

TRANSCRIPT OF REMARKS
of
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NAACP NATIONAL CONVENTION
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
JULY 6, 1966

I want to talk to you tonight about a people on the move. I want to talk to you about marching.

America is marching. And it's marching on the road to freedom for every American. That's the purpose of the march.

I'm proud to be with my friends of this great organization that has been at the vanguard, indeed, led that march, not for 57 days, 57 weeks, but for 57 years.

From the shadows of a dark past toward the shining hope of a brighter tomorrow, you and I know that this march has been difficult, uncertain, and often dangerous. But history shall surely record its glory. And in that chapter of history will be the name and the officers and the membership of this great organization.

For we marched, my friends, marched together even when our band was small . . . and our ranks were thin and ragged . . . and even when victory seemed a distant and almost unobtainable goal.

And there have been young marchers, like we see here tonight, and old. And there have been Negro and white marchers, and rich and poor . . . but always marching with a common spirit, moved by a common hope, and striving for a common objective.

We marched, and I underscored the word, "We" . . . and fought for the end to lynching. We marched and fought against separate and unequal education, and segregated lunch counters, and a seat in the front of the bus, rather than the back of the bus.

There have been defeats. But, my fellow Americans, there have been many more victories.

There have been many heroes and some martyrs. Yes, the road to freedom is stained with tears and blood of many Americans - - including men such as, Medgar Evers -- men already counted as authentic American heroes.

And I want to pay tribute to Charles Evers, who's carrying the struggle forward in Mississippi, and to my friend, Aaron Henry, the dynamic President of your Mississippi state organization.

You see we've learned that there is no single road to follow, no one program, . . . no one slogan that will bring us to the end of our march.

There have been many things to do and many roles to play. And through the years, the NAACP has played a role second to none in terms of dedication, sacrifice and courage. We're all here tonight, my fellow Americans,

because millions of hours were spent in the court house and on the court house steps, sitting down and standing up -- in voter registration drives -- and in the halls of Congress.

Our triumphs have been impressive and numerous. Our progress has been unmistakable. But these triumphs and this progress must be judged from the perspective of the man who has borne the burden of oppression and prejudice.

A generation ago, it may have been enough for a Negro to ask for the right to enter a restaurant. But today, the Negro American asks: Is my life better?

In fact, he asks: Is that pledge of allegiance which I repeat and which my children repeat a truth or a fiction when we say "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all"?

The Negro American also asks: Are my children attending better schools? Do I hold a better job or any job? Do I have a voice in the life of my city, in my neighborhood? Am I a first-class citizen . . . a man among men in my own eyes and in the eyes of my family?

These are the questions that are being asked in 1966. And until a man can truthfully answer "yes" to these questions, we should not expect him to consider the battle won or the struggle ended. And neither should we.

For what is left for such a man when the dust of the march is settled? Where today the slogans of a better world spring from his lips, tomorrow there may be nothing but the taste of ashes.

So, precisely at a time when the civil rights movement has achieved its most stirring victories, the revolution of rising expectations demands that we turn now to confront the work which remains. And how appropriate it is that we have a youth night, because our young people are born to look ahead.

It's one thing to cry "freedom now" on a picket line. But it is another to achieve true freedom in the squalid world of the ghetto -- where generations of exploitation have produced problems which no man can overcome in a day, a week, or a year -- where we see and feel the devastating impact of that tragic equation which has too often decreed that poor shall beget poor, and ignorance shall beget misery.

We know this story. That's why we're here.

It's one thing to demand the Federal Government to meet its growing responsibilities in civil rights -- and it will -- but it is another to generate in our states and in our localities the commitment and the urgency required to produce significant improvement in the lives of the people, where they live, right in their communities.

It is one thing to overcome flagrant examples of racial prejudice -- segregated hotels, buses, and parks. But it is another thing to eliminate the more subtle and sophisticated

techniques which effectively restrict true freedom of choice in jobs, education, and housing.

So I say to you that now we must combine an acute sense of urgency with a heightened understanding of the complexity of the remaining civil rights problems. We must balance dedication to action with commitment to achievement. And that's why I'm here tonight because this grand organization has that balance and I salute it.

We must understand that there are no easy answers. There are no instant solutions to problems generations in the making. But there are certain problems demanding priority, yes, immediate attention as we strive to translate legal promises of equality and freedom into reality.

First, the Federal Government accepts the job of meeting its growing responsibilities. And I can say to you, on behalf of President Lyndon Johnson and Vice President Hubert Humphrey, that we will accept our responsibilities and do accept our responsibilities.

One of those responsibilities is to press for legislation to fulfill the total promise of the Constitution of this Republic. You know what this Administration is trying to do on Capitol Hill to discharge that responsibility. We need your support now. We need it urgently if the Civil Rights Act of 1966 is to become law. Clarence Mitchell, as usual, is right on the firing line on Capitol Hill.

But Clarence and your legislative representative need your help in letting Congress know of your full support for President Johnson's Civil Rights Bill of 1966, especially Title IV which guarantees equal housing opportunities for every American.

This is the heart of the bill. And we must not rest until it becomes the law of the land. I say to every person who is interested in his city, every Mayor, every Councilman, that unless we do something, such as embodied in Title IV which guarantees equal opportunity for housing, that the American city will become a divided city. It will become a city that will decay. That city should be a beautiful institution of living and a healthy environment. And it can be if we learn how to live and work together and make it our business to live and work together.

Now there are other responsibilities as well. And one of these is to see that the programs financed by taxes of all the people, black and white, shall not be operated to benefit only part of the people.

We have made some mighty strides. Last Friday, a new day of security and well-being dawned for the senior citizens of this country. The long awaited program of Medicare went into effect, which is a blessing to our senior citizens.

But another revolution took place simultaneously -- a revolution in medical facilities made available to Negro Americans and other minorities. Acting with a clear mandate from Congress

the Federal Government directed that hospitals could only participate in the Medicare program if they provided non-segregated facilities and medical service to all persons of all races.

And the results are amazing. More than 92 per cent of all the hospital beds in this land met these standards on July 1. And many of those hospitals were previously segregated. I predict that the overwhelming majority of those not in compliance will be in compliance in the future.

We have made the breakthrough, my dear friends, in medical and hospital care for all Americans because they are Americans.

One thing is certain: the funds for Medicare and other federally-assisted facilities are collected without regard to race, color or creed. The benefits, therefore, must and will be available on the same basis. That's simple justice. And you ought to know that your Vice President has been on the telephone for about two weeks making sure that this was the case at the direction of your President, Lyndon Johnson.

Secondly, there exists an urgent need for new initiatives. We can't rest on yesterday's accomplishments. We need initiatives and responsibility in civil rights matters by our states and our local governments.

The battle against slumism -- and we have slumism in our nation -- and poverty must be waged in our local communities, with assistance from the states and federal government. The struggle to provide quality education for all of the children of America must go forward in our localities, again with the assistance of the states and federal government.

It's another way of saying that good education or bad education is going to be where you live. It's another way of saying that good income and good jobs or poor income and poor jobs are going to be where you live. Not off in some outer space or down in the Nation's Capitol. It's where you live. The job of achieving meaningful choice for all persons in the sale of rental housing must be accomplished in our great cities.

The Federal Government is fully prepared to play a major role in this process. But, my fellow Americans, the impact of this federal assistance can be and is magnified a thousand-fold if a community and its leaders are fully committed to the goal of decent, non-segregated housing for all of its citizens -- if a community is developing creative, bold, new approaches to the housing crisis of urban and rural America.

I appeal to you that this battle must be fought at every level. Don't just look upon your government in Washington to do it all. Your government in Washington needs you.

The vital task of building a system of justice that treats all people alike, black and white, rich and poor, must be carried out in our cities, in our towns and counties. "Equal justice under law" is more than a slogan etched on the entrance of the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, under the courageous leadership of the former governor of this state, and one of the truly great men of American history, has reiterated the need to inform all arrested persons of their right to counsel -- of their right not to testify against themselves -- and of their right to prompt arraignment before a magistrate. Oh, what a debt the American people owe to Chief Justice Earl Warren.

These decisions -- reaffirming some of our fundamental principles of justice in a free society -- should be supported by every American and implemented by every community.

For in the final analysis, the responsibility for securing equality before the law is a shared responsibility. The Judicial, as the Legislative and Executive Branches, has thus posed a challenge for all Americans.

Now, how do we replace the old argument of states' rights with a more meaningful development of states' responsibilities, and the responsibilities of communities and organizations and individuals?

There is difficult, unglamorous, back-breaking, heart-breaking, day-to-day work ahead in every urban ghetto . . . in every election district . . . in every school district. For only there can our lofty goals and promises be redeemed.

We know the NAACP has been doing this work in countless cities and towns in America. Yes, long ago you made the decision to stay in your communities and do the work that had to be done there . . . not to run away, but to face the problem head-on where you were.

The Nation salutes you for this decision. Yes, I applaud those who let their every day pursuits be part of a new birth of freedom taking place in the South. I also applaud and honor those who remain in those towns, North or South, after the fever pitch of the moment has passed. Theirs is the long and arduous task of converting apathy to conviction . . . of translating ardor into achievement.

We should strive to do these things because they are proper and just, because we have the moral obligation to match our promises with performance, and to reward faith with fulfillment.

But we should also do them because this Nation will know little tranquility and peace until all Americans have the opportunity to share in the well-being of this republic.

We must understand that now the question is not whether all men shall have a full measure of freedom and justice -- that's been decided by law -- but the question is, how shall that full measure of freedom and justice be provided and achieved.

Thirdly, we must enlist new allies in our struggle against discrimination and deprivation.

We must enlist these new allies to fortify our forces from business, from labor, and from the religious and community groups. We know that, in recent years, impressive strides have been made,

both by business and labor, in routing out blatant forms of discrimination based on race or color.

The next phase of that battle will be less dramatic, but every bit as fundamental. And it will attract a smaller number of those interested in the simple issues and the easy victories. Yet this next phase -- one of the nuts and bolts of the expansion of employment opportunities -- is vital.

Outmoded training programs, biased testing and recruitment procedures, apprenticeship requirements and promotion patterns can deny equal opportunity in employment as effectively as the old-fashioned "white only" classified ads.

Therefore, we must take vigorous, affirmative action through skillfully designed training programs to help compensate persons who have been denied all opportunity to prepare themselves for today's job market.

We must give special attention to working out equitable procedures, so that arrest records on minor offenses, juvenile offenses and a lack of a high school diploma are not permanent barriers to employment where a person has otherwise established his trustworthiness and his abilities.

I have said to the people with whom I have been working in the Federal Government that if we are as ingenious in finding ways to get a person a job as we were in denying people the opportunity to get a job because of their race, we'd have this problem licked.

I do not speak as a theoretician. I have been around, as they say, and I know what goes on. Federal departments and agencies, therefore, are now sponsoring a number of new programs, so that equal employment will exist not only in law, but, in fact. Private industry must be more willing to experiment as we seek workable solutions to these knotty problems. So-called security measures must be re-examined without any loss of real security, but to make possible job opportunities to those that can fulfill a job responsibility.

Tomorrow morning, your Vice President will be meeting with industry leaders from the Los Angeles area to explore possible solutions to these critical problems of employment that I have just discussed. For employment is at the core of the remaining civil rights problems, and solutions must be reached that touch all affected minority groups -- Negro Americans, Mexican Americans, every kind of American. For all Americans must share in the bounty and the prosperity of this great land.

The time has come to broaden the basis of the civil rights movement, and I want to talk to you candidly about this. The time has come to reach out into the total American community and enlist vital new sources of energy and strength.

Here the NAACP has an especially important role to play. You have traditionally sought close cooperation among churches, labor unions, business groups and community organizations. But, I submit that we must now reach out even further with this message: "Brother, we need you for freedom -- your freedom and mine." That's the message that must go across this land, because

freedom belongs to everybody, and everybody has a stake in it.

"Brother, we need you for freedom." This appeal cuts to the core of those questions of philosophy and strategy which currently engage the civil rights movement. It seems to me fundamental, my fellow Americans, that we cannot embrace the dogma of the oppressors -- the notion that somehow a person's skin color determines his worthiness or his unworthiness.

Yes, I say to you, frankly and honestly, racism is racism. And there is no room in America for racism of any color, kind or description. We must reject all calls to racism, whether they come from a throat that is white, or a throat that is black. It's all the same.

Legitimate pride in the achievements and contributions of one's forebears is, of course, another matter. One of the great tragedies of America has been that so few persons appreciate or even know the remarkable contributions of Negroes to this Nation's history. I call upon the schools of America, public and private, to make known to the young people of this land, in coming generations, the story of the contributions of the American Negro to the American Republic. What a glorious chapter!

How many of us, for example, know that twenty-six of the forty-four settlers who established this city of Los Angeles in 1781 were Negroes? We talk about native Californians!

The pride in Negro history and achievement should establish a basis upon which to build a new climate of mutual respect among all elements of society . . . pride in achievement. . . pride in history. . . not the false doctrines of racial superiority.

We must strive to create a society in which the aims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Civil Rights Movement can be achieved. And always remember, that we seek advancement . . . not apartheid. This is the United States of America, not South Africa.

Negroes have been a part of America since Jamestown. They suffered and survived the cruel yoke of slavery. They have experienced hardship and discrimination of a severity and duration that no other group of Americans has ever known. And the basis for this brutality has been segregation and exclusion on terms imposed by the white majority.

Today this system is being torn down, torn down through the concerted, cooperative efforts of both Negroes and whites. Do not deny me the chance to be with you!

We must strive to perfect one citizenship, one destiny for all Americans. That's our goal. Integration must be recognized as an essential means to the ends that we are seeking -- the ends of freedom and justice and equal opportunity for all Americans.

And if there are areas in this country where meaningful integration is not a realistic prospect -- and there are in

both South and North -- then the true remedy lies in creating these conditions of integration as quickly as possible.

As President Johnson said in that historic address at Howard University, "In far too many ways, American Negroes have been another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope."

Who in similar circumstances, I say to my white bretheran, might not feel within him the responsive echo to the cries of power and hostile pride? Who in similar circumstances might not finally lose faith and patience with the statements of good intention which were seldom translated into action?

Our response to these cries of outrage and despair must be concrete, tangible, visible evidence . . . evidence that a man can see and feel and hear in his city, in his job, in his home with his children, and in his own sense of dignity and self-respect.

Today, after far too long, we are beginning to see that evidence. The road to freedom has been obscured for too many years by hatred and habit, by anger and apathy, but that road now lies clearly in our view.

We march down that road, not in separate columns, white and black, to the sound of martial music heralding the approach of clashing armies.

We march, instead, together, in solidarity, as brothers and sisters, to the sound of a song echoed by free people everywhere, of all colors, of all races in every land.

And that song . . . You know it:

Stony the road we trod . . .
Bitter the chastening rod . . .
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun . . .
Let us, together, hand in hand, march till
victory is won.

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

NAACP NATIONAL CONVENTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

JULY 6, 1966

ⓧ Roy Wilkins

ⓧ Kivi Kaplan
President

ⓧ Alfred Williams
joint member?
natl bd.

∟ America is marching on the road to freedom.

I am proud to be back among my friends of the
NAACP who have led this march for 57 years.

∟ From the shadows of a dark past toward the shining
hope of a brighter tomorrow, this march has been difficult,
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my Helicopter Pilot - Col Bernard Thomson
1st father Sect of Los Angeles Chapit, NAACP

p. 2.

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who is carrying the struggle forward in
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↳ We marched and fought for the end to lynching.

↳ We marched and fought against separate and unequal education, and segregated lunch counters, and a seat in the back of the bus.

↳ There have been defeats, but many more victories.

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↳ Yes, the road to freedom is stained with tears and the blood of many Americans -- including men such as Medgar Evers -- men already counted among authentic American heroes.



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no one program . . . no one slogan that will bring us to
the end of our march.

↳ There have been many things to do, and many roles
to play. And through the years the NAACP has played a
role second to none in terms of dedication and determination,
of sacrifice and courage.

↳ We are here today because of millions of hours spent
in the courthouse and on the courthouse steps -- sitting
down and standing up -- in voter registration drives and in
the halls of Congress.

↳ Our triumphs have been impressive and numerous.

↳ Our progress has been unmistakable. Yet these triumphs
and this progress must be judged from the perspective of the
man who has borne the burden of oppression and prejudice.

↳ A generation ago, it may have been enough for the Negro to ask for the right to enter a restaurant.

↳ But today the Negro American asks:

Is my life better?

Are my children attending better schools?

Do I hold a better job -- or any job?

Do I have a voice in the life of my city and my neighborhood?

↳ Am I a first-class citizen -- a man among men, in my own eyes and in the eyes of my family?

↳ Until a man can truthfully answer "yes" to these questions, we should not expect him to consider the battle won or the struggle ended.

↳ And neither should we.!

↳ For what is left for such a man when the dust of the march has settled?

Where today the slogans of a better world spring from his lips, tomorrow there may be nothing but the taste of ashes.

↳ So, precisely at a time when the civil rights movement has achieved its most stirring victories, the revolution of rising expectations demands that we turn now to confront the work which remains.

↳ It is one thing to cry "freedom now" on a picket line. But it is another to achieve true freedom in the squalid world of the ghetto — where generations of exploitation have produced problems which no man can overcome in a day, week, or year -- where we see and feel the devastating impact of that tragic equation which has too often decreed that poor shall beget poor and ignorance shall beget misery.

∟ It is one thing to demand the federal government to meet its growing responsibilities in civil rights, But it is another to generate in our states and localities the commitment and urgency required to produce significant improvement in the lives of people.

∟ And it is one thing to overcome flagrant examples of racial prejudice -- segregated hotels, buses and parks. ∟ But, it is another to eliminate the more subtle and sophisticated techniques which effectively restrict true freedom of choice in jobs, education and housing.

∟ Now we must combine an acute sense of urgency with a heightened understanding of the complexity of the remaining civil rights problems. ∟ We must balance dedication to action with commitment to achievement.

∟ We must understand there are no easy answers, no instant solutions, to problems generations in the making.

p. 7.

Clarence Mitchell--as usual--is right on
the firing line on Capitol Hill. And Clarence
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↳ But there are certain problems demanding priority attention as we strive to translate legal promises of equality and freedom into reality!

First, the federal government accepts the job of meeting its growing responsibilities.

One of those responsibilities is to press for legislation to fulfill the promise of the Constitution. You know what this Administration is doing on Capitol Hill to discharge that responsibility -- and we need your support urgently if the Civil Rights Act of 1966 is to become law. (X)

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↳ There are other responsibilities as well. And one of these is to see that programs financed by all of the people -- black and white -- shall not be operated to benefit only part of the people.

Medicare ↙ Last Friday a new day of security and well-being dawned for the senior citizens of this country -- the long-awaited program of medicare went into effect.

↙ But another revolution took place simultaneously -- a revolution in medical facilities available to Negro Americans and other minorities.

↙ Acting with a clear mandate from Congress, the federal government directed that hospitals could only participate in the medicare program if they provided non-segregated facilities and medical service to persons of all ages.

↙ More than 92 per cent of our hospitals met these standards on July 1 -- and many of these hospitals were previously segregated. I predict the large majority of those not in compliance will be in the near future.

↙ One fact is certain: the funds for medicare and other federally-assisted facilities are collected without regard to race,

color or creed -- the benefits, therefore, must and will be available on the same basis.

↳ Secondly, there exists an urgent need for new initiatives and responsibility in civil rights matters by our states and local governments.

↳ The battle against slumism and poverty must be waged primarily in our local communities -- with assistance from the states and federal government.

↳ The struggle to provide quality education for all the children of America must go forward in our localities -- again with assistance from the states and federal government.

↳ The job of achieving meaningful choice for all persons in the sale and rental of housing must be accomplished in our cities.

↳ The federal government is fully prepared to play a major role in this process. But the impact of this federal assistance is magnified a thousand-fold if a community is fully committed

to the goal of decent, non-segregated housing for all its citizens -- if a community is developing creative, bold new approaches to meet the housing crisis of urban and rural America.

↳ The vital task of building a system of justice which treats all men alike -- black and white, rich and poor -- must be carried out in our cities and towns.

↳ "Equal justice under law" is more than a slogan etched over the entrance of the Supreme Court. It is the foundation of our entire democratic system of government.

↳ The Supreme Court has reiterated the need to inform all arrested persons of their right to counsel -- of their right not to testify against themselves -- and of their right to prompt arraignment before a magistrate.

↳ These decisions -- reaffirming some of our fundamental *principles* principles of justice in a free society -- should be applauded by every American -- and implemented by every community.

↳ For in the final analysis, the responsibility for securing equality before the law is a shared responsibility. The judicial, as the legislative and executive branches, has thus posed a challenge to all Americans. [#] (Pause)

↳ How do we replace the old argument over states' rights with the more meaningful development of states' responsibilities . . . and the responsibilities of communities, and organizations, and individuals?

↳ There is difficult, unglamorous, back-breaking, heart-breaking, day-to-day work ahead in every ghetto . . . every election district . . . and every school district -- for only there can our lofty goals and promises be redeemed.

↳ We know the NAACP has been doing this work in countless cities and towns across America. Yes, long ago you made the decision to stay in your communities and do the work that had to be done.

↳ We salute you for this decision.

↳ Yes, I applaud those who left their everyday pursuits to be part of the new birth of freedom taking place in the South.

↳ But I also applaud and honor those who will remain in those towns after the fever pitch of the moment has passed.

↳ Theirs is the long and arduous task of converting apathy to conviction -- of translating ardor into achievement.

↳ We should strive to do these things because they are proper and just . . . because we have the moral obligation to match our promises with performance and to reward faith with fulfillment.

↳ But we should also do them because this nation will know little tranquility and peace until all Americans have an opportunity to share in her well-being.

↳ We must understand that now the question is not whether all men shall have a full measure of freedom and justice, but how it shall be provided.

↳ Thirdly, we must enlist new allies in our struggle
against discrimination and deprivation -- from business,
labor, religious and community groups.

↳ We know that in recent years impressive strides have
been made by both business and labor in rooting out blatant
forms of job discrimination based on race or color.

↳ The next phase of the battle will be less dramatic, and
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Tomorrow morning I will be meeting with industry leaders from the Los Angeles area to explore possible solutions to these critical problems--for employment ~~is~~ is at the core of the remaining civil rights problems.

And solutions must be reached that touch all affected minority groups--Negro Americans, Mexican-Americans--for every American must share in the bounty ^{& Prosperity} of this great land.

↳ We must take vigorous affirmative action through skillfully designed training programs to help compensate persons who have been denied all opportunity to prepare themselves for today's job market.

↳ We must give special attention to working out equitable procedures so that arrest records, juvenile offenses, and lack of a high school diploma are not permanent barriers to employment where a person has otherwise established his trustworthiness and ability.

↳ Federal departments and agencies are now sponsoring a number of innovative programs so that equal employment opportunity will exist in fact, as well as in law. ↳ Private industry must be more willing to experiment as we seek workable solutions to these knotty problems. ✕

↳ The time has come to broaden the base of the civil rights movement . . . to reach out into the community and enlist vital new sources of energy and strength.

Here the NAACP has an especially important role to play. You have traditionally sought close cooperation among churches, labor unions, business groups, and service clubs. We must now reach out even further with the message: "Brother, we need you for freedom."

This appeal cuts to the core of those questions of philosophy and of strategy which currently engage the civil rights movement.

It seems to me fundamental that we cannot embrace the dogma of the oppressors -- the notion that somehow a person's skin color determines his worthiness or unworthiness.

Yes, racism is racism -- and there is no room in America for racism of any color.

And we must reject calls for racism, whether they come from a throat that is white or one that is black.

↳ Legitimate pride in the achievements and contributions of one's forebears is, of course, another matter. One of the great tragedies of America has been that so few persons -- white or black -- appreciate the remarkable contributions of Negroes to this nation's history.

↳ How many of us, for example, know that 26 of the 44 settlers who established this city of Los Angeles in 1781 were Negroes?

↳ But pride in Negro history and achievement should establish a basis upon which to build a new climate of mutual respect among all elements of society -- not false doctrines of racial superiority. ↳ We must strive to create a society in which the aims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the civil rights movement can be achieved. And, always remember, we seek advancement . . . not apartheid. à Part-heid.

↳ Negroes have been a part of America since Jamestown.
↳ They suffered -- and survived -- the cruel yoke of slavery.
↳ They have experienced hardship and discrimination of a severity and duration that no other group of Americans has known. And the basis for this brutality has been segregation and exclusion -- on terms imposed by the white majority.

↳ Today this system is being torn down through the concerted efforts of both whites and Negroes. ↳ We must strive to perfect one citizenship, one destiny for all Americans.

↳ Integration must be recognized as an essential means to the ends we are seeking -- the ends of freedom, justice and equal opportunity for all Americans.

↳ And if there are areas in this country where meaningful integration is not a realistic prospect -- as there are, in both the South and the North -- then the true remedy lies in creating these conditions as quickly as possible.

↳ As President Johnson said in his historic address at Howard University, "In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope."

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↳ Our response to these cries of outrage and despair must be concrete, hard, visible evidence -- evidence that a man can see and feel and measure in his city . . . his job . . . his home . . . his children . . . his own sense of dignity and self-respect.

Today, after far too long, we are beginning to see that evidence. The road to freedom has been obscured for too many years by hatred and habit, by anger and apathy. But it now lies clearly in view.

We march down that road not in separate columns to the sound of martial music heralding the approach of clashing armies.

We march, instead, together -- to the sound of a song echoed by free people everywhere, of all colors, of all races, in every land:

"Stony the road we trod . . .

Bitter the chastening rod . . .

Facing the rising sun of our new day begun . . .

Let us, together, hand-in-hand, march on till

victory is won . . . "

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1 Roy Wilkins

1 Kevin Kaplan

Bishop Spotswood

Clarence Mitchell
at Wilkins

you're as young as you
feel - 80 in - 30
healthier

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

my fund clarence
model

I know this is Youth Night -- and it is a special pleasure for me to be with you on this occasion. America will never forget the Young People of the NAACP who quickened the pace of change with their quiet fearless-
ness and moral feron fever of their non-violent demonstrations, beginning with sit-ins sponsored by the NAACP Youth Council in Oklahoma in 1958.

I am very proud of the important part NAACP Youth Councils and College Chapters have played in contemporary American history, in our struggle for justice and equality. I am ~~very~~ familiar with your history, because the wife of my good friend, Clarence Mitchell, Juanita Jackson Mitchell, gave arousing speech as a youth delegate to the NAACP Convention of 1935 -- and this ignited the spark which resulted in the formation of the NAACP Youth Movement. Mrs. Mitchell was inspired by her mother, Dr. Lillie M. Jackson -- a long-time NAACP fighter in Maryland -- and today -- the son of Clarence and Juanita Mitchell, Michael, is carrying on as chairman of the NAACP National Youth Work Committee Clarence, Jr. State assemblyman & candidate for state senate.

You also may be interested to know that a product of the Detroit NAACP Youth and Young Adult Council is now serving on my staff Opfield Hubbs -

Introductory Remarks -- 2

Best, I also want to pay special tribute to the outstanding adult leadership of the NAACP over the years, because it has been the spartan leadership efforts of such men as Walter White, Thurgood Marshall, Roy Wilkins and Clarence Mitchell that brought us to where we are now. *op. Arthur Springam - Honorary President
Kiri Kaplan*

Roy
(You may want to express the thanks of President Johnson for the leadership contributions of Roy Wilkins to the success of the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights." As a member of the 30-member council appointed by the President to oversee the detailed planning for the Conference, Roy spent many weekends helping to determine the format and agenda for the Conference.)

my *<* "Since Minneapolis delegates are campaigning to have their city selected as site for the 1969 convention, you may want to make a casual, light-hearted reference to the fact that you would welcome their coming.)

*Roy Wilkins - quiet, sustained, relentless
courage and effective
leadership!*

[Incomplete transcript]

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
NAACP CONVENTION

OPENING INTRO:

Thank you very much, Al Williams. I'm sure members of this audience, at least of my age group, must know how I feel to have such a moving and generous, considerate and forgiving introduction as this young man has just given me. And I will assure him that I will do my best to be worthy of every word he has ~~said~~ ^{said.}

To my young friend, Mike Mitchell, and I shall have more to say about the Mitchells, to my fellow Minnesotan, Roy Wilkins, and to one I'd like to claim from Minnesota, Tibby Kaplan.....APPLAUSE

To this great and distinguished Chairman and spiritual leader, Bishop Spots...?..., Reverend...?..., and Reverend Walker, to all the many dear friends who are here tonight, let me just say to you:

This is like coming home. It's good to be with my friends of the

N. A. A. C. P. (APPLAUSE)←

I've been with you often. I can remember when I was with you in 1959 and that's just one of several occasions up in New York City.

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When I was introduced then by a very distinguished member
of this organization and officer who said ~~to~~ me in description
in his introduction, he said: He is like John the Baptist. And
I said: And I remember what happened to John's head. APPLAUSE

And then, I know, of course, that you ~~were~~ had the good judgement
to goto that great Capitol city in Minnesota, St. Paul, in 1960.

And I gather that there is some sort of a movement underway
here which, of course, I dare not participate in, to get you to come
to Minneapolis in 1969. APPLAUSE

Now I wouldn't want you to think for a minute that Roy Wilkins
gave me that hint. But I would want you to know that Roy Wilkins
has been certified by the University of Minnesota as one of the
outstanding Minnesotans. APPLAUSE

And I wouldn't want you to think that Clarence Mitchell had
anything to dowith this either. Of course, he did spend a good deal
of time in St. Paul. And in order to make up for that, he's got to be

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from Minneapolis in 1969.

Vice

But as ~~the~~ President of the United States, I take a neutral stand except I stand with my friends. APPLAUSE

I was deeply moved tonight, as I'm sure you were, by as Al Williams said, "the way that you ^{gave} ~~came~~ forth on this wonderful National Anthem of ours", the Star Spangled Banner.

But I hear ~~that~~ last night you even did better when Mrs. (phonetically it sounds like Bil-roo) came to this podium and led you in singing "America, the Beautiful" after someone tried to charge up on this podium...uh, platform...and was promptly escorted from this hall. APPLAUSE

All my heart is literally running over with things I want to say to you that are not in this script that I've distributed here at all to the friends of our media.

But I come here tonight not for the purpose of oratory but to be with people with whom I've worked for years. To be with those ~~that~~ I trust and whom I have great faith.

And I can tell you that I'm proud to be a member of this N.A.A.C.P.

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family. And I've been one for a long time. APPLAUSE

Now I think you know that flying is part of public life these days. You have to move around so much that you simply need good aircraft and competent pilots. And I want you to know that the pilot that picks me up in Minneapolis and flies me out to my home in a heliocopter is one of the most able of all pilots, the gentleman that I had the privilege of pinning on his Lt. Colonel's bars here the other night, is a young man by the name of Bernard Thompson who is the distinguished son of an old friend of mine from the Los Angeles area and an old N. A. A. C. P. peer from early days -- he's old not ~~only~~, he's a young man with a very attractive and lovely wife, and I refer to Leon B. Thompson.

And, Leon, I had a chance to see you out here tonight, but I want to publicly pay tribute to you, not only for your work but for that wonderful son that takes such good care of me all the time. APPLAUSE

Somebody said to me: Well, how did you ever get in on this youth meeting? LAUGHTER

And I'm always reminded of what dear old George Bernard Shaw

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once said, "it's a shame to waste youth on the ~~youth~~ young,"

because we older folks know so much more what to do with it.

But I'll tell you why I'm here because I'm like my young sons and my young daughter, I like to be where the action is. LAUGHTER

Anyway, a person is only as young as he feels, and I'm looking at the youngest crowd I've ever seen in my life. I've been hearing an awful lot about all forms of power.

But I want to tell you the kind of power I like is youth power. APPLAUSE

And I'm not unaware of what this ^{youth} ~~youth~~ movement in the N. A. A. C. P. means. Because I know it's been a working organization for quite a little while.

As a matter of fact, I'm right familiar with your history. And I'll tell you why. Because the wife of my good friend, that special, effective Washington representative you have by the name of Clarence Mitchell, I work over his politics a little bit, but other than that he and I get along swell...the wife of my good friend, Clarence Mitchell, Juanita Jackson Mitchell, gave a rousing speech as a youth delegate

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at the NAACP Convention back about 1935. And this speech ignited the spark which resulted in the formation of the NAACP youth movement and tonight, her son, Mike, sits up here on the platform.

But Juanita Mitchell was not alone in this ~~fit~~ ^{fight,} because she was inspired by her mother, Dr. Lillian Jackson. APPLAUSE

A long time NAACP fighter in Maryland, and today, the son of Clarence and Juanita Mitchell, Michael that I told you, is here carrying on as Chairman of the National Youth-Work Committee.

And Clarence, Jr. is my favorite candidate for the State Senate in the state of Maryland, and presently an assemblyman from that state.

I don't think Clarence Jr. expected to get endorsed in Los Angeles, but I hope it doesn't hurt him.

Now, you may also be interested to know that a product of the Young Adult Detroit NAACP Youth and ~~Young~~ ^{Young} Council is here with me,

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tonight, and he ~~has~~ is serving on my staff. And he's a wonderful young man who ~~has~~ has a lot of get-up-and-go. And he needs to have it when he works for me. LAUGHTER

And his name is Ofield Dukes, and we're mighty proud of him.

APPLAUSE

I just want to remind Al and Mike ^{up}~~up~~ here that we were all young once. You see, I'm reciting the names of some of those who are not so young now and some that are ^{very}young now and very active.

Let me pay special tribute to young leadership that grew into maturity and continued that youthful spirit over the many years of this orgniazation. Because it was the Spartan leadership efforts of such dear and good f men as my old friend, Walter White, I remember Walter.

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I remember Walter. APPLAUSE

And My good friend, Thurgood Marshall. APPLAUSE

And my compatriot up here, Roy Wilkins and Clarence
Mitchell. APPLAUSE

That brought us to where we are now. And when you speak
of young men, young of heart and full of the zest of life and the
vitality of living, you cannot help but think of the wonderful work
of your honorary President, Arthur Spingarn, can you? APPLAUSE

Well, there's much that I want to say to you. Roy, I hope
you won't feel that I'm ~~am~~ just up here on ^a mutual admiration society
for fellow Minnesotans.

But I want to tell you folks something. This NAACP wouldn't
get along very well without us because Wilkins and Mitchell and
Humphrey have been at it along time. LAUGHTER

And I've been a dues-pay member for some time, too, I want you to
know. I like the effective, quiet, sustained, relentless courage that
is demonstrated in the leadership of this organization. I like it
in my friend, Roy Wilkins. And I compliment him for it.

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It's one thing to be bold. It's another thing to get things done and still be bold. APPLAUSE

Bishop Spots...?.., it's difficult for a layman to pick a sort of a theme to talk from a Methodist pulpit, but I've been attending a Methodist church a long time. I even attended it when they had young people's groups that they called the Ep...?.. League. They've changed it since then.

But I want to talk to you tonight about a people on the move. I want to talk to you about marching.

America is marching. And it's marching on the road to freedom for every American. That's the purpose of the march. APPLAUSE

And I'm proud to be with my friends of this great organization that has been at the vanguard, indeed, led that march, not for 75 weeks, not for 75 days, but for 75 years. APPLAUSE

From the shadows of the dark past toward the shining hope of a brighter tomorrow, you and I know that this march has been difficult, uncertain.

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And often dangerous. But history shall surely record its glory. And in that chapter of history will be the name and the officers and the membership of this great organization.

For we march^{ed}, my friends, march^{ed}/together even when our band was small. And our ranks were thin and ragged. And even when victory seemed a distant and almost unobtainable goal.

And there have been young marchers, like we see here tonight. And old. And there have been Negro and white marchers, and rich and poor. But always marching with a common spirit, ~~more~~ moved by a common hope, and striving for a common objective. We marched and I underscored the word, "we."

And fought for the end to lynching. We marched and fought against separate and unequal education. And segregated lunch counters. And a seat in the front of the bus, rather than the back of the bus.

And there have been defeats. There have been defeats. But, my fellow Americans, there have been some wonderful victories, too,

PAGE ELEVEN

haven't there? APPLAUSE

There have been many heroes and some martyrs. Yes, the road to freedom to freedom is stained with tears and blood of many Americans. Including men such as, Edgar Evans, Mrs. Evans, men already counted as authentic American heroes.

And I want to pay tribute to Charles Evers, who's carrying the struggle forward. APPLAUSE

Carrying the struggle forward in Mississippi. And to my friend, Aaron Henley, the dynamic President of your Mississippi state organization.

You see we've learned that there is no single road to ~~follow~~ follow, no single one man and no one program. And no one slogan that will bring us to the end of our march.

There have been many things to do and many roles to play.

And through the years, the NAACP has played a role second to none in terms of dedication, sacrifice and courage. *we're all* ~~We're all~~ tonight, my fellow Americans,

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because literally millions of hours were spent in the court
house and ^{on} the court house steps, sitting down and standing up
-- in voter registration drives -- and in the halls of Congress.

Our triumphs have been impressive. And numerous. Our progress
has been unmistakable. But these triumphs and this progress will be...
must be judged....must be judged from the perspective of the man
who ^{has} borne the burden of oppression and prejudice.

A generation ago, it may have been enough for a Negro/^{to ask}for
the right to enter a restaurant. But today, the Negro Americans
asks: Is my life better.

In fact, he asks : Is that pledge of allegiance which I repeat
and which my children repeat a truth or a fiction when we say "one
nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all"? APPLAUSE

So the Negro American asks: Are my children attending better
schools? Do I hold a better job or any job? Do I have a voice in the
life of my city, in my neighborhood? Am I a first-^{la}class citizen?

A man among men? In my own eyes and in the eyes of my family.

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These are the questions that are being asked in 1966. And until a man can truthfully answer "yes" to these questions, we should not expect him to consider the battle won or the struggle ended.
~~ended~~

Should we?

So what is left for such a man when the dust of the march is settled? Where today the slogans of a better world spring from his lips, tomorrow there may be nothing but the taste of ashes.

So precisely at a time when the civil rights movement has achieved its most stirring victories, the revolution of rising expectations demands that we turn now to confront the work which remains. Looking ahead. And how appropriate it is that we have a youth night.

Because our young people are born to look ahead. APPLAUSE

~~It's one~~

It's one thing to cry "Freedom now" on a picket line. But

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But it is another to achieve true freedom in the squalid world of the ghetto. For generations of exploitation have produced problems which no ~~one~~ man can overcome in a day, a week, ^{or} a year, where we see and feel the devastating impact of that tragic equation which has too often decreed that poor shall beget poor, and ignorance shall beget misery.

We know this story. That's why we're here.

It's one thing to demand the Federal Government to meet its growing responsibilities in civil rights -- and it will -- but it is another to generate in our states and in our localities the commitment and the urgency required to produce significant improvement in the lives of the people where they live right in their communities. APPLAUSE

It's one thing to overcome flagrant examples of racial prejudice -- segregated hotels, buses, and parks. But it is another, thing, isn't it?, to eliminate that more subtle and sophisticated techniques which effectively ~~restrict~~ restrict true freedom of choice in jobs, education,

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and housing.

APPLAUSE

So I say to you that now we must confine an acute sense of urgency with a heightened understanding of the complexity of the remaining civil rights problems. We must balance dedication to action with commitment to achievement. And that's why I'm here tonight because this grand organization has that balance.

And I salute it. APPLAUSE

We must understand that there are no easy answers. And there are no instant solutions, to problems generations in the making. But, there are certain problems demanding priority, yes, immediate attention as we strive to translate legal promises of equality and freedom into reality.

First, the Federal Government ~~ex~~ accepts the job and must accept the job of meeting its growing responsibilities. And I

can to say to you on behalf of President ^{Lyndon}/Johnson and Vice President

Hubert Humphrey that we will accept our responsibilities and do accept our responsibilities.

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One of those responsibilities is to press for legislation to fulfill the total promise of the Constitution of this Republic.

You know what this Administration is trying to do on Capitol Hill to discharge that responsibility. We need your support now. We need it urgently if the Civil Rights Act of 1966 is to become law. Clarence Mitchell, as usual, is right on the firing line.

On Capitol Hill.

And Clarence, your legislative representative needs ~~more~~ your help in letting Congress know of your full support for President Johnson's Civil Rights Bill of 1966, especially Title IV which guarantees equal housing opportunities for every American. OVATION

This is the heart of the bill. And we must not rest until it becomes the law of the land. And I say ~~for~~ to every person who's interested in his city, every Mayor, every Councilman, that unless we do something such as embodied in Title IV which guarantees equal opportunity for housing that the American city will become a divided city. It will become a city that will decay. And that city should be a beautiful institution of living and environment.

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And it can be.

If we learn how to live together and make it our business
to live together. APPLAUSE

Now there are other responsibilities as well. And one of these
is to see that the programs financed by taxes on all the people, black
and white, shall not be operated to benefit only part of the people.

APPLAUSE

And we have made some mighty strides. Last Friday a new day
of security and well-being dawned for the ^{senior} ~~senior~~ citizens of this
country. The long awaited program of Medi-Care went into effect.
A blessing to our senior citizens.

But another revolution took place simultaneously. A revolution
in medical facilities made available to Negro Americans and other
minorities, made available to every American. And acting with a clear
mandate from Congress, Federal Government directed that hospitals
could only participate in the Medi-Care program if they provided non-
segregated facilities and medical service to all persons of all races.

And the result? Amazing. More than ~~90~~ 92 per cent of all the

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hospital beds in this ~~country~~ ^{land} met these standards on July 1.

And many of those hospitals were previously segregated. And I

predict that the overwhelming of those/^{not}in compliance will be in compliance in the future.

We've made the breakthrough, my dear friends, in medical and hospital care for all Americans just because they're Americans.

APPLAUSE

One thing is certain: the funds for Medi-Care ~~and~~ ^{and} other Federally-assisted facilities are collected without regard to race, color, or creedd. **LAUGHTER.**

The benefits, therefore, must and will be available on the same basis. That's simple justice. And you ought to know that your Vice President's been on the telephone for about two weeks making sure that this was the reality at the direction of your President, Lyndon Johnson.

Now, secondly, there exists an urgent need for new ~~initix~~ ^{initiative.}
We can't rest on yesterday's accomplishments. For new initiatives

PAGE NINETEEN

and responsibility in civil rights matters by our states and our local governments.

The battle against slumism -- and we have slumism in our nation -- and poverty must be waged primarily in our local communities, with assistance from states and federal government. The struggle to provide quality education for all of the children of America must go forward in our localities. Again with the assistance of states and Federal government.

It's another way of saying that good education or bad education is going to be where you live. It's another way of saying that good income and good jobs or poor income and poor jobs are going to be where you live. Not off here in some outer space or down in the Nation's Capitol. It's where you live. The job of achieving meaningful choice for all persons in the sale of rental housing must be accomplished in our great cities.

The Federal government is fully prepared to play a major role in this process.

But, my fellow Americans, the impact of this federal assistance can be

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and is magnified a thousand-fold if a community and its leaders hip
is fully committed to the goal of decent, non-segregated housing
for all of its citizens. If a community is developing creative,
bold, new approaches to the housing crisis of urban and rural
America.

I appeal to you that this battle must be fought at every
level. Don't just look upon your government in Washington to
do it all. Your government in Washington needs you.

APPLAUSE

The vital task of building a system of justice that treats
all people alike, black or white, rich and poor, must be carried
out in our cities , in our towns and counties. Equal justice
under law is ~~not~~ more than ~~just~~ a slogan etched on the entrance
of the Supreme Court.

(ON TO THE NEXT DISK)

The Supreme Court, under the courageous leadership of the former governor of this state, and one of the truly great men of American history, has reiterated the need to inform all arrested persons of their right to counsel and their right not to testify against themselves and of their right to prompt arraignment before a magistracy. Oh, what a debt the American people owe to Chief Justice Warren.

I might add that if President Eisenhower had never done anything else in his life, and he has done much, he is a great American. I speak with great respect for President Eisenhower. I would say that he earned a place in the internal history of this republic by the appointment of the Chief Justice of the United States. You can see I like him. More importantly, I admire him.

These decisions reaffirming some of our fundamental principles of justice and of free society, should be supported by every American and implemented by every community, for in the final analysis the responsibility for securing equality before the law is a shared responsibility. The Judicial, as the Legislative and Executive Branches, has thus posed a challenge for all Americans.

Now, how do we replace the old argument of states' rights with a more meaningful development of states' responsibilities, and the responsibilities of communities and organizations and individuals. There is a difficult, unglamorous, back-breaking, heart-breaking, day-to-day work ahead in every urban ghetto, every election district, every school district. For only there, can our lofty goals and promises be redeemed. We make a better America where we live, where we are. We know the NAACP has been doing this work in countless cities and towns in America.

Yes, long before you made the decision, or should I say, long ago you made the decision to stay in your community and to do the work that had to be done there. Not to run away, but to face the problem head-on where you were.

The Nation salutes you for this decision. Yes, I applaud those who let their every day pursuits be part of a new birth of freedom taking place in the South. But, I also applaud and honor those who will remain in those towns, North or South, after the fever pitch of the moment has passed. ~~Theirs~~ is the long and arduous task of converting apathy to conviction, of

translating ardour into achievement. We should strive to do these things because they are proper and just, because we have the moral obligation to match our promises with performance, and to reward faith with fulfillment.

But, we should also do them because this Nation will know little tranquility and peace until all Americans have the opportunity to share in the well-being of this republic.

We must understand that now the question is not whether all men shall have a full measure of freedom and justice. That's been decided by law. But, the question is, how shall that full measure of freedom and justice be provided, be achieved. We must enlist new allies in our struggle against discrimination and deprivation. And we must enlist these new allies to fortify our forces from business, from labor, and from the religious and community groups. We know that in recent years, impressive strides have been made both by business and labor in routing out blatant forms of discrimination based on race or color.

Now the next phase of that battle will be less dramatic, but every bit as fundamental. And it will attract a smaller number of those interested in this

simple issue and the easy victories. Yet this mixed phase, one of the nuts and bolts of the expansion of employment opportunities, is vital. Outmoded training programs, biased testing and recruitment procedures, apprenticeship requirements and promotion patterns can deny equal opportunity in employment as effectively as the old-fashioned "white only" classified ad.

Therefore, we must take vigorous, affirmative action through skillfully designed training programs to help compensate persons who have been denied all opportunity to prepare themselves for today's job market. But, we must do more. We must give special attention to working out equitable procedures, so that arrest records on minor offenses, juvenile offenses and a lack of a high school diploma, are not permanent barriers to employment where a person has otherwise established his trustworthiness and his abilities.

I have said to the people that I have been working with in the Federal Government that if we are as ingenious in finding ways to get a person a job as we were in denying people the opportunity to get a job because of their race, we'd have this problem licked.

And I do not speak as a theoretician. I have been around, as they say, and I know what goes on. Federal departments and agencies, therefore, are now sponsoring a number of new programs, so that equal employment

will exist not only in the walk, but, in fact, private industry must be willing to experiment as we seek workable solutions to these naughty problems. So-called security measures must be re-examined without any loss of real security, but to make possible job opportunities to those that can fulfill a job responsibility.

Tomorrow morning your Vice President will be meeting with industry leaders from the Los Angeles area to explore possible solutions to these critical problems of employment that I have just discussed, for employment, yes, jobs, is at the core of the remaining civil rights problems and solutions must be reached that touch all affected minority groups.-- Negro American, Mexican American, every kind of American, for every American must share in the bounty and the prosperity of this great land. Oh, then how we can sing "American, the beautiful" and all those other wonderful hymns and songs of our republic.

The time has come to broaden the basis of the civil rights movement, and I want to talk to you about this. The time has come to reach out into the total American community, and ~~in this~~ enlist vital new sources of energy and strength. Here the NAACP has an especially important role to play. You have traditionally sought

close cooperation among churches, and that's why we are here tonight -- labor unions, business groups and service clubs. But, I submit that we must now reach out even further with this message: "Brother, we need you for freedom -- your freedom and mine." That's the message that must go across this land, because freedom belongs to everybody, and everybody has a stake in it.

"Brother, we need you for freedom." This appeal cuts to the core of those questions of philosophy and strategy which currently engage in the civil rights movement. It seems to me fundamental, my fellow Americans, that we cannot embrace the dogma of the oppressors, the notion that somehow a person's skin color determines his worthiness or his unworthiness.

Yes, I say to you candidly, frankly and honestly, racism is racism. And there is no room in America for racism of any color, kind or description. We must reject all calls to racism, whether they come from a throat that is white, or a throat that is black. It's all the same.

Legitimate pride in the achievements and contributions of one's forebears is, of course, another matter. One of the great tragedies of America has been that so few persons appreciate or even know the remarkable contributions of the Negroes to this Nation's history.

I call upon the schools, public and private of America, to make known to the young people of this land in coming generations the story of the contributions of the American Negro to the American Republic. What a glorious chapter!

How many of us, for example, know that twenty-six of the forty-four settlers who established this city of Los Angeles in 1781 were Negroes? We talk about native Californians!

The pride in Negro history and achievement should establish a basis upon which to build a new climate of mutual respect among all elements of society. Pride in achievement, pride in history, not the false doctrines of racial superiority. We must strive to create a society in which the aims of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Civil Rights Movement can be achieved. And always remember, that we seek advancement, not prototype(?). This is the United States of America, not South Africa.

Negroes have been a part of America since Jamestown. They suffered and survived the cruel yoke of slavery. They have experienced hardship and discrimination of a severity and duration that no other group of Americans has ever known. And the basis for this brutality has been segregation and exclusion on terms imposed by the white majority. Today

this system is being torn down, torn down through the concerted efforts of both Negroes and whites. Do not deny me the chance to be with you.

We must strive to perfect one citizenship, one destiny for all Americans. That's our goal. Integration must be recognized as an essential means to the ends that we are seeking -- the ends of freedom and justice and equal opportunity for all Americans. And if there are areas in this country where meaningful integration is not a realistic prospect -- and there are in both South and North -- then the true remedy lies in creating these conditions of integration as quickly as possible.

As President Johnson said in that historic address at Howard University, in far too many ways, American Negroes have been another nation, deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope. Who in similar circumstances, I say to my white bretheran, might not feel within him the responsive echo to the cries of power and hostile pride, who in similar circumstances might not finally lose faith and patience with the statements of good intention which were seldom translated into action.

Our response to these cries of outrage and despair must be concrete, tangible, visible evidence, evidence that a man can see and feel and hear in his city, in his job, in his home with his children, and in his own sense of dignity and self-respect.

Today, after far too long, we are beginning to see that evidence. The road to freedom has been obscured for too many years by hatred and habit, by anger and apathy, but that road now lies pearly in our view. And we march down that road, not in separate columns, white and black, to the sound of marshal music heralding the approach of clashing armies. We march, instead, together in solidarity as brothers and sisters, to the sound of a song echoed by free people everywhere, of all colors, of all races in every land.

And that song... You know it:

Staining the road we trod (?)

Bear the chastening rod

Face the rising sun of our new
day begun,

Let us together, hand in hand

Until victory is won.



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