

From the Office of
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
1311 New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.
Capitol 4-3121, ex. 2424

FOR RELEASE: Tuesday a.m.'s
May 26, 1959

BALANCING THE MORAL BUDGET

Remarks of
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Eighteenth Annual Century Club Dinner of Harlem YMCA
New York City
Monday, May 25, 1959

I am glad to be here at this Eighteenth Annual Century Club Dinner on the occasion of your awards for achievement in sports and in the theater.

I remember the old song, "Reach down, reach down your head, O Lord, and help this child along".

This is what the Harlem Branch of the YMCA has been doing all these years.

This is what Jackie Robinson is doing -- as a civic leader here in New York, as a member of the Parole Board in his adopted State of Connecticut, and as a newspaper columnist and TV personality.

I am proud to share your platform tonight with Jackie Robinson -- very proud. For Jackie Robinson is a concerned person. Nothing human is alien to his interest. I know this because I have read his column and I have heard his broadcast. And I have talked with him,

He is soft-hearted but tough-minded. From his own personal experience and observation in breaking the color barrier into the big leagues, he learned the economics of integration the hard way.

He knows that it is our job -- his, yours, and mine -- to see that every American has the opportunity to develop into a useful and happy citizen.

As I read and listen to Jackie Robinson, I know he is pro-Negro but above all he is pro-American. In a recent column he defined his position clearly and in a way that, it seems to me, is a valid challenge to any person in, or candidate for, public office. I want to quote from his May 8 column in the New York Post:

"I certainly don't want to give the impression that during the elections Negro voters will be considering only what's best for Negroes alone. As Americans, we have as much stake in this country as anyone else. We, too are concerned about foreign policy, farm policy, national defense, a balanced budget, and all the rest.

"Still, to effectively participate in a democracy, you must first enjoy the basic freedoms that democracy guarantees to everyone else. And since Negroes, North and South, have so long been deprived of many of the rights that everyone else takes for granted, it's only natural that we are especially interested in catching up on basic freedoms before we work up much excitement about protective tariffs or forest preserves or the like.

"Then, too, Negroes aren't seeking anything which is not good for the nation as well as ourselves. In order for America to be 100 percent strong -- economically, defensively and morally -- we cannot afford the waste of having second and third-class citizens.

"Negro citizens this year and next will be using their individual, unpledged votes as never before. No one party or candidate can lay safe prior claim to the so-called 'Negro vote'. It is for the parties and the candidates to demonstrate themselves that they are actually helping to make democracy work -- not just for white people, nor just for colored people, but for each one of us separately and for all of us collectively.

"Certainly this is no more than any voter has a right to expect, and a duty to demand."

I propose to try to reply to that challenge tonight.

(over)

We have had much talk in recent months about a balanced budget -- more talk about a balanced budget, in fact, than about the needs of our country and its citizens.

If we are to survive as a free people, we need to -- we must -- balance our human budget.

Only as we balance our human budget can we hope to balance our money budget over the long hard pull of the next twenty or thirty years or however long it may take to establish a genuine and lasting peace among free men.

We must wipe out unemployment by balancing our production and consumption budget.

We must wipe out our slums by balancing our housing budget. We must wipe out our appalling losses in preventable diseases and sickness by balancing our health budget, so that every person can have the care and skill now available to those who can pay big bills.

We must wipe out the terrific losses in family development by balancing our income budget through a fair minimum wage law applicable to all workers, adequate unemployment compensation, and a greater share of our economic abundance for older citizens.

We must wipe out the shocking education deficit that was exposed to the world a year and a half ago when the first Sputnik was put into orbit.

We must balance our education budget by seeing to it that every child -- rich or poor, white, black, red, or yellow -- in this nation has full and equal access to education up to the limit of his potential in terms of ability and will. If we miss one Einstein, one Lise Meisner, one Nils Bohr, one George Washington Carver, we may miss the margin between survival and disappearance of freedom or civilization itself.

We must wipe out the man-made deficits in opportunities which now frustrate, blunt or drive millions of our youth and our adult citizens to desperation and reckless dissipation of great ability.

FBI Director Hoover has recently reported that (1) crime is up, (2) crime by youth is up.

Why?

Of course the causes are many. But high on the list is the frustration, the indignities suffered by millions of our children, our teen-agers and our adults because of discrimination and bigotry.

To balance the picture, let it be said that there has been progress, great progress, in the field of equal opportunity in education and employment. Great progress has been made in the past ten years here in New York, in my home state of Minnesota, in New Jersey, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, more recently in Michigan in Ohio and only a few weeks ago and at long last, a State anti-discrimination bill was made law in California. But even in these States, the job is far from complete.

More tragic, more dangerous to the strength, the security and the survival of our country is the brutal fact that we have made the least progress where the need is greatest, most urgent, most difficult to achieve. We must wipe out the shocking human deficit represented by these denials of full civil rights to all Americans, whatever their race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

We must balance the moral budget and do it before it is too late.

It is at peril to our survival that we shirk the balancing of our moral budget. It is folly to try to evade it by substituting for responsible legal action Presidential counsels of "patience" and "education" or even legislative gestures limited to "conciliation" or to other forms of exhortation not backed by the equal protection of the law guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

We must dare to hope that by 1963, the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, all Negroes, all Americans of whatever color, race, religion or national origin shall be truly free, in the sense that in their daily lives they shall have equal opportunity, security, and dignity.

(more)

In 1947, President Truman's Civil Rights Committee said "the time for action is now." It is twelve years later and, except for the Civil Rights Act of 1957, pared down under threat of Senate filibuster, the Congress had done nothing to balance the moral budget.

Instead, it has been the courts, usually considered the combined rudder and sea anchor of our Ship of State, which have provided the most substantial progress toward wiping out our national deficit in the field of civil rights.

It is now more than five years since the Supreme Court, by unanimous opinion, held that "separate but equal" schools are unequal by the very fact of their segregation and ordered that they be integrated with "all deliberate speed."

Compliance is general in the North; progress has been made in the border States; token integration is under way in the Upper South; the back of massive resistance has been broken in Virginia, the intellectual and spiritual leader of the Old South. But the high schools in Little Rock are still closed.

In the simplest terms, using men as symbols of positions they represent, the issue was well stated by Senator Paul Douglas during the Senate debate on the anti-Supreme Court bills last August, when he said: "The issue is Warren or Faubus."

Of course it is more than that, as he added instantly. But it expresses the essential truth.

The Supreme Court needs help. It is entitled to help. It should have had it long before now.

Congress should act now, in this session. We can not again go home having done nothing. We can not ignore the continued meaning of Little Rock, the example of unrebuked, unchecked defiance of the Constitution and the courts.

We must not ignore the deeper meaning and challenge of the lynching at Poplarville, the rape at Tallahassee and all the hundreds of unknown, unpublicized daily acts of discrimination in atmospheres of violence, threats and chronic terror.

We made a serious mistake, I think, last January, when instead of changing the Senate rules so as to permit the breaking of a filibuster by a majority of all the members of the Senate, the Senate voted to continue the power of the filibuster.

Now we must again legislate the hard way -- subject to a double veto threat, the veto power of a filibustering minority of one-third-plus-one in the Senate and the veto power of the President, if supported by a minority of one-third-plus-one.

We cannot permit the threat of filibuster or Presidential veto to set the standards for civil rights legislation -- or any other legislation.

No matter how rough the road to civil rights legislation, we must persevere and we must win. This is one fight the American people cannot afford to lose.

Recognizing the unlikelihood of getting the Douglas-Humphrey-Javits Civil Rights bill out of the clutches of Senator Eastland's Senate Judiciary Committee, we must all help Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee get his bill, identical with ours, out on the House floor soon. If the House passes this bill and gets it over to the Senate in time for action before adjournment we will not tolerate having this bill tied up in Senate Committee. Let the record be clear -- we got a civil rights bill to the floor of the Senate in 1957 and we can do it again.

The Douglas-Humphrey-Javits bill is better than the 1957 bill in at least two vital respects:

1. It provides an understanding step-by-step support and implementation of the Supreme Court's 1957 school desegregation decisions;
2. It provides the Attorney General with authority to act when an individual can not enforce his own constitutional right to equal protection of the laws. Titles VI and VII of this bill are an improved version of the Part III that was stricken from the 1957 bill at the insistence of the anti-civil rights forces.

(over)

Although our bill is designed primarily to carry out the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions, it is not limited to that purpose. Titles VI and VII provide Federal assistance to any individual unable to obtain his constitutional rights by authorizing the Attorney General to file injunction proceedings, enforceable by contempt actions, more effective than the limited usefulness of criminal action.

The very least we must have in the way of a 1959 Civil Rights bill is the brain, heart and soul of the Douglas-Humphrey-Javits bill:

1. A declaration of support for the Supreme Court in its integration decisions;
2. The step-by-step help to States and local authorities in complying with all deliberate speed;
3. The authority for the Attorney General to seek court orders enjoining against violation of an individual's civil rights.

This is minimum justice in the field of civil rights in this year of 1959.

I suggest that all true friends of civil rights concentrate on promoting House and Senate action on such a bill well before adjournment.

I agree with the statement of Roy Wilkins and the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights that this is the No. 1 civil rights bill. But I go further. I say that this is not just a civil rights bill; it is something far bigger. The enactment of this bill now is an urgently needed demonstration of our democratic faith.

For the watching two-thirds of the world's peoples who are colored, for the watching one-third of the world's peoples who are today uncommitted in the contest between Communism and democracy, the single act of adopting and carrying out this bill will revalidate our credentials as practitioners at home of the rights of the individual human being that we preach abroad.

I believe that the best politics, the best diplomacy, the most expedient course in the long run, is to do the right thing in the short run and to do it because it is the right thing.

If we may talk in the vocabulary of the moment, let us say that this bill, when made law, will have a blessed fallout that will be borne around the world on the winds of thought and human emotion.

As our example and our fresh proof of our belief in the rights of man takes hold, democracy will be better strengthened, better defended and more secure here and everywhere in the world. It will penetrate where no weapon or missile can go -- into the minds and hearts of the very people who today are uncommitted and who will either believe democracy's promise of both bread and freedom or accept Communism's promise of bread now and a caricature of freedom later.

But, basically, I hope that Congress will act now in this session of Congress because it is the right thing to do. I hope that we will have the fortitude to surmount the difficulty of strong differences within the Congress. I hope we will lay this bill upon the President's desk before we go home to face and report to the American people upon our stewardship and our performance upon our promises to them.

In civil rights, as in defense and economic strength, we must not fail the Nation or the free world. We must be strong in all things now, or we shall be secure in none.

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NEWS FROM:

FOR RELEASE

Tuesday A.M., May 26, 1959

YMCA OF GREATER NEW YORK
F. L. Sheats, Director of Public Relations
422 Ninth Avenue, New York 1, New York
Lackawanna 4-8900

SENATOR HUMPHREY CALLS FOR AN EMANCIPATION IN REALITY
BY PROCLAMATION'S ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY - 1963

"We must dare to hope that by 1963, the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, all Negroes, all Americans of whatever color, race, religion or national origin shall be truly free, in the sense that in their daily lives they shall have equal opportunity, security, and dignity."

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Guest Speaker last night at a dinner of the Harlem Branch of the YMCA of Greater New York, called for action that will "revalidate our credentials as practitioners at home of the rights of the individual human being that we preach abroad."

Speaking before a capacity audience of more than 300 people, the Senator recommended support of the Civil Rights bill which he co-authored with Senators Paul H. Douglas and Jacob K. Javits. According to the Minnesota Senator, the bill, which is now in committee represents the "minimum justice in the field of civil rights in this year of 1959." It includes a declaration of support for the Supreme Court in its integration decisions; the step-by-step help to States and local authorities in complying with all deliberate speed; and the authority for the Attorney General to seek court orders enjoining against violation of an individual's civil rights.

(more)

NEWS FROM:

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In conclusion, Mr. Humphrey said that "In civil rights, as in defense and economic strength, we must not fail the Nation or the free world. We must be strong in all things now, or we shall be secure in none."

The occasion of Mr. Humphrey's address was the 18th Annual Century Club Recognition Dinner which honored the 141 Century Club members -- the backbone of the Harlem YMCA's Annual Finance Campaign (each member either contributes or raises \$100 or more each year to support the work of their "Y").

At the same time, the Harlem YMCA awarded honors and trophies for achievement in sports and in the theatre.

A Special Award went to Roy Campanella, a former "Brooklyn" Dodger and presently coach for the Los Angeles baseball team. It was presented to Roy by Little Leaguer Roger Lewis for the all-time great baseball catcher's courage and faith which serves "as an inspiration to young and old."

Jackie Robinson, a member of the Board of Directors of the YMCA of Greater New York, presented the 1959 Sports Achievement Awards to Elston Howard (N.Y. Yankee baseball star and winner of the 1958 Babe Ruth Award); Jimmy Brown (Cleveland Browns' All-Pro full-back); and John Thomas (Boston University's track star who took 1959 Indoor High Jump Championship). Robinson also presented

(more)

NEWS FROM:

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YMCA OF GREATER NEW YORK

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the Annual Jackie Robinson Trophy to Thomas Minons, an outstanding Hi-Y Boy.

Earlier in the evening, the former Dodger star also gave out Honorable Mention Citations to outstanding Harlem Branch YMCA athletes Sheridan Hines (12 year old track star and 60 yard champion in the PSAL) and Randolph Washington (11 year old 60 yard low hurdle runner-up in the PSAL) -- both of the Harlem YMCA Youth Department. Citations also went to Adult Department members Sinclair Downes (NYS YMCA Weight Lifting Champion) and Leo Downes (NYC Odd Lift Weight Lifting Champion, Mr. Harlem YMCA, and Mr. Gotham).

Sidney Poitier, star of the award-winning Broadway show, "Raisin In The Sun" and the soon-to-be-released motion picture "Porgy And Bess" was the recipient of a Special Award for his inspiration to the "Y" Fine Arts Program as well as his contribution to the dramatic and entertainment field in general. James Trotman, leader of the Harlem YMCA Drama Guild, made the presentation.

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Speech - Yman
Harlem -
" The Moral Budget"

150000

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Mind can take
only so much as seat can
absorb

- ~~Mr. Tolson~~
- ~~Mr. Boardman~~
- ~~Mr. Nichols~~
- ~~Mr. Casper~~
- ~~Mr. Callahan~~
- ~~Mr. Conrad~~
- ~~Mr. DeLoach~~
- ~~Mr. Evans~~
- ~~Mr. Gale~~
- ~~Mr. Rosen~~
- ~~Mr. Sullivan~~
- ~~Mr. Tavel~~
- ~~Mr. Trotter~~
- ~~Tele. Room~~
- ~~Miss Holmes~~
- ~~Miss Gandy~~
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- Mr. Trotter
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- Miss Gandy

Joseph E.
Mr Davis & Banker
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Mr Dingle
Mr Rudolf Thomas -
Et. de YMCA

BALANCING THE MORAL BUDGET

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Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Eighteenth Annual Century Club Dinner of Harlem YMCA
New York City
Monday, May 25, 1959

Rev Clergy!
assembly Resie Buchanan
w/ Mrs JACK -
Pres Borough of
Manhattan

Jackie Robinson
Jimmie Brown
Elston Howard

I am glad to be here at this Eighteenth Annual Century
Club Dinner on the occasion of your awards for achievement in
sports and in the theater. #

YMCA - Good Work

I remember the old song, "Reach down, reach down your
head, O Lord, and help this child along".

This is what the Harlem Branch of the YMCA has been doing
all these years. — (Distinguished guests — Jim Brown, Elston
Howard, Sidner Baiter, John Thomas)

This is what Jackie Robinson is doing -- as a civic
leader here in New York, as a member of the Parole Board in his
adopted State of Connecticut, and as a newspaper columnist and
TV personality.

Some
NIPAH!

I am proud to share your platform tonight with Jackie
Robinson -- very proud. For Jackie Robinson is a concerned

Mr Davis (fund raising)
Join the
Century
Club!

person. Nothing human is alien to his interest. I know this because I have read his column and I have heard his broadcast. And I have talked with him.

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"I certainly don't want to give the impression that during the elections Negro voters will be considering only what's best for Negroes alone. As Americans, we have as much stake in this country as anyone else. We, too are concerned about foreign policy, farm policy, national defense, a balanced budget, and all the rest.

"Still, to effectively participate in a democracy, you must first enjoy the basic freedoms that democracy guarantees to everyone else. And since Negroes, North and South, have so long been deprived of many of the rights that everyone else takes for granted, it's only natural that we are especially interested in catching up on basic freedoms before we work up much excitement about protective tariffs or forest preserves or the like.

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that they are actually helping to make democracy work --
not just for white people, nor just for colored people, but
for each one of us separately and for all of us collectively.

↳ "Certainly this is no more than any voter has a
right to expect, and a duty to demand." (Pause)

↳ I propose to try to reply to that challenge tonight.

We have had much talk in recent months about a balanced
budget -- more talk about a balanced budget, in fact, than about
the needs of our country and its citizens.

↳ If we are to survive as a free people, we need to --
we must -- balance our human budget. — our Moral Budget.

↳ Only as we balance our human budget can we hope to
balance our money budget over the long hard pull of the next
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a genuine and lasting peace among free men.

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duction and consumption budget.

↳ We must wipe out our slums by balancing our housing budget.

Housing - Pay Grants!

We must wipe out our appalling losses in preventable
diseases and sickness by balancing our health budget, so that
 every person can have the care and skill now available to those
 who can pay big bills.

Health

↳ We must wipe out the terrific losses in family develop-
ment by balancing our income budget through a fair minimum wage
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 and a greater share of our economic abundance for older citizens.

Minimum wages

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 was exposed to the world a year and a half ago when the first
 Sputnik was put into orbit.~~

Education

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 that every child -- rich or poor, white, black, red, or yellow
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 the limit of his potential in terms of ability and will. If we
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Washington Carver, we may miss the margin between survival
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our adult citizens to desperation and reckless dissipation of
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↳ FBI Director Hoover has recently reported that (1) crime
is up, (2) crime by youth is up.

↳ Why?

Of course the causes are many. But high on the list
is the frustration, the indignities suffered by millions of
our children, our teen-agers and our adults because of dis-
crimination and bigotry.

↳ To balance the picture, let it be said that there has
been progress, great progress, in the field of equal opportunity
in education and employment. Great progress has been made in the

past ten years here in New York, in my home state of Minnesota,
in New Jersey, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts, more recently
in Michigan, in Ohio and only a few weeks ago and at long last,
a State anti-discrimination bill was made law in California.

But even in these States, the job is far from complete.

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for responsible legal action Presidential counsels of "patience"
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of the Emancipation Proclamation, all Negroes, all Americans
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and, except for the Civil Rights Act of 1957, pared down under
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Compliance is general in the North; progress has been made in the border States; token integration is under way in the Upper South; the back of massive resistance has been broken in Virginia, the intellectual and spiritual leader of the Old South. But the high schools in Little Rock are still closed.

In the simplest terms, using men as symbols of positions they represent, the issue was well stated by Senator Paul Douglas during the Senate debate on the anti-Supreme Court bills last August, when he said: "The issue is Warren or Faubus."

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Of course it is more than that, as he added instantly.

But it expresses the essential truth.

The Supreme Court needs help. It is entitled to help.

*Sup
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out

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Filibuster

Now we must again legislate the hard way -- subject to a double veto threat, the veto power of a filibustering minority of one-third-plus-one in the Senate and the veto power of the President, if supported by a minority of one-third-plus-one.

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We can not permit the threat of filibuster or Presidential veto to set the standards for civil rights legislation -- or any other legislation.

No matter how rough the road to civil rights legislation, we must persevere and we must win. This is one fight the American people cannot afford to lose.

Recognizing the unlikelihood of getting the Douglas-Humphrey-Javits Civil Rights bill out of ~~the Senate~~ Senator Eastland's Senate Judiciary Committee, we must all help Chairman Celler of the House Judiciary Committee get his bill, identical with ours, out on the House floor soon. If the House

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The Douglas-Humphrey-Javits bill is better than the
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port and implementation of the Supreme Court's 1957 school
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Although our bill is designed primarily to carry out the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions, it is not limited to that purpose. Titles VI and VII provide Federal assistance to any individual unable to obtain his constitutional rights by authorizing the Attorney General to file injunction proceedings, enforceable by contempt actions, more effective than the limited usefulness of criminal action.

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May 22, 1959



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