

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
HOLTON ARMS SCHOOL  
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Today I would like to speak very briefly about something which will concern you a great deal in the years ahead -- as young ladies pursuing your careers ... as future mothers ... and as citizens of your country.

It is the subject of human freedom. That is a big and imposing subject.

We talk a good deal about freedom. The word is used all the time -- often, I believe, all too lightly. And I am quite sure that most people in our country take freedom for granted -- something they have, and will always have.

But it may come as something as a surprise to you when I say that, for the vast majority of the world's peoples, there is no such thing as freedom in the sense that we enjoy it. And, up until the shortest time ago -- as history goes -- freedom was something which even the most optimistic American saw as existing far in the future.

John Adams, in his famous correspondence with Thomas Jefferson -- which most of you have read -- wrote 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<sup>you</sup>/and I shall write and speak no more."

It is now only 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 it is far from fully achieved.

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

Freedom means faith -- faith that ~~the goodness of~~ <sup>people may be</sup> ~~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.

I think we can appreciate freedom more if we see it not in the abstract, but as something real and tangible in daily life.

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 men.

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, as I'm sure they are to you, and they help describe the real meaning of ~~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 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.

*But* Freedom is not real to me when I have it and *so many others do not!*  
~~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?"

That, young ladies, is the question which you and your country will face in the years ahead.

For America -- ~~and each person who lives here~~ -- has a basic choice to make.

Shall this be the land in which the many live in comfort while the few are left behind in destitution?

Shall this be the land where the many have a second car while the few dream of a second pair of shoes?

Shall this be the land where the many complain  
of higher taxes while the few are <sup>and burdened</sup> taxed to feed and clothe  
their families?

Or shall it be the land, above all others, where even  
the most humble are the concern of even the most <sup>fortunate!</sup> affluent?

~~President~~  
~~It is no secret that Franklin Roosevelt has always~~  
*President Franklin Roosevelt put*  
~~been one of my heroes. He put it well: "The test of our~~  
progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of  
those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for  
those who have too little."

In America today we are trying "to provide enough"  
for the millions of our fellow citizens who still have far too  
little.

And we are trying to do it in the most positive way  
we know -- through education, through job-training, through  
the building and rebuilding of human lives.

We are trying not to give anyone something for nothing, but to give everyone something to hope and reach for.

Now you will go on to continue, and complete, your formal educations.

I hope that, in the future, many of you may choose to do what you can to help your country build freedom by helping others -- whether in VISTA, or through a voluntary agency, through teaching, through public service, or through so simple and obvious a thing as seeing that your community has a summer recreation program, or Head Start, or programs for the disadvantaged.

"Who shall speak for the people?" Carl Sandburg once asked in a time when it seemed that almost no one did. "Who ... speaks for the family of man?"

I think we, as Americans, can give only one answer: We have, and we shall.



Graduation will be a little like dying. You see all the phases of their life pass before you: from babyhood to young womanhood, from the first doll to the first date, with mumps, braces, whispering phone conversations in between.

But it has been a thrilling experience to learn along with our daughters. None of us have ever known so much about 800 European paintings before.\*

### History of Art -

\*(Liz mentioned that history of art is a very important course at Holton Arms and that the entire family of many of the students have become involved in their daughters' efforts to learn about or become familiar with 800 paintings that ~~were~~ apparently a class assignment.)

I am sure that each of you has a friend, or knows someone, whose fondest wish would be to be graduated today at Holton Arms, as you are -- but has not had the opportunity that you have had.

When every young American may have that opportunity, then freedom will finally be closer to reality.

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