

✓ Lyonel Newson / Mr. Bennett Stewart
✓ Genl President
✓ Sen. Mondale

Chairman
Bennie D Brown

✓ alderman Ralph
Metcalf

Howard Bennett

REMARKS BY

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
59th Anniversary
CONVENTION, ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY

CHICAGO cong Bill Dawson

AUGUST 9, 1965
Dr. Archibald Carey
John Hope Franklin
Belford Lawson
✓ Dr Callie

⊙ Children
⊙ Star Spangled Banner

⊙ In Early

⊙ Raymond Cannon
⊙ 7 mpls

It is an honor and a pleasure to be back with

Alpha Phi Alpha tonight. In 1948, I spoke before your
annual convention at Atlantic City. (Ray Cannon) 7 mpls

At that time you were concerned with awakening
Negroes to the potentialities of full citizenship and fine
education . . . with providing money through scholarships
and loans to the talented who could benefit most from
advanced learning . . . and with fighting legal battles
to strike down discriminatory barriers. ⊙

At that time I was about to ~~first~~ enter the United States Senate. *— my first term.*

and At that time this country was slowly becoming aware of the critical social issue of the post war period -- the full entrance ^{*and Participation*} of the Negro into American society.

Tonight, 17 years later, we have come a long way. *— What Changes!*

↳ We have seen legalized prejudice and discrimination stricken from the statute books of America.

↳ Many people of courage and dedication, ~~with~~ black skins ~~and~~ with white, have risked -- and sometimes lost -- their lives in assaulting the barriers of legalized discrimination.

↳ The dignity and the compassion -- the manifestation of true fraternal love -- which has characterized these efforts is a source of pride to all Americans.

In this Room

^{voter registration}
" a voterless People is a hopeless People

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

Floor
leader

But [#] Much remains to be done until these decisions of our government are fully implemented -- and, as the President's civil rights coordinator, I can report to you tonight that determined efforts are being made within the federal structure.

But now the American people have been called to answer another, more challenging question: Do we have the imagination, the commitment and compassion to construct a society which gives full meaning to the

phrase full citizenship, where every citizen has an equal opportunity in fact -- not just in law?

We have the means

↳ For the first time in history, this nation possesses the intellectual strength and the economic resources to create the conditions in which every American can be a full partner in the enterprise of democracy.

↳ We possess the knowledge and the wealth. But do we also possess the determination and the will to complete this task?

↳ To be sure, a number of Negroes have overcome great handicaps and are able to compete on equal terms any and all with other citizens. Indeed, all the men of Alpha Phi Alpha

Lonell Newsom represented by such men as Thurgood Marshall, Edward Brooke, Whitney Young, Martin Luther King, John Johnson, and

Belfrage Dawson

and Bob Faison of Secret Service

- 5 -

Byron Rumford

Dr Charles H. Wesley
(Historian & Former
State Pres.)

Judge Perry B. Jackson, Judge Sidney A. Jones, and
Judge L. Howard Bennett — are notable representatives
of the American Negro community today capable of
both producing and enjoying the ^{full} benefits of American
society.

↳ We know of the encouraging increase of Negro
enrollment in college and in professional schools . . . of
the rising income level among Negroes . . . of more
challenging and responsible jobs available to Negroes
. . . and of the declining rate of school drop-outs among
Negroes as compared to the population in general.

↳ We know 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

during a period where this usually meant second-class
citizenship and back-of-the-bus treatment.

↳ But despite the advances of this ^{*brilliant + able*} Negro minority, we
know also the pathos of countless citizens in this
country. These people are almost a nation unto
themselves -- an underdeveloped country of urban
ghettos and rural slums whose inhabitants are only
dimly aware of the advances in civil rights and are only
rarely touched by them. *at least up to now.*

↳ President Johnson spoke about the stark dimensions of
this other America in his Howard University address. He
pointed to the uprooted, the unemployed and the dispossessed.

↳ He pointed to staggering problems of unemployment . . .

of disease . . . of illiteracy . . . of ^{low} income . . . of infant mortality . . . of family disintegration . . . and ~~terrible~~ of housing.

↳ It is for this other America, living under a dark cloud of discrimination and prejudice, that we must now bend our efforts. We must realize that although our laws are more just than before, true justice remains for many a distant and unrealized promise.

↳ Our task now is to meet the challenge of this second phase of the Negro's struggle -- to secure economic and social justice -- to secure self-sufficiency and self-respect.

↳ We must give fulfillment to the promise of our laws and our words. For hollow phrases can only leave a bitter taste in the mouths of those who speak them and deep and abiding despair among those who hear them.

As we enter this phase of the Negro's struggle, 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 interwoven. We cannot identify a single aspect of the Negro's life 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 depends upon stable families and neighborhoods.

These in turn require better housing and health facilities. And better housing and health facilities call for better jobs.

- all bound together -

↳ These are all related problems which must be confronted together.

Spirit

↳ We must also face the problem of spirit which plagues the Negro. ↳ We must understand that generations of prejudice, deprivation, and subservience have induced ^{many} in Negroes the debilitating qualities 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 hard-working?

↳ Our task is both delicate and vital.

We must try to replace attitudes of unimportance and inferiority with the qualities of self-respect and self-confidence. ↳ For progress will come not only with

liberation from discrimination in housing, education,
and jobs, but also with liberation of the spirit.

We must teach men to exercise their uniquely human capacities: the potentiality for creativity and the incentive to pursue excellence. We must create a climate of equal rights and equal respect in which ^{these} ~~these~~ capacities ^{of} may flourish. For only then will the majority of Negroes approach the goal that is critical in their fight -- the goal of self-sufficiency and self-respect.

In this new, more difficult, and less dramatic ~~campaign,~~ ^{effort,} no single problem will be more important than education.

I do not have to tell the members of Alpha that education is the keystone in the arch of freedom. Surely, if we are to help the disadvantaged ^{to} help themselves,

Educ - the new wealth -
the new Power
the Key to the Prison -
the door ^{to} opportunity

we must help them learn. We must marshal courage, the mean
and determination ^{to} halt this tragic waste of our
human resources.

↳ We must make sure that the laws prohibiting school
segregation are properly enforced. ↳ The U.S. Office of
Education and the Department of Justice are today working
diligently to eliminate segregation in those schools
receiving federal financial assistance.

And, in this regard, let me offer some plain talk:

↳ We must understand that a school district cannot
escape the Constitutional mandate to desegregate merely
by rejecting all federal financial aid. ↳ Those districts
which violate Constitutional requirements will be subject
to desegregation suits brought by the Department of
Justice.

The choice for such districts is simply this: to continue receiving federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway.



But we must go far beyond enforcement.

It should not be a matter of forcing people to do what is right. No. We must demonstrate clearly -- to all Americans -- that all Americans will benefit by better education for those who have been left behind.

We must also demonstrate clearly -- to those who most need it, to those who have been forced to exist in the shadows of our society -- that education is the way to lift themselves to something better.

Through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the vocational education amendments, and the Manpower Training and Development Act, this Congress and this Administration have tried to create tools to help achieve this.

*Go to school
Go to college*

*See
Phi
alpha*

Now the President has called for a new Teaching Professions Act which would create a National Teachers Corps to provide outstanding teachers with a sense of mission to serve in both urban and rural slums.

↳ Those who enlist in the Corps will be sent to schools that most teachers regard as bad assignments -- where children tend to be undisciplined . . . poorly dressed . . . and too often poorly taught as well.

↳ Here is the chance to dispel forever the myth that children from deprived areas are unable to learn.

↳ Here is the chance to prove that children -- regardless of their immediate environment -- respond to determined and creative efforts to illuminate their lives. XX

Yes ↳ Our schools can rescue millions of Negro youngsters caught in the downward spiral of second-rate education,

functional illiteracy, delinquency, despondency, and
despair.

↳ Our schools can help demolish the slums and ghettos
themselves.

↳ For each child is an adventure into tomorrow --
a chance to break the old pattern and make it new.

↳ We have the chance through education to transform
decayed and decaying neighborhoods into places where
people can live and work in health and safety.

But ↳ The tools which the federal government has provided
to assist in this process of education, and in the broader
struggle against the problems of substance and spirit,
rely on the initiative of our states and localities.

Speak up At Home
ASK for Action!

↳ They demand too the intellectual and, in ^{many} ~~some~~ cases, the financial resources of the private sector. Indeed, cooperation must be the keynote of our efforts -- cooperation between public and private, between local, state, and national, between all concerned parties.

Cooperation

↳ ~~The government is making new commitments in an attempt to arrest the pattern of social and economic disintegration among a majority of Negroes.~~ In November, a White House Conference on Civil Rights will bring national attention even more clearly to these great tasks.

X
X

↳ But our government's willingness to carry much of the burden will be of no avail unless concerned non-governmental groups, such as Alpha Phi Alpha, give us enthusiastic support.

- I know you will!

Dr Charles Spurgeon Johnson, a distinguished member of this fraternity and one of the nation's most eminent social scientists, stated it well when addressing college-educated Negro men and women:

"The compelling urgency is to move with haste from race relations to human relations . . . The issue of the rights of the Negro minority, as with all other racial and cultural minorities in the nation, is at this moment of history an urgent and imperative one of freedom and democracy within the nation-state."

No longer can we concentrate solely on the most promising of the Negro young. We must meet the challenge of broad programs with broad action to help children of all classes, especially those oppressed by poverty.

↳ Only when we have given our minds and our hearts and our will to the quest for equal opportunity will we be equal to our responsibility.

↳ Only when the other nation of Americans can fully contribute to and share in the fruits of our progress will these Americans truly be citizens of this land.

Only then will we fulfill America's promise for all mankind: That free men, working together, can create a society of both opportunity and justice.

*One Nation, under God, indivisible,
with liberty + justice for all.*

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY AT
THE CONVENTION OF ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AUGUST 9, 1965

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We know of the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and in professional schools ... of the rising income level among Negroes ... of more challenging and responsible

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We know 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 meant second-class citizenship and back-of-the-bus treatment.

But despite the advances of this Negro minority, we know also the pathos of countless citizens in this country. These people are almost a nation unto themselves -- an under-developed country of urban ghettos and rural slums whose inhabitants are only dimly aware of the advances in civil rights and are only rarely touched by them.

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[Transcript]

Address Delivered By

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Sunday, August 8, 1965 *

to the

Fifty-Ninth General Convention

of

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Incorporated

Sheraton-Chicago Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Newsom, my sound and sincere thanks to you for your generous and kind, very flattery and yet much appreciated introduction; and my special greetings to one and all of the officers of Alpha Phi Alpha, to all of the members of the families of the Alpha members that are here tonight, special reference to these youngsters that I see here. I wish you could have been up here--some of you were either sitting or standing during the singing of the Star Spangled Banner--and had witnessed how well these youngsters were singing. They knew the words! They were much better, may I say, than some of us adults. And may I take this moment--and I am sure you will permit me to do so in your behalf--to express our, not only thanks, but our deepest appreciation and admiration to Miss Gwen for this beautiful music that she has given us. Possibly, Bennie Brown and Hubert Humphrey couldn't pronounce those French words the way they ought to be, but they surely knew how to sing. I wasn't very good in French myself!

[* Should be Aug. 9]

There is so much in my heart tonight, that I scarcely know how to start, what to say to you. Let me first tell you that accompanying me this evening from Minnesota is our United States Senator, the gentleman that succeeded me in the United States Senate--I'd like to have him stand if he is here, Senator Walter Mondell. There he is. We worked together for years. He started out as a child wonder, so to speak. You can see that he is a very young man, but he is deeply committed to the very same objectives and programs to which Alpha Phi Alpha has been committed for these 59 years.

What a nice birthday party that we are having here! Fifty-nine years and no one looks a day over 25. Not even you Dr. Callis. I suppose I should make one minor adjustment because after you've served in the government and the Department of Defense, like Judge Howard Bennett, you get to look like you are 39 -- like Jack Benny. I'm very happy that my long time friend, Judge Bennett, is here with me tonight and was out at the door to say "hello" and to meet me. My heart is filled with many ideas of reminiscing, but before I do that I want you to know that it was just a couple of hours ago that I was with my grandchildren. I was having a wonderful time. I was lying on the floor with a little four month old baby that had already learned how to creep well enough to get away from the blanket and there was grandpa "hiding out" in there with her--and, with our other two little granddaughters, our two sons and daughter and daughter-in-law and son-in-law and Mrs. Humphrey. We were having a wonderful time! But I wanted to come here because the change of plans necessitated my changing my schedule appearance with you. I must say many times in my life I've been accused of being late to meetings but this is the first time that I've been 12 hours early.

I see Arch Carron and Bedford Lawson nodding down there; they've waited for me on several occasions and a few others around here have too, but truly

were it not for a very important meeting tomorrow in the White House at nine-thirty in the morning, a meeting that I must attend, I would have kept my schedule according to your printed program. I want you to know, Dr. Newsom, how deeply grateful I am for the fact that you did print this special program for the opening session and had listed as your guest of honor, the Vice President, I will take this with me and include it amongst my papers, as one of the, well, let me say, a very nice and thoughtful document which you have made available for me.

I am sorry that some people that planned on being here on the occasion of my visit could not be here. The mayor of the city will be with you tomorrow. I was with him only Friday. He must think I want to take up voter registration here in his city. My friend, Alderman Ralph Metcalf, who is with me so many times, I don't know if Ralph is in the audience tonight or not, but there are so many that I would like very much to have seen, but we have so many other that are here that as I go along through the evening, I may occasionally mention a name here and there. If I should leave someone out, just remember it is because we do have to conclude this meeting sometime. And then too, I have to fly to Washington yet tonight and be ready to go to work tomorrow morning. I want to say to Mr. Stewart, however, that when I heard how many members you had recruited, I cast my eye upon you, you really have potentialities for many things.

Well, this great fraternity has a galaxy of stars in it. I asked Dr. Lionel Newsom if he would give me a little run down, as we say, a sort of a profile of the Fraternity because some of its achievements and roll call of some of its illustrious members had slipped my memory. I want to say when I looked over that list of outstanding members--men that had contributed so much in the fields of education, of public service, of religion, of science, of music,

and a host of activities. I said, 'all a man would have to do to make a speech is to read that; and each one would demand a great applause, and I would be able to give one of the most enthusiastically received speeches of my career'.

But we're living in a wonderful, wonderful time and I can't help but reflect tonight how much better it is now, than when we were together last time! The cause is, it's been noted, I have been with you once before. I had the honor and the pleasure to speak at the Annual Convention in Atlantic City in 1948. Alfred remembers that! And my good friend Ray Cannon, who could not be with us here tonight, he is ill. But one of the many Alphas, one of our distinguished lawyers, was there with me that evening, any my! Were we having a good time! He was just introducing me around there, you know. I was sort of thinking that I might be a United States Senator about that time and I don't know whether it was the visit, Alpha Phi Alpha, or what it was, but, you know, I was elected in that year of 1948!

Well, you were concerned then with very much the same things that the nation has been concerned with ever since. I want the members of this Fraternity to remember one thing above all others, you have been pioneers! You have had the courage, and the foresight to think ahead. You also had the insight to see what was going on, the needs of people, the needs of your nation. And may I pause to say, that whatever we say tonight, either in the words as articulated or in the mind as we reflect, whatever we say, we are talking about our country, because this nation today, as never before, needs everybody! We really need one another. The burdens of this nation is called upon to carry are tremendous. And when I see these youngsters here I can't help but think they will be carrying those same burdens or at least burdens of a similar nature,

in their maturity as well. We are a leader; we're a world leader! America is the richest nation on the face of the earth, the most powerful nation, the greatest gross national product! We have the highest wage level for our workers, the highest profits of industry in our history. Oh, we have so much to point to, but when we list all of these honors and all of these achievements, it does not blinds us to the fact that (number one) we have a responsibility, not only for ourselves and to ourselves, but to others as well. Much has been given unto us, and much will be expected of us. Nor could these honors blind us to the fact that there are some that have been left out and it is not for me to stand in judgment tonight to say why or whose fault it was, but the simple fact is that millions of Americans have not shared fully in the great technological and social and economic progress of this republic. But it is to the eternal credit of America that with all of our wealth and all of our honor, and all of our power, that we still have conscience. That is the measure of our greatness! This is a nation of conscience and a nation of concern! Its a nation of courage and of compassion, and when you get right down to it, and you start to talk about this great and glorious republic--and as we sing the Star Spangled Banner--and recite those words that send our blood racing through our veins--let's never forget that the real greatness of this country is in its deep sense of conscience about what is right and what is wrong. Its concern for the less fortunate, its expression of compassion for those in need and its willingness to take on responsibilities at home and abroad. I repeat--that we need everybody today because of this heavy burden of leadership. Leadership is not a privilege! It is a duty and frequently it is a sacrafice! So don't wear this mantle of leadership as if it were a cloak of comfort. It rests on our shoulders as a robe of responsibility!

Now, if these things be true and I believe they are, I really believe that Lincoln meant it then, and his words are eternally true, this is the last best hope on earth. This America. And I believe with him so much that the great philosophy of this country is "with charity for all, but with firmness in the right," as God gives us to see the right.

If we believe these things then, we must surely understand that every individual in this nation has a role to play, if we but let him. We must encourage him, and we must open the gateway; we must prepare people; we must ask people to prepare themselves. We can no longer have these rocks and these boulders in this great pathway of progress. They must be removed! The rocks and these boulders that you have worked so long--of discrimination and prejudice, intolerance and bigotry, hate and fear. I'm happy to stand before this audience tonight to tell you that we've made progress. Lots of it! Well, as I said back there in 1948 when we were together, we were right at the job; you were awakening the American community and particularly the Negro community to the potentialities of full citizenship and fine education. This matter of "Go to High School, Go to College, Get an Education," we've been hammering away at it. And by the way, as an old sort of part-time educator, Doctor--I always mention that because politics is a rather uncertain business--I may need a job one day, I want to remind you of that.

Education is primarily saturation; it's repetition; it's taking the tools and repeating them again and again, maybe in a new manner. Sometimes, some of us are only educated by osomois; and the Alpha Phi Alpha kept at it, fifty-nine years of it. You have been providing for loans, speaking up for action by government. You engaged early in fighting those legal battles which strike down discriminatory barriers, and I might add you've got some

of the best lawyers in the country to do the job, too. Now, these seventeen years ago when we were together, our country was solely becoming aware of this crucial social issue of the post-war period. We were aware of it in our home in the City of Minneapolis. This young man that's today a United States Senator was well aware of it. Our city passed its first fair employment practice orders. Ray Cannon was a member of that FEP Commission. Yes, an old friend of mind called me on the phone yesterday when he heard I couldn't come here for Monday, that's my friend, Cecil Newman, Minneapolis spokesman and editor. He remembers when we started to fight the battle of "Better Human Relations" in our city of half a million people. The nation was awakening to the critical social issue which was the full interest and the full participation of the Negro into the American Society. Seventeen years later all I can say is, "We've really come a long ways." What changes have taken place? You heard Dr. Newsom tell you. What changes have taken place? Why look at even the City of Washington, D. C. Seventeen years ago as segregated as you could make it, today, as integrated as you can make it! Yes--You and I --we have lived to see stricken from the law books, if you can called them that, legalized prejudice and discrimination. Many people thought that couldn't happen. I remember my participation in the Democratic Convention in 1948. I remember that Convention hotly fought that issue of civil rights, and we won but not by any way unanimously. Some people took a walk and others went on to win the election. I remember those days, and I've been told many times that we were ahead of our time, and you may recall that I said then, that we were some 177 years late and that it was time for the (I was speaking of my party, then, but I should now speak of the nation) Democratic Party to walk out of the shadows of states rights and into the

bright sunshine of human rights. And we have done so! You cannot find a political party today that wants to talk about segregation or really being for it! Oh no! The scramble today is who can do the most! Things have changed. Somebody wrote an article the other day and said that Hubert Humphrey had changed. I suppose that's true, but if you don't mind my saying so, I think some other people have changed, too. I surely haven't changed in my deep commitment to what we were fighting for in those days. Many people of great courage and dedication, black and white, Negro and Caucasian, have risked and sometimes lost their very lives in assaulting these barriers of legalized discrimination. There is a whole list of martyrs of freedom in this country in the last fifteen to twenty years. The dignity and the compassion, the manifestation of truth of eternal love which have characterized these efforts is a source of pride to all Americans.

One of the truly magnificent developments in this past decade has been the involvement of the men of religion--the leaders of the respective religious faith--Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, every faith, in this great crusade of civil rights and human rights. I wonder if we would have been successful without them. I think it was the extra, that we needed. It is just what was required to give that cause that we fought for so hard, not only the respectability that it deserved, but that extra energy, that extra commitment, that extra quality of spirit and soul that it takes to make something really great come to pass. And things have come to pass! When the Congress was a little weary; and should I even say, a little afraid to act, there were a series of court decisions that served the people. Have you ever thought about the wonders of this great system of ours? Sometimes it is the Congress that takes the lead, and there will be an executive or a court that holds back; then,

there will be a president that takes the lead while there may be a Congress that holds back. Then, there may be a court that protects the people's rights when others are holding back. But, my fellow-Americans, the American people are eternally indebted to the integrity of our judicial structure during those crucial years of the 1950's. Well, with the series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the historic Brown vs. Board of Education Case in 1954, and with the sequence of Congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and then just last week, Friday, the Voting Rights Act of 1965--this initial phase of the civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close. Your plea, in a sense, or your charge, that a voteless people is a hopeless people, that charge and that admonition has been heard and has been acted upon. You heard the President of the United States say from the rotunda of the Capitol last Friday, "Register, Vote, Learn." This is our task individually, collectively, everyone in this room, all across this land, wherever there is a person that is unregistered, where ever there is one that has hesitated because of prejudice or fear, or because there are barriers set up. Now that barrier is down and there need be no fear and there can be no prejudice. We have an obligation to see that every person of voting age is registered and then let's see to it that they have an education so that they can judge the issues and the men and vote intelligently as American citizens.

You will never know how happy I was as the presiding officer of the Senate to take out my pen on that day when the Bill passed the Senate and the House, and it came back out of conference, and to sign that Bill--now, you've all read the Declaration of Independence, and you know that John Hancock's name

is there written so big that they started an insurance company right afterwards. Somebody asked John Hancock, "Why did you write that name so big?" He said, "I wanted old King George to see it without his specks." Well, you ought to see how big the name Hubert H. Humphrey is on that Voting Rights Bill. But, the most important name on that Bill is not Hubert H. Humphrey or John McCormack, but LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States. Isn't it interesting and almost ironical, that a Southerner leads the nation to full rights for all the people?

But, my dear friends, we don't need to just cheer our victories, we are a restless people and we know there is more work to be done. Until all of these decisions of our government are full implemented and made practical and real, and as the President's coordinator in the civil rights field, he gave me that assignment as my very first, I can report to you tonight that determined efforts are being made and have been made and will continue to be made within the federal structure. But, now, the American people have been called upon to answer another, and I believe an even more challenging question--that question, "Do we have the imagination, the commitment, and the compassion to construct a society which gives full meaning to the phrase--"full citizenship," where every citizen has equal opportunity in fact and not just in law. For the first time in the history of this nation, we possess the strength, the intellectual strength, and the economic resources to create the conditions in which every American can be a full partner in the enterprise in democracy, and that must be our goal. Everyone on the playing field, not on the sidelines, everyone in the main stream of the life of this nation, not in the backwaters and the swamps, but everyone at work, not someone denied or pushed off into the ditches. We do possess the wealth and we possess the knowledge to do what I've spoken of. But the question is, Do we possess the determination and the

will to complete this task? Because, without the will and the determination to make full citizenship a full reality, the barriers of discrimination that have been stricken down will have been only legal barriers; and the full right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will be a dream and a hope rather than a reality.

Now, you and I know that a large number of our fellow citizens, a large number of negroes have overcome great handicaps, many of you in this audience and you have been able to compete on equal terms with any and all citizens. Indeed all the men of Alpha Phi Alpha represented by such outstanding citizens as a Thurgood Marshall, your distinguished general president, or a Whitney Young or a Martin Luther King or a John Johnson; oh so many I could think of-- Bedford Lawson, Judge Perry Jackson, Sidney Jones, my friend Judge Bennett, and by the way on our secret service detail, one of the best men we have, one of the fellows that watches over me to see that I don't get in trouble and no body gets me in trouble, is a member of Alpha Phi Alpha and his name is Bob Basing. Well, there is a whole list as I said. These are all notable representatives of the American Negro community and they are hoping that this community is capable both of producing and enjoying the full benefits of the American society.

Now we know of the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools. Dr. Newsom mentioned that tonight, and this audience is filled with educators who could tell us this story and just make us tingle with enthusiasm. And we know also the rising level of income of the many negro families and individuals and of the more challenging and responsive jobs that have been available in government and in private industry to negroes. I sat the other night with a man who was a public relations director for the

AT&T, when we met at the National Urban League Conference down in Miami. Some of the top court executives of this nation. So, we know it can be done and we know the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes is compared to the population in general. We know all of these things. We know that thousands of Negroes are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice-- there the handicaps are real, you know it better than any speaker, and of closed doors, of limited or non-existent educational opportunities. Many have succeeded despite the deep psychological wound of being a Negro during a period where this usually meant second class citizenship and back-of-the-bus treatment. I suppose that one that's never experienced that can't appreciate it. But, at least we can think of it and try to remember it. But despite the advances of this brilliant and able Negro community that is so magnificently represented here at the head tables and throughout this audience, every man and woman that I see here tonight is extremely capable despite this, we know also the pathos, the heartache, of countless citizens in this country; and I speak of people that are almost a nation unto themselves. An underdeveloped country of urban ghettos and rural slums, unfit Americans, whose inhabitants are only dimly aware of the advances that have been made in civil rights, and only rarely touched by them, at least up to now. These are the dear souls that we have to reach out to. That's why I'm here to talk to you. Together we reach out.

President Johnson spoke about the stark dimensions of this other America in his famous Howard University Address. Every American should read that address as if it were one of the, and it is, one of the great documents of

our country as if it were scripture. He pointed to the uprooted, the unemployed, particularly amongst the youngsters--the teenage group, of disease and of illiteracy, of low income, of infant mortality, of family disintegration, and of the terrible conditions of housing in America, the America that I spoke of, the America that in the great sections of this nation is rich and affluent and beautiful, proud and prosperous, and yet my dear friends, just like you find in a garden once in a while, there is a nest of weeds, and we've done nothing about them. We have to do something! And it is for this other America--and I've spoken about this many places--living under a dark cloud of long-termed discrimination, like air pollution itself, of discrimination and prejudice, we must now bend our efforts. We have the law, now, and I say we have the "know how", we have the wealth, we have the intellectual resources; we must realize that although our laws are more just than ever before, true justice remains for many a distant and unrealized problem. Our task now is to meet the challenge of this phase of the Negro struggle. Transferring from civil rights to human rights, from the law to the man to the person. To secure economic and social justice for the person. To secure or to help secure self-respect and self-sufficiency. We must help give fulfillment to the promise of our laws and of our words. President Johnson signed that Voting Rights Bill in what we call the President's Room. And why? Because it was there that President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation! That was a promise that had never been quite realized. It was a commitment, and on Friday last, President Johnson saw to it that the Emancipation Proclamation, the promise of Abraham Lincoln, became the reality of the American people. We know that hollow phrases can only leave a bitter taste in the mouths of those who speak them, and

a deep despair among those who hear them, so as we enter this phase of the Negro struggle, two general problems must be isolated and confronted as I speak to the men and the women that understand this so well--Problems of substance, problems of spirit. We know that the problems of substance are mighty complex and inter-woven. We cannot identify a single aspect of the life of any of us, indeed, the life of a Negro. And try to deal with it alone in the great urban centers of ours. We cannot emphasize just the need for more jobs or better housing or improved education. More jobs cannot come without better education; and better education, in a large measure, depends upon stable families and neighborhoods. These in turn require much better housing and health facilities and all of it requires the chance to participate in the processes of your government and the right to vote. Better housing and health facilities call for better jobs, its all bound up together. You have to do it all at the same time. So, when I find some body who says, "Well, we're doing our job, we're working on better housing." I say, well, what about the other 15 things that we ought to be doing.

We're fighting a war and we fight it on many fronts. We're fighting the war against this terrible poverty, not only of the purse but of the spirit. The poverty of despair, of hopelessness, of not being wanted, of being told 200 years there is no place for you, and some people believe that, too many. Everyone doesn't have the insight that you have here, my friends. Everyone doesn't have the same ability and same courage, so those of us that are privileged to get ahead have the bigger job--we must lead. We must face this problem of the spirit which plagues any of us; and, indeed, in this instance, the Negro and the poverty stricken slums and rural areas. We must understand that the generations of prejudice, deprivation and subservience

have induced in many of these people the debilitating qualities of profound despair, and apathy, and indifference, and even distrust. What can we expect when hope is resolutely crushed from the young? When there are no jobs, as there has been the case all too often even if you were educated; and no homes and good neighborhoods, even for the hard working. We know what our job is, don't we? We know what we have to do in America. We can't go around with a spoon when it requires modern hewn moving machines to do the work; and go around like a child when it requires a man to do the job. Our task is both delicate and vital. We must try to replace these attitudes of unimportance and inferiority with the qualities of self-respect and self-confidence, for progress will come, not only with the liberation from discrimination and housing and education and jobs and voting, but progress will come with the liberation of the spirit--the psychological and economic, the psychological and sociological, the political and economic--all together for this rebuilding, this rehabilitation process that our Nation needs to go through. In this new and more difficult, and less dramatic effort, no single problem, no single effort will be more important than education and in all of its refinement.

I do not have to tell the members of Alpha Phi Alpha that education is the keystone of the arch of freedom. You've proven it! Surely, if we are to help the disadvantaged, to help themselves, we must help them to learn education is the new power, it's the new wealth; education is the key that unlocks the prison of discrimination, prejudice, intolerance; education is the door of opportunity and that door has been thrown open by the Congress and the Government now. We simply now must equip people to be able to walk forthrightly, strong and steady through that door and know that that door is open. I'm sure that I need not tell you that after you've been told for 200

years that the door is closed, it's mighty difficult for some young people today who haven't heard the same message that you and I have heard to believe that it is open, particularly when they find little doors swinging shut on them day after day. We must, therefore, marshal all the courage, the determination to halt what is the greatest waste in this country--the tragic waste of our human resources. Just think of the thousands of people that could do better if they were but trained to do better, inspired to do better. We must make sure that laws prohibiting school segregation are properly enforced. And the United States Office of Education and the Department of Justice are today, tomorrow, everyday working diligently to eliminate segregation in those schools receiving federal financial assistance.

Let me speak to you now, in just plain talk, as I have something to say about this matter. We must understand that a school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all federal financial aid. Now, unless you think I saved this little statement just for you because you're Alpha Phi Alpha, I want you to know I've made this statement in several places in this Nation where there wasn't a single colored person. And I've learned a long time ago that particularly if you become Vice President, any thing that somebody doesn't like, everybody will hear about it. So I want to repeat it, we must understand, the school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all federal financial aid. Now those districts which violate the constitutional requirements will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice. The choice for such districts is simply this, "to continue receiving federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway." But I submit that we must go much further than just enforcement. It should not

be a matter of forcing people to do what is right, we don't seek to do that, that's not the answer, we must demonstrate clearly to all America that all Americans will benefit and I repeat, All Americans will benefit by better education for those who have been left behind.

We must also demonstrate clearly to those who most need it, to those who have been forced to exist in the shadows of our society, that education is the way to lift themselves to something better. Education is their fresh air, their sunlight, their hope, and we must make this a national crusade. Many of you in this audience have gone out to the high schools and talked to young men and women about this. I've met with some of you not long ago. And we need to do more of it and remember Alpha Phi Alphas have been on the line of this thing for almost 60 years. You've been talking about, go to school, go to high school, go to college, get an education? Excellence! Excellence! Ladies and gentlemen, if you ever said it, say it again. And even to the point where you appear to be somewhat obnoxious about it, just keep talking about it and get something done about it. This government is committed to education. You've never seen so much legislation passed in the field of education. You've heard of the Elementary and Secondary Act, a billion and a half dollars the first year; and one billion dollars of that is going to go to underprivileged youth where the schools have been cobbling inadequately, where they said they were separate but equal. They were separate, period! Where we must upgrade; and by the way not only did the Negro child suffer because of that document, all. It is very difficult to support a system of public education anyway but to have to support two. In many states that are not too wealthy is a very difficult assignment. And I want to raise my voice now to say this. In many of the Southern states,

efforts are being made today in the field of education. Just tremendous? You would be interested to know that thousands of the school districts have announced their plans far along the plans of desegregation. The greatest joy that I've had in recent months is the knowledge of compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And there has been a good deal of it in places where people thought it never would take place. I, for one, salute the many of our good Southern friends whom I felt for years had been wrong, but who have accepted the law, who are embracing the law, who are working with the law and who are trying now to set their house in order. Let's encourage them, my friends, Well, we have the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Act, Manpower-training Act, these are the tools that we've created to launch this great effort in education to help the local communities in the States. Now, the President is calling for a new Teaching Professions Act which will create a new teachers core to provide outstanding teachers who have a sense of mission to serve in both urban and rural slums. Those who enlist in this core will be sent to schools that most teachers regard as bad assignments, where the children tend to be undisciplined, where the school facilities are not too good, where the children are poorly dressed, and too often poorly taught. Have you ever noticed how we put our educational structure sort of upside down? The better schools, the more modern schools, the best equipped schools with all the extra-curricular activities with all the separate special aids that it takes to make a fine educational system, those schools are in the districts, in the areas, if you please, where there is the highest income. They are in the very places, if you please, where there the parents could afford private education. And the schools that are the oldest, the run-down schools, the poor schools and in all too many cases,

are right out where the low-income families are. Now, this is not true of any one city; it is true of my own city of Minneapolis. What we ought to have, the better schools in the very areas where the income is the lowest. The way to break the vicious cycle of poverty is to educate, and the best way that I know is to build a fortress--a fortress in this war of poverty, and that fortress is the schoolhouse and put it in charge of the best educators that you can possibly find any place in the Nation.

And, now, to this new educational program in the Teaching Professions Act. Here is the chance to dispell forever the myth of children from deprived areas. They can learn! Here is a chance to prove that children, regardless of their immediate invironment, can and will respond to determined and creative efforts to illuminate their lives. Yes, our schools can rescue literally millions of youngsters, millions of negro youngsters caught in the downward spiral of second-rate, second-class education--functional illiteracy, delinquency, despondency and despair. And, my fellow-Americans, we're not going to lick this problem--we can talk about all the laws that we want to, but until there is hope, until there is education, until we are able to whip this functional illiteracy, train people to do something, give them encouragement, inspiration and education--even the Civil Rights Act will not be enough! Our schools can, in other words, help demolish the slums and the ghettos. Remember each child is an adventure into tomorrow, brand new. A chance to break the old pattern and make it new. We have a chance to education that transforms decayed in a decayed neighborhood, in the places where people can live and work in health and safety and dignity. Schools which the federal government has provided to assist in this progress, however, are not enough. It will require an initiative of our States and our localities

and that's why I speak to you because that's where you live. We don't all live in Washington. We come from the localities in the States! When you get home speak up! Be home! talk up! The battle is far from being won. We are also going to need the resources not only of the public but the private sector and indeed cooperation must be the keynote of our efforts, public and private, State and Federal--all working together!

Now, in November, we're going to have a White House Conference on Civil Rights in Washington, D. C. and we will bring national attention even more clearly to these great tasks. That conference can be very distorted, but our government's willingness to carry much of the burden will be of no avail unless the non-governmental private voluntary groups and individuals of this great Fraternity and its members give us enthusiastic support and lead the fight. Dr. Charles Spurgen Johnson, distinguished member of this Fraternity, and one of the Nation's most eminent social scientists, stated it well when addressing some college-educated Negro men and women. Here is what he said, "The compelling urgency is to move with haste from the race relations to human relations." The issue of the rights of the Negro minority as with all other racial and cultural minorities in this country is at this moment of history an urgent and imperative one of freedom and democracy within the Nation today. So no longer can we concentrate solely on the most promising of the Negro young. We must meet the challenge of broad programs, with broad actions and help children of all classes, especially those oppressed by poverty.

I conclude this message with you by saying that we've been talking about what we wanted to do for you, every boy and girl in the schools,

white and colored, has been taught the pledge of allegiance, and that pledge of allegiance has within it as far as I am concerned, all the philosophy that you need for this Nation. Our children stand at attention, they face the flag, they pledge allegiance to the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands and then they say these words-- "One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Not north and south, not rich and poor, but one Nation, not one Nation that is burned down with sheer wealth and materialism, but one Nation under God, where we recognize our real sense of humility and the presence of Divine Providence and we are indeed a Nation blessed and one Nation indivisible because the vision will warm us, the vision will tile us, weaken us; and then those great and profound and yet simple words, "One Nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all," --Not just for some, but for all. When we say that, that includes everyone in this room and everyone that could not get into this room. So let's make it our business now to be the crusaders for a better life, not merely for our little individual families, but for all, LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL!!!

Thank You.



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