

Henry Epstein  
Mrs + Mrs Burton Joseph

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

Excerpts of Remarks by  
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
Jacob Alson Memorial Lecture  
Anti-Defamation League  
New York, Jan. 11, 1961

"The President is at  
liberty, both in  
law & conscience,  
to be as big a  
man as he  
can"

Doing the  
impossible!

This New Year is a time of hope for

progress, ~~but~~ and confidence for

achievement. The year 1961 will mark a

new decade of action, and a new era of victory

in the crusade to secure human rights for all

men.

One hundred years ago -- the year 1861

~~we were caught up in the~~  
~~-- the United States opened the violent~~

struggle to end slavery and preserve the

Federal union. *we did both!*

The year 1961 must symbolize a new

beginning. *a struggle to  
end slavery & extend  
freedom!*

Jewish  
dedication  
to  
freedom

Israel!

It must mark the expansion of human rights  
and the strengthening of freedom throughout  
the world.

The first steps to be taken are distinct  
and practical. The Government of the United  
States must move surely and swiftly in the  
field of civil rights. I believe it will.

Right now, the President can use his  
own authority in the Executive Branch to take  
several steps forward.

He can establish fair employment  
practices with companies doing business with  
the government, particularly defense contractors.

He can move toward broader preservation of  
civil rights in the field of housing. I am sure  
action in this area will be prompt, because of

Executive  
Action

the appointment of <sup>Robert</sup> ~~Chester~~ L. Weaver, an American Negro, as Housing and Home Finance Director.

*- able, experienced gifted!*

The President can also act through the Department of Justice and the authority of the Attorney General to protect many of the civil rights specified by the Constitution.

Great progress can be made through executive action, and I am confident that President-elect John F. Kennedy will act quickly with all the strength and authority of his office to extend civil rights to all Americans.

*4 The President is at liberty, both in law + conscience to be as big a monster as he can + Wilson*

Congress must also act in this year of 1961. New problems and new challenges to protect the rights of Americans require new legislation.

*Congress Act!*

The Congress must enact a law providing for Federal registrars, backed by the courts, to guarantee registration and voting rights of all citizens.

We need ~~a law~~ <sup>to provide</sup> authorizing technical, financial and administrative assistance to schools in the process of integration.

We must have a clear law which grants the Attorney General ~~distinct~~ <sup>full</sup> authority to file suits in the courts on behalf of individual citizens whose rights have been ignored or violated.

We must have legislation which will end discrimination on interstate transportation facilities.

Program  
Registrars

aid to School

Atty Gen's  
Power

Transport

We must have a law which establishes a national standard for Fair Employment practices and which prohibits discrimination in hiring and firing.

*FEPC*

We must have a law which outlaws the poll tax, a cynical device used to block voting by minorities.

*Poll tax*

And we must enact legislation which provides greater protection for individuals from the threat of lynching and mob violence.

*Lynch*

All these steps are needed -- now, in this year 1961 -- if America is to move ahead on the road to freedom.

If there is one, central principle on which Americans agree, and one basic goal toward which we strive, it is freedom.

*Freedom  
our  
Common  
Goal*

We seek a nation and a world in which men are free to live, work and express themselves as their tastes and consciences guide them. We want a society in which men are free of the shackles of poverty, hunger and illiteracy. Above all, we pray for a time when all human beings are free to learn and grow and prosper without the restraints imposed by bigotry, hate and prejudice.

✓ Poverty & Sickness  
✓ Hunger  
✓ Illiteracy

The road to full freedom -- freedom for all men -- stretches far beyond us. <sup>but,</sup> We have moved out of the jungle of moral chaos, and we are on the road to freedom. We have worked, struggled and fought to move ahead with the first, confident steps. Our direction is <sup>clear</sup> ~~distinct~~. Our goal is defined.

The time for study was necessary, but it is past. We know now the need for all men to share equal rights under law and equal rights in society. We recognize the forces which stand stubbornly to block the road to freedom. We know what must be done to move closer to our goal.

The sixties require action, and bold steps in the field of human rights. We have waited long enough, and studied the problems long enough.

We may be patient and understanding of those who fear or resent change. But patience does not mean ~~passivity~~ or drift. We need patience, yes, but we also need ~~pressure~~. *Action & Pressure.*

The pressure is at hand.

*Action!*

L Students in the south have pressed  
quietly and firmly to secure their rights  
for equality as citizens. I commend them and  
laud them for their courage and determination.

Sit  
Ins!

Their effort is a noble example of effective  
action for a cause without violence.

L And the pressure comes from beyond our  
borders and shores.

L There is a turbulent social ferment  
in many areas of the world, marked by  
violence, and war. The restless peoples of the  
earth have awakened, stood up and demanded  
freedom.

America should be leading this pattern for  
freedom. We should be identified with the battle  
against imperialism and colonialism. We should throw  
the responsibility for colonialism where it belongs  
--on Communism and its totalitarian leaders.

America  
Lead!

But we have been too often in retreat. — *Been in Retreat*

For too many years, the Soviet Union has  
accused us of colonialism. We have been on the  
defensive. We have been forced to apologize,  
explain and rationalize our acts at home and  
abroad. We have met the ferment in the world  
with emergency policies, *Apologies* We have moved too  
little and too late to be recognized as honorable  
leaders for freedom. Crisis -- ~~stark, evident,~~  
~~vibrant crisis~~ -- has been our dominant guide in  
world affairs.

*Crisis our guide*

If ever there was a time for America to have  
clean hands, clear conscience and concerted  
determination to win dignity and freedom for all  
men, that time is now. The peoples of Africa and  
Asia and Latin America are impatient.

|

They will not wait for our explanations, or sympathize with our internal indecision. They will indentify with the United States only if we prove that we are determined to do what is right for mankind, and not just what is effective for a foreign policy.

If we do not move swiftly, if we do not identify our nation with the cause of freedom, if we do not offer domestic example and international leadership -- the restless peoples of the world will decide against us and all for which we stand.

This year 1961 must mark a major advance of human rights in the American community. As free men, we must demonstrate that our democracy is not limited to some of the people, some of the time. Our biggest victory for freedom, our biggest

blow against the forces of 20th century

slavery -- Communism and colonialism -- must

be generated in the towns and cities of all

America and sparked by a sense of purpose and

action from Washington.

↳ We must demonstrate here at home that we  
can protect each man's human rights without

violence. If we do not, violence will become  
the key to the aspirations of other men and

nations.

↳ We must demonstrate here at home that  
human rights for all can be achieved through

the orderly process of law. If we do not, law  
and order will be scorned and mocked by the teeming

millions who want their human rights now.

Without  
Violence

Law &  
Order

We must develop this <sup>respect</sup> (sense) for the law  
here and throughout the world. If not,  
war will be our punishment.

In this age of nuclear weapons, we cannot  
afford, we cannot risk war to achieve our goals  
of human equality. The only result then would  
be the equality of death.

This must be our longer step for the  
sixties along the road to freedom. We must  
press relentlessly -- by peaceful means --  
to establish universal respect for the processes  
of law and order.

The basic rights of humanity -- call them civil  
rights -- can never be secured for all men unless  
law, and not passion, guides our efforts and struggle.

/ This is why we need the United Nations  
Organization, and why it must play a stronger  
and more decisive role on the world scene.

U.N

/ This is why we must strengthen the  
International Court of Justice, and why  
disputes must be settled in the calm courts  
of reason and not the bloody fields of conflict.

World Court!

/ We cannot wait another year, or another 100  
 years, to begin the era of achievement in the field  
 of human rights.

Get going!

/ The Executive and Legislative branches of the  
government must move now, with the courts, to set a  
pattern of action leading to full freedom for all  
Americans and a national character and image which  
commands the respect and emulation of the entire  
world.

Act Now

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