

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

MARTIN LUTHER KING SOUL FESTIVAL
People's Congregational Church

January 19, 1975

Washington, D.C.

It is a great honor for me to be with so many old friends to help celebrate the Martin Luther King Soul Festival.

We are old friends because of the battles we fought together here in the District of Columbia and in the Congress.

We have won some of those battles. I feel proud to have been a foot soldier helping to wage the long fight for the right of the people of the District to have their own government. You have been victorious because you never gave up. Like Joab leading the army of Israel, you have come to the promised land because you never relented.

And as old friends we celebrate the birth 47 years ago of a black man who gave his people and our nation a gift few can give --

He gave us the vision to see our wrongs.

He gave us Christian mercy and understanding so that we could live together as brothers and sisters.

He gave us a credo of nonviolence which moved a nation away from confrontation and toward reason.

And when he left us on that dark day in April of 1968, he gave us great courage so that we had the strength to continue his work -- his work for equal justice and his work for peace.

How I miss Martin. America needs him so badly today.

It is fitting that we take note in this city of Washington of Martin Luther King's birth.

Washington had a special meaning for this great man.

It was the seat of national government. It was the symbol of decades of officially condoned racial injustice. But it also was a city of hope -- a place where men and women in government were willing to listen to his message.

It was here that he brought his great march in 1963 and called upon America to grant justice and to dream his dream for black Americans.

We walked with Dr. King on that day in August. And 10 months later -- in June of 1964 -- Congress passed the most comprehensive civil rights legislation in the history of the nation.

That civil rights bill is Martin Luther King's legacy. And I hope that it will be considered mine as well.

Before he was taken from us, Dr. King launched his Poor People's Campaign. He knew that the civil rights victories won in the Congress, in the courtrooms, and even in the hearts and minds of Americans were meaningless as long as black Americans were the poor and hungry Americans.

This great man who was killed while fighting for the garbage-men of Memphis knew that the battle for equal justice under law must become the battle for economic justice.

I never will accept the proposition that two centuries of racial injustice somehow have vanished from this land.

Yes, we've come a long way, but we still have miles to go.

America still has an unfinished agenda of human rights. And at the top of this agenda is the right to a meaningful life free from poverty and hunger.

We must shift the battlefield for equal opportunity in America from the courts to the marketplace. Economic justice must now be the major goal of a civil rights movement for the 1970's and beyond.

And this must be a civil rights movement for all Americans. Poverty knows no racial bounds. Whether white, black, brown or red, the children of urban slums and rural blight have a right to escape the poverty which every day, every week, every month and every passing year will deprive them of their basic civil rights: the right to develop to their full potential and the right to share in the abundance of America.

We now must identify the struggle for civil rights as an all-embracing struggle for the rights and privileges and duties of all Americans. We need allies and friends.

In the political arena there are not enough blacks, Chicanos, Indians and Puerto Ricans to form an electoral majority.

So we must create a climate of shared interests between the needs, the hopes and the fears of the minorities and the needs, the hopes and fears of the majority.

This is our challenge.

It also is our best hope.

Today we are entering a period of economic hardship which has not been equalled since the days of the soup kitchens and the boarded-up banks.

Yes, my friends, we are entering a recession which will bring us too many tragic reminders of the 1930's. And remember this. A recession for white folks is a depression for black folks, too.

Just look at the figures:

-- Unemployment for black adults now is nearly 13% compared to 7.1% for whites.

-- In the last year unemployment among black men and women has increased by 50% to reach a tragic total of 1.3 million people.

-- And joblessness among black teenagers now is reaching the alarming rate of nearly 40%.

These are the so-called "official figures. But they don't measure the true economic costs of this recession -- the broken homes, the lost educational opportunities, the hunger, the pain of it all. And these official rates don't take account of those who have become so discouraged that they have stopped looking for a job. You and I know there are many of these people.

The recession of 1975 is about to wipe out many of the economic gains black and other minority Americans made in the 1960's.

We must not let this happen.

It is economically, morally and politically unacceptable.

The struggle for economic justice is tough when times are good. But when they are bad, special efforts have to be made.

I am not going to sit back and let this Republican Administration undo all the gains and accomplishments of the 1960's.

Unless we act soon millions of poor blacks and poor whites will suffer even more poverty. These people will spend the rest of the decade trying to recover what they may lose in the coming months of recession.

I am not here to give you a dissertation on economics. But I want to tell you that the federal government can take action which will begin to turn the tide against recession in three important areas: taxes, jobs and the future of our cities.

First, we must enact a program of tax relief which will put money in people's pockets so they can spend it and get the economy moving again. I have proposed a tax cut of 20 billion aimed primarily at helping families earning \$15,000 or less.

Second, we must launch a genuine full employment program that will guarantee a job at decent wages for every able-bodied American who can work.

This is not a pipe dream. A nation which spends \$100 billion each year in its military budget can give every American a good job. But the government should be the employer of last resort. Congressman Hawkins and I have introduced the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act, which could wipe out unemployment in this nation.

Third, the time has come for the government to recognize that its cities are becoming the shame of a great nation. Many are becoming empty shells where the poor live and the rich and middle class work and then leave. The vast treasure in American banks now flows to the suburbs, the speculative land developers, the multinational corporations and to finance the conglomerate mergers.

We need resources in our cities -- not to build skyscrapers, but to construct low cost housing. Not to build giant convention halls, but to improve our schools and hospitals. Not to build expressways, but to pave and clean our streets and provide efficient transportation systems.

If the private banks won't help our cities, then the Congress must establish a National Domestic Development Bank that will. Such a public bank would provide long-term, low-interest loans to stimulate economic development.

If we do not act to turn the economic tide, our nation must accept the consequences of its inaction.

We must accept the possibility of continued decay and despair in our cities.

And we must also accept the responsibility for having created a new generation of frustrated and angered Americans who never will believe that economic justice can be achieved in their country and in their lifetime.

The price we will pay for inaction is too great.

In this District of Columbia, the city to which Martin Luther King came with hope for a better day, let us resolve now to march together, to work together, to pray together for justice in America.

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In a Congregationalist
United Church of
Christ
151 Church St

- Dr Stanley -
Rev Simmons

- Members of Peoples Congregational
Church.

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

- Mary Washburn

MARTIN LUTHER KING SOUL FESTIVAL
PEOPLE'S CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

- of field Dukes
JANUARY 19, 1975
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Choir

MR PARKER
Parked
maneuver
of music

AMEN

- Sandy Mason

- Bill Deabow
Leroy Sprigg

IT IS A GREAT HONOR FOR ME TO BE WITH SO MANY OLD FRIENDS
TO HELP CELEBRATE THE MARTIN LUTHER KING SOUL FESTIVAL.

↳ WE ARE OLD FRIENDS BECAUSE OF THE BATTLES WE FOUGHT
~~the Home Rule~~
TOGETHER HERE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND IN THE CONGRESS ^{for}
Home rule - Human Rights

↳ WE HAVE WON SOME OF THOSE BATTLES I FEEL PROUD TO HAVE BEEN
A FOOT SOLDIER HELPING TO WAGE THE LONG FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT OF
THE PEOPLE OF THE DISTRICT TO HAVE THEIR OWN Home rule
GOVERNMENT YOU HAVE BEEN VICTORIOUS BECAUSE YOU NEVER GAVE UP!

LIKE JOAB LEADING THE ARMY OF ISRAEL, YOU HAVE COME TO THE
PROMISED LAND BECAUSE YOU NEVER RELENTED!

↳ AND AS OLD FRIENDS WE CELEBRATE THE BIRTH ^{of Dr King} ~~47 YEARS AGO~~ OF A
a BLACK MAN WHO GAVE HIS PEOPLE AND OUR NATION A GIFT FEW CAN GIVE --

→ May - Washington } Previous speakers
Dr Samuel Proctor } Cyril King

↳ HE GAVE US THE ^{strength} ~~VISION~~ TO SEE OUR WRONGS.

He gave us the vision to see ~~our~~ future

↳ HE GAVE US CHRISTIAN MERCY AND UNDERSTANDING SO THAT WE

COULD LIVE TOGETHER AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

↳ HE GAVE US A ^{message} ~~MESSAGE~~ OF NONVIOLENCE WHICH MOVED A NATION AWAY

FROM CONFRONTATION AND TOWARD REASON.

↳ AND WHEN HE LEFT US ON THAT DARK DAY IN APRIL OF 1968, HE GAVE US GREAT COURAGE SO THAT WE HAD THE STRENGTH TO CONTINUE

HIS WORK -- HIS WORK FOR EQUAL JUSTICE AND HIS WORK FOR PEACE.

↳ *Dr Martin Luther King Jr.*
HOW I MISS ~~MARTIN~~ AMERICA NEEDS HIM SO BADLY TODAY.

But his SPIRIT LIVES - His Dream is our Dream.

↳ IT IS FITTING THAT WE TAKE NOTE IN THIS CITY OF WASHINGTON OF MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTH.

↳ WASHINGTON HAD A SPECIAL MEANING FOR THIS GREAT MAN.

*His Dream
quote*

IT WAS THE SEAT OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. IT WAS THE SYMBOL
OF DECADES OF OFFICIALLY CONDONED RACIAL INJUSTICE, BUT IT ALSO
WAS A CITY OF HOPE -- A PLACE WHERE ^{rome} MEN AND WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT
WERE WILLING TO LISTEN TO HIS MESSAGE.

L IT WAS HERE THAT HE BROUGHT HIS GREAT MARCH IN 1963 AND
CALLED UPON AMERICA TO GRANT JUSTICE AND TO DREAM HIS DREAM FOR
BLACK AMERICANS - yes all americans!

L ~~HE~~ WALKED WITH DR. KING ON THAT DAY IN AUGUST, 1963 AND 10
MONTHS LATER -- IN JUNE OF 1964 -- CONGRESS PASSED THE MOST
COMPREHENSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN THE HISTORY OF THE
NATION.

L THAT CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IS MARTIN LUTHER KING'S LEGACY.

AND I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE CONSIDERED MINE AS WELL.

BEFORE HE WAS TAKEN FROM US, DR. KING LAUNCHED HIS

POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN HE KNEW THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORIES

WON IN THE CONGRESS, IN THE COURTROOMS, AND EVEN IN THE HEARTS AND

MINDS OF AMERICANS WERE ~~NOT ENOUGH~~ ^{not enough} AS LONG AS BLACK AMERICANS

WERE THE POOR AND HUNGRY AMERICANS.

THIS GREAT MAN WHO WAS KILLED WHILE FIGHTING FOR ~~THE GARBAGE-~~ ^{POOR PEOPLE -}

^{for the garbage} MEN OF MEMPHIS KNEW THAT THE BATTLE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

MUST BECOME THE BATTLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE.

~~I NEVER WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT TWO CENTURIES OF~~

RACIAL INJUSTICE ~~SOMEHOW HAVE VANISHED FROM THIS LAND.~~

have not vanished from america simply because we have changed our laws and declared segregation and discrimination unconstitutional!

No - This is but a beginning.

Dr King - A Drum major for
a better America!

h WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY, BUT WE STILL HAVE MILES TO GO.

h AMERICA STILL HAS AN UNFINISHED AGENDA OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AND

AT THE TOP OF THIS AGENDA IS THE RIGHT TO A MEANINGFUL LIFE FREE

FROM POVERTY AND HUNGER.

h WE MUST SHIFT THE BATTLEFIELD FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN

AMERICA FROM THE COURTS TO THE MARKETPLACE. ECONOMIC JUSTICE MUST

NOW BE THE MAJOR GOAL OF A CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT FOR THE 1970'S

AND BEYOND.

h AND THIS MUST BE A CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT FOR ALL AMERICANS.

h POVERTY KNOWS NO RACIAL BOUNDS, WHETHER WHITE, BLACK, BROWN OR

RED, THE CHILDREN OF URBAN SLUMS AND RURAL BLIGHT HAVE A RIGHT TO

ESCAPE THE POVERTY WHICH EVERY DAY, EVERY WEEK, EVERY MONTH AND

EVERY PASSING YEAR WILL DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR BASIC CIVIL RIGHTS --

THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP TO THEIR FULL POTENTIAL AND THE RIGHT
TO SHARE IN THE ABUNDANCE OF AMERICA.

↳ WE NOW MUST IDENTIFY THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AS AN
ALL-EMBRACING STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF
ALL AMERICANS. WE NEED ALLIES AND FRIENDS.

↳ IN THE POLITICAL ARENA THERE ARE NOT ENOUGH BLACKS, CHICANOS,
INDIANS AND PUERTO RICANS TO FORM AN ELECTORAL MAJORITY.

↳ SO WE MUST CREATE A CLIMATE OF SHARED INTERESTS BETWEEN THE
NEEDS, THE HOPES AND THE FEARS OF THE MINORITIES AND THE NEEDS,
THE HOPES AND FEARS OF THE MAJORITY.

↳ THIS IS OUR CHALLENGE.

L IT ALSO ALSO OUR BEST HOPE.

L TODAY WE ARE ENTERING A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC HARDSHIP WHICH HAS NOT BEEN EQUALLED SINCE THE DAYS OF THE SOUP KITCHENS AND THE BOARDED-UP BANKS *of the great Depression*

~~YES, MY FRIENDS,~~ WE ARE ENTERING A RECESSION WHICH WILL BRING US TOO MANY TRAGIC REMINDERS OF THE 1930's. AND REMEMBER THIS,
A RECESSION FOR WHITE FOLKS IS A DEPRESSION FOR BLACK FOLKS. ~~TOO~~

L JUST LOOK AT THE FIGURES:

-- UNEMPLOYMENT FOR BLACK ADULTS NOW IS NEARLY 13 PER CENT
COMPARED TO 7.1 PER CENT FOR WHITES.

L-- IN THE LAST YEAR UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG BLACK MEN AND WOMEN
HAS INCREASED BY 50 PER CENT TO REACH A TRAGIC TOTAL OF 1.3 MILLION
PEOPLE.

-- AND JOBLESSNESS AMONG BLACK TEENAGERS NOW IS REACHING
THE ALARMING RATE OF NEARLY 40 PER CENT.

L THESE ARE THE SO-CALLED "OFFICIAL" FIGURES. BUT,
THEY DON'T MEASURE THE TRUE ECONOMIC COSTS OF THIS RECESSION --
THE BROKEN HOMES, THE LOST EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, THE HUNGER,
THE PAIN OF IT ALL. THESE OFFICIAL RATES DON'T TAKE ACCOUNT
OF THOSE WHO HAVE BECOME SO DISCOURAGED THAT THEY HAVE STOPPED

LOOKING FOR A JOB. YOU AND I KNOW THERE ARE MANY OF THESE
PEOPLE. *(unemployment - says you are not needed.)*

L THE RECESSION OF 1975 IS ABOUT TO WIPE OUT MANY OF THE
ECONOMIC GAINS BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY AMERICANS MADE IN THE 1960's.

L WE MUST NOT LET THIS HAPPEN.

↳ IT IS ECONOMICALLY, MORALLY AND POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE!

↳ THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE IS TOUGH WHEN TIMES ARE GOOD, BUT WHEN THEY ARE BAD, SPECIAL EFFORTS HAVE TO BE MADE.

~~I AM NOT GOING TO SIT BACK AND LET THIS REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION UNDO ALL THE GAINS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 1960's.~~

↳ UNLESS WE ACT SOON MILLIONS OF POOR BLACKS AND POOR WHITES WILL SUFFER EVEN MORE POVERTY, THESE PEOPLE WILL SPEND THE REST OF THE DECADE TRYING TO RECOVER WHAT THEY MAY LOSE IN THE COMING MONTHS OF RECESSION.

I AM NOT HERE TO GIVE YOU A ^{Speech} ~~DISSERTATION~~ ON ECONOMICS, BUT I WANT TO TELL YOU THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE ACTION WHICH WILL BEGIN TO TURN THE TIDE AGAINST RECESSION IN THREE IMPORTANT AREAS: TAXES, JOB AND THE FUTURE OF OUR CITIES.

✓ FIRST, WE MUST ENACT A PROGRAM OF TAX RELIEF WHICH WILL PUT MONEY IN PEOPLE'S POCKETS SO THAT THEY CAN SPEND IT AND GET THE ECONOMY MOVING AGAIN. ✓ I HAVE PROPOSED A TAX CUT OF \$20 BILLION AIMED PRIMARILY AT HELPING FAMILIES EARNING \$15,000 OR LESS.

✓ SECOND, WE MUST LAUNCH A GENUINE FULL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM THAT WILL GUARANTEE A JOB AT DECENT WAGES FOR EVERY ABLE-BODIED AMERICAN WHO CAN WORK.

✓ THIS IS NOT A PIPE DREAM. ✓ A NATION WHICH SPENDS \$100 BILLION EACH YEAR IN ITS MILITARY BUDGET CAN ~~NOT~~ ^{provide every} ~~EVERY~~ AMERICAN A GOOD JOB. ✓ ^{Prevents Employment - + no job} ~~BUT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE THE EMPLOYER OF~~

^{Govt Employment} ~~LAST RESORT~~ ✓ CONGRESSMAN HAWKINS AND I HAVE INTRODUCED THE

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND FULL EMPLOYMENT ACT, WHICH COULD WIPE OUT UNEMPLOYMENT IN THIS NATION.

↳ THIRD, THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE
THAT ITS CITIES ARE BECOMING THE SHAME OF A GREAT NATION. MANY
ARE BECOMING EMPTY SHELLS WHERE THE POOR LIVE AND THE RICH AND
MIDDLE CLASS WORK AND THEN LEAVE. ↳ THE VAST TREASURE IN AMERICAN
BANKS NOW FLOWS TO THE SUBURBS, ^{to} IN THE SPECULATIVE LAND DEVELOPERS,
THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND TO FINANCE THE ~~CONGLOMERATE~~ ^{speculation}
MERGERS. in Stocks, & Commodities - Hold & Sell.
↳ WE NEED RESOURCES IN OUR CITIES -- NOT ^{only} TO BUILD SKYSCRAPERS,
BUT TO CONSTRUCT LOW COST HOUSING, ^{only} NOT TO BUILD GIANT CONVENTION
HALLS, BUT TO IMPROVE OUR SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS. ^{only} NOT TO BUILD
EXPRESSWAYS, BUT TO PAVE AND CLEAN OUR STREETS AND PROVIDE
EFFICIENT TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS.

Harvey

IF THE PRIVATE BANKS WON'T HELP OUR CITIES, THEN
THE CONGRESS MUST ESTABLISH A NATIONAL DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT BANK
THAT WILL, SUCH A PUBLIC BANK WOULD PROVIDE LONG-TERM, LOW-INTEREST
LOANS TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. — Housing

IF WE DO NOT ACT TO TURN THE ECONOMIC TIDE, OUR NATION MUST
ACCEPT THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS INACTION.

WE MUST ACCEPT THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUED DECAY AND DESPAIR
IN OUR CITIES.

~~WE MUST ACCEPT THE POSSIBILITY OF A SUMMER OF VIOLENCE AND~~
~~UNREST.~~

AND WE ALSO MUST ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HAVING CREATED
A NEW GENERATION OF FRUSTRATED AND ANGERED AMERICANS WHO NEVER WILL
BELIEVE THAT ECONOMIC JUSTICE CAN BE ACHIEVED IN THEIR
COUNTRY AND IN THEIR LIFETIME.

THE PRICE WE WILL PAY FOR INACTION IS TOO GREAT.

IN THIS DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, THE CITY TO WHICH MARTIN

LUTHER KING CAME WITH HOPE FOR A BETTER DAY, LET US

RESOLVE NOW TO MARCH TOGETHER, TO WORK TOGETHER, TO PRAY TOGETHER

FOR JUSTICE IN AMERICA.

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