the last word, but let me tell you

10 that it isn't the word. It's not the word. It is just a word

11 of the extremists, so we're not going to fall in their trap,

12 ~~those~~ ^(black or white) who want to force us ~~by their ideas~~ into a ^(divided) ~~double standard~~

13 society based on race, a society, ~~my friends,~~ that denies the

14 Christian tenets of human dignity, the brotherhood of man and

15 love of one's neighbor. ~~We cannot have people who would deny~~

16 ~~us the right to live in that faith.~~ We cannot feebly admit that

17 the moral and spiritual fiber of this nation ~~-- and it's mighty~~

18 ~~good --~~ which has brought us ^(so) ~~thus~~ far, is now insufficient to

19 embrace the principle of equal opportunity for all of our

20 citizens. ~~We~~ must remain one people and continue to refine the

21 process of justice and equal opportunity for all. The alternative

22 is less progress, more violence, less hope, more misery. ~~We~~ shall

23 reach our destination either as one people united in common cause

24 or we will ^(NOT) ~~fail to~~ reach our destination at all.

25 ~~You know, I have been telling our fellow citizens this~~

1 afternoon, as I concluded my remarks, that I think one of the
2 most concise, one of the most brilliant, one of the most simple
3 and yet profound statements of the purpose of this nation is to
4 be found in the Pledge of Allegiance, and we ask our children to
5 say it every day in school. The trouble is, the adults don't say
6 it often enough. And what does that Pledge say? What's it all
7 about? Listen, that's a pledge, that's a contract. When you
8 raise your hand and pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United
9 States you're not just pledging to colors. That pledge is more
10 than red, white and blue. It represents the purpose of this
11 country. When you raise your hand and get your children to do
12 it, and every school in the land does, what does it say? They
13 say, "We pledge allegiance." "Pledge allegiance to the Flag of
14 the United States of America and to the Republic for which it
15 stands." And then comes the message, and you know what I mean
16 by the message, "one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty
17 and justice for all." Now, that's the story of America; that's
18 what it's all about. [Applause.]

19 What we need in this country today are people who
20 preach the gospel of unity and understanding, not the hate words
21 and hot words of disunity and violence.

22 Events like those we ^{have} witnessed this summer, of course,
23 quickly bring the words, and indeed the concern, for "law and
24 order" to our lips. I think we can all agree here, and I hope we
25 do, that law and order must be maintained and justice must be

1 served. ~~[Applause.]~~ The cost in human suffering and damaged
2 property as a result of this summer's violence ~~and riots~~ has
3 weighed most heavily on those who could least afford it. ~~The~~
4 ~~poor themselves have suffered the most.~~ The revulsion produced
5 by violent acts ~~-- and remember this, there is a revulsion pro-~~
6 ~~duced by it --~~ and violent talk ^(action) could easily destroy our chances ^(more)
7 for broader civil rights ^(action) in and out of Congress, and for ~~better~~
8 opportunity in government and in ~~the~~ private life. ~~We do not~~
9 want to drive people away from us. We need now to get Americans
10 to work together in a great brotherhood, in a great fraternity
11 ~~of common cause and common purpose.~~ # We simply cannot allow the
12 gains that we have made thus far to be squandered because of some
13 ideology of violence and hate, or to be sacrificed for a bottle
14 of liquor dragged through a broken store window.

15 But, ~~may I say,~~ let us be sure ~~that~~ we understand ~~the~~
16 ~~full meaning of law and order.~~ What kind of law and order ~~are~~ we ~~an~~
17 talking about? ~~Yes, we know, and let there be no doubt about it.~~
18 # ~~We must and can~~ ^(and we must) put down riots and violence. ~~We can and we must~~
19 clean up the debris in the streets, jail the snipers, and silence
20 the guns. ~~You cannot have a democratic society in that kind of~~
21 ~~environment.~~ ^(can) The stores ~~must be~~ ^(The) reopened. ^(can be made safe) Streets ^(can) once again.
22 ~~must be made safe. But that is the minimum that we must do.~~
23 ~~(But) # This is what some people call law and order~~
America must do better than that.

24 Now, I speak to you tonight as people who attend the
25 church, who work together, who pray together. I said America

4
1 ~~must do better than what I have talked thus far.~~ We know very
2 well that there is a higher law and a deeper order. The higher
3 law which dictates full and equal opportunity for every man; the
4 deeper order of a community where all men are truly brothers. ~~And~~
5 ~~that kind of law and order must also be obeyed. [Applause.]~~

6 Almost 2,000 years ago a young Jew named Jesus --
7 ~~[applause] ---~~ standing on the broad shoulders of the great
8 prophets of justice, Amos and Micah, ~~--- and let me tell you, they~~
9 ~~were prophets of justice. You remember Amos let justice come~~
10 ~~rolling like a mighty stream. I used to teach Sunday School about~~
11 ~~the Old Testament. You'd better watch out, Dr. Jackson, I am~~
12 ~~liable to open up. [Laughter.]~~

13 Well, that young man named Jesus, standing on the
14 ~~shoulders of the great prophets,~~ and drawing heavily upon the
15 Hebrew heritage of one God whose nature is redeeming love, pro-
16 claimed to the world that higher law will always be the basis of
17 an abiding order. ~~That is the law. That is why we say, "One~~
18 ~~Nation under God."~~ He said that all law depends upon this: ~~the~~
19 ~~Great Law, you remember:~~ "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with
20 all thy heart and mind and soul and strength, and thou shalt love
21 thy neighbor as thyself."

22 Now, I am not a preacher. It's because of fellows like
23 me that they need preachers. I do not proclaim to be a man of
24 the cloth, but let me tell you this, ladies and gentlemen:

25 political life in a democracy must serve these basic moral tenets

1 or it is unworthy of the respect of the people. ~~[Applause.]~~

2 ~~So, when we talk and act and pass legislation in the~~
3 ~~field of civil rights, what we're doing is this: Thou shalt love~~
4 ~~thy neighbor as thyself. That's what it is all about. So, while~~
5 we must have law and order in the streets, and we can get that *merely*
6 ~~through sheer power~~ *(by exercising)* our aim is *(a)* higher law operating in the
7 American conscience, and a deeper order emerging throughout the
8 land.

9 While we enforce civil laws that prevent looting, burn-
10 ing and killing, we must also enforce those moral laws that pro-
11 tect children from the indelible stains of a slum living and
12 *(and a slum existence)* beginning, that provide employment to those who want to work, and
13 that assure every citizen of this Republic that his intelligence
14 and commitment to decency -- not the place where he was born, the
15 creed he professes, or the color of his parents -- will determine
16 *(his)* ~~the~~ ^{s/} chance in our society.

17 The American people feel indignant when a store is
18 looted or a policeman is shot by a frenzied sniper; but they must
19 learn to feel the same indignation ~~as that~~ when a rat bites a
20 child or a church or school is burned by someone with the fires
21 of racism and hate in his heart. *†* If this higher law is truly to
22 enter the minds and hearts of all Americans, if this Nation is
23 truly to achieve a deeper order, an especially heavy responsibility
24 falls on the religious leaders and those who believe in the Old and
25 New Testaments. ~~You know, friends,~~ it is not enough to worship

1 in our churches and send missionaries abroad. ~~that isn't religion.~~

2 Religion, I had my preacher explain to me one Sunday about as
3 directly and simply as you could put it. And I have said it many
4 times, and my staff says it. They say, "There he goes again,"
5 but I'll never forget it; it was seared in my mind like fire. He
6 said, "The way you treat people is the way you treat God."

7 [Applause.] That's the sermon that I give you tonight. And that's
8 the way your public life ought to be, and private life. Love thy
9 neighbor as thyself. The way you treat people is the way you
10 treat God.

11 So, it's not enough just to worship in the churches.

12 It's not enough to sing and pray and deplore the vandalism of ~~the~~
13 unruly teenagers. The prophet Amos said, "It is not enough to
14 play the violin and burn the incense in ^(a) ~~the~~ solemn assembly." ⁴ It
15 is up to all of us to do everything in our power to see that the
16 lofty ideal of a higher law is translated into noble deeds and
17 works.

18 Congress needs to hear your voices loud and clear.

19 There are today programs before Congress which desperately need
20 the support of every American who seeks a constructive, positive
21 solution to the trials of recent years and the past few weeks.

22 I am not going down what I call the "Laundry List" of
23 the programs tonight, even though I have ^{been} ~~them~~ here, for our
24 friends of the press. And I stand by every one of them. But you
25 know what they are.

(Take)

1 ~~Today~~, for example, ~~what we call~~ the model cities
2 program. I call the New America program. This is a program that
3 is designed to root out slum conditions through a coordinated,
4 well-planned effort at all levels in the public and private
5 sectors of our country. This is not just a federal government
6 program, but it's one specifically designed to encourage individual
7 action. and ~~local action, local~~ initiative in all parts of our society.

8 I know Dr. Jackson has coined this word "confusionism,"
9 I believe it is called. I coined one, too, called "slumism."
10 Slumism is not just broken-down buildings. It is people that have
11 lost heart and faith. People who are desperate. It's the poverty
12 of the heart and of the spirit, as well as the poverty of the
13 purse. And it's to these great evils that we must direct our
14 attention.

15 America needs ~~these~~ programs that lie there before
16 your Congress. this and other (are now) And your Congress
17 your Congress, my fellow Americans. They need
18 to hear from you. Those who want to stop progress are speaking
19 loudly and clearly. Those who want to divide this nation on the
20 basis of hate and race are speaking loudly and clearly. The
21 extremists are talking. The extremists are acting. (ask) I call upon
you to talk and act too.
the good Americans to act now! [Applause.]

22 Back your President, back these great programs that wait
23 for your help. Oh, so much to be done in the war on poverty, in
24 housing, in jobs, in training, in education and health and nutri-
25 tion. It's there to be done, and America can do it. We have the

1 means, my friends. We're a rich nation. We're a powerful nation.
2 Oh, we're so unbelievably wealthy compared to the rest of the
3 world. We have everything to do with except the decision to do
4 it by all the people of this country. [Applause.] And I call
5 upon you who are the leaders to help mold that decision, because
6 America will act.

7 You know, it was churchmen who led the way in the civil
8 rights struggle. It was churchmen who passed a resolution, ~~and~~
9 ~~the first resolution~~, endorsing an anti-poverty program two years
10 before we ~~ever got to it~~ ^{enacted} in Washington. Now, I turn to you,
11 churchmen, ministers and laymen, once again asking support for these
12 vital programs, ~~that you know so well~~, which are as important in the
13 1960's as Social Security and Rural Electrification were in the
14 1930's.

15 ~~Now,~~ these programs are going to help a lot of people,
16 but the most that they can do, and the most that they should do,
17 is to provide a full measure of opportunity for those Americans
18 who do not have it now. Americans do not want welfare. Americans
19 want a chance to make something out of their lives. [Applause.]
20 ~~Americans deserve more than charity or pity; Americans deserve~~
21 ~~opportunity and a chance, and that's what we're trying to do.~~
22 ~~That's what it's all about.~~

23 Government can build schools and houses. It can offer
24 scholarships. It can provide better health facilities. But when
25 all is said and done, it's up to the individual to use the gifts

1 that his Creator gave him to their best advantage. You, as
2 shepherds and teachers, have a heavy responsibility -- ^(as) so do I --
3 to see that the people you lead are ready to make the most of the
4 opportunities which are increasingly available to them.

5 A new day is here, my friends. A whole new day. A new
6 America is here. Many people don't know it, because they have
7 been denied it so long. I know that when you have been told for
8 a hundred years to get to the back of the bus, you can't under-
9 stand sometimes when the front door is open and the front seat
10 is available. [Applause.] But tell your children it is so.

11 It is from within the walls of your churches that many
12 of the historic civil rights marches of the last decade have set
13 out. Now a new generation must go forth from those walls,
14 equipped to take full advantage of the rights won by their fathers
15 and mothers, by their predecessors. This new generation must go
16 forth with pride -- pride, my friends, in their cultural heritage,
17 hope in the future, and the courage and determination to carry on,
18 day in and day out, the struggle for a better and freer America.

19 In the words of your beloved pastor and leader -- and I
20 had these words written here before Dr. Jackson spoke; I feel I
21 must have been on the same wave length with him -- Dr. Jackson
22 told you, and let me say it from my printed word, "It is the
23 individuals and not the Government which make the Nation strong."
24 [Applause.]

25 Individual freedom, responsibility, liberty, duty, they

(individuals)
1 ~~go hand in hand.~~ And these, ~~our younger friends and others,~~ must
2 go forth prepared to serve their community and their Nation. A
3 great philosopher said, a hundred years ago, "Let a person have
4 nothing to do for his Country and he will have no love for it."
5 [Applause.] We want everybody to have something to do for his
6 country, something to do for himself, his loved ones, his family,
7 ~~to be proud of his country and to be proud of himself, and then~~
8 ~~he will~~ love his country and ~~he will~~ love his neighbor.

9 Woodrow Wilson understood the destiny of America well.
10 I shall conclude with his words: ~~He was a great scholar and a~~
11 ~~great idealist, and here is what he said:~~ "My dream is that
12 America will come into the full light of the day when all shall
13 know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her
14 flag is the flag not only of America but of all humanity."

15 ~~What a great and profound statement of the purpose of~~
16 ~~this Nation!~~ My friends, this is no longer only a dream. The
17 dawn is breaking and the sun is rising. The new day is here, and
18 ~~we now have the full light of that day. And the full light can~~ *(of that day will)*
19 shine upon every one of us, if we but will it.

20 I ask this great Convention to double and redouble its
21 efforts to see that America marches peacefully, with determination
22 and courage, to the fulfillment of the American promise that every
23 man shall have his chance to live and to work and to be himself,
24 because that is the promise of America.

25 Thank you very much.



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