

*Julia Cahn*

FOR RELEASE: MAY 2, 1967  
TUESDAY PM's

*(Delivering by telephone)*

REMARKS VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
7TH ANNUAL PILLARS OF AMERICAN FREEDOM PROGRAM  
MAY 2, 1967  
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

Freedom is something for which each man has his own definition.

It is also something which we Americans, each in his own way, have sought since the beginning of our Republic.

John Adams, in his correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, write that "When people talk of the freedom of writing, speaking or thinking I cannot choose but laugh. No such thing ever existed. No such thing now exists; but I hope it will exist. But it must be hundreds of years after you and I shall write and speak no more."

It is now not quite 149 years since Adams wrote to Jefferson.

I think they both might be surprised at the progress we Americans, and the human family, have made toward freedom in that time. But I am sure they would both acknowledge -- as we must do today -- that freedom is still far from reality for the great majority of the world's human beings.

Freedom, to me, means hope -- hope for a world in which each man is able to reach for and find the best within himself.

Freedom means faith -- faith that the goodness of man can be fulfilled if it is released from want and fear.

Freedom means life -- life as a precious gift of time and opportunity to seek happiness and beauty.

Freedom, for me, is not a philosophical concept or an abstract goal. It is a human condition.

It is a child, looking ahead to a lifetime in which he will have the chance, above all, to be himself.

It is a woman, filled with a sense of service and abundance as she cares for her family.

It is a man, quietly framing thoughts and words which he will later express openly to other man.

It is an older person, peacefully reading a book, or strolling a beach, or watching a sunset, or tending a flower.

These images are real to me, and they help me describe the meaning I take from the word freedom.

But there are other images which we cannot escape. And they are equally real.

I see a child, leaning aimlessly against a tarpaper shack. That is not freedom.

I see a woman, emptily gazing through the cracked window of a cold ghetto room. That is not freedom.

I see a man, angry with desperation over impossible dreams and wasted work. That is not freedom.

I see an older person, alone with vacant days and lonely nights, That is not freedom.

Freedom is not real to me when I have it and my brother does not. . .when my nation enjoys it and another does not . . .when my race has achieved it and others have not.

I believe that freedom belongs to mankind -- not just to a third of mankind or to white mankind or to that part of mankind which happens to dwell in the temperate zone. Freedom belongs to all of mankind -- or at least it should.

Whether or not men will ever realize such universal freedom is, unfortunately, very much in question.

But one thing is certain: It will never be achieved if our rich and strong and powerful America falters in its work.

When he visited America a century ago, Thomas Huxley wrote: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate, is what are you going to do with all these things?"

I believe that today, even more than last year or 10 years ago, we are using these things . . .we are meeting our responsibilities to the principles which led to the founding of our Republic.

Our nation today has and is acting upon a mission, unique in world history.

That mission is not to inflict our code of ethics or morality on the peoples of other lands.

It is not to force our system of government on other countries.

It is not to impose our economic and social principles on other regions of the world.

The mission of the United States today is to secure the foundations of freedom throughout the world.

We must set priorities, obviously.

We must avoid indiscriminate draining of our resources, yes.

We must guard against spreading ourselves too thin, of course.

But are we worthy of our own freedom . . .are we acting responsibly . . .and are we morally sound if we limit our mission to some of the people in some of the regions where circumstances make the task easy?

Our task, particularly today in southeast Asia, is immeasurably difficult.

Vietnam is far from our shores, and it is difficult to sacrifice lives and resources for a place which is distant.

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Vietnam represents a new, sophisticated and subtle type of conflict -- the war of so-called national liberation -- and it is difficult to respond to a threat when it lacks the decisiveness of a Pearl Harbor or the clarity of a 38th parallel.

But your nation is meeting the threat, with responsibility, with resolution, and with restraint.

We want to see the people of Vietnam "settle their own affairs."

But this does not mean, as some implore, that we will abandon the scene to allow one party to the conflict to settle Vietnamese affairs by force and coercion.

I believe that to do so would not only encourage further aggression in Southeast Asia, but that it would serve notice in the world that we keep our commitments unless those commitments become painful or inconvenient.

I need not tell you that our commitment is the only protection many of the world's people have against the threat of aggression.

Are we to serve notice on them that our commitment is a matter of cold self-interest subject to abandonment when the going gets tough?

I would hope not.

For let there be no mistake about it: The integrity of our American commitment is the shield of peace.

And let this also not be mistaken: Our true self-interest requires that all the world know, as I recently said in Britain, that when we make a contract, we keep it.

We seek an honest, effective, and workable peace in Vietnam. We will not withdraw until this has been achieved.

Finally, let me offer the reminder that our real progress in Vietnam cannot be measured in terms alone of enemy soldiers killed or equipment destroyed and captured -- as in many past wars.

Our ultimate enemy is to be found in the poverty, the disease, the illiteracy and despair -- and lack of self-government -- of a people who have known little else. And our progress must be measured in these terms as well as in military terms.

In 1966, our allied medical teams administered 12 million immunizations against cholera, smallpox, plague and other diseases which in the past have run rampant among the Vietnamese people.

In 1954, there were approximately half a million students in the elementary and secondary schools of South Vietnam. Today, there are more than 2 million. In 1966 alone, our Agency for International Development helped to build 4 thousand 6 hundred classrooms and to train 4 thousand new teachers.

In the past few years, the United States has introduced 30 new varieties of food crops in Vietnam, which are now proving as much as 100 per cent more productive than the varieties previously grown there.

A necessity for long-term stability in South Vietnam, and elsewhere in the world, is the development of responsive political institutions which express the will of the people.

Those institutions are being developed in South Vietnam today.

Last year more than 80 per cent of eligible voters participated, despite Viet Cong terror in the election of a Constituent Assembly.

That Assembly has now completed its work.

After vigorous and open debate within the Assembly, a constitution has been drafted.

Under the terms of that constitution, village and district elections--again despite calculated terror and disruption on the part of the Viet Cong--are now being held. People are casting free ballots.

This September free national elections will be held.

With our help, and the help of other allies, the people of South Vietnam are building freedom. The Viet Cong know it. And they fear it.

These stories don't make headlines, but they save lives and build peace.

On a different scale and in totally different circumstances, the same types of steps were taken by the United States in Europe a generation ago.

In case you have forgotten, there were many protests then -- that we were "spreading ourselves too thin" -- that we were "meddling in the affairs of others" . . . that we were only imagining the aggressive intent of totalitarianism.

I reread, only the other day, stories written by well-known columnists which counseled, in late 1940, that we should sharply reduce the size of our army.

Those stories had been written after Hitler's successful invasion and conquest of France.



I remember that, in 1940, the universal draft passed by a majority of one vote.

I remember, too, that after the war, I first came to the Senate to find a raging debate over implementation of the Marshall Plan and the European Recovery Act.

I also remember the scenes of Europe in the late 1940's -- vast areas of rubble . . . industrial and agricultural activity at a standstill . . . the economies obliterated . . . cities and people lifting themselves out of the dust.

What a changing world this is. Less than a month ago, I was in that same Europe, and saw nations thriving in progress and prosperity.

Does anyone in this nation believe today that Western Europe would stand prosperous and free had it not been for our military intervention and, later, for the Marshall Plan and aid to Greece and Turkey?

Many thoughtful and conscientious people counseled at the time that intervention in Europe, and economic assistance to Europe, were neither necessary nor in our self-interest.

But several American Presidents took courageous and forthright stands for what they believed to be right. And they were vindicated by history.

Today, in Southeast Asia, President Lyndon Johnson is taking a courageous and forthright stand for what he believes to be right. And I believe that he will be vindicated by history.

For, if Western Europe is both free and secure today, it is because those who threatened her came to know they could not work their will by force, or by the threat of force.

And, if tomorrow, Southeast Asia can stand free and secure, it will be because the same lesson has been learned there.

Let it be clear: There is today no sign from Hanoi that our offers of peaceful negotiation will be reciprocated. There is no sign that a settlement is in view. There are many signs that a hard struggle still lies ahead.

But let it be equally clear: We cannot -- and must not -- tire. We must persevere.

We must persevere in our military efforts.  
We must persevere in our search for a peaceful settlement.  
We must persevere in the work of nation-building.

And, if we do, I believe that, in the long run, the cause of human freedom will have been strengthened all around the world.

\* \* \*

Now, a final thought: We have been speaking of freedom, but in essence my remarks have been directed also to the necessity of security of peoples and lands in this modern, changing world.

The two are intrinsically linked.

Security, in the broadest sense of our aspirations, is not possible without freedom of all mankind.

And freedom is not attainable without the security of peoples and nations.

Security is the physical well-being of man; freedom is the realm of his mind and soul. We can never focus our efforts on one without attention to the other.

Let me complete my comments with my own attempt to define the Pillars of American Freedom -- your title for this valuable lecture series. The pillars of our nation's freedom, for me, are not described in historic, academic, economic, military or even moral terms. The pillars of American freedom are the people of this nation -- all of them.

Our strength rests on the individual dignity and freedom of 190 million Americans -- Americans of all persuasions, creeds, races and ages . . . Americans who quietly support the majority and Americans who dissent from it.

If the freedom of any American is denied to him, our total strength is diminished and our total national freedom becomes unbalanced and thus incomplete.

It is true that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. Our American freedom is only as secure as the freedom of our most obscure, humble citizen. And I believe that freedom in the world can, by the same token, only be as secure as the freedom of the newest, humblest nation and the people within it.

"Who shall speak for the people?" Carl Sandburg  
once asked in a time when humanity stood oppressed.  
"Who . . . speaks for the family of man?"

I think we, as Americans, can give only one answer:

We have, and we shall.

For we are nation-builders, not nation-destroyers.

We are life-givers, not life-takers.

We are the children of peace, not the parents of  
violence.

And we must never lose sight of it.

I give you the words of Woodrow Wilson -- words that  
ring with truth . . . words for us to live by:

"America will come into the full light of the day when  
all shall know that she puts human rights above all  
other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of  
America but of humanity."

# # # #



*Telephone*  
REMARKS

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*Start* I believe that freedom belongs to mankind -- not just to a third of mankind or to white mankind or to that part of mankind which happens to dwell in the temperate zone. Freedom belongs to all of mankind -- or at least it should.

Whether or not men will ever realize such universal freedom is, unfortunately, very much in question.

But one thing is certain: It will never be achieved if our rich and strong and powerful America falters in its work.

*Last best hope.*

When he visited America a century ago, Thomas Huxley wrote:

"I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate, is what are you going to do with all these things?"

I believe that today, even more than last year or 10 years ago, we are using these things.....we are meeting our responsibilities to the principles which led to the founding of our Republic.

Our nation today has and is acting upon a mission, unique in world history.

That mission is not to inflict our code of ethics or morality on the peoples of other lands.

It is not to force our system of government on other countries.

It is not to impose our economic and social principles on other regions of the world.

The mission of the United States today is to <sup>help</sup> secure the foundations of freedom throughout the world.

We must set priorities, obviously.

*The Right to  
Choose  
to be oneself  
Self-Determination*

We must avoid indiscriminate draining of our resources, yes.

We must guard against spreading ourselves too thin, of course.

But are we worthy of our own freedom. . . are we acting responsibly . . . and are we morally sound if we limit our mission to some of the people in some of the regions where



circumstances make the task easy?

*I think not!*

Our task, particularly today in Southeast Asia, is immeasurably difficult.

Vietnam is far from our shores, and it is difficult to sacrifice lives and resources for a place which ~~is~~ <sup>seems so</sup> distant.

Vietnam is different from our land, our culture, our society, and it is difficult to defend that which we have not known.

Vietnam represents a new, sophisticated and subtle type of conflict -- the war of so-called national liberation -- and it is difficult to respond to a threat when it lacks the decisiveness of a Pearl Harbor or the clarity of ~~an attack across the~~ a 38th parallel.

But your nation is meeting the threat, with responsibility, with resolution, and with restraint.

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But this does not mean, as some implore, that we will ~~or should~~ abandon the scene to allow one party to the conflict to settle Vietnamese affairs by force and coercion.

↳ I believe that to do so would not only encourage further aggression in Southeast Asia, but that it would serve notice in the world that we keep our commitments unless those commitments become painful or inconvenient.

↳ I need not tell you that our commitment is the only protection many of the world's people have against the threat of aggression.

↳ Are we to serve notice on them that our commitment is a matter of cold self-interest subject to abandonment when the going gets tough?

↳ I would hope not.

For let there be no mistake about it: The integrity of our American commitment is the shield of peace.

And let this also not be mistaken: Our true self-interest requires that all the world know, ~~as I recently said in Britain,~~ that when we make a contract, we keep it. }

✓ We seek an honest, effective, and workable peace in Vietnam. We will not withdraw until this has been achieved.

~~Finally,~~ ✓ Let me offer the reminder that our real progress in Vietnam cannot be measured in terms alone of enemy soldiers killed or equipment destroyed and captured -- as in many past wars.

✓ ~~the~~ ultimate enemy is to be found in the poverty, the disease, the illiteracy and despair -- and lack of self-government -- of a people who have known little else. ✓ And ~~our~~ progress must be measured in these terms as well as in military terms.

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↳ A necessity for long-term stability in South Vietnam, and elsewhere in the world, is the development of responsive political institutions which express the will of the people.

↳ Those institutions are being developed in South Vietnam today.

↳ Last year more than 80 per cent of eligible voters participated, despite Viet Cong terror, in the election of a Constituent Assembly.

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↳ Under the terms of that Constitution, village and district elections -- again despite calculated terror and disruption on the part of the Viet Cong -- are now being held. People are casting free ballots.

↳ This September free national elections will be held. ↳ With our help, and the help of other allies, the people of South Vietnam are building freedom. ↳ The Viet Cong know it. And they fear it.

↳ These stories don't <sup>always</sup> make headlines. But they save lives and build peace. — and help build a

nation, — and they are  
Steps to Victory!



↳ On a different scale and in totally different circumstances, the same types of steps were taken by the United States in Europe a generation ago.

↳ In case you have forgotten, there were many protests then -- that we were "spreading ourselves too thin" -- that we were "meddling in the affairs of others" . . . . . that we were only imagining the aggressive intent of totalitarianism.

*fact* I reread, only the other day, stories written by well-known columnists which counseled, in late 1940, that we should sharply reduce the size of our army.

Those stories had been written after Hitler's successful invasion and conquest of France.

I remember that, in 1940, the universal draft passed by a majority of one vote.

I remember, too, that after the war, <sup>when I</sup> first came to the Senate to <sup>I found</sup> find a raging debate over implementation of the Marshall Plan and the European Recovery Act.

↳ I also remember the scenes of Europe in the late 1940's -- vast areas of rubble . . . ~~industrial and agricultural activity at~~ a standstill . . . the economies <sup>destroyed</sup> obliterated . . . cities and people lifting themselves out of the dust.

What a changing world this is. <sup>!</sup> Less than a month ago, I was in that same Europe, and saw nations thriving in progress and prosperity.

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Does anyone in this nation believe today that Western Europe would stand prosperous and free had it not been for our military intervention and, later, for the Marshall Plan and aid to Greece and Turkey?

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For, if Western Europe is both free and secure today, it is because those who threatened her came to know they could not work their will by force, or by the threat of force!

And, if tomorrow, Southeast Asia can stand free and secure, it will be because the same lesson has been learned there.

Let it be clear: There is today no sign from Hanoi that our offers of peaceful negotiation will be reciprocated. There is no sign that a settlement is in view. There are many signs that a hard struggle still lies ahead.

But let it be equally clear: We cannot -- and must not -- tire. We must persevere.

We must persevere in our military efforts.

*We must persevere in our economic assistance.*

✓ We must persevere in our search for a peaceful  
settlement.

yes ✓ We must persevere in the work of nationbuilding!

And, if we do, I believe that, in the long run, the  
cause of human freedom will have been strengthened all  
around the world.

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Keep  
Rights and Responsibilities  
The Pillars of  
Freedom

Now, a final thought: We have been speaking of ~~freedom~~, ~~freedom~~, but in essence my remarks have been directed also to the necessity for security of peoples and lands in this modern, changing world.

↳ The two are intrinsically linked.

↳ Security, in the broadest sense of our aspirations, is not possible without freedom, ~~of all mankind~~.

And freedom is not attainable without the security of peoples and nations.

↳ Security is the physical well-being of man; freedom is the realm of his mind and soul. We can never focus our efforts on one without attention to the other.

Start/ Let me ~~complete my comments with my own attempt to~~  
~~define the Pillars of American Freedom -- your title for this~~  
~~valuable lecture series.~~ Keep



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↳ ~~It is true that a chain is only as strong as its weakest link.~~

Our American freedom is only as secure as the freedom of our most obscure, humble citizen.

And I believe that freedom in the world ~~can, by the same~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~token,~~ only be as secure as the freedom of the newest, humblest nation and the people within it. !

"Who shall speak for the people?" Carl Sandburg once asked in a time when humanity stood oppressed. "Who . . . speaks for the family of man?"

I think we, as Americans, can give only one answer:

We have! and we shall continue to do so!

For we are nation-builders, not nation-destroyers.

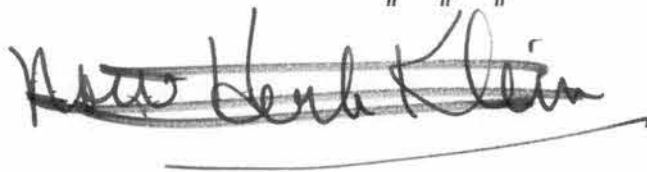
We are life-givers, not life-takers.

We are the children of peace, not the parents of violence.

And we must never lose sight of it.

I give you the words of Woodrow Wilson -- words that ring with truth . . . words for us to live by:

"America will come into the full light of the day when  
all shall know that she puts human rights above all other  
rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but  
of humanity."

# # #  
A handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to be "Anne Frank". The signature is written over three horizontal lines. Above the signature are three hash symbols (# # #). A long horizontal line with an arrow at the end is drawn below the signature.



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