

Mr Kimball
Whitney Young
Mr Scripps

Maryn Hall
Key!

Youth Community
of National Urban
League
Rev clergy

REMARKS BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

Splendid Convention

MIAMI - AUGUST 3, 1965

Whitney family (Margaret, ¹⁸Maisha Lauren)

Whitney Young
"To be Equal"

Harvey Cain
Party

I am deeply honored to be here tonight with my friends of the National Urban League.

Born 1 yr before me!

This organization was founded in 1910 in the midst of the Progressive Era. You retain today the spirit of that era -- the spirit of innovation, experimentation, and commitment to social justice.

A Progressive
Agency

You are still on the frontlines of social and economic reform -- grappling with the basic issues of ^{family life,} employment, education, housing, health care and recreation.

(X)

Some Party!!
Joanne McLeod - 63 Birthday
Treasurer - NUL

During the years of your founding, the American people ~~worked~~ ^{struggled} to preserve the rights and privileges of the individual in a time of rapid industrialization -- attempting to build a social and economic order free of special privilege and discrimination.

These same issues of social and economic justice ^{Challenge} ~~concern~~ the American people today.

For the truth is simply this: We need everybody in the difficult task of self-government. *America Needs You*

We can no longer afford the luxury of squandering the resources of human skills, intellect and ability through discrimination, poverty, disease and illiteracy.

And -- for the first time in history -- this nation possesses the ^{tools - the} intellectual resources and

economic power to make every American a full partner in this enterprise of democracy.

That's what we want,

yes, We possess the knowledge and the wealth. But do we also possess the courage and compassion to do this job? Do we have the inner strength needed to build a society where every citizen enjoys an equal chance in fact -- and not just in theory? ~~in law~~.

↳ In recent years the American people have demonstrated their intention to answer "yes" to these questions.

We have, ~~for example~~ *at long last,* witnessed the virtual elimination of legalized prejudice and discrimination in America.

↳ Many brave and courageous people -- both ~~black~~ *colored* and white -- have risked their lives, *yes,* and sometimes lost

their lives, in carrying forward this assault upon
the barriers of legalized discrimination.

end, We can look with pride upon the dignity and
compassion -- yes, even the love -- which has
characterized the efforts of these courageous Americans.

↳ Their actions have demonstrated that freedom still
lives on these shores. They have shown us that the
quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling
force in the world.

↳ With the series of Supreme Court decisions
culminating in the historic Brown v. Board of Education
case in 1954 -- and with the series of Congressional
actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the
Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- the initial phase of the
civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close.

Today
Voting Rts
bill passed
the house

↳ Much remains to be done until these decisions of our government are fully implemented. But the fact these decisions were taken demonstrates, in compelling fashion, the intention of the American people to banish legalized inequality and discrimination forever.

↳ In recent years we have also witnessed what your executive director, Whitney M. Young, Jr., has termed the quiet revolution -- a revolution stemming from the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools . . . from the rising level of income among Negroes . . . from the availability of more challenging and responsible job opportunities . . . and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

Quiet Revolution

Everyday we encounter fresh evidence that Negro Americans are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice . . . of closed doors . . . of limited or non-existent educational opportunities . . . and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period ^{when} ~~where~~ this usually implied second-class citizenship and the back-of-the-bus .

yes ↪ There are, ~~then~~ definite signs that our country will meet the challenge of providing every American with the chance to pursue his individual destiny in a climate of dignity ^{opportunities,} ~~and~~ freedom.

↪ Yet, as President Johnson pointed out in his historic address at Howard University : ". . . for the great majority of Negro Americans -- the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted, and the dispossessed

-- there is a much grimmer story . . . for them
the walls are rising and the gulf is widening."

X
X
X
{ We are, in fact, in danger of creating two separate
and distinct Negro Americas. (1) One America, comprised

of a minority of Negroes entering the middle class,
has been the beneficiary of the very real progress we
see about us. (2) The other America, inhabited largely

by the residents of our urban ghettos and rural slums,
has been increasingly isolated from this progress --

shunted aside in this march toward freedom and
justice. We must halt and reverse this trend!

{ In his Howard University address, President
Johnson set forth the tragic dimensions of this

American failure -- this broadening of the gap between
the vibrant promise of America and its ~~hollow~~ ^{congratulated} fulfillment:

Today the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice as high as among whites. Thirty-five years ago it was about equal.

Today the unemployment rate for Negro teen-age boys is 23 per cent as against 13 per cent for whites unemployed. In 1948 it was actually lower for Negro youth.

Today the median income of Negro families compared to whites is lower than it was a decade ago.

Today infant mortality of nonwhites is 90 per cent greater than whites. In 1940 it was 70 per cent.

Today the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 per cent since 1947. The number of poor nonwhite families has dropped only 3 per cent.

The time has come to face these facts honestly.
The time has come to appreciate how we have largely
failed to make equal opportunity meaningful in many
people's lives as well in the nation's laws. The time
has come to recognize that although our laws are
more just than ever before, ^{True} justice is for many a
distant and unrealized promise.

As we enter this new phase of the Negro's struggle
-- the phase dedicated to securing economic and
social justice -- two general problems must be isolated
and confronted -- problems of substance and problems
of spirit.

We know that the problems of substance are complex
and intertwined. We cannot identify a single aspect
of ~~the Negro's life~~ ^{this problem} and try to deal with it alone.

↳ We cannot emphasize just the need for more jobs, or better housing, or improved education.

↳ More jobs cannot come without better education.

↳ Better education awaits stable families and neighborhoods.

↳ Stable families and neighborhoods require better housing and health facilities.

↳ And better housing and health facilities call for better jobs.

↳ Where do ~~we~~^{we} begin to arrest this downward spiral of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency, dependence and despair?

We can only begin by attacking all these social and economic ills at once. *And this is the promise and commitment of the Johnson Administration.*

↳ We must also come to grips with the problem of spirit which plagues the Negro. We must understand that generations of prejudice, deprivation, disease,

and subservience have sown among many Negroes the seeds of profound despair, apathy, indifference and distrust.

What can we expect when hope is resolutely crushed from the young; when there are no jobs even for the educated; and no homes in good neighborhoods even for the hardworking?

What can we expect when a man's daily ^{life} regimen is a combination of humiliation, insult and embarrassment?

We have the urgent task of opening
~~Is it surprising that authorities on human rights~~
~~The doors of opportunity so that the~~
~~emphasize the need to replace the attitudes of~~
~~attitudes of~~ *can be replaced with the*
~~unimportance and inferiority, with the qualities of~~
qualities of
~~self-respect and self-confidence.~~

↳ The origins of this crisis of the spirit lie in old brutalities. ↳ Its impact is the result of past injustice. ↳ And its virulence is sustained by present prejudices.

↳ So progress towards full citizenship will come not only with liberation from discrimination in housing, education, and jobs, but also with liberation of the spirit.

↳ Liberation of the spirit involves the exercise of man's uniquely human capacities: the potentiality for creativity and the opportunity to pursue excellence. These are the qualities which produce not only a climate of equal rights, but one of equal respect, as well.

↳ We make no pretense at knowing precisely ~~what~~.

We also expect that the White House Conference on Civil Rights will explore these matters in great detail.

what must be done to ~~conduct~~^{meet} this dual challenge of substance and spirit.

↳ We do know, however, that the full resources of the federal government are committed to this complex task.

↳ And we know that cooperation^{- understanding -} must be the keynote--
cooperation between public and private, between national, state and local, between all concerned parties. ↳ Only such a broad assault--with a deep-intense sense of commitment and imagination ~~unknown until now~~--will be capable of altering this pattern of economic and social disintegration.

↳ Let me emphasize the great impact which the passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will have on this cooperative effort. ↳ We must--and we will--see that Title VI is enforced by all agencies

As Chairman of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, and with the able assistance of the Council's Executive Secretary, Wiley Branton, I pledge that Title ^{13a} will be enforced.

of the federal government. Whether the federal assistance involves schools, hospitals, public housing, or higher education, the congressional mandate to achieve non-discrimination is clear and unmistakable.

But to me the implementation of Title VI of Civil Rights Act involves more than just the negative posture of enforcement--this ringing declaration by Congress should also challenge us to courageous and creative affirmative action in our common struggle against discrimination, prejudice, and deprivation.

In no area is there greater opportunity for constructive, cooperative relations than President Johnson's war-on-poverty.

- This is war we want to fight + even!

We are committed to mobilizing the resources of
 a nation to ^{help} lift 35 million Americans out of the
 stifling atmosphere of poverty into the fresh,
invigorating air of self-sufficiency. This is a task
 worthy of a free and compassionate people.

And while the federal government is prepared to
 carry much of the burden, we know that victory
 ultimately depends upon our receiving the enthusiastic
 support of such non-governmental groups as the
National Urban League.

We are especially gratified that many Urban League
 chapters have already assumed responsibility for local
anti-poverty programs. And your continued assistance
 is crucial.

We need your help in reaching the poor and

And we are
 deeply grateful
 for the wise
 counsel and
 guidance of
 your Exec.
 Director,
 Whitney
 Young, on
 the National Advisory
 Council -- and in the early planning stages
 of the war-on-poverty.

demonstrating to them that opportunity for a new life does exist.

↳ We need your help in developing neighborhood organizations and block councils -- those units so vital in the struggle for self-sufficiency and self-respect.

↳ We need your help in developing anti-poverty approaches and techniques which have direct impact on the lives of people.

↳ We need your help in finding meaningful jobs for those who participate in training and educational programs -- and in expanding housing facilities and other allied community services.

And we need your help in developing leadership to carry forward the war-on-poverty, to plan and administer community action programs -- Head Start

projects, Job Corps centers and the like -- and to develop constructive recommendations for improving the operation of the anti-poverty program.

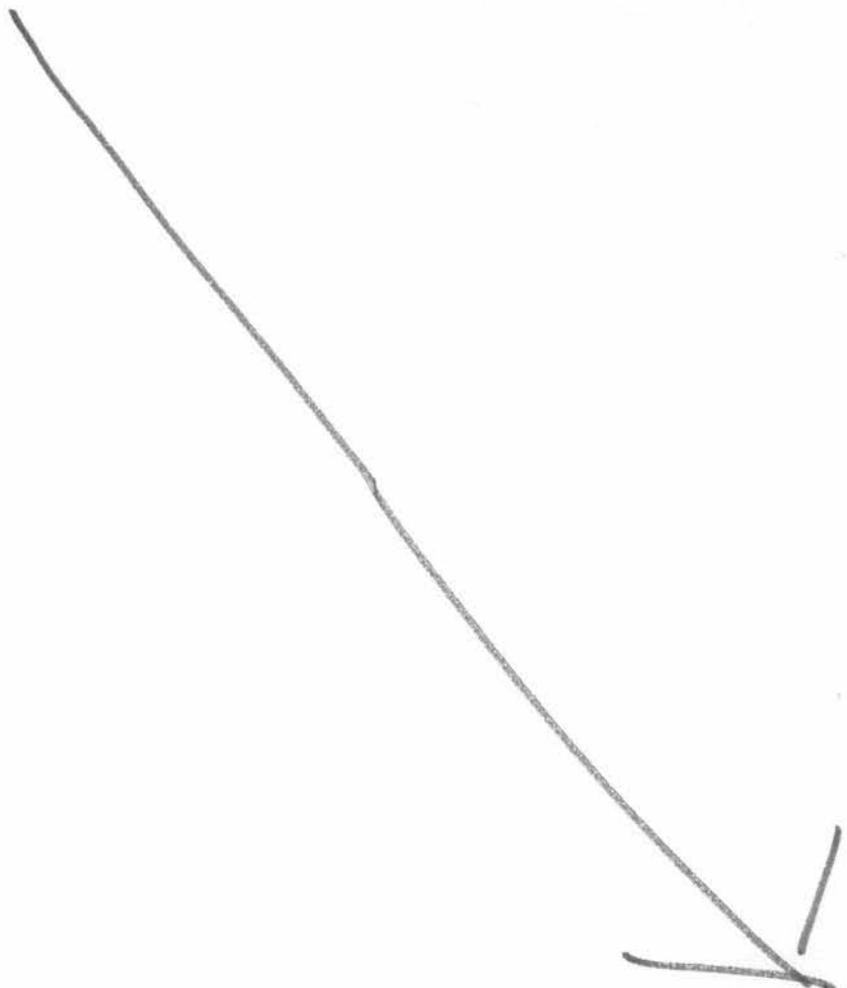
↳ Indeed, we encourage constructive criticism. We intend to discard programs that don't work. We will expand those that do. And we are depending upon you to assist us in reaching these decisions.

↳ The problems of ~~the~~ substance and spirit require all the compassion, commitment, and ingenuity we can muster. ↳ Our labors must be recorded not in the headlines of the daily press but in the minds and hearts of those who seldom read newspapers at all.

↳ Our progress must be measured not in ^{the} number of programs funded or dollars allocated, but in the improvement in the lives of those afflicted by poverty and prejudice.

And, in the end, our goal must be to help
the inhabitants of the other Negro America -- the
land left in the backwash of recent progress -- to
step forward confidently into this new, vibrant era
of opportunity and freedom.

*yes Just the other
America of
the Poor.*



Addition to Urban League Speech

Throughout ~~the days~~ at this conference -- and throughout its many years of service -- the National Urban League has been urging efforts, both private and public, to help people to help themselves.

You have given eloquent meaning to the words spoken over two thousand years ago by the great Hebrew philosopher Hillel:

~~You will recall that it was he who asked:~~

"If I am not for myself, who will be for me? ...

But if I am only for myself, what am I? "

And then he added:

"And if not now, when?"

Yes, my friends, if not now, when?

I believe we agree that the only answer is Now!

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
BEFORE THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, MIAMI, FLORIDA
AUGUST 3, 1965

I am deeply honored to be here tonight with my friends of the National Urban League.

This organization was founded in 1910 in the midst of the Progressive Era. You retain today the spirit of that era -- the spirit of innovation, experimentation, and commitment to social justice. You are still on the frontlines of social and economic reform -- grappling with the basic issues of employment, education, housing, health care and recreation.

During the years of your founding, the American people worked to preserve the rights and privileges of the individual in a time of rapid industrialization -- attempting to build a social and economic order free of special privilege and discrimination.

These same issues of social and economic justice concern the American people today.

For the truth is simply this: We need everybody in the difficult task of self-government.

We can no longer afford the luxury of squandering the resources of human skills, intellect and ability through discrimination, poverty, disease and illiteracy.

And -- for the first time in history -- this nation possesses the intellectual resources and economic power to make every American a full partner in this enterprise of democracy.

We possess the knowledge and the wealth. But do we also possess the courage and compassion to do this job? Do we have the inner strength needed to build a society

where every citizen enjoys an equal chance in fact -- and not just in theory?

In recent years the American people have demonstrated their intention to answer "yes" to these questions.

We have, for example, witnessed the virtual elimination of legalized prejudice and discrimination in America.

Many brave and courageous people -- both black and white -- have risked their lives, and sometimes lost their lives, in carrying forward this assault upon the barriers of legalized discrimination.

We can look with pride upon the dignity and compassion -- yes, even the love -- which has characterized the efforts of these courageous Americans.

Their actions have demonstrated that freedom still lives on these shores. They have shown us that the quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling force in the world.

With the series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the historic Brown v. Board of Education case in 1954 -- and with the series of Congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- the initial phase of the civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close.

Much remains to be done until these decisions of our government are fully implemented. But the fact these decisions were taken demonstrates, in compelling fashion, the intention of the American people to banish legalized inequality and discrimination forever.

In recent years we have also witnessed what your executive director, Whitney M. Young, Jr., has termed the quiet revolution -- a revolution stemming from the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools . . . from the rising level

of income among Negroes . . . from the availability of more challenging and responsible job opportunities . . . and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

Everyday we encounter fresh evidence that Negro Americans are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice . . . of closed doors . . . of limited or non-existent educational opportunities . . . and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this usually implied second-class citizenship and the back-of-the-bus.

There are, then, definite signs that our country will meet the challenge of providing every American with the chance to pursue his individual destiny in a climate of dignity and freedom.

Yet, as President Johnson pointed out in his historic address at Howard University: ". . . for the great majority of Negro Americans -- the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted, and the dispossessed -- there is a much grimmer story . . . for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening."

We are, in fact, in danger of creating two separate and distinct Negro Americas. One America, comprised of a minority of Negroes entering the middle class, has been the beneficiary of the very real progress we see about us. The other America, inhabited largely by the residents of our urban ghettos and rural slums, has been increasingly isolated from this progress -- shunted aside in this march toward freedom and justice.

In his Howard University address, President Johnson set forth the tragic dimensions of this American failure -- this broadening of the gap between the vibrant promise of America and its hollow fulfillment:

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As we enter this new phase of the Negro's struggle -- the phase dedicated to securing economic and social justice -- two general problems must be isolated and confronted -- problems of substance and problems of spirit.

We know that the problems of substance are complex and intertwined. We cannot identify a single aspect of the Negro's life and try to deal with it alone. We can not emphasize just the need for more jobs, or better housing, or improved education.

More jobs cannot come without better education.

Better education awaits stable families and neighborhoods.

Stable families and neighborhoods require better housing and health facilities.

And better housing and health facilities call for better jobs.

Where do you begin to arrest this downward spiral of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency, dependence and despair?

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We need your help in developing neighborhood organizations and block councils -- those units so vital in the struggle for self-sufficiency and self-respect.

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