



Book & Author Luncheon

Sponsored by

American Booksellers Association

Book World (Washington Post & Chicago Tribune)

National Book Committee

1968-1969 Luncheons

Grand Ballroom, Waldorf-Astoria



ALISTAIR COOKE, author of "Talk About America", is chief American correspondent for The Guardian of England. Last March he delivered his 1000th "Letter From America" for the British Broadcasting Corporation. His book is a selection of 41 of his broadcasts in which he explains America to Englishmen. Such things as Beizbol, New England town meetings, American folkways, Texas and Lyndon Johnson, H. L. Mencken, Colonel McCormick and the Midwest, General George Marshall, Father Divine, Charles Lindbergh, Robert Frost, Alcatraz, the deep South, and many more engaging and often affectionate glimpses of America.



HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, author of "Beyond Civil Rights: A New Day of Equality", was a leader of the civil rights forces in the Senate, and as Vice-President of the United States was the floor manager for the civil rights legislation. His book is an analysis of the "ugly riots, ugly rumors, ugly racisms that divide and frighten our people", and a suggested program for a new day of equality. "The whole modern movement for human rights in America is one continuous struggle . . . it is still going on . . . and if we are to maintain a free society, it must continue."



MARYA MANNES, author of "They" is a commentator and critic of our cultural and literary life. She has written social satire and satiric political verse and two books of essays, "More in Anger" and "But Will It Sell". "They", a novel in journal form, projects a computerized society in which all men and women past fifty are sequestered as rejects from society. They are allowed to live comfortably until they reach the age of 65, after which they are painlessly liquidated. Her book is, she says, an attack on the whole obsession with NOW in life and culture and on the idolatry and exploitation of youth as such.



GEORGE PLIMPTON, author of "The Bogey Man", participated as an amateur in three famous golf tournaments, the Bing Crosby National Pro-amateur in Monterey, the Bob Hope Desert Classic in Palm Springs and the Lucky International in San Francisco — a month on the professional golf circuit to capture the atmosphere and learn from first hand experience. His book is an account of his tour with the Professional Golfer's Association golf circuit: their pros, caddies, officials, fans, theories, legends, superstitions and golfing lore. What Plimpton did with baseball in "Out of My League" and football in "Paper Lion" he has now done with golf.



Master of Ceremonies
MAURICE DOLBIER
Literary Editor,
Providence Journal



Program Director
BELLE ROSENBAUM
Associate Editor,
BOOK WORLD,
Washington Post,
Chicago Tribune



JOSEPH DUFFY
Executive Director,
American Booksellers
Association



PETER JENNISON
Executive Director,
National Book Committee

Book & Author Luncheon—January 13, 1969

NEW YORK BOOK & AUTHOR LUNCHEONS

A Traditional Event

Ever since 1937, a Book & Author Luncheon series has been co-sponsored by the American Booksellers Association, the New York Herald Tribune, and its successor, the World Journal Tribune. Now there are three sponsoring organizations: the American Booksellers Association, BOOK WORLD, Sunday supplement of the Washington *Post* and Chicago *Tribune*, and the National Book Committee, which also sponsors National Book Awards and the National Medal for Literature.

The program for the 1968-69 series of Luncheons is again arranged by Belle Rosenbaum, Associate Editor of BOOK WORLD. The function of Master of Ceremonies is being performed once again by Maurice Dolbier, Literary Editor of the Providence *Journal*. The speakers, as usual, are distinguished literary and national figures, appearing when their new books are published. Among the speakers in past seasons were George Ball, John Lindsay, Agnes de Mille, John Kenneth Galbraith, General James M. Gavin, Lawrence Durrell, David Frost, Stephen Birmingham, Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, Robert Massie, Mark Van Doren, Marcia Davenport and Chaim Ginott.

Season tickets are available, covering all the Luncheons, at \$45.00, or a ticket for any one Luncheon may be purchased in advance at \$9.50. Also, a Spectator Ticket (without Luncheon) may be obtained at the door on the day of the event at \$2.25.

The dates of this, the 32nd season are as follows: Monday, November 4, 1968; Monday, December 2, 1968; Monday, January 13, 1969; Wednesday, February 19, 1969; and Monday, March 24, 1969.

Reservations and information are obtainable at Book & Author Luncheons headquarters, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10010 — Phone: 212-254-5520.

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REMARKS

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

NEW YORK CITY

JANUARY 13, 1969

*Random House
(Mr. Bernstein)*

I appreciate this opportunity to sell some books.

Sell Books

As one about to resume the occupation of college teacher,

I gather that this will be a major part of my new duties

that the admonition to publish or perish cannot be taken lightly

*Publish
Perish*

and delicate decisions such as tenure are frequently made

Tenure

on the basis of one's publishing successes. Having recently

emerged rather unsuccessfully from another decision relating

to tenure, I can no longer afford to take chances.

with these thoughts in mind that I regretfully accepted your kind

invitation to talk about my recent book, Beyond Civil Rights: A

New Day of Equality.

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There is, of course, a more serious reason for my participation on this luncheon program. The issue of human rights has loomed large on the nation's agenda for the past twenty years. ^{even larger Today.} It looms ~~large today~~ ^{surely} we know that our democracy is challenged as never before ... that our capacity to survive as a free people is intimately related to our ability to extend the promise of freedom and equality of opportunity to every citizen. And surely we know that time is running out! ^{Began 3 years Ago}

This writing project began three years ago when I agreed to prepare for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith a small volume examining America's problems and progress in human rights, a volume patterned after John F. Kennedy's A Nation of Immigrants.

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But events conspired against this original conception: —
the murders of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy,
the rise to national prominence of Governor Wallace, my
nomination as the Democratic Party's candidate for President,
run - Law order
of the United States, and the issue of civil rights in the campaign ...
all of these events dictated another approach under different
auspices. Fully recognizing that campaign books are the bane
of the publishing industry, — a sentiment which I know my
friends at Random House share — I nevertheless concluded
that I had no alternative but to cast Beyond Civil Rights in a
more political and personal context. On this issue, above all,
I believed that the American people had a right to know my

-4-

record in ~~the past~~ and my views on where this country should be heading at this point in the civil rights struggle.

As I wrote in my opening remarks: ". . . My record on this issue includes the proudest moments of my public career. I would not deny that record, or change it, or tone it down, even if I could. And I want it to be said, then, of

Hubert Humphrey: He stood by what he believed."

For the past twenty ^{full} years, ^{as many people and then} beginning with the Democratic National Convention of 1948, I have been privileged to play a role in America's continuing effort to eradicate the one huge wrong of racial prejudice and injustice which has tormented this republic since its birth.

~~And there has been and is
some~~

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└ In these two decades one major objective has been
won: we have turned the country around from a time when law
and government supported segregation and discrimination to
a time when law and government oppose segregation and
discrimination. In the perspective of history this is a monumental
accomplishment, even though it represents only the first --
and by far the easiest -- stage in America's struggle to build
a truly just and free society.

└ During these years we ^{fashioned} ~~built~~ a remarkable coalition of
supporters. └ There were the civil rights activists, the intrepid
leaders of both races who suffered countless indignities, threats,
beatings and even death. └ But these brave men, women and

-6-

children taught this country the essential lesson: just as the Union could not endure half-slave and half-free in the 1860's, we could not survive today with two unequal charters of citizenship.

Joining the civil rights activists were religious leaders and laymen of all faiths, labor union members, businessmen, housewives, professionals, and literally persons from every walk of life. The issue was essentially non-partisan, a concern of both major parties, although it fell to the Democrats to seize the initiative in Congress and the Executive branch.

Support came from many unexpected sources. At the Democratic National Convention of 1948, for example, the small band of liberals agitating for a stronger civil rights plank in

-7-

the party platform was opposed by the party "bosses"

of that day. Even President Truman was supposedly against

us. As I sat on the platform waiting to make my brief speech

supporting the minority plank, I showed our proposal to Ed

Flynn, the tough Democratic leader from the Bronx, and one

of those reportedly opposed to us. Flynn studied the minority

plank carefully and then he said: "You're damned right. You

go ahead, young man. We should have done this a long time ago.

This is long overdue. We've got to do it. You go ahead.

We'll back you."

Then other Democratic leaders, the "bosses," came to offer their support, men like David Lawrence of Pennsylvania

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and Jake Arvey of Illinois. With their backing the upstart
liberals won a stirring and unexpected victory, one which
permanently committed the Democratic Party to an active
role in correcting the abuses of discrimination and racism.

And even though the Dixiecrats walked out, President
Truman proudly ran on the party platform and won the election.

This coalition reached the zenith of its effectiveness
in 1964, the year we broke the filibuster in the Senate and
passed a civil rights bill which most people said couldn't be
passed in a thousand years. ^{well,} It did take 83 days -- the longest
continuous debate in the Senate history -- but that still beats a
thousand years. Last year the coalition rallied once again

-9-

behind the open housing legislation which is now federal law.

But, Today the picture is very different. ~~Many of the~~
~~assumptions and goals of the past twenty years are irrelevant.~~

No longer are we primarily concerned with eradicating the
abuses of legalized discrimination. No longer can we focus
our energies on a single task, such as passing a particular law
in the Congress. Many priorities compete for our time, energy,
and resources.

Not surprisingly, the coalition which supported these
earlier legislative objectives has largely dissolved. Many
people openly despair of ever recapturing the unity and sense
of purpose which distinguished these efforts.

↳ We find ourselves increasingly caught in a crossfire
between black rage over the apparent slowness of achieving
equality in fact, as distinct from equality in law, and white fear
of these black aspirations. As Alexis de Tocqueville saw more
than a century ago: "The sufferings that are endured patiently,
as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment that it
appears that there might be an escape."

↳ The nation finds itself on the brink of a disastrous
cycle of black violence and white repression, a cycle which
in the end could destroy our goal of an integrated society with
justice for every citizen. ↳ The spectre of a racially divided
society with blacks and whites drawn up into armed camps is
frighteningly real.

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What, then, are we to do? What will be our choice --
apartheid or democracy? Separation or community? A society
of ordered liberty or a society of fear and repression? This
is the question I attempted to take to the people in the Presidential
campaign. And this is the central question which I examined in
Beyond Civil Rights.

Let me be quite clear on one point: I do not interpret
~~the results of~~
~~my defeat~~ in the Presidential election as a repudiation by the
American people of the basic issue which I raised. To the
contrary, I feel that my campaign began to gain momentum
precisely when I put this question to the electorate in clear and
unambiguous terms. The narrowness of the outcome tells me

{ Winning the Presidency is not worth
the Price of a Compact with effeminism
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that there still exists in this country a great body of opinion

which supports the policies and programs necessary to carry

Trust
forward the building of a just and ordered society for all citizens.

Issue of Trust. Lack of it!

But let me be equally candid about something else: we

cannot look backwards in our search for answers to our present

challenges. What served our purposes successfully in outlawing

the shame of segregated lunch counters is not likely to be of

much help in the black community's drive for economic and

political identity.

↳ We must expect -- and encourage -- a wide diversity of
effort in our search for answers to the vastly more complicated

problems of education, employment, housing, and the governing

-13-

of our communities and neighborhoods. Men of good will are

likely to disagree passionately about what should be done.

We must also expect ^{some} turmoil and controversy. The injustices of two centuries are too profound, the damage too deep, and the problems too extensive to be resolved by any

easy or self-executing formula. Dramatic successes like

passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will seldom occur. We

will experience many failures and know many disappointments

in the coming days.

Restlessness sign of health

It is, however, essential that we retain the commitment,

if not the strategy, which sustained the civil rights effort of

the past twenty years. The reaction of many people to the murder

of Martin Luther King, Jr. is very revealing at this point. They

and they do -
but the
Point is
we are
determined
to do
something

-14-

were quick to say that pillage, arson and violence in the streets dishonored the man who died -- and that was true! Indeed, it was so obvious that it scarcely needed to be said.

Dr. King was an apostle of non-violence. But that is only half the equation. He was ^{also} an apostle of racial justice by non-violent direct action! Too many whites, I am afraid, *wanted to* look upon Dr. King primarily as a restrainer of *Black Violence* instead of a fighter for racial justice. They praised his methods and forgot about his goals!

To be non-violent while sitting on the sidelines is easy enough. To be non-violent in the midst of a battle is something else. We must never forget that Dr. King was murdered in

-15-

the midst of a direct-action campaign to improve the wages

and working conditions of the garbage collectors of Memphis.

↳ To combine this passion for justice with the arduous discipline of non-violence dramatizes the lesson this nation must learn if it is to survive. ↳ And the lesson is simply this: to fight hard for justice, without giving way to hate, without breaking the bonds of community, without destroying those whom we must oppose.

↳ The 1968 election renews my faith that this is possible -- even as I prepare to leave public office for the first time since 1945.

This
~~But~~ it is a time for taking risks -- because time is running out and no person -- black or white -- possesses ultimate

-16-

wisdom on the precise steps we should now follow.

This

~~It~~ is a time for trust among men, even when evidence

arises at every hand that distrust and suspicion dominate our times.

'It is a time, particularly for the white majority, for extraordinary amounts of patience and understanding as the

black community ~~should bear~~ *struggle to achieve its* the burdens of equal opportunity

identity and make its full contribution
~~created by the legislative victories of the past twenty years.~~
in our pluralistic society.

this

Above all, ~~it~~ is a time for courage -- the kind of courage

~~when black men and white men~~ *to* say to those men -- black and white --

who would destroy this country: "You will not prevail ... the

best days of America are yet to be." And then it is time for

us to act.

I ended my book with a stanza from Langston Hughes' poem, "Let America be America Again." It captures in a very few words what I have been trying to say this afternoon:

"Oh, let America be America again,

The land that never has been yet.

And yet must be --

The land where every man is free."

#

I appreciate this opportunity to sell some books. As one about
that
to resume the occupation of college teacher, I gather/~~this~~ ~~book~~ will be
a major part of ^{my} new duties . . . that the admonition ~~to~~ publish or
perish ~~falls upon~~ ^{to} cannot be taken lightly . . . and that delicate
~~decisions~~ ^{such} decisions such as tenure are frequently made on the
basis of one's publishing ~~successes~~ successes. Having recently
rather unsuccessfully
emerged/~~from~~ another decision relating to tenure, I can no
longer afford to take chances. ~~So~~ So it
was with these thoughts in
mind that I eagerly accepted your kind invitation to talk
about my recent book, Beyond Civil ~~Rights~~ Rights: A New
Day of Equality.

There is, of course, a more serious reason for ~~doing~~ my
participation ~~in this~~ on this luncheon program. The issue of
~~human rights~~
human rights has loomed large on the nation's agenda for the past
twenty years. It looms large today. Surely we ^{Know} ~~have some~~
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that our capacity to survive as a free people is intimately related

2/

to our ability to extend the promise of freedom and equality of opportunity to every citizen. And surely we ^{know} ~~understand~~ that time is running out.

for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
This writing project began three years ago when I agreed to prepare a small volume ^{examining} ~~telling~~ America's problems and progress in

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conception: the murders of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F.

Kennedy, the rise to national prominence of Governor Wallace, my

nomination as the Democratic Party's candidate for President of the

United States, and the issue of civil rights in the campaign ^{... of these events} all ~~under different auspices~~.

dictated another approach. Fully recognizing that campaign

-- a sentiment which I know my friends at Random House ~~also~~ share --
~~ex~~ books are the bane of the publishing industry, I nevertheless

concluded that I had no alternative but to cast Beyond Civil Rights

in a more partisan and personal context. On this issue, above all,

I believe ^I the American people had a right to know my record in ~~man~~

detail and my view ^{should be headed} on where this country ~~should go~~ at this point

in the civil rights struggle.

So much of the history of the Negro people is not all of the history of the Negro people

4/

a remarkable

During these years we built ~~an incredible~~ coalition of ~~people~~

supporters. There were the civil rights activists, the intrepid

leaders of both races who suffered ~~xxx~~ countless indignities, threats,

beatings and even death. *Joining the CR activists* and laymen
~~There were the~~ religious leaders/of all

faiths, ~~xxxxx~~ labor union members, business men, housewives,

professionals, and literally persons from every walk of life. *The issue was*

essentially non-partisan, a concern of both major parties, although it fell to the Democrats to seize the initiative in Congress and the Executive branch.

~~we shared a deep concern over the immorality of racial~~

~~The Coalition was brought together by~~

~~injustice. They worked and they sacrificed to correct these~~

~~longstanding wrongs.~~

Support came from many unexpected sources. At the Democratic / National

Convention of 1948, for example, the small band of liberals agitating

for a stronger civil rights plank in the party platform were

opposed by all the party "bosses" of that day. Even President

Truman was supposedly against us. ~~So xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ As I sat on the

platform ~~in Convention Hall~~ waiting to make my brief speech supporting

the minority plank, I showed our proposal to Ed Flynn, the tough

Democratic leader from the Bronx, and one of those ~~xx~~ *reportedly* I thought to

But when these brave men, women and children taught this country the essential lesson: just as the Union could not endure half-slaves and half-free in the 1860's, we cannot survive today with two unequal Charters of citizenship.

Flynn

~~He~~ opposed to us. ~~He~~ studied the minority plank carefully and then

he said: "You're damned right. You go ahead, young man. We ~~should~~

should have done this a long time ago. This is long overdue.

We've got to do it. You go ahead. We'll back you."

~~And then~~ ~~the~~ other Democratic leaders, the "bosses," came to

offer their support, men like David Lawrence of Pennsylvania

and Jake Arvey of Illinois. ~~And~~ With their ^{backing} ~~support~~ the upstart

liberals won a stirring ^{and unexpected} victory, ~~and~~ one which ^{permanently} committed the Democratic

Party to an active role in correcting the abuses of discrimination

and racism. ~~And~~ President Truman proudly ~~took~~ ^{platform and} ran on the party/~~platform~~ ^{won the election.}

This ~~coalition~~ coalition reached the zenith of its effectiveness

in 1964, the year we broke the filibuster in the Senate and passed

a civil rights bill which most people said couldn't be passed in

a thousand years. It did take 83 days--the longest ^{continuous} ~~unbroken~~ debate in

Senate history--but that still beats a thousand years. Last year

the coalition rallied ^{once} again behind the open housing legislation

which ~~became law~~ ^{is now federal law.}

And even though
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Today the picture is very different. Many of the assumptions and
 are irrelevant. No longer are we primarily
 goals of the past 20 years ~~have little relevance~~
 concerned with eradicating the abuses of legalized discrimination. No
 longer can we focus our energies on a single task, such as
 passing a particular law in the Congress. Many priorities compete
 for our time, energy and resources.

Not surprisingly, the coalition which supported these earlier
 legislative objectives has largely dissolved. Many people openly
 despair of ever recapturing the unity and sense of purpose ~~of these~~
~~xxx~~ which distinguished these efforts.

We find ourselves increasingly caught in a crossfire between
 black rage over the apparent slowness of achieving equality in
 fact, as distinct from equality in law, and white fear of these
 black aspirations. As Alexis de Tocqueville saw ^{more than} a century ago:
 "The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable,
 become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an
 escape."

6A
The assumptions and goals of the past 20 years are shaken to their foundations.

Today the ~~same~~ picture is very different. No longer are we

concerned about ~~the same~~ ^{eradicating} the abuses of ~~discrimination~~

legalized ~~discrimination~~ ^{Can we focus our energies on} discrimination. No longer is ~~there the~~

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^{The Congress. Many priorities compete for our time, energy & resources.}

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We find ourselves increasingly caught in a crossfire between

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an integrated society with justice for every citizen. The

spectre of a racially divided society with blacks and whites

drawn up into armed camps is frighteningly real.

What, then, are we to do? ~~What~~ What will be our choice--

apartheid or democracy? Separation or community? A society of

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7/

This is the question I attempted to take to the people in the
Presidential ~~xxxxx~~ campaign. And this is the central question which
examined
I ~~xxxxx~~ in Beyond Civil Rights.

Let me be quite clear ~~about~~^{on} one point: I do not interpret ~~the~~
my defeat in the Presidential election as a repudiation/of the
by the American people
which
basic issue I raised, ~~in the campaign~~. To the contrary ~~my xxxxxx campaign~~
I feel that my
Campaign
~~xxxxx~~ began to gain momentum precisely when I ~~was able to articulate~~
began put this question to the

~~the great decision which faced America on the this question in~~
electorate in
A clear and unambiguous terms. The narrowness of the outcome ~~xxxxx~~ tells

me that there still exists in this country a great body of opinion
which supports the policies and programs necessary to ~~xxxxxxx~~
carry forward the building of a just and ordered society for all
the citizens.

But let us also be clear about something else: we cannot
expect that ~~this xxxxxxxx~~ our days will be without turmoil,
of two centuries
despair, and controversy. The injustices/are too ~~profound~~ profound,
the damage too extensive, the problems too extensive to be resolved

7A/

But let me be equally ~~clear~~ ^{candid} about something else: we cannot look backwards in our search for answers to our present challenges. What served our purposes successfully in outlawing the shame of segregated lunch counters is not likely to be of much help in the black community's drive for economic and political identity.

We must expect--and encourage--a wide diversity of effort in our search for answers to the vastly more complicated problems of education, employment, housing, and the governing of our communities and neighborhoods. Men of good will are likely to disagree passionately about what should be done.

We must also expect turmoil and controversy. The injustices of ~~the~~ two centuries are too profound, the ~~the~~ damage too deep, and the problems too extensive to be resolved by any easy or self-executing

formula. We will experience many failures and know many disappointments

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Dramatic ~~breakthroughs~~ like passing the Civil Rights

seldom occur.
Act of 1964 will ~~be very much the exception~~

8/

however, the commitment,
It is, ~~therefore~~ essential that we retain ~~that faith~~ if not the
strategy, ~~of~~ which sustained the civil rights effort of the past
20 years. The reaction of many people to the murder of Martin Luther
King, Jr. is very revealing at this point. They were quick to say
that pillage, arson and violence in the streets dishonored the man who
died--and that was true. Indeed, it was so obvious that it scarcely
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Dr. King was an apostle of non-violence. But that is only ~~half~~
half the equation. He was an apostle of ~~non-violence~~ ^{racial} ~~justice~~ justice
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upon Dr. King primarily as a restrainer of Negroes, instead of a
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To be non-violent while sitting on the sidelines is easy enough.
To be non-violent in the midst of a battle is something else. We must
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campaign to improve the wages and working conditions of the garbage
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9/

To combine this passion for justice with the arduous discipline of non-violence dramatizes the lesson this nation must learn if it is to survive. And the lesson is simply this: to fight hard for justice, without giving way to hate, without breaking the bonds of community, without destroying those whom we must oppose.

The 1968 election renews my faith that this is possible--even as I prepare to leave public office for the first time since 1945.

But it ^{for taking} ^{because} ^{running out and}
~~this~~ is a time ~~when~~ risks--~~when~~ time is ~~when~~
no person--black or white--possesses ultimate wisdom on the precise
now
steps we should/follow.

It is a time for trust among men, even when evidence arises at every hand that distrust and suspicion dominate our times.

It is a time, particularly for the ~~white~~ white majority, for extraordinary amounts of patience and understanding as the black community shoulders the burdens of equal opportunity ~~provided by~~ created by the legislative victories of the past 20 years.

Above all, it is a time for courage--

10/
the kind of courage ~~that~~ when black men and white ~~men~~ say to
men--black and white--who
those ~~men~~ would destroy this country: "You will not

prevail. . . the best days of America have yet been known." *And then it is*
time ~~then~~ *for us to act.*

L I ended my book with a stanza from Langston Hughes' poem

"Let America be America ~~Again~~ Again." It captures in a very few words
what I have been trying to say this afternoon:

Oh, let America be America again,

The land that never has been yet.

and yet must be--

The land where every man is free.



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