

## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, 165 E. 56 ST., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022, PLAZA 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for people everywhere.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

HAROLD STEINBERG, Director of Publicity

Press Room: Vendome Suite 11 & 12  
Third Floor: Americana Hotel  
LT 1-1000

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FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, AFTER 8:00 P.M. MAY 20, 1965

New York, May 20... The Vice President of the United States today told school systems throughout the country, which have not yet desegregated, that their choice "is simply this: To continue receiving federal aid and desegregate, or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway."

In an extensive survey of the civil rights situation in the country today, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey warned that school districts cannot escape the desegregation process simply by rejecting federal aid. Districts which do not meet the constitutional mandate to desegregate "will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice, acting under the authority contained in Title 4 of the Civil Rights Act," the Vice President said.

Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking on the same platform with the Vice President, said that the civil rights struggle has had a profound effect on the youth of the nation through the "awakening of social thought and action" that has swept the country's campuses. "In addition to overcoming the stultifying effects of McCarthyism," Mr. King said, "the movement has in a few years changed the total description of American youth. From

Morris B. Abram, President; Jacob Blaustein, Louis Caplan, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Irving M. Engel, Joseph M. Proskauer, Honorary Presidents; Ralph Friedman, Chairman, Executive Board; Philip E. Hoffman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Nathan Appleman, Chairman, Board of Trustees; John Slawson, Executive Vice President.

Washington office: 1012 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005 • European headquarters: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris 8, France • South American headquarters: San Martin 663, 2 P., Conrafr, Buenos Aires, Argentina • Israel headquarters: Rehov Hashoftim 2, Tel Aviv, Israel.

the silent generation, they have become the morally and socially concerned generation."

Both the Vice President and the Nobel Prize winning Negro leader addressed the dinner session of the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE's 58th Annual Meeting at the Americana Hotel here tonight (Thursday, May 20). Rev. King, who is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was awarded the Committee's 1965 American Liberties Medallion in a presentation by Irving M. Engel, Honorary President. Sol M. Linowitz, Chairman of the Board of Xerox Corporation, presided at the dinner which this year honors the memory of the late Senator Herbert H. Lehman, longtime officer and Honorary President of the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

Morris B. Abram, prominent constitutional lawyer, recently appointed U.S. Member of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, delivered the keynote address as President of the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE. He reported that he observed at a recent UN conference in Geneva "a dramatic and decided change in the way the Soviets are beginning to look at human rights problems," and he expressed the hope that the United Nations might be moving "toward the adoption of a convention to eliminate religious intolerance."

President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a message to Mr. Abram, recalled "working closely with Governor Lehman during the years when he gave the United States Senate the same measure of devoted service that he had bestowed upon so many other areas of our national life." He hailed the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE for embodying Senator Lehman's "principles of human dignity," and sent special greetings to Martin Luther King, Jr., who, he said "has done so much in the spirit of Herbert Lehman to make our country a far better place in which to live." (The full text of the President's message is attached.)

Vice President Humphrey predicted that most school districts will bring about "desegregation of at least four grades next September." He said that the U.S. Office of Education was "working diligently to eliminate segregation in elementary and secondary

schools and institutions of higher learning that receive federal assistance." Under the guidelines set forth by the U.S. Commission of Education, schools must desegregate all twelve grades by the Fall of 1967 to qualify for federal aid.

Mr. Humphrey placed special emphasis on the role of the Federal Government in cooperation with states and localities in dealing with what he called "the new dimension of the civil rights struggle." This, he described as "the nation's capacity and courage to bring disadvantaged Negroes and others fully into the mainstream of American political, economic and social life." The "heartening progress" against "legalized segregation and discrimination" has brought the nation to "an even greater challenge."

He predicted that the civil rights movement will now be concerned, "increasingly, with problems of conflicting society as a whole, but which have special impact on Negro and other minority groups -- problems such as education, unemployment, urban decay, housing, disease and automation." In this context, he called upon civil rights organizations to join the fight with "the same dedication, imagination, determination and courage which has characterized their attacks on the institutions of legalized discrimination."

Of the Federal Government's role in this new struggle, Vice President Humphrey reported that "encouraging progress has been made on a number of critical fronts," and added: "The resources of the Federal Government are fully committed to the battle which men like Lehman carried on so valiantly for many years and we predict we are going to win this battle."

Rev. King, in his speech, dealt mainly with the consequences of non-violent direct action, especially as it affected the Negro civil rights struggle. At the same time, he pointed out that the interest generated by the civil rights struggle "has broadened to questions of peace and poverty. From exclusively student involvement the issues now have become the concern of faculty and scholars of every description...the student mass action rests upon no specific tendency but impresses the whole democratic political spectrum."

Rev. King turned specifically to the situation in Germany under Hitler, saying: "Perhaps if there had been a broader understanding of the uses of nonviolent direct action in Germany when Hitler was rising and consolidated his power, the brutal extermination of six million Jews and millions of other war dead might have been averted and Germany might never have become totalitarian."

In fact, he stressed that "if Protestants and Catholics had engaged in non-violent direct action and had made the oppression of the Jews their very own oppression, and had come to the streets beside the Jew, scrubbed the sidewalks, and had Gentiles worn the stigmatizing yellow armbands by the millions, a unique form of mass resistance to the Nazis might have developed."

Vice President Humphrey reported on the activities of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, which has been working to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and carries out civil rights policy in such areas as: "employment, education and community relations."

He added: "We seek to eliminate discrimination in programs receiving federal, financial assistance -- we do not seek the determination of federal programs for withholding the fund." However, as in school desegregation, he stressed: "We are willing to walk the extra mile to achieve voluntary compliance, but we are equally determined to enforce the law if compelled to do so."

In this connection, he reported that "developing equal employment opportunities is a matter receiving high priority attention by a number of federal agencies."

Despite these efforts and the fact that administrative and technical jobs are opening up for Negroes for the first time, he reported that "the gap separating the median income of whites from Negroes is actually widening, and the rate of unemployment among Negroes is more than twice that prevailing for whites."

The Vice President said that on July 2, "these present activities of the Federal Government relating to equal job opportunities will acquire an important new dimension with the activation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act -- the section establishing national standards of non-discrimination for employers, labor unions, and employment agencies."



This law, he said, "relies heavily upon close working agreements between the Federal Government and the states and localities with equal opportunity statutes currently in operation."

At the same time, he pointed out that complaints of job discrimination often turn out to be really "problems of education, housing, vocational training, and the like." To deal with these problems, federal programs for expanded opportunity "such as manpower development and training, vocational education, and the broad spectrum of programs associated with the war on poverty," must be related constructively to the work of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Mr. Abram, President of the AJC, who was recently appointed a member of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, had earlier this year met in Bonn with German Government leaders on the issue of extending the Statute of Limitations to make possible the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. On the issue of German guilt, he declared:

"Many Germans have asked: 'How long shall we be forced to remember the past?' Many Jews have asked: 'When shall we ever be able to forget the past?' It seems that to each, the answer must be the same: 'Let the past be remembered and let it not be forgotten so long as it can instruct the future.' But in our remembrance let us never visit the sins of one on to another, nor those of the fathers on to the sons."

He said it was in this spirit that Israel "established diplomatic relations with Germany" and motivated the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE to work "arduously for reconciliation of German and Jew on the basis of the redemptive quality of justice." He declared that in this context, the war crimes trials must continue, just reparations must be paid to all victims, not just those who had the opportunity to escape from the Iron Curtain before 1953.

Mr. Abram particularly held up the example of Israel for its refusal to "nurse grudges or contemplate old wounds." In fact, he said, Israel "extended the hand of friendship to the Arabs and technical aid to under-developed countries around the globe."

At the same time, he reported he had observed "a dramatic

and decided change in the way the Soviets are beginning to look at human rights problems." Mr. Abram, who had attended a United Nations-Geneva Conference on Eliminating Religious Intolerance at the beginning of the year, expressed the belief that progress is being made on the adoption of an international convention to eliminate religious intolerance and that "the United Nations is rubbing many abrasive differences in this area into reasonably satisfactory accommodations." However, he said, "the USSR continues unabated its persecution of Jews whose only crime is that they wish to continue to be Jews."

The Annual Dinner session was attended by more than two thousand people. The 58th Annual Meeting of the COMMITTEE will continue through Sunday.

Founded in 1906 the American Jewish Committee is the pioneer human relations agency in this country combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews and advancing the cause of human rights for all people.

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# news

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TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON TO MORRIS B. ABRAM, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, ON OCCASION OF FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL DINNER, IMPERIAL BALLROOM, AMERICANA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, THURSDAY NIGHT, MAY 20, 1965:

It is a rare pleasure for me to salute the American Jewish Committee on the occasion of its fifty-eighth Annual Dinner, which is dedicated to the memory of your beloved and long-time Honorary Vice President, Herbert H. Lehman. I had the privilege of working closely with Governor Lehman during the years when he gave the United States Senate the same measure of devoted service that he had bestowed upon so many other areas of our national life. No organization embodies his principles of human dignity better than the American Jewish Committee, which has served the nation so well for almost 60 years and to which Herbert H. Lehman was so dedicated. I am delighted that the Vice President is with you to convey some of the nation's feeling and respect for Herbert H. Lehman. And I send greetings to Dr. Martin Luther King, whom you honor this year with your coveted American Liberties Medallion. He has done much in the spirit of Herbert Lehman to make our country a far better place in which to live. With all good wishes.

Lyndon B. Johnson

No. 96  
May 1965

Morris B. Abram, *President*; Jacob Blaustein, Louis Caplan, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Irving M. Engel, Joseph M. Proskauer, *Honorary Presidents*; Ralph Friedman, *Chairman, Executive Board*; Philip E. Hoffman, *Chairman, Board of Governors*; Nathan Appleman, *Chairman, Board of Trustees*; John Slawson, *Executive Vice President*.

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*These Southerners joining  
together on the  
Yankees*

*✓ Anti-Fascist  
Committee*

*main  
Allen  
Abrams  
Dr King*

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LEHMAN MEMORIAL DINNER

MAY 20, 1965

↳ We are gathered here this evening to honor the memory of one of New York's -- and America's -- most valiant fighters in the cause of justice and freedom -- Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

↳ Many of us in this room had the rare privilege of knowing Herbert Lehman -- of working with him, of struggling with him, of winning with him, and -- sometimes -- of losing with him.

Many of us have witnessed his indomitable  
courage, his determination, and his fearlessness in  
pushing forward the frontiers of freedom and justice  
-- in advocating the cause of the downtrodden, the  
forgotten and the deprived.

And many of us have spent priceless hours --  
unforgettable hours -- in the company of the  
Governor and his wonderful wife and constant  
companion, Edith.

But the legacy of Herbert H. <sup>Lehman</sup> Lehman is  
surely not just the property of those persons  
privileged to know him personally. His contributions  
to our common life will endure and be recognized  
by countless generations of Americans and persons  
around the globe.



His political philosophy was simple and

uncomplicated: to use the processes of government

to help people unable to help themselves

*to open the  
Paths opportunities*

Whether working in behalf of the Henry

Street Settlement house ... or participating in the

life-saving work of the Joint Distribution Committee ...

or campaigning for Al Smith ... or serving in Albany

with Franklin D. Roosevelt ... or becoming Governor

in his own right ... or saving millions of persons

from the ravages of war as director of UNRRA ... or

again serving <sup>*the State of*</sup> New York State as U.S. Senator ... or

engaged in reform politics of New York <sup>*City*</sup>

<sup>*Lehman*</sup> Herbert H. Lehman cared about people -- and he gave

of himself unstintingly in their behalf. *what a man!*

During his tenure in the U.S. Senate, this

concern with the individual manifested itself in

many ways:

fighting the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, the Dixon-Yates power contract, and the venom of McCarthyism which had infected the nation in the early 1950s.

And while opposing these measures with every fibre of his being, he was simultaneously fighting just as courageously for meaningful immigration reform ... a sound excess profits tax ... federal aid to education ... an equitable government loyalty-security program ... amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act, and, of course, full civil rights for every American.

*most of which should be law*

Regardless of the issue, the time, or the place, Herbert Lehman could be found in the middle of the battle -- fighting to expand individual

In many ways, Herbert Lehman and the AJC have been engaged in the same struggle - fighting the same war. And the broad program of the AJC is the living embodiment of Herbert Lehman's ideals, rights and opportunities in a society which

had become increasingly complex and impersonal.

The issue of civil rights always commanded a priority place on Herbert Lehman's personal Political Agenda

-- as it has on the agenda of the Am. Jewish Committee. ~~political agenda~~ recall so vividly his efforts

in the Senate to secure consideration of voting

rights and fair employment practices legislation.

I remember his forthright civil rights battle at

the 1956 Democratic National Convention. And I know

he would have rejoiced with us over the important

civil rights victories of the past several years --

and would now be grappling with the even more

challenging tasks which remain unfinished

Until this point in history, the civil rights

movement has concentrated upon removing the

legal barriers to full citizenship --

Closing the Citizenship Gap!

segregated schools, hotels, restaurants and  
voting discrimination. { With the passage of the  
Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- and with its full  
implementation -- we can say that this historic  
initial phase of the civil rights struggle is well  
on its way toward completion.

~~\*\*\*~~ { But, where is the justice in a situation which  
permits a Negro to eat in a restaurant, but denies  
him the opportunity to earn enough money to pay  
for his dinner?

{ Where is the justice in removing barriers to  
registration and voting, but denying to Negroes and  
other minority groups the education necessary to  
become full-fledged participants in the democratic  
process?

↳ And how much longer can we afford to sacrifice the earning power, the buying power, and the brain power of this substantial segment of the American people?

↳ The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that inequalities in educational and employment opportunities for Negroes will cost our nation 23 billion dollars in Gross National Product. I suggest that no country -- however affluent and prosperous -- can afford this kind of waste. And I suggest further that Americans finally must begin to take seriously this shocking waste of human and material resources.

}  
x  
x

↳ In short, the heartening progress of the past several years in tearing down the edifice of legalized segregation and discrimination has now brought us face-to-face with an even greater challenge:



L to see whether this nation has the capacity and the courage to bring disadvantaged Negroes and others fully into the mainstream of American political, economic and social life. !

*In the future* We can, I believe, expect the civil rights movement to be concerned increasingly with problems afflicting society as a whole but which have special impact upon Negro and other minority groups -- problems such as education, unemployment, urban decay, housing, disease, and automation. (And we can hope that the principal civil rights organization will bring to these vital problems the same dedication, imagination, determination and courage which has characterized their attacks on the institutions of

*(And I am confident that such legalized discrimination.*

*private organizations as the A J C will continue to stand in the front ranks of this struggle.*

Indeed, the task of educating the illiterate,  
training the unemployed, revitalizing the cities  
and bringing new hope and opportunity to the  
forgotten is a task of historic dimension -- and  
one of immense difficulty. It will require the clear  
acceptance of the responsibility -- by public and  
private agencies alike -- to make the "civil rights"  
of our citizens truly meaningful in terms of better  
education, better jobs, better medical care, and  
better housing. -- *yes a better america!*

~~In this context, the role of the federal  
government -- in conjunction with the efforts of  
states and localities -- will be a crucial factor  
in determining whether the resources of this nation  
will be responsive to this new dimension of the  
civil rights struggle.~~

~~Under the leadership of President Johnson, this Administration has demonstrated its cognizance of those massive problems and our determination to participate fully in this historic efforts to secure dignity, equality, and freedom for all Americans.~~

↳ In the words of the President:

" . . . The time of justice has now come.

I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force  
can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man  
and God that it should come. ↳ And when it does, I  
think that day will brighten the lives of every  
American."

↳ What has the federal government been doing  
to meet its responsibilities in this quest for  
political, economic, and social justice?

As Vice President, I have been charged by President Johnson with certain responsibilities for coordinating the activities of the federal government in the areas of civil rights and equal opportunity.

My message to you this evening is simply this: encouraging progress is being achieved on a number of critical fronts. The resources of the federal government are fully committed to this battle which men like Herbert Lehman carried on so valiantly for so many years. And, ~~immediately~~ we are going to win this battle *for human Dignity and equality.*

*Keep* On February 5, 1965, President Johnson established the President's Council on Equal Opportunity a body composed of the principal governmental agencies with civil rights responsibilities, to perform the critical functions of inter-agency planning, coordination and evaluation. *at*

Since February, the Council has worked diligently to supervise and coordinate the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other laws and administrative regulations relating to civil rights and equal opportunity.

Special task forces ~~of the Council~~ have been appointed and have begun work in important areas of civil rights policy such as employment, education, and community relations.

The Council and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights are working closely on the implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- the provision that made it unlawful for persons to be denied full participation on the basis of race, color, or national origin, in programs assisted by the federal government.



out?

Civil Rights  
~~Title VI~~

The U.S. Office of Education and the Department of Justice, acting under the mandate of ~~Title VI~~, are working diligently to eliminate segregation in those elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning that receive federal financial assistance. | The U.S. Commissioner of Education recently announced comprehensive guidelines to assist local school districts in this task -- guidelines specifying that in order to continue qualifying for federal aid the desegregation of all twelve grades must be completed by the school year commencing in the Fall of 1967. | The guidelines also specify that substantial progress must be made for the school year beginning next fall. In most instances this will mean the desegregation of at least four grades next September.

We must also understand that a school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all federal financial assistance. Those districts which do not meet the constitutional requirements will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice acting under authority contained in Title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

In reality the choice is simply this: to continue receiving federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway.

But I believe the overwhelming majority of school districts will face their responsibilities squarely and get on with the business of educating children -- all children -- without regard to race or color.

Other major federal departments and agencies are also requiring written pledges of non-discrimination from all recipients of federal funds and all participants in federal assistance programs.

*out*

And we are determined that these pledges be more than paper promises. Appropriate procedures for systematic follow-up, reporting, and coordination among all departments and agencies are now being developed as part of an efficient and effective system designed to assure compliance in fact, not merely in form.

*So*

~~While insisting on compliance with Title VI,~~

our primary objective in this effort is to achieve law observance -- not to exercise the federal government's powers of law enforcement.

~~Under Title VI~~ We seek to eliminate discrimination in programs receiving federal financial assistance -- we do not seek the termination of federal programs or the withholding of funds.

↳ We are willing to walk the extra mile to achieve voluntary compliance, but we are equally determined to enforce the law, if compelled to do so.

↳ ~~★~~ The challenge of developing equal employment opportunities is a matter receiving high priority attention by a number of federal agencies.

↳ Although many white collar, administrative and technical jobs are being opened to Negroes for the first time, the gap separating the median income of whites from Negroes is actually widening. ↳ And the rate of unemployment among Negro workers is more than twice that prevailing for whites.

In short, the impact of job discrimination  
is painfully real for millions of our minority  
citizens -- and we can postpone no longer a  
comprehensive national effort to achieve true equality  
in job opportunities for every American.

*Keep* ~~Since 1961, the President's Committee for  
Equal Employment Opportunity has been seeking the  
elimination of discrimination among employers doing  
business with the government, and within the government  
itself.~~ *Get*

Despite an impressive record of accomplishment  
by the President's Committee, we are not satisfied --  
nor are we complacent. We intend to redouble our  
efforts until equal employment opportunity is a  
reality for every American -- ~~within government and~~  
without.



On July 2, these present activities of the federal government relating to equal job opportunities will acquire an important new dimension with the activation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act -- the section establishing national standards of non-discrimination for employers, labor unions, and employment agencies.

*This provision of law will be*

Administered by a new five-member Equal

Employment Opportunity Commission, headed by

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. | this law relies heavily

~~upon close working agreements between the federal government and the states and localities with equal employment opportunity statutes currently in operation.~~

*But*

It must also be recognized that problems originally identified in complaints of job discrimination often turn out to be problems of education, housing, vocational training and the like.

*Keep*

The new and dynamic federal programs designed to expand opportunities and to better equip our citizens for useful and productive lives -- such as manpower development and training, vocational education, and the broad spectrum of programs associated with the war on poverty -- must be related constructively to the work of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

*Human Resources*

Once again, such coordination and planning will be a major responsibility of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity and the various task forces of the Council.

*out*

~~As I have suggested to you this evening,~~

yes LW

we are making encouraging progress in this vital

work. Much of the good news in civil rights is

always submerged by black headlines telling us of

bad news. But in enumerating some of the areas of

progress, I do not mean to suggest that the battle

is won -- that victory is ours.

Some of the most difficult and frustrating days lie immediately ahead. We have mighty challenges

to surmount in relation to employment, education,

health care, housing and rising racial tensions in

our urban areas.

*- But we move forward!*

But one fact is beyond dispute: our commitment

to achieving fully equality of opportunity is

unmistakeable -- our bridges have been burned -- we

can only move forward in this noble work.

Appointments  
Edus  
Poverty  
Health  
Urban  
Programs  
Voting Rts

Human Resources

~~We must move forward~~ In the words of FDR.  
We must move forward with a strong  
and a strong heart.

In all these activities our ultimate concern is grounded upon the same public philosophy which charted the career of Herbert H. Lehman: Let us

labor together in behalf of the less fortunate and the deprived. And as we struggle with these problems

of terrifying complexity and difficulty, we will draw

new courage and determination from our memories of

this man who never ceased fighting in this cause --

who established for each of us a shining example of

dedication and self-sacrifice in the cause of human

dignity and freedom.

~~In the words of Herbert~~

We will always remember, with the deepest

affection and profoundest admiration, our beloved

friend -- Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

ful

Peace  
Prosperity  
Justice

Yes, Darling, I too, have a dream

a dream of One Nation, under God, indivisible  
with liberty + justice for all - Our ideal - our promise.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Dinner

In Honor Of

Governor Herbert H. Lehman

Thursday

May 20, 1965

We are gathered here this evening to honor the memory of one of New York's--and America's--most valiant fighters in the cause of justice and freedom--Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Many of us in this room had the rare privilege of knowing Governor Lehman--of working with him, of struggling with him, of winning with him, and--sometimes--of losing with him.

Many of us have witnessed his indomitable courage, his determination, and his fearlessness in pushing forward the frontiers of freedom and justice--in advocating the cause of the downtrodden, the forgotten and the deprived.

And many of us have spent priceless hours--unforgettable hours--in the company of the Governor and his wonderful wife and constant companion--Edith.

But the legacy of Herbert H. Lehman is surely not just the property of those persons privileged to know him

personally. His contributions to our common life will endure and be recognized by countless generations of Americans and persons around the globe. His political philosophy was simple and uncomplicated: to use the processes of government to help people unable to help themselves.

Th FDR  
Quite

Whether working in behalf of the Henry Street Settlement house--or participating in the life-saving work of the Joint Distribution Committee--or campaigning for Al Smith--or serving in Albany with Franklin D. Roosevelt--or becoming Governor in his own right--or saving millions of persons from the ravages of war as director of UNRRA--or again serving New York State as U. S. Senator--or engaged in reform politics of New York State--Herbert H. Lehman cared about people--and he gave of himself unstintingly in their behalf.

During his tenure in the U. S. Senate, this concern with the individual manifested itself in many ways: fighting the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarran-Walter



Immigration Act of 1952, the Dixon-Yates power contract, and the venom of McCarthyism which had infected the nation in the early 1950s. And while opposing these measures with every fibre of his being, he was simultaneously fighting just as courageously for meaningful immigration reform, a sound excess profits tax, federal aid to education, a just government loyalty-security program, amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act, and, of course, full civil rights for every American regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Regardless of the issue, the time, or the place, Herbert Lehman could be found in the middle of the battle--fighting to expand individual rights and opportunities in a society which had become increasingly complex and impersonal.

The issue of civil rights always commanded a priority place on Herbert Lehman's personal political agenda. I recall so vividly his efforts in the Senate to secure consideration

CIVIL RIGHTS

of voting rights and fair employment practices legislation.

I remember his forthright civil rights campaign at the 1956

Democratic National Convention. And I know he would have

rejoiced with us over the important civil rights victories

of the past several years--and would now be grappling with

the even more challenging tasks which remain unfinished.

Until this point in history, the civil rights movement

has concentrated upon removing the legal barriers to full

citizenship--segregated schools, hotels, restaurants and voting

discrimination. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act of

1965--and with its full implementation--we can say ~~that~~ this

historic initial phase of the civil rights struggle is well

on its way toward completion.

From now on, however, we can expect the civil rights

movement to be concerned increasingly with problems afflicting

society as a whole but which have special impact upon Negro

and other minority groups--problems such as urban decay,  
housing, education, disease, automation and unemployment.

We can, I believe, expect to see a strategic shift from  
freedom rides, sit-ins, and other standard civil rights  
demonstrations to such devices as rent strikes, economic  
boycotts, and the techniques of political organization.

In short, a great challenge lies immediately ahead in  
the civil rights struggle: to see whether this nation has  
the capacity and courage to bring disadvantaged Negroes and  
others fully into the mainstream of American political,  
economic and social life.

In this evolutionary context, the role of the federal  
government--in conjunction with the efforts of states and  
localities--will be a crucial factor in determining whether  
the resources of this nation will be responsive to this new  
dimension of the civil rights struggle.

~~Under the leadership of President Johnson,~~ this Adminis-  
tration has demonstrated its <sup>Recognition</sup> ~~significance~~ of those massive

problems and our determination to participate fully in this historic effort to secure dignity, equality, and freedom for all Americans.

*The Presidents words* ~~of the~~  
~~In the words of the President:~~ "...The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American."

What has the federal government been doing to meet its responsibilities in this quest for political, economic and social justice?

As Vice President, I have been charged by President Johnson with certain responsibilities for coordinating the activities of the federal government in the areas of civil rights and equal opportunity. My message to you this evening is simply this: encouraging progress is being achieved on a

number of critical fronts. / The resources of the federal government are fully committed to this battle which men like Herbert Lehman carried on so valiantly for so many years. And, I predict, we are going to win this battle.

On February 5, 1965, President Johnson established the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, a body composed of the principal governmental agencies with civil rights responsibilities, to perform the critical functions of inter-agency planning, coordination, and evaluation. The Vice President was designated to serve as Chairman of this Council.

Since February, the Council--assisted by a small staff headed by Wiley A. Branton of Atlanta--has worked diligently to supervise and coordinate the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other laws and administrative regulations relating to civil rights and equal opportunity.

Special task forces of the Council have been appointed in certain important areas of civil rights policy. Secretary

of Labor W. Willard Wirtz heads the interagency task force *Employ*  
on employment. U. S. Commissioner of Education Francis  
Keppel chairs the task force on education. Governor LeRoy  
Collins of the Community Relations Service is coordinating  
the work of many agencies in our urban areas through another  
task force. These task forces have been meeting frequently  
to hammer out effective policies in their respective areas of  
responsibility.

The Council and the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights are  
working closely on the implementation of Title VI of the  
Civil Rights Act of 1964--the provision that made it unlawful for  
persons to be denied full participation on the basis of race,  
color or national origin in programs assisted by the federal  
government.

The U. S. Office of Education and the Department of  
Justice, acting under the mandate of Title VI, are working  
diligently to eliminate segregation in those elementary and

secondary schools and institutions of higher learning that receive federal financial assistance. The Commissioner of Education recently announced comprehensive guidelines to assist local school districts in this task--guidelines specifying that in order to continue qualifying for federal aid the desegregation of all twelve grades must be completed by the school year commencing in the Fall of 1967. The guidelines also specify that substantial progress must be made for the school year beginning next fall. In most instances this will mean the desegregation of at least four grades next September.

We must also understand that a school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all federal financial assistance. Those districts which do not meet the constitutional requirements will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice acting under authority contained in Title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

In reality the choice is simply this: to continue receiving federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway. I believe the overwhelming majority of school districts will face their responsibilities squarely and get on with the business of educating children--all children--without regard to race or color.

Other major federal departments and agencies, such as the Departments of Agriculture; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; Defense; the Housing and Home Finance Agency; the Atomic Energy Commission; the Office of Economic Opportunity; the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and others, are requiring written pledges of non-discrimination from all recipients of federal funds and all participants in federal assistance programs. To illustrate the breadth of this activity alone, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has received almost 23,000 pledges from elementary and secondary schools, almost 2,000 from colleges and universities, and over 10,000 from hospitals, medical centers, and health departments



in all sections of the country.

And we are determined that these pledges be more than paper promises. Appropriate procedures for systematic follow-up, reporting, and coordination among all departments and agencies are now being developed as part of an efficient and effective system designed to assure compliance in fact, not merely in form.

While insisting on compliance with Title VI, we must always remember that the objective of the federal government is law observance--not law enforcement. We seek to eliminate discrimination and segregation wherever federal funds are involved--we do not seek the termination of federal programs or the withholding of funds. We are willing to walk the extra mile to achieve voluntary compliance, but we are equally determined to enforce the law, if compelled to do so.

It is indeed encouraging to note that some of the more controversial parts of the Civil Rights Act have been

accepted and implemented with a minimum of disturbance and opposition. For example, the section barring discrimination in places of public accommodation (Title II) has been observed in a most commendable fashion in many parts of the country, including most areas of the South. And where compliance has not been forthcoming, the Department of Justice and the Community Relations Service of the Department of Commerce have been working to eliminate the vestiges of this most blatant form of prejudice and discrimination.

But where is the justice in a situation which permits a Negro to eat in a restaurant, but denies him the opportunity to earn enough money to pay for his dinner? Where is the justice in desegregating colleges, or hospitals, if such facilities are beyond the financial reach of vast segments of our non-white population?

The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that if Negroes received the same average pay as whites having the

same education, the personal income of Negroes and of the Nation would be \$12.8 billion higher. Although many white collar, administrative and technical jobs are opening to Negroes for the first time, the gap separating the median income of whites from Negroes is actually widening. And the rate of unemployment among Negro workers is more than twice that prevailing for whites.

In short, the impact of job discrimination is painfully real for millions of our minority citizens--and we can postpone no longer a comprehensive national effort to achieve true equality in job opportunities for every American.

Since 1961, the President's Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity has been seeking the elimination of discrimination among employers doing business with the government, and within the government itself. This Committee, launched under the dynamic leadership of the then Vice President Lyndon B.

Johnson, has made impressive strides in promoting equal employment opportunity in areas under its jurisdiction: some 27,000 private business establishments employing over 11.5 million persons and the 2.2 million employees of the federal government. Moreover, more than 300 of our largest business corporations--employing 8.7 million persons--have joined the Plans for Progress program of the President's Committee, thereby pledging themselves to vigorous affirmative action in the promotion of minority employment within their respective businesses.

Despite this record of accomplishment, we are not satisfied--nor are we complacent. We intend to redouble our efforts until equal employment opportunity is a reality for every American--within government and without.

On July 2, these present activities of the federal government relating to equal job opportunities will acquire an important

new dimension with the activation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act--the section establishing national standards of non-discrimination for employers, labor unions, and employment agencies.

Administered by a new five-member Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., this law relies heavily upon close working agreements between the federal government and the states and localities with equal employment opportunity statutes currently in operation.

It must also be recognized that problems originally identified in complaints of job discrimination often turn out to be problems of education, housing, vocational training and the like. The new and dynamic federal programs designed to expand opportunities and to better equip our citizens for useful and productive lives--such as manpower development and training, vocational education, and the broad spectrum of programs associated with the war on poverty--must be related

constructively to the work of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Once again, such coordination and planning will be a major responsibility of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity and the various task forces of the Council.

As I have suggested to you this evening, we are making encouraging progress in this vital work. Much of the good news in civil rights is always submerged by black headlines telling us of bad news. But in enumerating some of the areas of progress, I do not mean to suggest that the battle is won--that victory is ours.

Some of our most difficult and frustrating days lie immediately ahead. We have mighty challenges to surmount in relation to employment, education, health care, housing and rising racial tensions in our urban areas. This task of securing equality of opportunity for all Americans will surely require the participation and commitment of all levels of our federal system--not just the national government. And it will

surely require the active support of individual citizens and groups acting in our local communities.

But one fact is beyond dispute: our commitment to achieving full equality of opportunity is unmistakable--our bridges have been burned--we can only move forward in this noble work.

In all these activities our ultimate concern is grounded upon the same public philosophy which charted the career of Herbert H. Lehman: Let us labor together in behalf of the less fortunate and the deprived. And as we struggle with these problems of terrifying complexity and difficulty, we will draw new courage and determination from our memories of this man who never ceased fighting in this cause--who established for each of us a shining example of dedication and self-sacrifice in the cause of human dignity and freedom.

We will always remember, with the deepest affection and profoundest admiration, our beloved friend--Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

# INFORMATION

FROM THE  
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE  
-ON-  
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES  
Washington 25, D. C.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
LEHMAN MEMORIAL DINNER, AMERICANA HOTEL  
NEW YORK CITY, MAY 20, 1965

We are gathered here this evening to honor the memory of one of New York's -- and America's -- most valiant fighters in the cause of justice and freedom -- Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Many of us in this room had the rare privilege of knowing Governor Lehman -- of working with him, of struggling with him, of winning with him, and -- sometimes -- of losing with him.

Many of us have witnessed<sup>d</sup> his indomitable courage, his determination, and his fearlessness in pushing forward the frontiers of freedom and justice -- in advocating the cause of the downtrodden, the forgotten and the deprived.

And many of us have spent priceless hours -- unforgettable hours -- in the company of the Governor and his wonderful wife and constant companion, Edith.

But the legacy of Herbert H. Lehman is surely not just the property of those persons privileged to know him personally. His contributions to our common life will endure and be recognized by countless generations of Americans and persons around the globe.

His political philosophy was simple and uncomplicated: to use the processes of government to help people unable to help themselves.

Whether working in behalf of the Henry Street Settlement house ... or participating in the life-saving work of the Joint Distribution



Committee ... or campaigning for Al Smith ... or serving in Albany with Franklin D. Roosevelt ... or becoming Governor in his own right ... or saving millions of persons from the ravages of war as director of UNRRA ... or again serving New York State as U.S. Senator ... or engaged in reform politics of New York State, Herbert H. Lehman cared about people -- and he gave of himself unstintingly in their behalf.

During his tenure in the U.S. Senate, this concern with the individual manifested itself in many ways:

Fighting the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarren-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, the Dixon-Yates power contract, and the venom of McCarthyism which had infected the nation in the early 1950s.

And while opposing these measures with every fibre of his being, he was simultaneously fighting just as courageously for meaningful immigration reform ... a sound excess profits tax ... federal aid to education ... an equitable government loyalty-security program ... amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act, and, of course, full civil rights for every American.

Regardless of the issue, the time, or the place, Herbert Lehman could be found in the middle of the battle -- fighting to expand individual rights and opportunities in a society which had become increasingly complex and impersonal.

The issue of civil rights always commanded a priority place on Herbert Lehman's personal political agenda. I recall so vividly his efforts in the Senate to secure consideration of voting rights and fair employment practices legislation. I remember his forthright civil rights campaign at the 1956 Democratic National Convention. And I know he would have rejoiced with us over the important civil rights victories of the

past several years -- and would now be grappling with the even more challenging tasks which remain unfinished.

Until this point in history, the civil rights movement has concentrated upon removing the legal barriers to full citizenship -- segregated schools, hotels, restaurants and voting discrimination. With the passage of the Voting rights Act of 1965 -- and with its full implementation -- we can say that this historic initial phase of the civil rights struggle is well on its way toward completion.

But where is the justice in a situation which permits a Negro to eat in a restaurant, but denies him the opportunity to earn enough money to pay for his dinner?

Where is the justice in removing barriers to registration and voting, but denying to Negroes and other minority groups the education necessary to become full-fledged participants in the democratic process?

And how much longer can we afford to sacrifice the earning power, the buying power, and the brain power of this substantial segment of the American people?

The Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that inequalities in educational and employment opportunities for Negroes will cost our nation 23 billion dollars in Gross National Product. I suggest that no country -- however affluent and prosperous -- can afford this kind of waste. And I suggest further that Americans finally must begin to take seriously this shocking waste of human and material resources.

In short, the heartening progress of the past several years in tearing down the edifice of legalized segregation and discrimination has now brought us face-to-face with an even greater challenge:

to see whether this nation has the capacity and the courage to bring disadvantaged Negroes and others fully into the mainstream of American political, economic and social life.

We can, I believe, expect the civil rights movement to be concerned increasingly with problems afflicting society as a whole but which have special impact upon Negro and other minority groups -- problems such as education, unemployment, urban decay, housing, disease, and automation. And we can hope that the principal civil rights organization will bring to these vital problems the same dedication, imagination, determination and courage which has characterized their attacks on the institutions of legalized discrimination.

Indeed, the task of educating the illiterate, training the unemployed, revitalizing the ghettos, and bringing new hope and opportunity to the forgotten is a task of historic dimension -- and one of immense difficulty. It will require the clear acceptance of the responsibility -- by public and private agencies alike -- to make the "civil rights" of our citizens truly meaningful in terms of better education, better jobs, better medical care, and better housing.

In this context, the role of the federal government -- in conjunction with the efforts of states and localities -- will be a crucial factor in determining whether the resources of this nation will be responsive to this new dimension of the civil rights struggle.

Under the leadership of President Johnson, this Administration has demonstrated its cognizance of those massive problems and our determination to participate fully in this historic efforts to secure

dignity, equality, and freedom for all Americans.

In the words of the President:

" . . . The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American."

What has the federal government been doing to meet its responsibilities in this quest for political, economic, and social justice?

As Vice President, I have been charged by President Johnson with certain responsibilities for coordinating the activities of the federal government in the areas of civil rights and equal opportunity. My message to you this evening is simply this: encouraging progress is being achieved on a number of critical fronts. The resources of the federal government are fully committed to this battle which men like Herbert Lehman carried on so valiantly for so many years. And, I predict, we are going to win this battle.

On February 5, 1965, President Johnson established the President's Council on Equal Opportunity, a body composed of the principal governmental agencies with civil rights responsibilities, to perform the critical functions of inter-agency planning, coordination, and evaluation.

Since February, the Council has worked diligently to supervise and coordinate the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other laws and administrative regulations relating to civil rights and equal opportunity.

Special task forces of the Council have been appointed and have begun work in important areas of civil rights policy such as employment,

education, and community relations.

The Council and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights are working closely on the implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- the provision that made it unlawful for persons to be denied full participation on the basis of race, color, or national origin, in programs assisted by the federal government.

The U.S. Office of Education and the Department of Justice, acting under the mandate of Title VI, are working diligently to eliminate segregation in those elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning that receive federal financial assistance. The U.S. Commissioner of Education recently announced comprehensive guidelines to assist local school districts in this task -- guidelines specifying that in order to continue qualifying for federal aid the desegregation of all twelve grades must be completed by the school year commencing in the Fall of 1967. The guidelines also specify that substantial progress must be made for the school year beginning next fall. In most instances this will mean the desegregation of at least four grades next September.

We must also understand that a school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all federal financial assistance. Those districts which do not meet the constitutional requirements will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice acting under authority contained in Title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

In reality the choice is simply this: to continue receiving federal aid and desegregate or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway.

I believe the overwhelming majority of school districts will face their responsibilities squarely and get on with the business of educating children -- all children -- without regard to race or color.

Other major federal departments and agencies are also requiring written pledges of non-discrimination from all recipients of federal funds and all participants in federal assistance programs.

And we are determined that these pledges be more than paper promises. Appropriate procedures for systematic follow-up, reporting, and coordination among all departments and agencies are now being developed as part of an efficient and effective **system** designed to assure compliance in fact, not merely in form.

While insisting on compliance with Title VI, our primary objective in this effort is to achieve law observance -- not to exercise the federal government's powers of law enforcement.

Under Title VI, we seek to eliminate discrimination in programs receiving federal financial assistance -- we do not seek the termination of federal programs or the withholding of funds.

We are willing to walk the extra mile to achieve voluntary compliance, but we are equally determined to enforce the law, if compelled to do so.

The challenge of developing equal employment opportunities is a matter receiving high priority attention by a number of federal agencies.

Although many white collar, administrative and technical jobs are being opened to Negroes for the first time, the gap separating the median income of whites from Negroes is actually widening. And the rate of unemployment among Negro workers is more than twice that prevailing for whites.

In short, the impact of job discrimination is painfully real for millions of our minority citizens -- and we can postpone no longer a comprehensive national effort to achieve true equality in job opportunities for every American.

Since 1961, the President's Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity has been seeking the elimination of discrimination among employers doing business with the government, and within the government itself.

Despite an impressive record of accomplishment by the President's Committee, we are not satisfied -- nor are we complacent. We intend to re-double our efforts until equal employment opportunity is a reality for every American -- within government and without.

On July 2, these present activities of the federal government relating to equal job opportunities will acquire an important new dimension with the activation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act -- the section establishing national standards of non-discrimination for employers, labor unions, and employment agencies.

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useful and productive lives -- such as manpower development and training, vocational education, and the broad spectrum of programs associated with the war on poverty -- must be related constructively to the work of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Once again, such coordination and planning will be a major responsibility of the President's Council on Equal Opportunity and the various task forces of the Council.

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Some of the most difficult and frustrating days lie immediately ahead. We have mighty challenges to surmount in relation to employment, education, health care, housing and rising racial tensions in our urban areas.

But one fact is beyond dispute: our commitment to achieving fully equality of opportunity is un mistakeable -- our bridges have been burned -- we can only move forward in this noble work.

In all these activities our ultimate concern is grounded upon the same public philosophy which charted the career of Hubert H. Lehman: Let us labor together in behalf of the less fortunate and the deprived. And as we struggle with these problems of terrifying complexity and difficulty, we will draw new courage and determination from our memories of this man who never ceased fighting in this cause -- who established for each of us a shining example of dedication and self-sacrifice in the cause of human dignity and freedom.



We will always remember, with the deepest affection and profoundest admiration, our beloved friend -- Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY: Thank you, my good friend and my very special introducer, Jacob Blaustein. I want to say to Mr. Blaustein that if I have any choice for introducers, you are being selected from here on out for all 900 speeches each week! [Laughter]

This is a wonderful, wonderful evening for Mrs. Humphrey and me. We are very happy to be with old friends and new friends. I am particularly happy to see once again my long time friend in the cause of peace and international order and human relations, Sol Linowitz. Sol, it's too bad you didn't sell me some of that Xerox stock! [Laughter] But other than that, I am still devoted to you and feel very kindly towards you.

To share this platform with Morris Abram, one of the most distinguished citizens of our land, and Irving Engel, a gentleman that I have been associated with on many an occasion. And then, too, to be here tonight to once again hear the moving message of a great crusader and an advocate of freedom and democracy, Dr. Martin Luther King, is a real privilege for me and I am sure for you. [applause]

And I am particularly pleased--and I know Muriel is--to see our beloved friend, our dear, dear friend, Edith Lehman this evening. [Applause]

Sol, first of all I think I should set it straight, that as the citations were being given out, I noticed that the Confederates were ganging up on the Yankees around here tonight! [Laughter] Mayor Allen and Morris Abram and Dr. King were dividing up all the honors. There is very little room left for a Minnesotan when these Georgians get together like this! [Laughter] But I know that the American Jewish Committee is not engaged in just the perfunctory process of giving out citations; it is engaged in the most important work of all time, the work, and, indeed, the joy of building a better world, of building better human resources, of preserving and protecting human dignity and of extending the frontiers of freedom and opportunity for all people in every land, regardless of race, color or creed. That's why I'm here tonight. I have enlisted in this battle, and whenever it is possible for me to be present on an occasion where there are the volunteers in the fight for human dignity, in the struggle for human freedom, if it is at all possible, if it is physically possible to be present, I want to be there, mayors or no mayors, city managers or no city managers, 232 that I left just a couple of hours ago in Washington, D. C. [Applause]

We are gathered here tonight to honor not only a great contemporary, this distinguished churchman and leader

who has spoken to you, but also to honor the memory of one of New York's, and I believe one of America's most valiant fighters in the cause of justice and freedom, and I speak of none other than the friend of every person in this audience, a great public servant and a marvelous human being, Herbert H. Lehman. [Applause]

Many of us in this room had the rare privilege of knowing this remarkable man, this giant for the cause of justice. We had the privilege of working with him, as I did, and of struggling with him and of winning with him and, yes, on occasion for a few weeks or months or years of losing with him. And many of us have witnessed his indomitable courage, his determination and his fearlessness in pushing forward the frontiers of freedom and justice and in advocating the cause of the downtrodden, the deprived, the underprivileged, and the forgotten.

Many of us have spent some priceless hours, yes, even unforgotten hours in the company of Governor, Senator and his wonderful, wonderful partner and wife, constant companion, Edith. We will never forget those hours, Edith. They will live with us forever.

But the legacy of Herbert H. Lehman, my friend and your friend, is not just the property of those persons like

some of us who were privileged to know him personally. His contributions to our common life will endure and will be recognized by countless generations of Americans and persons yet unborn around this globe.

This was truly a world citizen, a man whose mind and spirit knew no boundary, no sovereign jurisdiction but knew only God's people: the world, the universe. His political philosophy--and I think I was privileged to sense it and to know it--was simple and uncomplicated. He believed that it was the duty of government to help those who, through no fault of their own, could not help themselves; to use the processes of government to help people unable to help themselves, and at all times to blast open the paths of opportunity. I would say the hallmark of his career was that of compassion for the unfortunate and opportunity for all.

Whether working in behalf of the Henry Street Settlement House or participating in the life-saving work of the Joint Distribution Committee or campaigning for Al Smith or serving in Albany with Franklin D. Roosevelt or becoming Governor in his own right, or saving the millions of persons from the ravages of war as the director of UNRRA, or again serving as the great United States Senator from the State of New York, or engaged in reform politics in this great city,

one thing was for sure: Herbert Lehman cared about his country and he cared about people and he gave of himself unstintingly, unsparingly of his energy and his ability in their behalf. All I can say is, what a man! They are rare indeed. What a man!

During his tenure in the Senate, where I was privileged to know him well, this concern for the individual manifested itself in so many ways. I can still see him walking down the center aisle of the Senate challenging what were considered to be by some the powers that be, dauntless, fearless and informed, knowledgeable, effective. I remember his fighting the Internal Security Act of 1950 for its gross inequities; the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, which is a blight upon the good name of America [applause]; the Dixon-Yates power contract and then the venom of McCarthyism which had infected the nation in those early years of the 1950's. In every one of those struggles was this strong, brave, courageous, brilliant man that we honor tonight. And the life of a good man should be remembered not out of sentiment but in a very real sense out of history so that we profit from it, we learn from it and we are inspired by it.

And while opposing these measures with every fiber of his being--and how he would fight. You could just see him



girding himself for the battle--he was simultaneously fighting just as courageously for meaningful and just immigration reform, for a sound and fair tax program, for federal aid to education, for an equitable and effective government loyalty security program, for amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act and, Dr. King, above all, for full civil rights for every American citizen. [Applause] This was a man that was for things, not just against the evil. [applause] And I wish he could be with us tonight, because much of what he fought for, much of what he labored for and pioneered for is becoming law or is the law. How happy he would have been to have voted for, fought for and advanced the Aid to Education Act that passed just a month ago, that provided one billion, three hundred million dollars of aid to elementary and secondary education for the children of the United States of America. . What a day that would have been for Herbert Lehman! And he would have been so happy to have been there in that memorable summer of 1964 when his life's dream would have been realized as the vote on cloture was taken and the voices of reaction were silenced and the voices of progress and liberation were heard in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. [Applause]

Yes, regardless of the issue or the time or the place, Herbert Lehman could be found in the middle of the

battle always fighting to expand individual rights and opportunities in a society which had become increasingly complex and impersonal. You know, Morris, in many ways Herbert Lehman and the American Jewish Committee have been engaged in an identical or, should I say, the same struggle, fighting the same war, and the broad program of the American Jewish Committee is the living embodiment of Herbert Lehman's ideals and how right it is, therefore, that you should have tonight a memorial dinner and meeting remembering him.

The issue of civil rights always commanded a priority place in Governor Lehman's personal political agenda. I wish to speak of it tonight in terms of the report to you, Dr. King, and to members of Congress that are here, the clergy, to my fellow citizens.

I recall so vividly his efforts in the Senate to secure consideration of voting rights and fair employment practices legislation. I remember, and so do you, his forthright battle at the Democratic Convention in 1956 for a strong civil rights plank. And I know he would have rejoiced with us over the important civil rights victories, as I have said, in these recent years. Yes, Herbert Lehman would be fighting today and tomorrow for the voting rights bill that is now in the United States Senate, and he would have been



fighting to make that bill effective. He would be fighting to see that in that bill every impediment to the right to vote was removed, and when I say "every impediment," I mean just that--every obstacle to the right to exercise the franchise by a citizen of the United States. He would be there insisting that the literacy tests, which have been used and abused to deny people the right to vote, were stricken out of the law of this land and from the states. [Applause] And he would also be there to see that the poll tax was abolished once and for all. [Applause] And I can assure you it will be, make no mistake about it. [Applause]

Until this point in history, the civil rights movement has, as you have heard this evening, concentrated upon removing the legal barriers to full citizenship. Sometimes I wonder if we really appreciate, some of us, what the movement has been, what it is all about from a legal point of view.

The moral message tonight: Dr. King tells so movingly what this movement is about in terms of our support, of our ideals of our ideology. But let me say a little bit about the legal aspects of it.

What we have sought to do is simply this, to close the citizenship gap, to bring the promise alongside of the

reality or the reality alongside of the promise; to make the Emancipation Proclamation more than a proclamation; to make it a living reality. And in these recent years that citizenship gap is being closed. Full citizenship is on the way. Segregated schools, hotels, restaurants and voting discrimination are out, out once and for all. And with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and with its full implementation we can say that this historic initial phase of the civil rights struggle is well on its way towards completion. The legal structure, the framework will have been constructed. But I ask you this question: Where is the justice in a situation which permits a Negro to eat in a restaurant of his choice but denies him the opportunity to earn enough money to pay for his dinner? Where is the justice in removing barriers to registration and voting but denying Americans, because of the color of their skin, and other minority groups, the education that is necessary to become full-fledged participants in the democratic process? More is needed than the law. What is needed is the implementation of the law, the flesh upon the bone structure, the sustenance upon the framework.

And how much longer can we afford sacrificing, speaking now in more material terms, the earning power, the buying power and the brain power of this substantial segment of the

American people? Two weeks ago the Council of Economic Advisers reported to the President a statement that the inequalities in educational and employment opportunities for our Negro citizens will cost our nation \$23 billion in Gross National Product in this year of 1965. That is a pretty high price to pay for bigotry, intolerance and prejudice in terms of dollars. I suggest that no country, however affluent it may be, can afford this kind of waste of human resources, much less the indignity, the shame of it all, and I suggest, further, that Americans finally must begin to take seriously this shocking waste of human and material resources.

What is it that makes us believe that a nation that bears our burdens, a nation that must face an uncertain future for at least the next 25 to 50 years, a nation that is in conflict in many areas of the world ideologically, politically and socially, that we can win this struggle by denying equal opportunity to better than 20 million of our fellow citizens? It is to weaken the shield of our defense, it is to weaken the moral fiber of our character to permit even a scintilla, even ever so little of discrimination that denies human equality.

In short, the heartening progress of the past several years in tearing down the edifice of legalized segregation and discrimination has now brought us face to face with the

greater challenges of tomorrow. What are those challenges? To see whether this nation has the capacity and the courage to bring disadvantaged Negroes and others fully into the main stream of American political, economic and social life.

In the future we can, I believe, expect that the movement that Dr. King leads, that the civil rights movement will be more concerned or increasingly concerned with problems afflicting society as a whole but which have special impact upon Negro and other minority groups: problems such as education, unemployment, urban decay, housing, disease, and joblessness due to automation. These are the problems of civil rights, too. They are tied in together. And we can hope that the principal civil rights organizations will bring to these vital problems the same dedication, the same commitment which has characterized their attack upon the institutions of legalized discrimination.

And I am mighty confident tonight, not only now but I have been for years, that the American Jewish Committee and other private organizations will be in the front lines of this struggle. Indeed, the task of educating the illiterate, of training the unemployed, of revitalizing our cities where most of us live of bringing new hope and opportunity to the forgotten is of historic dimension and it is one of immense

difficulty because the fact is we are dealing now with the more difficult problems of human and social organization. It will require the clear acceptance of responsibility by public and private agencies alike to make the civil rights of our citizens truly meaningful in terms not only of passing laws, not only of doing something in Congress, but in terms of better education in New York, in Birmingham, in Atlanta, in Minneapolis, in Baltimore, Los Angeles; of providing jobs and better jobs and more jobs for a growing population, of medical care and better housing. Yes, the fact is that civil rights must be equated with a better America.

You have been told this evening that freedom is indivisible, and it is as true as the day itself. You have been told that to deny freedom for one is to limit the freedom of another. Surely, it is true. There is no better America for this table or this table unless there is a better America for all persons at each and every table. We Americans must learn the concept of community and realize the importance of sharing both dream and joy.

President Johnson said a short time back that "The time of justice has now come." There is a time for everything. "I tell you," as he said, "that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of

man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American." I am sure you remember that passage from his memorable message on the voting rights legislation. He said to us what has been, I am sure, clear to us but sometimes forgotten, that "when the day of justice arrives for all, it will be a day that will brighten the life of every person." So, as we fight this battle against disease and illiteracy, as we talk of the poor and how we wish to help them, let us be frank, we are helping ourselves, we are helping each other.

As Vice President, I have been charged with the responsibilities, as Mr. Blaustein has indicated tonight, of many and varied natures. I have, for example, certain responsibilities in coordinating activities of the Federal Government in the field of civil rights and equal opportunity. I have been asked by your President to act as the coordinator for the economic opportunity program, to work with the cities, as I have today in the fourth of our meetings, to continue my efforts with the Peace Corps, to coordinate the Civil Rights Act.

I consider all of these to be a part of the same pattern, because surely the victims of the abuse of civil rights are all too often the poor, and surely the poor are



all too often the victims of the abuse of civil liberties. Poverty and discrimination seem to go hand in hand all too often. Sickness and illiteracy go hand in hand. The slums of our cities and the lack of civil liberties and civil rights go hand in hand.

And what a unique and wonderful experience it is to sit with the leaders of America, all of these many programs, and to hear the common story, the story that where people are denied an education, they have no job; where people have no job, they generally are the victims of poor or inadequate education; where the man has been denied a job because of the color of his skin, he is frequently the victim of poverty, or if he is the victim of poverty, he all too often is the victim of discrimination in employment.

So my message to you tonight is simple and direct. My message is this: Encouraging progress has been achieved on a number of critical fronts. The resources of our government, the Federal Government, are fully committed to this battle which men like Herbert Lehman carried on so valiantly for many years. Dr. King, my fellow Americans, we are going to win this battle. We are going to win this battle for full citizenship and for equal opportunity. We are going to win it for one simple reason: We dare not lose it, because our

lives are at stake in this fight. [Applause]

Since February of this past year we have a Council known as the Equal Opportunity Council, established by the President under executive order. That Council and the Civil Rights Commission are working today to implement every section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And one section of that Act is of paramount importance, the provision that made it unlawful for persons to be denied full participation on the basis of race, color or national origin in the programs assisted by the Federal Government. The United States Office of Education and the Department of Justice, acting under the mandate of the Civil Rights Act, are working diligently to eliminate segregation in those elementary and secondary schools and institutions of higher learning that receive federal assistance. But we must also understand that a school district cannot escape the constitutional mandate to desegregate merely by rejecting all federal financial assistance. Those districts which do not meet the constitutional requirements will be subject to desegregation suits brought by the Department of Justice, acting under the authority contained in Title IV of the Civil Rights Act.

In reality, the choice is simply this--and let the word go from this place: To continue receiving federal aid



and desegregate, or to sacrifice federal aid and desegregate anyway. That is the choice. [Applause] And I am happy to tell you that the overwhelming majority of school districts will face their responsibilities squarely, as they are, and get on with the business of educating children, all children, without regard to race or color.

My good friends, only a few days ago the President of the United States announced the program Head Start. Over 350,000 little children are enrolled in this program as of tonight. And they are enrolled as children, they are enrolled as children being helped by their adults, being helped under the guidance of trained supervision, with the assistance of the Government of the United States. They are not being enrolled as Negro children, Jewish children, Protestant children and Catholic children; they are being enrolled as God's children under a program to help children. [Applause]

Our primary objective in this effort is to achieve law observance. I want to emphasize that, because it is not our desire to have to be the policeman or the judge or the prosecutor. We seek not to exercise the Federal Government's powers of law enforcement; we seek to eliminate discrimination in programs receiving federal financial assistance with the taxpayer's money. We do not seek the termination of the

federal programs or the withholding of the funds. We are willing to walk that extra mile to achieve voluntary compliance, but we are equally determined to have respect for the law and to enforce the law if compelled to do so.

The challenge of developing equal employment opportunities is a matter receiving high priority these days. I am sure many of you are aware of this. We have made great effort for white collar, administrative and technical job openings for people that are trained, our Negro fellow Americans. But the fact is that the gap separating the median income of whites from Negroes is actually widening and the rate of unemployment among Negro workers, as Dr. King notes, is more than twice that prevailing amongst the whites. And amongst our children, the teenagers, it is shocking and staggering.

I wonder if this audience realizes that this summer, as of the 15th of June, there will be 2,200,000 teenagers without jobs in your cities. And of those, a very substantial proportion will be Negro children. We need jobs. I appeal to you, we need training in jobs. We ask you to open up not only your hearts but we ask you to find a place for a young man or a young woman to receive gainful employment, to be employed and to be trained.

If America cannot find the answer to this youth unemployment, America can expect social dynamite on its streets simply because this restless energy must have a constructive outlet. In short, the impact of job discrimination is painfully real for millions of our minority citizens and we cannot postpone any longer a comprehensive national effort to achieve true equality in job opportunities for every American.

We have had the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, where we seek the elimination of discrimination among employers doing business with the government, and we have done well. Eight and a half million employers are presently affected by that program, hundreds of major employers. But 70 million people in America are employed today and 4-1/2 million are unemployed.

On July 2nd of this year the present activities of the Federal Government relating to job opportunities will be taken over under a new Commission established under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. This provision of law will be administered by a five-man panel, and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. This panel will have the task of working with state and local authorities, employers and trade unions and employment agencies, and one and all, to see to it that people are employed on the basis

of merit and that there is a determined effort made in America to provide jobs, meaningful jobs, jobs worthy of the talent and the training of the individual.

The new and dynamic federal programs designed which expand opportunities and which better equip our citizens for useful and productive lives, for manpower development and training, vocational education and the broad spectrum of programs associated with the war on poverty must be related constructively to the work of this Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

You might ask what place does this have in a meeting such as this? I come to you with forewarning: Either we come to grips with these problems and do it quickly and do it well or America will have troubled days ahead. You cannot continue to tell people, in your attitude or in our attitude or our practice, to get to the back of the bus even if we say by law that he is entitled to ride any place. What I am saying, in other words, is we have but one choice, and that choice is the one that we thought we had in our Constitution and which we do have: Equal opportunity, equal privileges under the law, equal treatment under the law; opportunity for one and for all.

I know we are making progress. I am basically an optimist on all of these matters, but I would be less than

frank with you if I did not tell you that I grow concerned when I see a sense of indifference here and there throughout our country. Much of the good news in civil rights is submerged by black headlines telling us of the bad news, and there is a lot of good news. I want tonight congratulate Mayor Allen of Atlanta. I have traveled through many sections of this country. There is good news. Many people are complying with the law. In fact, the law is serving as a teacher, not merely as a enforcement instrument. It is leading the way, it is a standard around which good people can repair. But there are yet great problems, there are yet great problems to be overcome. The victory as yet is not ours. Some of the most difficult and frustrating days lie immediately ahead.

We have mighty challenges to surmount and we need to get on with the task. Let me point out to you that challenge. A country that spends less than \$500 per child in education and \$1800 per school dropout and \$2500 per relief family and \$3500 per inmate in a state prison, there is something wrong with our values and we have to do something about it. [Applause] The cost of time is not a newspaper story--it is a sad personal tragedy and economic disaster. \$3500 per person in your state penitentiary throughout the state, penitentiaries of the states of this Republic; \$2500 per relief family, and relief families

are now going into the third generation. \$1800 for a child that drops out of school, and \$500 for one we keep in school.

We have resolved to do something about it. We have declared war and declared war on these inadequacies, upon these inequities, and that is what the war on poverty is about; that is what the program for education is about. That is why this government this year is going to spend 1-1/2 billions of dollars waging war upon the root causes of poverty. \$1,300,000,000 in aid to elementary and secondary schools. For what reason? To train people, to equip people to help themselves. Another billion dollars upon higher education from your Federal Treasury. For what reason? To enlighten the mind. The deficit that we face is not in that Treasury, my friends. The deficit we face is in human waste, and this government of yours and this administration and this Vice President is determined that we are going to conserve and develop the human resources of this country with every means that modern science and technology and economics give us.

[Applause]

So one fact is beyond dispute--our commitment for achieving full equality of opportunity is unmistakable. We have burned the bridges behind us. We cannot turn back. We can only move forward in this noble work.



And I am reminded, as I speak to you, of the words of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the last message that he was writing just before his death. You remember those words. He said "We must move forward with a strong and an active faith. Move forward, but to accomplish it, a strong and active faith."

In all of these activities, our ultimate concern is grounded upon the public philosophy of the man that we honor tonight, the career of Herbert Lehman. "Let us labor together," he said, "in behalf of the less fortunate and the deprived." And as we struggle with these problems of terrifying difficulty, we will draw new courage and determination from our memories of this man who never quit, who was never afraid and who never ceased fighting in this cause; a man who established for each of us a shining example of dedication and self-sacrifice in the cause of human dignity and freedom.

Dr. King, I remember your great address from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, let me say to you tonight I, too, have a dream. I have a dream of America where we will not speak of one another in terms of region or in terms of color or class; we will speak of one another as citizens, as Americans.

I have a dream where America will be known not because of the might of its arms, not even because of the wealth of

its industries and its production, but that America will be known because it is a tower of justice, that it is a beacon light of hope; that it gives hope to people who aspire to better things.

I have a dream, a dream that is repeated every day in the schools by our children and one that we ought to not only repeat but that we ought to believe and practice. And that dream is one nation, not several, one nation under God, indivisible and with liberty and justice for all. That is the American dream. That is the American promise.

We can do no less if we wish to be worthy of our citizenship.

[The audience arose and applauded.]

CHAIRMAN LINOWITZ: Mr. Vice President, thank you for speaking to us not only about the spirit of Herbert Lehman but also in the spirit of Herbert Lehman. We are grateful to you for making that spirit shine so bright and so clear this evening.

Let me also thank you, Mr. Vice President, for making clear what the Vice Presidency, a position which by definition is of uncertain influence and dimension, has never been ably and more proudly occupied than it is today.

[Applause]





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