

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DFL FEMINIST CAUCUS FUND **RAISER**

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

December 13, 1975

It's great to be able to join you for this fine holiday party -- to celebrate your victories with you and to look ahead to the goals on which we should focus our attention.

The Feminist Caucus continues to be a strong, clear voice working within our Party to address the needs and wishes of women in Minnesota.

And that voice has echoed all the way to Washington, because the leadership in Minnesota under the capable hand of Koryne Horbal has become a visible and undeniable force in our national Party.

You have expanded the awareness of the Democratic Party. You have prodded our Party out of its intransigence. You have lifted the spirits and pricked at the conscience of Democrats everywhere. We salute you!

With your sustained and forward-looking activity, you have helped the DFL Party to maintain its position of progressive leadership in the Nation.

I get around the country a good deal, and I am repeatedly struck by the farsightedness of our State Party by the quality of life that is available to Minnesotans and by the irrepressible spirit of our people. You have helped to build our DFL Party into one of the best organized, most progressive political organizations in the country.

I am delighted to be able to share your pride in these accomplishments. I look forward to working with you for years to come to maintain the DFL as the majority party in Minnesota and to continue to improve the quality of our leaders and our candidates all over the State.

Yes, my friends, we have a fine-tuned, good running political operation. But having a good organization is significant only if we know where we are going.

Tonight I want to talk to you about the directions we must take in the area of women's rights over the coming months and years. But first, I'm going to challenge you.

In less than 11 months, the Democratic Party will face its ultimate battle. We will attempt to recapture the White House for the American people.

We must -- and we will -- end this reign of chaos and turmoil.

These last 7 years of Republican siege have featured:

- unprecedented and unscrupulous assault on the political system;
- economic mismanagement and a lack of leadership;
- retrenchment and equivocation on our hard-won battles in civil rights;

-- a sustained attack on the First Amendment;

-- constant and insidious attacks on the rights of organized labor;

-- and a whole laundry list that adds up to just one thing -- bad government.

Our people deserve better. They demand better. And we're going to make it better for them.

So I want you to gird yourselves for some tough battles. 1976 is going to be the year for Democrats, and the DFL will be right out front leading the way!

But the Republicans will be ready for the attack. They will accuse the Democratic Congress of everything in the book. Nevertheless, we will be ready. We Democrats will have a good, sound program and we will prove to the American people that their trust is safe with us.

But we must work together to develop this program. And high on the list of our priorities must be the further enhancement of the role of women in our political and economic systems.

As we work on our Democratic action agenda, we must give the most serious consideration to goals outlined in the National Women's Agenda for 1976.

I want to commend the Caucus leaders on the development of this Agenda, a program supported by some 80 national women's organizations.

This is a far-reaching agenda, and one which attempts to strike at those remaining obstacles which impede our progress toward realization of true equality for all Americans.

This represents the first major statement of goals which we Democrats have to help us build our platform for 1976, and I applaud your initiative.

In the last 10 years, we have come far down the road toward equal treatment of men and women in our society. We have enacted landmark legislation:

-- The Equal Pay Act;

-- Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, prohibiting discrimination in employment;

-- Title IX of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972, banning discrimination in education on the basis of sex.

Through law and regulation, we have seen a good deal of progress in assuring women equal access to education, employment, credit and other services of financial institutions.

We cannot berate this progress. But we all know that there is more work to be done. And it is our responsibility to get it done. It is clear that our Republican friends are perfectly happy with the status quo.

As we prepare for the election year and beyond, we must continue and redouble our efforts to see the last vestiges of discrimination removed.

But we must view women's issues in the context of our over-all national policy questions.

The economic chaos which threatens our national well-being is of special significance to women.

For example, the overall unemployment rate published last month was 8.3 percent. Among adult men, the rate was 6.9 percent, while for adult women it was 7.8 percent.

If we don't act, this high unemployment is likely to become even higher as more and more women enter the work force.

Between 1962 and 1974, the number of working women increased by 10 million. And this trend is certain to continue, while the number of men in the job market remains fairly stable.

Because we have expanded educational opportunities, the percentage of women students in the professions is growing. In 1960, only six percent of medical students were women, the Labor Department reports, while in 1974, they constituted 18 percent.

In pharmacy, the percentage of women students enrolled increased from 12 to 32 percent in this period. In law, the comparable percentages were four percent in 1960, 19 percent in 1974.

This increased access by women to professional training is long overdue, and was made possible by our efforts to broaden the educational experience of women. But the question remains: How will we assure fairness to these women when they prepare to enter the labor force?

How can we guarantee that they will be equally compensated for their efforts when we know that equal pay for equal work still is not a reality?

Figures for 1974 reveal that full-time adult women employees still can expect to earn less than adult male workers.

-- Women managers and administrators earn 60 percent of what their male counterparts earn.

-- Women in a production-line factory job earn 64 percent of what the men doing the same job earn.

-- Female sales workers earn less than half -- 42 percent -- of the men's earnings.

This is just an example of the problems that working women face.

We still don't have an adequate system of day care and child development centers. And Social Security and pension laws don't accurately reflect the fact of life that most women work out of economic necessity, either to support a family or to supplement the family income.

We also must pursue the development of programs and services which are necessary to make the transition of women into the work force a smooth process.

We must press for more part-time job opportunities in the Federal government.

We need to pass the Displaced Homemakers Act, which would provide services to women who are thrust unprepared into the working world.

We need to expedite enactment of the Child and Family Services Act, to assure that the children of working families receive the care they need and which low and moderate-income families cannot always afford.

I have joined in sponsoring these and other important proposals, and I will continue to work for their enactment.

In addition, we need to reassess the provisions of the Social Security program which affect women and their survivors. And pension plans need to be looked at to assure that they meet the retirement needs of women who work.

We must take a hard look at our public assistance programs to ensure that sufficient incentives exist to assist poor women who want to work and provide the support services they and their children must have to exist.

We must look to the needs of women in every walk of life -- to homemakers as well as those in the professions. I am pleased to see that the Feminist Caucus is representing the interests of all women in the development of Democratic policy.

But more than anything else -- our agenda must have as its first priority ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Congress will continue to make statutory changes in the law which are deemed necessary to assure fairness to women. But this is not enough.

We must press for the fundamental affirmation of equality of the sexes which this constitutional amendment will grant.

Some people have been subjected to a campaign which evokes fears that somehow the ERA will completely alter the concept of marriage and family.

That just is not true. Whatever interpretation is given to changing social patterns, it is irrelevant to the central issue of this constitutional amendment. Simply put, that issue is whether at long last we are going to guarantee equal rights and justice to all our citizens -- the majority of whom are women.

The Equal Rights Amendment is very straightforward. It simply states:

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

This means that the government cannot pursue policies which arbitrarily discriminate between citizens of the United States because they are male or female.

It does not deal with private individuals or companies.

It does not deal with matters which are the private concerns of husbands and wives.

It simply states what already should be understood.

The controversy over the ERA reminds me a good deal of the battles which raged when we were trying to enact the landmark civil rights laws of the 1960s. You heard every excuse in the world why we shouldn't pass these simple laws of justice and equity.

But the fear-mongers didn't deter us then, and those who misrepresent the facts shouldn't deter us now.

In the 1960s, we had to educate our people. We had to address their fears and lay them aside. We had to demonstrate the justice of our cause. And then, after we had talked and preached and persuaded, we had to have the courage to do what we knew was right -- simply because it was right.

So that is what must be done today. We must educate our people -- those in our own State who have misgivings and especially those in other parts of the country whose ratification vote is essential.

We must address ourselves to their fears, using a little friendly persuasion and good gospel sense -- and then we must have the strength of our convictions.

I am confident we will succeed. The beauty of the Constitution is the capacity it gives us to bring to fruition those ideals which are expressed so eloquently in it.

The Founders gave us the ability -- indeed, the responsibility -- to right those wrongs which come to light. And that is what we are doing now.

What better way exists to celebrate the Bicentennial of our Nation's founding than to reaffirm the Constitutional promise of the establishment of justice?

There can be no freedom in America unless all are free. And there can be no civil rights without women's rights. Until we affirm, once and for all, the inalienable rights of women, the blessings of liberty will not be secure.

# # # # #

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

DFL FEMINIST CAUCUS FUNDRAISER

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

DECEMBER 13, 1975

IT'S GREAT TO BE ABLE TO JOIN YOU FOR THIS *great*

HOLIDAY PARTY -- TO CELEBRATE YOUR VICTORIES ~~WITH~~

~~YOU~~ AND TO LOOK AHEAD TO THE GOALS ON WHICH WE SHOULD

FOCUS OUR ATTENTION.

↳ THE FEMINIST CAUCUS CONTINUES TO BE A STRONG,  
CLEAR VOICE WORKING WITHIN OUR PARTY TO ADDRESS THE  
NEEDS AND WISHES OF WOMEN IN MINNESOTA.

↳ AND THAT VOICE HAS ECHOED ALL THE WAY TO WASHINGTON,  
BECAUSE THE LEADERSHIP IN MINNESOTA UNDER THE CAPABLE  
*Korien*  
HAND OF KORYNE HORBAL HAS BECOME A VISIBLE AND UNDENIABLE  
FORCE IN OUR NATIONAL PARTY. ↓

↳ YOU HAVE EXPANDED THE AWARENESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC  
PARTY. ↳ YOU HAVE PRODDED OUR PARTY OUT OF ITS INTRANSIGENCE.

L YOU HAVE LIFTED THE SPIRITS AND PRICKED AT THE CONSCIENCE  
OF DEMOCRATS EVERYWHERE. WE SALUTE YOU!

L WITH YOUR SUSTAINED AND FORWARD-LOOKING ACTIVITY,  
YOU HAVE HELPED THE DFL PARTY TO MAINTAIN ITS POSITION  
OF PROGRESSIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE NATION.

II  
L I GET AROUND THE COUNTRY A GOOD DEAL, AND I AM  
REPEATEDLY STRUCK BY THE FARSIGHTEDNESS OF OUR  
STATE PARTY BY THE QUALITY OF LIFE THAT IS AVAILABLE  
TO MINNESOTANS AND BY THE IRREPRESSIBLE SPIRIT OF OUR  
PEOPLE. YOU HAVE HELPED TO BUILD OUR DFL PARTY INTO  
ONE OF THE BEST ORGANIZED, MOST PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL  
ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE ABLE TO SHARE YOUR PRIDE IN  
 THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH  
 YOU FOR YEARS TO COME -- TO MAINTAIN THE DFL AS THE  
 MAJORITY PARTY IN MINNESOTA AND TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE  
 THE QUALITY OF OUR LEADERS AND OUR CANDIDATES ALL OVER  
 THE STATE.

YES, MY FRIENDS, WE HAVE A FINE-TUNED, GOOD RUNNING  
 POLITICAL OPERATION. BUT HAVING A GOOD ORGANIZATION IS  
 SIGNIFICANT ONLY IF WE KNOW WHERE WE ARE GOING.

TONIGHT I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT THE DIRECTIONS  
 WE MUST TAKE IN THE AREA OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS OVER THE  
 COMING MONTHS AND YEARS. BUT FIRST, I'M GOING TO  
 CHALLENGE YOU,

IN LESS THAN 11 MONTHS, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WILL  
FACE ITS ULTIMATE BATTLE. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO RECAPTURE  
THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE MUST -- AND WE WILL -- END THIS REIGN OF CHAOS  
AND TURMOIL.

THESE LAST 7 YEARS OF REPUBLICAN SIEGE HAVE  
FEATURED:

*an* UNPRECEDENTED AND UNSCRUPULOUS ASSAULT ON THE  
POLITICAL SYSTEM;

-- ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT AND ~~LACK OF LEADERSHIP~~ *characterized by inflation & Recession*;  
-- RETRENCHMENT AND EQUIVOCATION ON OUR HARD-WON

BATTLES IN CIVIL RIGHTS;  
-- A SUSTAINED ATTACK ON THE FIRST AMENDMENT;

L -- CONSTANT AND INSIDIOUS ATTACKS ON THE RIGHTS OF

ORGANIZED LABOR;

L -- AND A WHOLE LAUNDRY LIST THAT ADDS UP TO JUST  
ONE THING -- BAD GOVERNMENT

L OUR PEOPLE DESERVE BETTER L THEY DEMAND BETTER!  
AND WE'RE GOING TO MAKE IT BETTER FOR THEM.

L SO I WANT YOU TO GIRD YOURSELVES FOR SOME TOUGH  
BATTLES L 1976 IS GOING TO BE THE YEAR FOR DEMOCRATS,  
AND THE DFL WILL BE RIGHT OUT FRONT LEADING THE WAY!

L BUT THE REPUBLICANS WILL BE READY FOR THE ATTACK.

L THEY WILL ACCUSE THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS OF EVERYTHING  
IN THE BOOK. L NEVERTHELESS, WE WILL BE READY. WE

DEMOCRATS WILL HAVE A GOOD, SOUND PROGRAM AND WE WILL

PROVE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THEIR TRUST IS SAFE WITH US.

L BUT WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP THIS PROGRAM.

L AND, HIGH ON THE LIST OF OUR PRIORITIES MUST BE THE ~~SISTER~~

~~ENHANCEMENT~~ OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN OUR POLITICAL AND

~~ECONOMIC~~ SYSTEMS.

L AS WE WORK ON OUR DEMOCRATIC ACTION AGENDA, WE MUST  
GIVE THE MOST SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO GOALS OUTLINED IN

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S AGENDA FOR 1976.

L I WANT TO COMMEND THE CAUCUS LEADERS ON THE  
DEVELOPMENT OF THIS AGENDA, A PROGRAM SUPPORTED BY

SOME 80 NATIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS.

L THIS IS A FAR-REACHING AGENDA, AND ONE WHICH ATTEMPTS  
TO STRIKE AT THOSE REMAINING OBSTACLES WHICH IMPEDE OUR

PROGRESS TOWARD REALIZATION OF TRUE EQUALITY FOR ALL

AMERICANS.

L THIS REPRESENTS THE FIRST MAJOR STATEMENT OF GOALS  
WHICH WE DEMOCRATS HAVE TO HELP US BUILD OUR PLATFORM  
FOR 1976, AND I APPLAUD YOUR INITIATIVE.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
L IN THE LAST 10 YEARS, WE HAVE COME FAR DOWN THE ROAD  
TOWARD EQUAL TREATMENT OF MEN AND WOMEN IN OUR SOCIETY.

L WE HAVE ENACTED LANDMARK LEGISLATION:

-- THE EQUAL PAY ACT;

L -- TITLE VII OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT, PROHIBITING  
DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT;

L -- TITLE IX OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1972,  
BANNING DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION ON THE BASIS OF SEX.

THROUGH LAW AND REGULATION, WE HAVE SEEN A  
GOOD DEAL OF PROGRESS IN ASSURING WOMEN EQUAL ACCESS  
TO EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, CREDIT AND OTHER SERVICES  
OF FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

WE ~~CANNOT DEBATE~~ THIS PROGRESS *should not underestimate* BUT WE ALL KNOW  
THAT THERE IS <sup>*much*</sup> MORE WORK TO BE DONE, AND IT IS OUR  
RESPONSIBILITY TO GET IT DONE, ~~IT IS CLEAR THAT OUR~~

~~REPUBLICAN FRIENDS ARE PERFECTLY HAPPY WITH THE STATUS~~

~~OUR~~

~~AS WE PREPARE FOR THE ELECTION YEAR AND BEYOND, WE~~  
~~MUST CONTINUE AND REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO SEE THE LAST~~  
~~VESTIGES OF DISCRIMINATION REMOVED.~~

BUT WE MUST VIEW WOMEN'S ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF  
OUR OVER-ALL NATIONAL POLICY QUESTIONS.

women + jobs

THE ECONOMIC TROUBLES WHICH THREATENS ~~OUR NATIONAL~~  
are  
PROBLEMS OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO WOMEN.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE OVERALL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE PUBLISHED  
LAST MONTH WAS 8.3 PERCENT. AMONG ADULT MEN, THE RATE WAS  
6.9 PERCENT, WHILE FOR ADULT WOMEN IT WAS 7.8 PERCENT.

IF WE DON'T ACT, THIS HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT IS LIKELY  
TO BECOME EVEN HIGHER AS MORE AND MORE WOMEN <sup>sakto</sup> ENTER THE  
WORK FORCE.

BETWEEN 1962 AND 1974, THE NUMBER OF WORKING WOMEN  
INCREASED BY 10 MILLION AND THIS TREND IS CERTAIN  
TO CONTINUE, WHILE THE NUMBER OF MEN IN THE JOB MARKET  
REMAINS FAIRLY STABLE.

- child care -  
- DAY care

↳ BECAUSE WE HAVE EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES,

THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN STUDENTS IN THE PROFESSIONS IS

GROWING. ↳ IN 1960, ONLY SIX PERCENT OF MEDICAL STUDENTS

WERE WOMEN, ~~THE LAST PERCENT REPORTS~~, WHILE IN 1974,

THEY CONSTITUTED 18 PERCENT. | Fed Aid to Educ  
to medical Schools

↳ IN PHARMACY, THE PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN STUDENTS ENROLLED

INCREASED FROM 12 TO 32 PERCENT IN THIS PERIOD. ↳ IN LAW,

THE COMPARABLE PERCENTAGES WERE FOUR PERCENT IN 1960,

19 PERCENT IN 1974.

↳ THIS INCREASED ACCESS BY WOMEN TO PROFESSIONAL

TRAINING IS LONG OVERDUE, AND WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY OUR

EFFORTS TO BROADEN THE EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN.

BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS: HOW WILL WE ASSURE FAIRNESS *✓ Equal*

*opportunities*

TO THESE WOMEN WHEN THEY PREPARE TO ENTER THE LABOR FORCE?

L HOW CAN WE GUARANTEE THAT THEY WILL BE EQUALLY

COMPENSATED FOR THEIR EFFORTS WHEN WE KNOW THAT EQUAL PAY

FOR EQUAL WORK STILL IS NOT A REALITY?

L FIGURES FOR 1974 REVEAL THAT FULL-TIME ADULT

WOMEN EMPLOYEES STILL CAN EXPECT TO EARN LESS THAN ADULT

MALE WORKERS.

*This is grossly unfair!*

L WOMEN MANAGERS AND ADMINISTRATORS EARN 60 PERCENT

OF WHAT THEIR MALE COUNTERPARTS EARN.

L WOMEN IN A PRODUCTION-LINE FACTORY JOB EARN

64 PERCENT OF WHAT THE MEN DOING THE SAME JOB EARN.

*Wrong!*

L -- FEMALE SALES WORKERS EARN LESS THAN HALF --  
42 PERCENT -- OF THE MEN'S EARNINGS.

L THIS IS JUST AN EXAMPLE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WORKING  
WOMEN FACE. (cred. T-)

L WE STILL DON'T HAVE AN ADEQUATE SYSTEM OF DAY CARE  
AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTERS AND SOCIAL SECURITY AND  
PENSION LAWS DON'T ACCURATELY REFLECT THE FACT OF LIFE  
THAT MOST WOMEN WORK BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC NECESSITY, EITHER  
TO SUPPORT A FAMILY OR TO SUPPLEMENT THE FAMILY INCOME.

L WE ALSO MUST PURSUE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS AND  
SERVICES WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO MAKE THE TRANSITION OF WOMEN  
INTO THE WORK FORCE A SMOOTH PROCESS.

L WE MUST PRESS FOR MORE PART-TIME JOB OPPORTUNITIES  
IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.



L WE MUST TAKE A HARD LOOK AT OUR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE  
PROGRAMS TO ENSURE THAT SUFFICIENT INCENTIVES EXIST TO  
ASSIST POOR WOMEN WHO WANT TO WORK, AND PROVIDE THE  
SUPPORT SERVICES THEY AND THEIR CHILDREN MUST HAVE TO EXIST.

L WE MUST LOOK TO THE NEEDS OF WOMEN IN EVERY WALK OF  
LIFE -- TO HOMEMAKERS AS WELL AS THOSE IN THE PROFESSIONS.

L I AM PLEASED TO SEE THAT THE FEMINIST CAUCUS IS REPRESENTING  
THE INTERESTS OF ALL WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRATIC  
POLICY.

L BUT MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE -- OUR AGENDA MUST  
HAVE AS ITS FIRST PRIORITY RATIFICATION OF THE EQUAL  
RIGHTS AMENDMENT. L THE CONGRESS WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE

STATUTORY CHANGES IN THE LAWS WHICH ARE DEEMED NECESSARY  
TO ASSURE FAIRNESS TO WOMEN. 2 BUT THIS IS NOT ENOUGH.

↳ WE MUST PRESS FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL AFFIRMATION OF  
EQUALITY OF THE SEXES WHICH THIS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT  
WILL GRANT.

↳ SOME PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO A CAMPAIGN  
WHICH EVOKES FEARS THAT SOMEHOW THE ERA WILL COMPLETELY  
ALTER THE CONCEPT OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY,

↳ THAT JUST IS NOT TRUE. ↳ WHATEVER INTERPRETATION IS  
GIVEN TO CHANGING SOCIAL PATTERNS, IT IS IRRELEVANT TO THE  
CENTRAL ISSUE OF THIS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT, ↳ SIMPLY  
PUT, THAT ISSUE IS WHETHER AT LONG LAST WE ARE GOING TO  
GUARANTEE EQUAL RIGHTS AND JUSTICE TO ALL OUR CITIZENS --  
THE MAJORITY OF WHOM ARE WOMEN.

↳ THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT IS VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD.  
IT SIMPLY STATES:

└ "EQUALITY OF RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW SHALL NOT BE  
DENIED OR ABRIDGED BY THE UNITED STATES OR BY ANY STATE  
ON ACCOUNT OF SEX,"

└ THIS MEANS THAT THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT PURSUE  
POLICIES WHICH ARBITRARILY DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN  
CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE THEY ARE MALE OR FEMALE,

└ IT DOES NOT DEAL WITH PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS OR COMPANIES,

└ IT DOES NOT DEAL WITH MATTERS WHICH ARE THE PRIVATE  
CONCERNS OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES,

└ IT SIMPLY STATES WHAT ALREADY SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD,

└ THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE ERA REMINDS ME A GOOD DEAL  
OF THE BATTLES WHICH RAGED WHEN WE WERE TRYING TO  
ENACT THE LANDMARK CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS OF THE 1960's,

YOU HEARD EVERY EXCUSE IN THE WORLD WHY WE SHOULDN'T PASS

THESE SIMPLE LAWS OF JUSTICE AND EQUITY.

BUT THE FEAR-MONGERS DIDN'T DETER US THEN, AND

THOSE WHO MISREPRESENT THE FACTS SHOULDN'T DETER US NOW.

IN THE 1960s, WE HAD TO EDUCATE OUR PEOPLE. WE

HAD TO ADDRESS THEIR FEARS AND LAY THEM ASIDE. WE HAD TO

DEMONSTRATE THE JUSTICE OF OUR CAUSE. AND THEN, AFTER

WE HAD TALKED AND PREACHED AND PERSUADED, WE HAD TO HAVE

THE COURAGE TO DO WHAT WE KNEW WAS RIGHT -- SIMPLY BECAUSE

IT WAS RIGHT.

SO THAT IS WHAT MUST BE DONE TODAY. WE MUST EDUCATE

OUR PEOPLE -- THOSE IN OUR OWN STATE WHO HAVE MISGIVINGS

AND ESPECIALLY THOSE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY WHOSE

RATIFICATION VOTE IS ESSENTIAL;

↳ WE MUST ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THEIR FEARS, USING  
A LITTLE FRIENDLY PERSUASION AND GOOD GOSPEL SENSE --  
AND THEN WE MUST HAVE THE STRENGTH OF OUR CONVICTIONS.

↳ I AM CONFIDENT WE WILL SUCCEED. ↳ THE BEAUTY OF  
THE CONSTITUTION IS THE CAPACITY IT GIVES US TO BRING  
TO FRUITION THOSE IDEALS WHICH ARE EXPRESSED SO ELOQUENTLY  
IN IT.

↳ THE FOUNDERS GAVE US THE ~~ABILITY~~ <sup>means - and</sup> -- INDEED, THE  
RESPONSIBILITY -- TO RIGHT THOSE WRONGS WHICH COME TO  
LIGHT. AND THAT IS WHAT WE ARE DOING NOW.

↳ WHAT BETTER WAY EXISTS TO CELEBRATE THE BICENTENNIAL  
OF OUR NATION'S FOUNDING THAN TO REAFFIRM THE CONSTITUTIONAL  
PROMISE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUSTICE <sup>for all!</sup>

Yes. Liberty + Justice for all!





# Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



[www.mnhs.org](http://www.mnhs.org)