

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

JANUARY 28, 1969

✓ We speak tonight of the past twenty years -- two incredible decades in American life. But how arbitrary -- and how artificial -- this delineation of time really is. ↓ *3 decades yet to come*

✓ The whole modern movement for human rights in America is one continuous struggle -- a struggle to eradicate the one huge wrong of racial prejudice and injustice which has tormented this republic since its birth.

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Each generation of Americans has been part of the struggle -- and our debt to those who preceded us must never be forgotten, even as we honor those most recently on the front lines.

We think, for example, of the heroic work of the NAACP and the Urban League during the early decades of this century ... a period when America was sacrificing the humanity of its Negro citizens through the terrible injustices of Jim Crowism.

W.E.B. DuBois, E. Kinckle Jones, James Weldon Johnson, Lester B. Granger, Walter White and countless others never faltered in their efforts to make our Constitution and our laws the guardian of every American, not the vehicles for the

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subjugation of a minority. They never wavered in their commitment to build a free and open society with every person a full and equal partner in our democratic covenant.

↳ We think of A. Philip Randolph and his audacious plan to lead one hundred thousand Negroes to Washington in 1941. When President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 banning racial discrimination in defense plants, Mr. Randolph postponed the march -- until a new crisis loomed in 1963. And then he brought 250 thousand Americans to Washington in one of the truly historic demonstrations

of a free people petitioning their government for the redress of grievances.

a magnificent expression of freedom.

Yes, So many persons sacrificed so much to make possible the great achievement of the past twenty years.

↳ We have turned this country around from a time when law and government supported segregation and discrimination to a time when law and government oppose segregation and discrimination.

↳ The great victory was won in 1964.! You know all about it. *February*
Most of you were there -- for eighty-three days and eighty-three nights. Indeed, victory would have been impossible without you.!

↳ You carried the essential message the country had to hear just as the Union could not endure half slave and half free in the 1860's, America could not survive in the mid-Twentieth Century with two unequal charters of citizenship.

↳ In the courts and in the Congress we hammered out a body of law that is truly color-blind --- one that truly redeems the promises of equal justice on which our democracy rests.

But,

Today we see a certain irony in all of this. The very greatness of these legislative and judicial victories helped create the disillusionment and frustration which now grip significant portions of the American people -- both black and white.

↳ The struggle in Congress and the Courts had been so difficult -- the expenditure of energy had been so prodigious -- that many persons exaggerated the impact which these laws -- or any laws -- could have on the daily lives of our Negro citizens. ↳ Many Americans of both races considered the civil rights struggle over. ↳ Many Americans -- black and white -- are today outraged to discover that we have only begun.

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↳ We find ourselves in a crossfire between rising black anger over the slowness of achieving equality in fact, as distinct from equality in law, and white fear of these black aspirations.

↳ The moment of truth for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, not to mention the United States of America, is at hand.

↳ As in all great social and political upheavals, we have entered the dangerous second phase where our early victories fade into insignificance when compared to the enormity of the tasks which remains.

↳ Many of our original goals are under serious challenge.

↳ Certain of our methods, such as non-violent direct action, are rejected by some as out-of-date and irrelevant.

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↳ In these circumstances one danger looms above all others: the danger of a failure of nerve to sustain the march toward an integrated society through the ^{Peaceful} processes of democracy.

↳ To lose our nerve now -- to abandon our faith in what so many of our brothers and sisters gave even their lives to achieve -- would irretrievably sacrifice the hard-won victories of the past in our failure to make real the promise of tomorrow.

↳ This failure of nerve could occur in many ways and it could come in many guises.

↳ It could appear as a protracted pause in the urgent business of achieving real equality in housing, employment, education, health care and vital public services.

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L The most remarkable aspect of the history of the
Negro in America has been his seemingly inexhaustible
reservoir of patience and fortitude, buttressed by an
indomitable faith in the eventual justice of our democratic
 enterprise. L But we must today frankly recognize that

for more and more Negro Americans this reservoir is
running dry.

*Patience for justice now demands
 Practice of justice + NOW!*

Yes, to recall what I said on the occasion of the
White House Conference on Civil Rights, twenty million
 Americans will no longer be pacified by slogans or tokens.
 L They will not be satisfied -- they shall not be moved -- nor
 should they. L "Freedom Now" is not a catchword for a minority
 of Americans. L It is a moral imperative for all Americans.

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↙ This failure of nerve could also come in the guise of black or white separatism -- the belief that America can somehow survive as a collection of racial enclaves, each jealously set apart and restricted to persons of a particular color, race, religion, or cultural background. | *American Apartheid!*

↙ This policy ~~may serve the purposes of some societies --~~
~~although I seriously doubt it -- but I know it~~ runs totally against the unique heritage of America -- a heritage which we cannot deny even if we also admit our severe shortcomings in making 'E Pluribus Unum' a living reality.

↙ To reject the appeals for black or white separatism is not to deny the fully legitimate aspirations of Negro Americans for meaningful economic and political power -- for these goals are essential in achieving true equality of life.

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↳ Nor do we question for a moment the magnificent sense of racial dignity and pride which is today such a vital part of the Negro consciousness in America.

↳ In deed,, self-respect is an essential precondition to any democratic system. *Black is Beautiful* - Without self-respect you cannot truly respect others. And respect for people -- that recognition of a sacred measure of humanity in every person, whatever his origins or position in life -- is the bed rock upon which the entire democratic structure must necessarily rest.

But There is a further lesson for all of us in this: self-respect and self-pride cannot be realized through hatred or intolerance of others.

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< For generations we have seen bigotry despoil the
bigot far more than the person who is the object of his
hatred. We can never forget the faces of the ^{white} mothers
screaming insults at the Negro schoolchildren ~~in New Orleans~~ ...
and we will always remember the proud dignity and self-assurance
of these children as they walked quietly to their classrooms.

{ < To put it bluntly: I find the epithets "nigger" and
"honky" equally offensive -- and I know that any person,
white or black, who thinks racial hatred is the path to
salvation -- individually or collectively -- is tragically, even
pitifully, misguided.

< Finally, our failure of nerve could appear in the
guise of a strategy geared to the conditions of the past rather
than the challenges of the future.

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What served our purposes successfully in outlawing the shame of segregated lunch counters, or overcoming the recalcitrance of prejudiced voting registrars, is not likely to carry forward the Negro's drive for economic and political identity.

We must encourage -- and expect -- 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 with sensitivity and justice. - no quite, smooth, easy way!

Men of good will are likely to disagree passionately loudly about what should be done. What succeeds in one community may not in another. No single individual or group is likely to be the source of all wisdom in grappling with these tenacious, century-old problems.

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The basic point, however, is this! these various efforts can now go forward within a framework of legal equality -- with government the ally rather than the opponent of justice.

Are we now prepared to use this framework of law -- or are we sufficiently misguided to cast out and destroy what generations of Americans have labored so courageously to build?

We must, however, understand clearly what is now required if the legacy of the last twenty years is to be used wisely and well. !

Following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, many persons were quick to say that pillage, arson and violence dishonored the man who died -- and that was true. Indeed, it was so obvious that it scarcely needed to be said.

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to
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Dr. King was an apostle of non-violence. But that is only half the equation. He was an apostle of racial justice

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by non-violent direct action! Many white Americans, I am afraid, looked upon Dr. King primarily as a restrainer of Negroes, someone to cool it, instead of a dedicated fighter for racial justice. They praised his methods but forgot about his goals.

↳ America will survive the next few years only if both sides of the equation are kept firmly in mind.!

↳ We must fight hard for justice. We must demand the public and private resources necessary for true equality of life.↳ But we must do so without giving way to hate, without breaking the bonds of community, without destroying those whom we must oppose.○

And to the extent we push forward now, with visible progress in rebuilding our neighborhoods, rescuing our

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schools, providing gainful employment and a decent place to live for every American -- to the extent we make justice a reality in peoples' lives as well as a legal fact -- we will silence and defeat those who appeal only to hate, bigotry and violence.

We need not -- and must not -- underestimate the tremendous resources which this nation can bring to the unfinished agenda of human rights.

Think how far we have come. Think of the sacrifices which have been made to carry us this far. And think of the human progress which can and will be made if we can only summon the courage, the vision, the commitment, and the faith to persevere in these difficult times.

∟ I look at the people in this room and I have no doubt --
no doubt at all -- about the future of America.

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I read a letter from a man in Indianapolis and I have no doubt about the future of America. Let me share several sentences with you: "I am a Negro. I am 78 years old. I am a retired letter carrier -- retired 20 years. Things have changed for the Negro in the Post Office here. You have made things better for my son-in-law who is now a supervisor in the Post Office here. Fair play."

Fair play -- two words which sum up everything.
Everything about America and everything we have been trying to do for twenty years ... yes, for even two hundred years.

↳ We have traveled so far and we have so far to go.
↳ We will, at times, grow weary ... for we are human, nothing more. But, then, evenings such as this refresh our spirit ... strengthen our faith ... embolden us to attack the future with the same heart and soul that brought us victory in the past.

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Let that be the message which goes forth from this place tonight.

Let that be the pledge which unites us in freedom's cause for the next twenty ... yes, even the next two hundred ... years.

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Edited Transcript of Speech by
Hubert H. Humphrey
To Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C.
January 28, 1969

This is a night of common joy for us and I say for all of us . . . for Muriel and myself and for everybody in this room. Quite frankly, I feel like this is our family. I feel like you are my folks because I'm one of your folks.

How wonderful it is tonight to listen to these wonderful presentations; each and everyone of them. Rabbi Hurst, we will always remember this very beautiful memorial tonight.

It was more than a statement. It was words of soul, a work of art.

Everybody, with few exceptions, keeps wondering what is going to happen to our country. And everybody has a few caustic words today about our young people. Well, I just want to point out that for every bad one, there are a thousand good ones. So only concentrate on those.

As you know this group is called the District of Columbia Youth Corps. I hope we hear and see a great deal of them in this city.

I wish the people in this city would start to brag about it a little bit. It's a beautiful city. And I want everyone in this room to take a vow with me to help this good Mayor who was here tonight,

Mayor Washington. He needs it; he needs above all, your faith and your confidence.

In fact, I just talked with him about continuing. We had quite a talk. We are good friends. We are going to be working together on a number of things because our work had just barely gotten underway.

Well, I have a lot of things to say. You know I went around this country telling people that I was a refugee from classrooms. I used to joke with the students at the colleges where I would speak. And sometimes, of course, we didn't have all jokes. But there was quite a confrontation. And then I would see the President of the University, if he was there -- or if they would let him out of the room -- and I'd say: "Now, Mr. President, I want you to know that my teaching credentials are in good order. I only mention these things because elective public office is such a precarious existence;" and then I'd laugh. It was a way of getting acquainted with the audience. I must say that I was the most persuasive speaker that ever traveled a college campus. I just talked myself out of a job. I do have a way, it seems, of getting around to a particular assignment at the wrong time.

I remember when I came to Washington. At the time we said we would repeal the Taft-Hartley Law. And that, if you said it, made you look like a socialist. If you said you were for civil rights, there weren't very many people who agreed with you.

We've had some rather rough years recently. When I left the college campus, it was an isle of reflection. Of course you didn't get paid much, but it was a pleasant place to work and to live. Now you get paid a little more if you can last. And you go back and you are again into the politics of confrontation.

Well, I'm well schooled. I might say, maybe I'm the right man for the right job, at the right school, at the right time.

But I wouldn't want to deceive any of you. I wouldn't want you to think that I'm going to be too professorial and quit being political. Not one bit.

I've been telling this story about a preacher, a member of the Cloth who had this little boy whom he thought knew all the proper theology. He thought he would show this little boy off and he said to him, "Now, who made you?" The little boy said, "I don't know, I ain't done yet." People are always asking me, "Well, what are you going to do?" All I can say is, "I ain't done yet."

You know I recall one time, I think it was in New York, at an NAACP Convention I was introduced by Roy Wilkins. He gave me an introduction almost as good as the one Clarence gave me tonight.

And in the same spirit of good religion and faith, he said to this audience, "I would like to present to you, Hubert Humphrey, John the Baptist of the Civil Rights Movement." Then I thought of what happened to John the Baptist. I just have a hard time getting a compliment. Well, we all have to make our sacrifices.

Tonight I just want to take a little of your time. I look across an audience tonight which, if it will stick together, can do everything.

There is tremendous power here. I wouldn't want this leadership conference to be looked upon as a sort of namby-pamby, milk-toast outfit. This is a strong and militant group. We need to maintain that sense of vitality and vigor and militancy for good purpose.

We ought never to leave the field of honorable pursuit to those who do not honorably pursue those objectives. And never should we do it.

There are people in this audience tonight who have put a life time of sacrifice and effort and dedication into this cause that we call civil rights. And you're not tired.

There are some who think that the only way that you can really be effective is if you are brand new. I want to say that you can be very effective by having been tried and tested, in good times and bad.

It's the unknown, the unheralded, and sometimes the silent worker in civil rights and human rights, who really makes the difference. Everybody can't be out front. And the only time that a man out front is any good at all is when there are good people behind him.

Leaders are spokesmen for the conscience of not only one man, but of a group, of a movement. Genuine leadership requires multitudes of followers. From that following, one gains strength and inspiration.

I have done little in the field of civil rights that didn't come from an inspiration from someone else. First, my family; then many of you.

I've had many people say to me, "Well, when did you get all involved in this, Mr. Humphrey? Where did you go to school that they give you this feeling about it? Who was it that did it? What was it? Was there a dramatic moment?" And I guess there was -- I was born.

To strip it all down, to get rid of all the legalisms and all the slogans and everything else, all that we are talking about is people. That's what we mean when we talk about integration. It's separatism that makes you look funny and odd. Integration is just another way of saying a neighborhood, a community, a family, a humanity.

I know that there was never any other way to be, but this way. My parents taught me this way.

I ought to be awfully careful about this because I am going to go back to teaching, but sometimes people become so involved with minutiae and detail, that they forget the whole purpose of life. It is possible even to get over educated. And it is possible to get confused by minutiae and detail.

We are one human family. That was the message of Rabbi Hurst tonight. That will be the message of the invocation, the convocation, the benediction -- one people of brotherhood. I know these words don't seem very modern now, but let me tell you they are fundamental. They may not have the latest twist or the language of the sophisticated or the ghetto, but are still the basic truths.

I'm going back to teach and when I teach American Government, I'm going to teach it like it is now. That will be interesting.

I think we know that in our American government and in our whole purpose as a nation there is the oneness of our people. Yet, it is the splendid diversity that brings out the beauty.

I hear people say that black is beautiful. I agree. Sometimes white is beautiful, too. All kinds of people have a beauty. But this oneness of humanity -- that is what this nation is trying to demonstrate.

I had a wonderful visit the other night in Norway sitting up with some young journalists. I was telling them about this country. All they ever hear about is divisiveness. I talked with them about the restlessness of the American people. I said that I would rather be restless, even experience some of the excesses of violence, than to be indifferent. That's the worst evil of all, to be apathetic.

I reminded them that we have every kind of people in our country, every kind known of God's creation. In Norway, 96% of the people are Norwegian, and they have a little trouble getting along once in a while.

We are trying to do something that nobody else in all of creation has ever done -- to preserve individual identity, and yet to build communities. To be able to preserve and, indeed, even to accentuate at times, the diversity of our people and yet to find common cause.

This is the hardest task of all. It is the test of a democracy, of human spirit. It is also a spiritual undertaking. God did create man in his own image. That is what I believe.

I used to tell my youngsters that the only reason there ought to be government by the consent of the governed is because it is the only justification for democracy. It is a moral justification.

Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst possible form of government except all others that have ever been tried."

We are trying to make this work. That is what we are doing here. It isn't just civil rights. It is civilization that we are talking about.

We are talking about building a community, a family of man. How many times have we gone to a museum and seen the magnificent photographic display called the Family of Man. It is not difficult to make the Family of Man look interesting in a museum or an art gallery. But the living Family of Man is what we are really interested in.

Can we really have a Family? That doesn't mean that you do not have diversity or even differences. To the contrary, there are differences in everything.

Don't look for something new every day. That's one of the curses of our time. Truth is always new and principle is always new, particularly in that period of time when so many violate principle. Idealism is always new, particularly when there are so many that are willing to be expedient. Courage is always new; fortitude, perseverance. These are all new qualities, born anew in every generation. It's just a matter of how we apply them.

We have the legal framework. Yet the laws are but the architect's dream of what a home can look like for the American people. It's the blue-print. It's the structure. We have to put on that part which makes it livable and usable.

We have the laws. Now we have to have the practice. We have the statutory and legal structure. Now we need the spirit and the soul.

This word soul has a lot of meaning, a lot of meaning. Maybe that's what we need more than anything else to really be brothers and sisters. If you are going to be that, you have to be something more than just flesh and bones. You do have to have soul. You do have to have spirit.

What is there left to do? Well, let me tell you. Anybody who thinks that we can pause now has already given up the ghost. There is no time to pause. If ever you needed to redouble your effort, it is now. We must see that the laws are enforced and applied, that the public is educated.

Think of the time that we lost from the Supreme Court decision in 1954 to the implementation of that decision in 1964. A decade, 10 years and it will take us 25 years to catch up. But we have begun to make some progress.

Don't tell me that Federal standards don't help. The poor know they help. The only people that don't think Federal standards help are those who don't need any Federal standards.

I've always been motivated by that philosophy of Franklin Roosevelt's, that the purpose and the duty of government is not to see that those who already have too much, have more; but to see that those who have too little, have enough. Another way to put it is that some people really don't need the protection of law because they stand so mighty and so strong in their own right. Others do need it.

The measure of a just society is not what it does for the strong and the mighty and the rich, but what it does for the needy. That's the difference; that's what it is all about.

So I come here tonight to ask you not to lose your nerve. Do not let the loudest mouth, the extremist, the violent one take over. They don't represent the many. They represent only the few. The strength of the extremist is intensified by the apathy of those who know what is right and ought to be willing to make sacrifices to do it.

There are those who say we need to be more efficient. I'm not against efficiency. I do not want to be misunderstood. But I have read the good word of the scripture. I have read the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation and I haven't seen the word efficiency in any of them. I'm willing to add it, to put it on as an amendment.

I have read a lot about freedom, a good deal about love, a good deal about justice, a good deal about liberty, a good deal about life, a good deal about the pursuit of happiness. That's what makes for a free society -- those great qualities.

I have never been for apartheid in South Africa or America. I think that separatism is escapism. It doesn't take very much courage to be a separatist. I happen to think it takes courage to build an integrated society.

We live in dangerous times. There will be other excuses for not doing what we ought to do. Make no mistake about it. There are always people who can find excuses for not doing what we ought to.

We are living at a time when we are within reach of a trillion-dollar economy. I know what a budget means and I know the difficulties it takes to finance a government. But unless the government leads, and leads firmly and strongly and with determination, others will not lead or follow.

The lead must come from government if we are to do anything about the injustices that perplex and prevail in too many areas of American society today. Government of the people should reflect the moral purpose of the people. Government should have as its cause and its purpose justice. That's what separates the wicked from the decent, the free from those who are not free.

I'm not upset by people who cry out today for self-determination and self-respect. But self-respect and self-pride can never be realized through hatred and violence. Bigotry spoils the bigot more than the person who is the object of his hatred.

I'll never be able to forget the faces of those mothers screaming insults at Negro school children. The children were trying to go to school. I wasn't angry. My heart went out to the children. What a miserable moment for that person who lets hatred consume him. Hatred and fear destroy you.

I find the epithets "nigger" and "honky" equally offensive. Any person, white or black, who thinks that racial hatred is the path to salvation is tragically misguided.

Following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King many were quick to say that pillage, arson and violence dishonored the man who died. That's true. There are many ways to kill a person. Sometimes assassination is more humane than killing a person's mind, his respect, or hating him or saying he is not needed, or looking upon him as inferior or shoving him aside. That kills. And it takes longer. It is

social arsenic, cumulative poisoning. It drains the very soul and spirit out of a person, leaving millions of people walking around as if they were dead.

What this movement is all about is recreating life. There are thousands of people today who feel -- if they can feel at all -- as if there were no use. They are dead.

Dr. King was an apostle of non-violence, but that is only half the equation. Roy Wilkins is an apostle of non-violence; Whitney Young, everybody here. A lot of our white brothers think that's fine. They feel you ought to be like that -- not violent, nice. Well, Dr. King was also a man of justice.

Many white Americans looked upon him as a restrainer of Negroes, someone to "cool it," instead of the dedicated fighter he was for racial justice. They praised his methods, but they forgot about his goals.

I'm not going to let you forget about those goals. We will survive the next few years only if both sides of that equation are kept firmly in mind. Action, justice, commitment, yes; not violence. Fight hard for justice. So many are denied it. So many would deny it to others. We must demand the public and private resources which are necessary for a true equality of life.

I can't see how some people endure the indignity of living in some of the squalor in America. Modern technology has taken us by it so fast that we don't see it. At least the railroad used to take you through those parts of town. Coming into town you could see the slums, the ghettos, the filth, the degradation. Now you land at an airport and the main problem is finding your car.

Finding our fellow man, understanding him and being able to communicate with him is the task before us now. We must push forward visible progress -- and it must be visible -- not a blueprint. There are enough studies to fill a dozen libraries. We must build neighborhoods, provide equal employment, a decent place to live. We must make justice a reality in people's lives as well as a legal fact.

It is not enough to have homes and jobs. It isn't good enough to give somebody an education. You have to give him respect. All of these worldly goods are for nought unless there is self-respect in the heart of every American, black or white, and a feeling that he is part of this community, that he has something to contribute, that he has something to say about this country, that he is in on the action, that he is part of the responsible citizenry of this country. That's what makes a man out of a person. That's what makes a human being in this nation; not just a job, important as that is; not just a house, important as that is.

I'm going to continue my work. We really didn't lose an election. We lost, but we didn't lose what was important. There was only one candidate in this campaign who dared appeal to the past.

America has moved much further than even its most objective analysts and critics would have you believe. The man who occupies the White House today is not a racist. The man who gave him a run for his money is not a racist. The one who came in third, even apologized occasionally for acting like a racist. So we have made some progress. Thirty-three million Americans voted for one man who didn't utter a single insult or racial word. Thirty-three and a half million voted for another man who didn't utter one either.

I'm going to be around here to see if we can't keep everybody on the job. I grew up with this movement. Twenty years of Roy Wilkins; twenty years of Hubert Humphrey; you are something to be able to take both of us. Twenty years of the Civil Rights Leadership Conference -- twenty years -- just look at what we have done.

I'll end with my Winston Churchill story. A temperance group came to call on him during the height of the war. They felt he had been drinking too much. One little old lady was appointed the spokesman. She said "Mr. Prime Minister, we have been watching you. We have made an estimate of all the alcoholic beverages you have consumed during this war. You have consumed enough to half fill this room. What do you have to say, Mr. Prime Minister?"

He looked at her and then at the ceiling. He said, "That much, really?" He looked back at her and said "So little have I done. So much there is yet to do."

Thank you very much.

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January 29, 1969

MEMO FOR: Ofield

FROM: Susan

RE: Excerpts from Leadership Conference on
Civil Rights prepared text

"... The most remarkable aspect of the history of the Negro in America has been his seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of patience and fortitude, buttressed by an indomitable faith in the eventual justice of our democratic enterprise. But we must today frankly recognize that for more and more Negro Americans this reservoir is running dry.

"Twenty million Americans will no longer be pacified by slogans or tokens. They will not be satisfied -- they shall not be moved -- nor should they. "Freedom Now" is not a catchword for a minority of Americans. It is a moral imperative for all Americans.

"... Following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., many persons were quick to say that pillage, arson

and violence 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 an apostle of racial justice by non-violent direct action. Many white Americans, I am afraid, looked upon Dr. King primarily as a restrainer of Negroes, someone to cool it, instead of a dedicated fighter for racial justice. They praised his methods but forgot about his goals.

"America will survive the next few years only if both sides of the equation are kept firmly in mind.

"We must fight hard for justice. We must demand the public and private resources necessary for true equality of life. But we must do so without giving way to hate, without breaking the bonds of community, without destroying those whom we must oppose. . . ."

(The MC -- after several minutes of banter and informal introduction of persons in audience -- then moves into following script.)

M.C. (Speaking from left lectern)

Well, here we are -- all friends of Hubert Humphrey -- so what needs to be said about him that we don't already know? For the next few minutes we'll just help one another remember why we love him so. And our memories don't have to be taxed very hard either. Less than two weeks ago, he spoke these very formal words -- formal words, but they cannot conceal a lifetime of heart and spirit in pursuit of social justice:

HHH (Speaking from right lectern)

"Under the provisions...of the Constitution...the Chair announces that 51 Senators having voted yea and 47 having voted nay, cloture has been invoked...and debate will proceed under the limitation provisions of rule 22..."

M.C. Yes, that was Hubert Humphrey on January 16, 1969, in his historic ruling as Vice President.

Another dream realized, even if only partially....an important precedent was being established. ^(pause...) And for 20 years there had been other hopes...other commitments...other struggles...other dreams...and Hubert Humphrey articulated them for all of us.

(HALL LIGHTS OUT -- light on choral group standing rear of stage.)

CHORUS: Sings first four lines of "Impossible Dream" -- and hums under next reading by Hubert Humphrey...

"To dream the impossible dream,
To fight the unbeatable foe,
To bear with unbearable sorrow,
To run where the brave dare not go."

(Humming continues....)

(Lights on right lectern:)

HHH. "In the beginning there is a dream; and in the dream, there is the hope...A dream yes -- a hope, yes -- because America is both a dream and a hope for ourselves and for others...
"I have a feeling that if we join together in common cause, there is no force on earth that can prevent this nation of ours from being judged by history and historians as a great nation, inhabited by a great people, who believe in doing what some people call the impossible..."

CHORUS: Sings entire first stanza and verse of "Impossible Dream..."
(Lights out on lectern -- until song is over)

HHH. (To be read as a speech -- but not too loud...)

"There are those who say to you: We are rushing this issue of civil rights. I say we are a hundred and seventy-two years late...There are those who say: This issue of civil rights is an infringement on States Rights...(Pause) The time has arrived for the Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of States rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine of human rights...(pause)

"I know that we can -- and I know that we shall -- begin here the fuller and richer realization of that hope, that promise of a land where all men are free and equal..."

(Lights on left lectern -- both lecterns remain lighted)

M.C. That was 1948.... Twenty years later, 1968, Hubert Humphrey looked back on that day.

HHH. "We won that fight.... But more importantly, we passed eventually those very laws that we asked for and others far beyond them... Yet, I speak of this today more in humility than pride. For even now, another 20 years later, words spoken at that convention in 1948 are still true. People, human beings. This is the issue of the 20th century."

M.C. Like Hubert Humphrey, the Leadership Conference refuses to take comfort in the progress of the last 20 years. The past must indeed be only prologue to the future. But these were productive years, rewarding years. Hubert Humphrey and his colleagues, working with the Leadership Conference, introduced measures that ^{first} seemed impossible of achievement. Voting rights, fair employment, open housing, school desegregation, protection of civil rights workers, public accommodations. ~~There~~ were difficult days and difficult decisions to make.

HHH. "...In Congress, we can only vote two ways: aye or nay. If we could vote 'maybe' it would be much easier..."

M.C. But the Leadership Conference and Hubert Humphrey made the difficult decisions -- and they never stopped fighting for more.... The great breakthrough came in 1957. And there were victories in 1960 and 1965 and 1968. But, above all,

there was 1964. June 10, 1964, to be exact. The day closure was finally voted in the Senate -- and a major civil rights act was on its way to the statute books. And Hubert Humphrey had been its chief navigator....

HHH. "We had strong support...from the Leadership Conference, which mobilized a broad range of civil rights groups, labor groups, liberals, religious people, business leaders, and others. For me, personally, it was the culmination of the full year's fight for the bill, of fifteen years of battle for civil rights in the Senate, and a lifetime of politics in which equal opportunity had been the objective above all

→ others " *Insert HHH says* —

M.C. Hubert Humphrey fought hard for civil rights laws...but he warned us...

HHH. "...laws and court decisions can only point the way. They can establish criteria of right and wrong. But they cannot wipe away centuries of oppression and injustice -- however much we might desire it."

M.C. He told it "like it is" -- and told off any who stood in the way...

HHH. "The problem now is to see that the laws are properly enforced ... That won't be easy...there are some black leaders who place little emphasis on open occupancy, because they don't want Negroes to move out of the ghetto to suburbs and white sections of town... I answer: nobody should tell an individual where he cannot live -- whether white real estate agents, white suburbanites -- or black power leaders."

M.C. He challenged all America to make a choice:

HHH. "The choice is simply this: Shall we, as a nation, move forward toward one society of opportunity and justice, or shall we abandon this commitment out of fear and prejudice and move instead toward a fractured and separated society -- black against white; rich against poor; comfortable against left-out?....(pause)

"Some who were once supporters of the movement for equal rights and social opportunity now disdainfully write it off. Some Americans of all races, creeds and colors, look upon that movement as finished...maybe even as a failure... they are dead wrong..."

M.C. And he has warned those who would call halt...

HHH. "Too many Americans say it's time to pause...when in fact it's just the time to move into action. The real test is not how many laws we have passed or how many programs we have begun, but how many people have been helped -- and how many still need help...

"Twenty million Americans will no longer be pacified by slogans or tokens. They will not be satisfied -- they shall not be moved -- nor should they. For 'Freedom Now' is not a catchword for a minority of Americans. It is a moral imperative for all Americans."

M.C. That moral imperative has indeed moved many Americans these 20 years. And there were those who paid the supreme sacrifice along the way... victims of racism and extremism and violence... Medger Evers, Michael Schwerner, John Kennedy, Emmett Till,

Andrew Goodman, Viola Liuzzo, [?]~~Lewis~~ Cheney, Vernon Dahmer,
Robert Kennedy --- and the greatest dreamer of them all ---

(CHORUS: Starts humming softly "We Shall Overcome" --
under:)

HHH. "I have been with the President and the Cabinet this morning... Last night, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., died a martyr's death... his death snatched from American life something rare and precious, the living reminder that one man can make a difference -- that one man, by the force of his character, the depth of his convictions, and the eloquence of his voice -- can alter the course of history... "Dr. King touched the hearts of all people when he cried out that he had a dream, that his four little children would one day live in a nation where they would not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character..."

"Martin Luther King was voicing more than his personal dream. That dream he talked about is my dream... and I know it is your dream. Indeed, it is America's dream..."

(Chorus ends humming.)

M.C. Yes, in the beginning there was a dream. And Hubert Humphrey continues to dream...

HHH. "I see, in the America of tomorrow, the true spiritual and cultural capital of the world. It will be heir to man's loftiest hopes and achievements. It will be a land of

many races and religions, of peoples cosmopolitan and understanding of each other -- yet each cherishing their unique traditions...

"This nation, I believe, can finally reach across the threshold of what no previous society has ever dared dream or achieve, the building of a social order of both freedom and compassion of both enterprise and peace..."

M.C. Langston Hughes has dreamed that dream... and Hubert Humphrey has often recalled the words....

HHH. "Oh, let America be America again,
The land that never has been yet,
and yet must be....
The land where every man is free."

(Lectern lights off.)

CHORUS: Sings American Image

"Impossible dream" -- Page 2

To dream the impossible dream
To fight the unbeatable foe,
To bear with unbearable sorrow
To run where the brave dare not go.
To reach the unreachable star.
This is my quest, to follow that star,
No matter how hopeless, no matter how far,
To fight for the right without question or pause
To be willing to march into hell for a heavenly cause!
And I know, if ~~only~~ I'll only be true to this glorious quest,
That my heart will be peaceful and calm, when I'm laid to my rest
And the world will be better for this,
That one man, scorned and covered with scars,
Still strove, with his last ounce of courage,
To reach the unreachable stars

"America (Heritage)" -- Page 7

High towering mountains,
Fields gold with grain,
Rich, fertile farmlands,
Flocks on the plain,
Homes blest with peace, with love, without fears,
This is the heritage we've kept through the years.

Stout hearts and true,
Hold fast what is ours;
God give us courage through darkest hours;
God give us strength
And guide with thy hand
America, Our heritage, Our home land

Wide rolling prairies, lakes, deep and broad,
Canyons majestic fashioned by God;
Life lived in peace, contented and free;
This is the heritage, forever to be.
Stout hearts and true, hold fast what is ours,
God give us courage through darkest hours,
God give us strength and guide with Thy Hand
America, Our heritage, Our home land.

The 1964 Civil Rights Fight

1. You may talk about the men from the East and the West,
In the Battle for Civil Rights;
But none fought the battle like Hubert fought,
For 83 days and nights...

Hubert fought the battle for civil rights,
83 days -- 83 nights;
Hubert fought the battle for civil rights,
And the walls came tumblin' down...

2. The big, big men from the deep, deep South,
Thought the civil rights bill would fall,
And they talked, talked, talked till they sagged at the mouth,
But Hubert out-maneuvered them all...

Hubert fought the battle for civil rights,
83 days -- 83 nights
Hubert fought the battle for civil rights,
And the walls came tumblin' down...

Remarks
The Honorable HMM
Leadership Conf on Civil Rights
Washington, DC

January 28, 1969

We speak tonight of the past twenty years--two incredible
decades in American life. But how arbitrary--and/artificial--this
delineation of time really is. ~~As I recently noted in a small~~

The whole modern movement for human rights in America is
~~voluntary~~ to eradicate the one huge wrong
one continuous struggle--a struggle ~~which actually began with~~
of racial prejudice and injustice which has tormented this
~~the birth of this republic~~
republic since its birth.

Each generation of Americans has been part of the struggle--
and our debt to those who preceded us ~~is great~~ must never be
forgotten, even as we honor those most recently on the front lines.

We think, for example, of the heroic work of the NAACP and
the Urban League during the early decades of this century. . . . a
period when America was sacrificing the humanity of its Negro
citizens through the terrible injustices of Jim Crowism.

W.E.B. DuBois, E. Kinckle Jones, James Weldon Johnson,
Lester B. Granger, Walter White and countless others ~~carried on~~
~~the struggle when~~

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never faltered in their efforts to make our Constitution and our laws the guardian of every American, not the vehicles for the subjugation of a minority. They never wavered in their ~~determination~~ with commitment to build a free and open society ~~where everyone~~/every ~~tax~~ and equal person ~~would be~~ a full ~~participator in the democratic~~ partner in our democratic covenant.

We think of A. Philip Randolph and his audacious plan to lead 100,000 Negroes to Washington in 1941. When President Roosevelt issued executive order 8802 banning racial discrimination in defense plants, Mr. Randolph postponed the march--until ~~needed~~ a new crisis loomed in 1963. And then he brought 250,000 Americans to Washington in one of the ~~great~~ truly historic ~~demonstrations~~ demonstrations of a free people petitioning their government for the redress of grievances.

So many persons sacrificed so much to ~~bring America~~ make great achievement of the possible the ~~progress of the~~ past twenty years/ ~~today~~ We have turned this country around from a time when law and government supported segregation and discrimination to a time when law and

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government oppose segregation and discrimination.

~~In the perspective of history, this is a major~~

~~achievement even though~~

The great victory was won in 1964. You know all about it.

Most of you were there--for eighty-three days and eighty-three nights. Indeed, victory would have been impossible without you.

You carried the essential message the country had to hear:

just as the Union could not endure half slave and half free in the 1860's, America could not survive in the mid-Twentieth Century with two unequal charters of citizenship.

Today we see a certain irony in all of this. The very *judicial* greatness of these legislative victories helped create the disillusionment and frustration which ~~griped~~ new grip significant portions of the American people--both black and white.

~~Knowing how hard the legislative battles had been, knowing~~

~~that~~

In the Courts and in the Congress we hammered out
~~this~~ a body of law that is truly Color-blind... that
truly redresses the promises of equal justice ~~which~~ on which
our democracy rests.

and the Courts

The struggle in Congress had been ~~waged~~ so difficult--the expenditure of energy had been so prodigious--
~~passage of these laws was so essential to future progress--that~~

~~misleadingly~~ many persons exaggerated the impact which these laws--or any laws--could have on the daily lives of our Negro citizens. Many Americans of both races considered the civil rights struggle ever. Many Americans--black and white--are today outraged to discover that we have only begun.

We find ourselves in a crossfire between rising black anger over the slowness of achieving equality in fact, as distinct from equality in law, and white fear of these black aspirations.

The moment of truth for the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, not to mention the United States of America, is at hand.

As in all great social and political upheavals, we have entered the dangerous second phase where our early victories fade into insignificance when compared to the enormity of the task^s which remains.

Many of our original goals are under serious challenge. Certain of our methods, such as non-violent direct action, are rejected by some as out-of-date and irrelevant.

In these circumstances one danger looms ~~xxx~~ above all others: the danger of a failure of nerve to sustain the march toward an integrated society through the processes of democracy.

To lose our nerve now--to abandon our faith in what so many of our brothers and sisters gave even their lives to achieve--would irretrievably sacrifice the hard-won victories of the past in our failure to make real the promise of tomorrow.

This failure of nerve could occur in many ways^s and it could come in many guises.

It could appear as a protracted pause in the urgent business of achieving real equality in housing, employment, education, health care and vital public services.

The most remarkable aspect of the history of the Negro in America has been ~~an~~^{his} seemingly inexhaustible reservoir of

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and
patience [^] fortitude, ~~such~~ buttressed by an indomitable faith
in the eventual justice of our democratic enterprise. But we
must today frankly recognize that for more and more Negro Americans
this reserve [^] is running dry.

Yes, to recall what I said on the occasion of the White House
Conference on Civil Rights, twenty million Americans will no longer
be pacified by slogans or ~~xx~~ tokens. They will not be satisfied--
they shall not be moved--nor should they. "Freedom Now" is not
a catchword for a minority of Americans. It is a moral imperative
for all Americans.

This failure ~~xx~~ of nerve could also come in the guise
of black or white separatism--the belief [^] that America can somehow
survive as a collection of racial enclaves, each jealously set
apart and restricted to persons of a particular color, race, religion, or
cultural background.

This policy may serve the purposes of some societies--although I
seriously doubt it--but I know it runs totally against

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the unique heritage of America--a heritage which we cannot deny even if we also admit our severe shortcomings in making "E Pluribus Unum" a living reality.

To reject the appeals for black or white separatism is not to deny the fully legitimate aspirations of Negro Americans for meaningful economic and political power--for these goals are essential in achieving true equality of life.

Nor ^{do} ~~can~~ we question for a moment the magnificent sense of racial dignity and pride which is today such a vital part of the Negro consciousness in America.

Indeed, self-respect is an essential precondition to any democratic system. Without self-respect you cannot truly respect others. And respect for people--that recognition of a sacred measure of humanity in every person, whatever his origins or position in life--is the bed rock upon which the entire democratic structure must necessarily rest.

There is a further lesson for all of us in this: self-respect and self-pride cannot be realized through hatred or intolerance

of others.

For generations we have seen bigotry despoil the bigot far more than the person who is the object of his hatred. We never ~~his~~ can ~~ever~~ forget the faces of the mothers screaming insults at the Negro schoolchildren in New Orleans . . . and we will always remember the proud dignity and self-assurance of these children as they ~~humbly~~ walked quietly to their classrooms.

To put it bluntly: I find the epithets "nigger" and "henky" equally offensive--and I ~~xxx~~ know that any person, white or black, who thinks racial hatred is the ~~xxxx~~ path to salvation--individually or collectively--is tragically, even pitifully, misguided.

Finally, our failure of nerve could appear in the guise of a strategy geared to the conditions of the past rather than the challenges of the future.

What served our purposes successfully in outlawing the shame of segregated lunch counters, or overcoming the recalcitrance of prejudice, voting registrars, is not likely to carry forward the Negro's drive for economic and political identity.

We must encourage--and expect--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 with sensitivity and justice.

Men of good will are likely to disagree passionately about ~~ex~~ what should be done. What succeeds in one community ~~may~~ may not ~~be~~ cannot ~~be~~ in another. ~~Tests of ideological purity~~ No single individual or group is likely to be the source of all wisdom in grappling with these tenacious, ~~many~~ century-old problems.

~~Above all, we have reached a point in the human right revolution~~

[The basic point, however, is this: these various efforts can now go forward within a framework of legal equality--with government the ally rather than the opponent of justice.] Are

now

we prepared to use this framework of law--or are we sufficiently

^{Cast out and} misguided to destroy what generations of ~~many~~ Americans ^{have} labored


^{Courageously} ~~se~~ to build.

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We must, however, understand clearly what is now required ~~if~~ if the legacy of the last twenty years is to be used wisely and well.

Following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, many persons were ~~quick~~ quick to say that pillage, arson and violence 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 ~~not~~ only half the equation. He was an apostle of racial justice by non-violent direct action. Many white Americans, I am afraid, looked upon Dr. King primarily as a restrainer of Negroes, someone to cool it, instead of a dedicated fighter for racial justice. They praised his methods but forgot about his goals.

America will survive the next few years only if both sides of the equation are kept firmly in mind.  We must fight hard for justice; ~~We~~ We must demand the public and private ~~expenditure~~ resources necessary for true equality of life. But we must do so without

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giving way to hate, without breaking the bonds of community,
without destroying those whom we must oppose.

And to the extent we ~~we~~ push forward now, with visible progress
in rebuilding our neighborhoods, rescuing our schools, providing
gainful employment and a decent place to live for every American--
~~we~~ *living in people's lives* to the extent we make justice a reality ~~as well as~~ as well as
a legal fact--we will silence and defeat those who ~~appeal~~ appeal
~~only~~ only to hate, bigotry and violence.

We need not--and must not--underestimate the tremendous
which
resources ~~which~~ this nation can bring to the unfinished agenda of
human rights.

Think how far we have come. Think of the sacrifices which
have been made to carry us this far. And think of the human progress
which can and will be made if we ~~only~~ can only summon the courage,
the vision, the commitment, and the faith to persevere in these difficult
times.

I look at the people in this room and I have no doubt--no doubt at all--about the future of America.

I read a letter from a man in Indianapolis and I have no doubt about the future of America. Let me share several sentences with you: "I am a Negro. I am 78 years old. I am a retired letter carrier--retired 20 years. Things have changed for the Negro in the Post Office here. You have made things better for my son-in-law who is now a supervisor in the Post Office here. Fair play."

Fair play--two words which sum up everything. Everything about America and everything we have been trying to do for twenty years . . . yes, for even two hundred years.

We have traveled so far and we have so far to go.

We will, at times, ~~grow~~ grow weary . . . for we are human, nothing more. But, then, evenings such as this refresh our spirit, ~~and~~ . . . strengthen our faith . . . embolden us to attack the future with the same heart and soul that brought us victory in the past.

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Let that be the message which goes ^{forth} ~~from~~ from this place tonight.

Let that be the pledge which unites us in freedom's cause for
the next twenty. . . yes, even the next two hundred. . . years.



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