



FOR RELEASE  
THURSDAY PM'S  
JULY 4, 1968  
Telephone 202/225-2961

*File: Humphrey speaks*

REMARKS  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
INDEPENDENCE HALL  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA  
JULY 4, 1968

*Notes here on  
disarmament &  
dealings with the  
Soviets*

It is a proud thing to be an American.

It is the proudest thing of all to be an American standing on the 4th day of July beside Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

A nation was born here conceived of belief.

That belief was in freedom...and in the conviction that government could be the ally, not the enemy, of individual liberty...if only government derived its "just power from the consent of the governed."

The Declaration of Independence was not only a manifesto of new political philosophy. It was a working paper.

Woodrow Wilson said, speaking from this platform 54 years ago today: "Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action...if we would keep it alive, we must fill it with a bill of particulars for the year 1914."

John Kennedy declared, speaking from this platform six years ago today, our readiness for a Declaration of Interdependence - a declaration of our readiness to join in an Atlantic Partnership with the nations of Western Europe.

Today we must go beyond even that. We must go beyond the immediate needs of our own time. We must look beyond even the bright vision, as John Kennedy saw it, of the 1960's.

We must declare our interdependence not only with the nations of the Atlantic, but with the family of man. We must set our vision not only for today, but for the goals we may hope to achieve by 1976 -- the 200th anniversary of our freedom.

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There can be no doubt that our commitment, as Americans, and as free men, must be to man's liberation.

That liberation will only be achieved when all the nations on the earth allow their citizens the free exercise of their rights -- only existing as an idea 192 years ago.

The right to peace -- so that man may live with hope free from the threat of those who would march to power.

The right to justice -- so that man may stand before his peers and his society on a truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

The right to free expression -- so that man may speak and be heard, despite the decision and belief of any compact majority.

The right to the search for knowledge -- so that no man may remain another's slave through the denial of skill or education.

The right to public accountability -- so that man may remain the master of the state, rather than the state become the master of the man.

The right to meaningful work -- so that man may have a decent wage and live with self-respect and dignity among his fellow citizens.

The right to open opportunity -- so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion -- or his so-called social class.

The right to public compassion -- so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his well-being, his old age and loneliness are the concern of his society.

The right to movement and free association -- so that man may freely move and choose his associates without coercive restraint.

The right to privacy -- so that man may be free of the heavy hand of the watchers and listeners.

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The right to rest and recreation -- so that the necessity of labor not be permitted to cripple human development.

These are rights we seek to make secure in our own nation.

These are rights we seek to help establish for our brothers in mankind.

These rights will not be achieved at home, or in the world, without the exercise of consonant responsibility on a scale equal to that of those who declared our independence.

For they are under continual challenge. And those who would hold them must pay the price of responsibility.

The responsibility to participate -- lest critical decisions and initiatives be left to those who would bend them to their own use.

The responsibility to speak out -- lest silence in the face of injustice be interpreted as its acceptance.

The responsibility of public service -- lest service be to self rather than fellow man.

The responsibility to support the rule of law -- lest the law of the jungle become the law of human behavior.

The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of one's fellow man -- lest loss of liberty by one become loss of liberty by all.

The rights of each man must by necessity be limited by the rights of others, and by the just demands of the general welfare. Yet, within those limits, the possibilities of making men truly free are today but barely touched.

\* \* \* \*

What are the particulars, in our own country, of the purposes we enunciate?

They include tangible and immediate goals in America:

That people may be able to walk the streets or to advocate their cause without fear of violence, crime, or assassination;

That every American -- white, brown, black, red or yellow -- may receive from his society the same high standard of education, of training, and of opportunity from birth onward;

That every citizen in this land of plenty shall have enough to eat, and the care of his health;

That all who want to work may work; and that all who cannot work shall receive an income sufficient to provide self-respect;

That our people may dwell in decent open housing and in neighborhoods filled not with strangers, but with neighbors.

That the business of American government shall be conducted openly, and with the participation of a maximum number of citizens;

What are the particulars in the wider world in which we live?

That we shall make peace, above all other things, our national purpose;

That we shall re-dedicate this nation to the work of economic and social development in the poor nations;

That we shall persevere in negotiations for peace until a just and lasting settlement is achieved in Southeast Asia;

That we and the Soviet Union shall move promptly, with our full commitment, to reduction of offensive and defensive weapons systems;

That we shall set our vision even beyond this: To a world-wide reduction of arms and military expenditures -- so that human and material resources may, in the future, be devoted to the betterment of all peoples;

That we shall make our alliances not merely forces for defense, but instruments of active peaceful engagement;

That we shall support and strengthen the United Nations, and regional and international organizations...and the peace-keeping machinery within them;

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That we shall, once and for all, accept and ratify the Human Rights Conventions of the United Nation -- which still lie unratified before the Senate;

For it is human rights, above all else, that should lie at the heart of our concern.

\* \* \* \*

The document signed here 192 years ago declared that the inalienable rights we sought -- of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- were the rights of that "humanity which is above nations."

Now, only eight years before our 200th birthday, I declare this nation's dedication to securing those rights not only for ourselves, but for that humanity which is above nations.

Not by force.

Not by conquest.

Not by the use of power.

But by the force of our ideas...the conquest of the inadequacies and injustices within our own society...and by the power of free men filled with confidence and hope for the future.

I believe that we as a people have not lost our way. I believe our way has always been clear.

It was declared here on July 4, 1776.

Only the means have been contested.

Our purposes then must remain:

the protection and enrichment of meaningful life;

the assurance of liberty;

the development of those conditions which permit man to pursue the goal of happiness.

Our forefathers pledged their lives, fortune and sacred honor to these ideals and purposes.

We, in our time, can do no less.

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If we -- living strong and prosperous in this blessed land -- can call forth from within ourselves the faith and passion which we know is there, I believe that history can record that on July 4, 1976, the peaceful American revolution found fulfillment in its own country...and stood once more as a beacon of hope and promise throughout all the world.

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FROM: UNITED DEMOCRATS FOR HUMPHREY

FOR RELEASE: PM'S THURSDAY, JULY 4

# VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY CALLS FOR FULFILLMENT OF MAN'S FREEDOM

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 4-- VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY DECLARED IN A SPEECH AT INDEPENDENCE HALL THAT "OUR COMMITMENT, AS AMERICANS, AND AS FREE MEN, MUST BE TO MAN'S LIBERATION."

AS ONE STEP IN THIS DIRECTION, THE VICE PRESIDENT URGED "THAT WE SHALL, ONCE AND FOR ALL, ACCEPT AND RATIFY THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONVENTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- WHICH STILL LIE UNRATIFIED BEFORE THE SENATE. FOR IT IS HUMAN RIGHTS, ABOVE ALL ELSE, THAT SHOULD LIE AT THE HEART OF OUR CONCERN." THREE CONVENTIONS ARE CURRENTLY BOTTLED UP IN THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. AMERICA MUST GO BEYOND JOHN F. KENNEDY'S "BRIGHT VISION OF THE 1960'S" AND HIS DECLARATION, SIX YEARS AGO ON THE SAME SPOT, OF INTERDEPENDENCE WITH WESTERN EUROPE.

"WE MUST DECLARE OUR INTERDEPENDENCE NOT ONLY WITH THE NATIONS OF THE ATLANTIC, BUT WITH THE FAMILY OF MAN. WE MUST SET OUR VISION NOT ONLY FOR TODAY, BUT FOR THE GOALS WE MAY HOPE TO ACHIEVE BY 1976 -- THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR FREEDOM," VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY SAID.

HE CITED THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES NECESSARY FOR MAN'S LIBERATION AND LISTED AS SPECIFIC GOALS ABROAD --

"THAT WE SHALL MAKE PEACE, ABOVE ALL OTHER THINGS, OUR NATIONAL PURPOSE;

"THAT WE SHALL RE-DEDICATE THIS NATION TO THE WORK OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE POOR NATIONS;

"THAT WE SHALL PERSEVERE IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE UNTIL A JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT IS ACHIEVED IN SOUTHEAST ASIA;

"THAT WE AND THE SOVIET UNION SHALL MOVE PROMPTLY WITH OUR FULL COMMITMENT, TO REDUCTION OF OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS;

"THAT WE SHALL SET OUR VISION EVEN BEYOND THIS TO A WORLDWIDE REDUCTION OF ARMS AND MILITARY EXPENDITURES -- SO THAT HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES MAY IN THE FUTURE, BE DEVOTED TO THE BETTERMENT OF ALL PEOPLES;

"THAT WE SHALL MAKE OUR ALLIANCES NOT MERELY FORCES FOR DEFENSE, BUT INSTRUMENTS OF ACTIVE PEACEFUL ENGAGEMENT;

"THAT WE SHALL SUPPORT AND STRENGTHEN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE PEACE-KEEPING MACHINERY WITHIN THEM."

THE VICE PRESIDENT ALSO SET FORTH AS "TANGIBLE AND IMMEDIATE GOALS IN AMERICA" --

"THAT PEOPLE MAY BE ABLE TO WALK THE STREET OR ADVOCATE THEIR CAUSE WITHOUT FEAR OF VIOLENCE, CRIME, OR ASSASSINATION;

"THAT EVERY AMERICAN -- WHITE, BROWN, BLACK, RED OR YELLOW -- MAY RECEIVE FROM HIS SOCIETY THE SAME HIGH STANDARD OF EDUCATION, OF TRAINING, AND OF OPPORTUNITY FROM BIRTH ONWARD;

"THAT EVERY CITIZEN IN THIS LAND OF PLENTY SHALL HAVE ENOUGH TO EAT, AND THE CARE OF HIS HEALTH;

"THAT ALL WHO WANT TO WORK MAY WORK; AND THAT ALL WHO CANNOT WORK SHALL RECEIVE AN INCOME SUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE SELF-RESPECT;

"THAT OUR PEOPLE MAY DWELL IN DECENT OPEN HOUSING AND IN NEIGHBORHOODS FILLED NOT WITH STRANGERS, BUT WITH NEIGHBORS;

"THAT THE BUSINESS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SHALL BE CONDUCTED OPENLY, AND WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF A MAXIMUM NUMBER OF CITIZENS."

THE VICE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED: "IF WE -- LIVING STRONG AND PROSPEROUS IN THIS BLESSED LAND -- CAN CALL FORTH FROM WITHIN OURSELVES THE FAITH AND PASSION WHICH WE KNOW IS THERE, I BELIEVE THAT HISTORY CAN RECORD THAT ON JULY 4, 1976, THE PEACEFUL AMERICAN REVOLUTION FOUND FULFILLMENT IN ITS OWN COUNTRY, AND STOOD ONCE MORE AS A BEACON OF HOPE AND PROMISE THROUGHOUT ALL THE WORLD."

-HHH-

✓ Senator Clark  
~~Sen. Scott~~

✓ Mayor Tate

✓ Bishop Graham - Rabbi  
Cherry

✓ Cong. Green  
Cong. Vegetto

REMARKS

Mr. Paul D'ORTONA

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

INDEPENDENCE HALL

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

JULY 4, 1968

Cong. Barrett  
" Byrne  
" Gilberg  
" Green  
" Hill

It is a proud thing to be an American.

It is the proudest thing of all to be an American standing here  
on the 4th day of July <sup>in the shadow of</sup> ~~beside~~ Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

A nation was born here ~~conceived of belief~~.  
~~conceived in the~~ <sup>that belief</sup> ~~that is~~ freedom ... and in the conviction that

government could be the ally, not the enemy, of individual liberty

But... <sup>if</sup> only government derived its "just power from the consent of  
the governed."

↳ The Declaration of Independence was not only a manifesto of new political philosophy. It was a working paper.

↳ Woodrow Wilson said, speaking from this platform 54 years ago today: "Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action ... if we would keep it alive, we must fill it with a bill of particulars for the year 1914."

↳ John Kennedy declared, speaking from this platform six years ago today, our readiness for a Declaration of Interdependence -- a declaration of our readiness to join in an Atlantic Partnership with the nations of Western Europe.

↳ Today we must go beyond even that. We must go beyond the immediate needs of our own time. We must look beyond even the bright vision, as John Kennedy saw it, of the 1960's.

↳ We must declare our interdependence not only with the nations of the Atlantic, but with the family of man. ↳ We must set our vision not only for today, but for the goals we may hope to achieve by 1976 -- the 200th anniversary of our freedom.

↳ There can be no doubt that our commitment, as Americans, and as free men, must be to man's liberation.

↳ That liberation will only be achieved when all the nations on the earth allow their citizens the free exercise of their rights -- *these unalienable rights of life, liberty & the Pursuit of Happiness.* only existing as an idea 192 years ago.

*Then there is* The right to peace -- so that man may live ~~without~~ free from the threat of those who would march to power.

The right to justice -- so that man may stand before his peers and his society on <sup>a</sup> truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

The right to free expression -- so that man may speak  
and be heard, despite the decision and belief of any compact  
majority.

↳ The right to the search for knowledge -- so that no man  
may remain another's slave through the denial of skill or  
education.

↳ The right to public accountability -- so that man may remain  
the master of the state, rather than the state become the master  
of the man.

↳ The right to meaningful work -- so that man may have a  
decent wage and live with self-respect and dignity among his fellow  
citizens.

∟ The right to open opportunity -- so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion -- or his so-called social class.

∟ The right to public compassion -- so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his well-being, his old age and loneliness are the concern of his society.

∟ The right to movement and free association -- so that man may freely move and choose his associates without coercive restraint.

∟ The right to privacy -- so that man may be free of the heavy hand of the watchers and listeners.

∟ The right to rest and recreation -- so that the necessity of labor not be permitted to cripple human development.

↳ These are rights we seek to make secure in our own nation.

↳ These are rights we seek to help establish for our brothers in mankind.

**But** ↳ These rights will not be achieved at home, or in the world, without the exercise of consonant responsibility on a scale equal to that of those who declared our independence.

↳ For they are under continual challenge. And those who would hold them must pay the price of responsibility.

↳ The responsibility to participate -- lest critical decisions and initiatives be left to those who would bend them to their own use.

↳ The responsibility to speak out -- lest silence in the face of injustice be interpreted as its acceptance.

∟ The responsibility of public service -- lest service be to self rather than fellow man.

∟ The responsibility to support the rule of law -- lest the law of the jungle become the law of human behavior.

∟ The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of one's fellow man -- lest loss of liberty by one become loss of liberty by all.

∟ The rights of each man must by necessity be limited by the rights of others, and by the just demands of the general welfare. Yet, within those limits, the possibilities of making men truly free are today but barely touched.

\* \* \*

∟ What are the particulars, in our own country, of the purposes we enunciate?

They include tangible and immediate goals in America:

That people may be able to walk the streets or to advocate  
their cause without fear of violence, crime, or assassination;

That every American -- white, brown, black, red or yellow --  
may receive from his society the same high standard of education,  
of training, and of opportunity from birth onward;

That every citizen in this land of plenty shall have enough  
to eat, and the care of his health;

That all who want to work may work; and that all who cannot  
work shall receive an income sufficient to provide self-respect;

That our people may dwell in decent open housing and in  
neighborhoods filled not with strangers, but with neighbors.

That the business of American government shall be  
conducted openly, and with the participation of a maximum number  
of citizens;

and L What are the particulars in the wider world in which we live?

L That we shall make peace, above all other things, our national purpose;

L That we shall re-dedicate this nation to the work of economic and social development in the poor nations;

L That we shall persevere in negotiations for peace until a just and lasting settlement is achieved in Southeast Asia;

L That we and the Soviet Union shall move promptly, with our full commitment, to reduction of offensive and defensive weapons systems;

L For I believe that the nuclear non-proliferation treaty -- initiated last week -- and the pending discussions on offensive and defensive weapons are our best chance for peace and reduction of international tensions since the advent of the cold war.

Peace

↳ That we shall set our vision even beyond this: To a  
world-wide reduction of arms and military expenditures --  
so that human and material resources may, in the future, be  
devoted to the betterment of all peoples;

↳ For we now see before us the prospect of a possible end to the arms race. !

*modern*  
Other Particulars <sup>in</sup> our <sup>modern</sup> manifesto of freedom  
are

That we shall make our alliances not merely forces for  
defense, but instruments of active peaceful engagement;

↳ That we shall support and strengthen the United Nations,  
and regional and international organizations ... and the peace-  
keeping machinery within them;

↳ That we shall, once and for all, accept and ratify the  
Human Rights Conventions of the United Nation -- which still  
lie unratified before the Senate;

↳ For it is human rights, above all else, that should lie  
at the heart of our concern.

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↳ The document signed here 192 years ago declared that the  
unalienable rights we sought -- of life, liberty and the pursuit  
of happiness -- were the rights of that "humanity which is  
above nations."

Now, only eight years before our 200th birthday, I  
declare this nation's dedication to securing those rights  
not only for ourselves, but for <sup>^</sup>that humanity which is  
above nations.

Not by force.

Not by conquest.

~~Not by the use of power~~

But by the <sup>power</sup> ~~force~~ of our ideas ... ~~the conquest of the~~  
~~inadequacies and injustices within our own society~~ ... and  
by the power of free men filled with confidence and hope for  
the future.

I believe that we as a people have not lost our way. I  
believe our way has always been clear.

It was declared here on July 4, 1776.

Only the means have been contested.

Woodrow Wilson

my dream is that 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.

Our purposes then must remain:

- ↳ the protection and enrichment of meaningful life;
- ↳ the assurance of liberty;
- ↳ the development of those conditions which permit man to pursue the goal of happiness.

↳ Our forefathers pledged their lives, fortune and sacred honor to these ideals and purposes.

↳ We, in our time, can do no less.

↳ If we -- living strong and prosperous in this blessed land -- can call forth from within ourselves the faith and passion which we know is there, I believe that history can record that on July 4, 1976, the peaceful American revolution found fulfillment in its own country ... and stood once more as a beacon of hope and promise throughout all the world.

← # # #

Remarks

of

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice-President of the United States of America

at the

Presentation of the Philadelphia Bowl

at the

Main Ballroom

of the

Benjamin Franklin Hotel

9th and Chestnut Streets

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

on

July 4, 1968

at

2:10 o'clock P. M.

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MAYOR TATE: Can I have your attention, please.

Ladies and gentlemen, I will ask you to bear with me. I know you have been waiting for some time to visit with the Vice-President, but he does have a very heavy schedule. He does not eat much lunch, thank the Lord, but rather than addressing you, I address His Excellency, Bishop Graham, Reverend Blake, who gave the invocation before this meal, and our good friend, our Congressman and City Chairman, Congressman Green, and his colleague, Congressman Eilberg, Congressman Nix, Congressman Byrne, Congressman Barrett, my good friend, the President of City Council, and the members of the City Council, the members of the boards and commissions who are here with their wives today, members of the judiciary, in fact, representation from both sides of the aisle:

This is indeed a great 4th of July celebration in Philadelphia.

As I said this morning, on a great holiday like this we like to visit with each other as families in this intimate gathering as people, as families, and at the same time rejoice because of what has been brought to us, because in a very friendly and neighborly way our Vice-President, who is my very good friend and the friend of all the big-city mayors, like the friend of all American people, is here to visit with us.

Before I ask him to respond to any remarks that I might make, I would like to ask you to rise and toast the President of the United States.

(Toast.)

MAYOR TATE: If you will remain standing, I would like to propose a toast to the Vice-President of the United States. The Vice-President.

(Toast.)

MAYOR TATE: Before I take my seat, I now would like to present to the Vice-President, my good friend, the traditional Philadelphia gift, the Colonial bowl.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Beautiful.

MAYOR TATE: With my pleasure and very happy memories of this day.

(Applause.)

MAYOR TATE: Ladies and gentlemen, my good friend, the Vice-President, Hubert H. Humphrey.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Just a minute. While you are standing, since this is the time for the formalities and for the respects that we like to pay to our distinguished people, let me ask you to join in a toast to the Mayor of the great City of Philadelphia and to Philadelphia itself. To the Mayor and his city.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Mayor, Mr. Mayor and Mrs. Tate, my good friends, Jim and Ann, reverend clergy, and all the members of the Congress, the congressional delegation that are here with us today, have already been identified as has your City Chairman, distinguished young Congressman, able and talented, Bill Green.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And other members of your delegation each in their own way giving so much to their state and our country and this city.

Bill Barrett.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Jim Burns.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And to Bob Nix and Josh Eilberg.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And the fine Congressman that has come to us, well, not from the Philadelphia environs, but the western part of the state, Joe Vigorito.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I did not have the chance today to express publicly my good wishes and my thanks

to Mr. Goldman who chaired the ceremonies over at Independence Hall. I know we are all indebted to him.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And to the President of the City Council, Paul D'Ortona.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And all of the members of this fine municipal county, municipal-county government, representatives of state government and federal.

I told Mayor Tate that I felt that I had already given the speech of the day as far as I was concerned and that whatever I might say now I would like to have thought of and interpreted as just some neighborly remarks from one who always is greeted so generously and warmly and kindly when I come to this great city.

Philadelphia has a very special place in my heart and it has had for years. It is no secret. It is well known that I consider Mayor Tate as one of my close personal friends and one of the finest municipal leaders in the United States.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And not only do I consider him so, but his fellow municipal leaders and mayors have also considered him so when they elected him as their President

at the League of Cities and as one of their leading officers in the Conference of Mayors.

Now, Mayor, let me just reflect a moment on this occasion. I realize that most of those that are gathered here today are partisan friends of ours, and that makes me very happy, to be sure.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: But I also realize that there are others who are not of our party, and there are those here who may very well just classify themselves as independents. I look upon you just as our citizens, as citizens of this great country.

When our Miss Liberty Belle, Miss Lida Welyczko, was speaking there today, and I had been told and heard experiences of how she has come to our country and how she has made a wonderful life here in this country for herself, but more importantly the great contribution that she has made to our young people and to the citizenship of this country, I just want to salute her again publicly for all that she has done for our country.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Dear friends, it is commonplace to say, but we do take for granted much that we have. That is, those of us that have much seem to take it for

granted.

The promise of this country was not just intended for the few. The promise of this country was intended for everyone, for the many.

This business called democracy is not something that is signed, sealed and delivered ready-packaged, pre-fabricated. This thing called democracy is a work of generations. It is the fulfillment of the finest qualities of social organization of human kind.

Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst possible form of government except all others that have ever been tried," and how right.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Sometimes we seem to forget just what our system, governmental and social and economic, means to us. And I don't mean to get out here and just beat the tom-toms even though, let me say, I am proud to just plain call myself patriotic. I love to be patriotic about this country. I don't think it makes you any less intellectual. I don't think it makes you any less of a person of independent judgment.

Anyone who has studied the history of this country and what it stands for can not help but have a love of country, a deep love of country which is indeed the fulfill-

ment and the meaning of patriotism.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do not believe that it in any way detracts from our desire to see change and progress if we salute those accomplishments which others have made possible by their endeavors. As a matter of fact, it would be downright ugly and selfish not to reflect on what others have done because while each generation must add its own measure to freedom, to the cup of freedom, it would be wrong for each generation not to remember that that cup that runneth over became that way because others before us tried it and did their job.

This thing called democracy is just like a growing tree. It requires the rich nourishment of the love of people for institutions that we call our free institutions, and each year it grows and it is a little different. Each year it sinks its roots hopefully deeper into the nourishing soil of good citizenship, and if it doesn't, then the tree shall perish.

I did mention what Mr. Churchill said about democracy for a reason. There are those that are very critical of some of the ways that we do things, and there is no doubt that when you put people to the task, just ordinary people like we are, it does not always come out, the product

doesn't always come out shined and refined and with perfection. But I believe it is fair to say that there is no one who has more wisdom in the long run than the accumulated, aggregate wisdom of the entire people, and we have relied upon the wisdom of the people and now we dip deeper into what we call the fabric of our society.

We are trying to see that more and more people come into the decision-making process of this country.

We are trying to see that those who have been the left-outs -- and there have been plenty -- are brought in, not only brought in on jobs and schools, but brought into the participation that is so necessary for a vital democracy.

Many people have called this different names. Some have called it a new democracy, a participatory democracy.

I just remind you a democracy is at best a beginning toward a great fulfillment, and each year, each year, each decade, each generation we make some contribution to that fulfillment.

We have come a long ways. When I think of my own limited experience, when I think that I stood in this city just twenty years ago this month and asked my party to walk out of the shadows of states rights into the bright sunshine of human rights, and when I think that that precipitated a crisis in my party, and yet today we stand now with a tre-

mendous body of public law, federal, state and local, known as civil rights law, I say what wonders have happened and taken place.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: When I think, for example, of what we are trying to do and slowly but surely getting done to upgrade the quality of education in this country so that those who were the victims of separate but unequal shall have a chance to be with all of their fellow Americans, with an equal chance and with the best of education. When I think that we are moving in that direction I am encouraged.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We are going to make some great decisions very shortly, ladies and gentlemen. We are going to have to decide whether this country is to be moved forward or to be moved any way by the politics of fear and despair which some people preach, and they often preach it without regard to party or whether we are going to take our stand and move forward with the politics of hope and inspiration.

I happen to believe that the Declaration of Independence which we honor today in this ceremony and did earlier today was not the politics of fear and doubt, disillusionment and despair, but rather it was the politics of

a group of men who had a great dream, who had great hopes, and above all had a sense of inspiration to get people to do what is best.

A famed clergyman once said, "... that in the worst of times you are called upon to do the best of things."

Of course, the times are difficult. They have always been thus. In my lifetime the bank failures that took away everything, the Depression that destroyed jobs and industries, a war, World War II, that literally drenched the world in blood, the unbelievable apprehension in the post-war period of the movement of Communism like a tidal wave across Europe, the war in Korea that sapped our strength once again, and then these tense moments that we have lived through in Berlin and in Cuba when the very fate of our nation and the very safety of our nation was challenged, and now up to Vietnam.

Ladies and gentlemen, when I hear people say today that it is awful, that America is sick, and that it is gone, that it has had its best days, I must say that those people that say that are people of little faith and a very poor sense of history. Think of what your country has gone through from the Civil War, the most terrible war any people ever fought. Brother against brother, family against family, incredible casualties and fatalities. From that dark day when

we were trying to decide whether this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure up to this very moment. If I act like an optimist -- and I am -- it is because history, the history of this country is on my side and your side. We have been able to do the impossible and we have been able to do it time and time again.

There have always been the prophets of doom. There have always been those that told us we couldn't make it. There have always been those that were able to gather the headlines with condemning what this country stood for.

I think it is about time we rallied around some who really understand what this country stands for and have faith in the future.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I do thank you very much. I know that you believe this way and I won't say our work is done. I say it has only begun.

America is a young country, even though soon we will celebrate its two-hundredth anniversary as a free people. It is young in spirit. It is young in ideals. It is young in its hopes. It is young in its confidence. Those are the attributes of youth.

I have seen some people very young in age who have already lived their best lives. They are ready, really,

for Geritol and Social Security.

(Laughter.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Age is not a time of life. It is an attitude of mind and spirit, and that applies to individuals as well as countries.

So, when I am asked -- and I leave you with this thought -- when I am asked what is it that we are trying to do which is yet undone, and even though it is undone it does not mean that we can't do it. It simply means that like raising a family it takes time, like growing into adulthood. You can't hurry it. The processes of life are there.

What is it we are trying to do? Well, we are not trying to build two societies separate and unequal. We are trying to do what you and I know that we are doing even though it is difficult, even though it is costly, even though at times it almost seems like a distant goal beyond our reach. Nevertheless, it is what we are doing. We are building, building, my friends, not destroying. Building one nation, one country.

Understanding fully that this country has its roots deep in the spiritual premise of human dignity, of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, one nation under God, indivisible. Not black or white, north or south, but one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty, as I said today,

and justice for all, because if it isn't for all it is for no one.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: So, my fellow Americans, my fellow Americans, do not sell your country short. Do not sell yourselves short. Be proud of your citizenship, proud enough to want to respond to its every duty and its every call, and let's make up our minds to tell this nation and its doubters and its critics, to tell this world with its doubters and its critics of us, let's make it clear that our finest hour is yet to come and we are unafraid. We are a people that are brave and courageous, **compassionate and good, and we will do** what needs to be done for ourselves and mankind.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And thank you very much, too.

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Reported by

Paul T. Buttery, Jr.  
and  
James T. Buttery

1) ~~FIS~~  
Return to > 2) Drug Bureau

Remarks

of

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice-President of the United States of America

at the

192nd National Observance of Independence Day

Thursday, July 4, 1968

Independence Square

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

MAYOR TATE: Chairman Goldman, Your Excellency Bishop Graham, Rabbi Charry, the members of the Congress representing Philadelphia, and their guests, Pennsylvania Senior Senator Joseph S. Clark, my good friend Council President D'Ortona, and members of the City Council, and members of the judiciary, and members of the Senate and the House in Pennsylvania, Philadelphians, Pennsylvanians, and fellow Americans:

I am pleased as the Mayor of this city to welcome you once again to these most outstanding ceremonies at our own Independence Hall, the Statehouse in Philadelphia.

You know the 4th of July in America is a family day, a day when friends visit each other to discuss the questions of the hour. This has been the tradition ever since the founding of this country, and so today in Philadelphia in the shadow of Independence Hall where freedom was first declared we visit with one of America's outstanding statesmen and (inaudible). He comes at a time of (inaudible) to express perhaps confusion.

He comes at a time to the shrine of the nation's liberty, and we as Americans welcome him to the bosoms of our heart.

You know it has become commonplace nowadays to describe the current period in our nation's history with such

words as "turbulent," "urgent," "challenging," and many other rhetoric terms. Such words are surely appropriate to describe the period of tension and uncertainty through which we are now passing.

Yet, if we look through our history we find that these identical words were used to describe another creative great change in our nation's history, the period of the American Revolution.

Yes, when the patriotic and courageous representatives of the thirteen original colonies met here in the Statehouse in 1776, they did so amidst much confusion. Most of the colonists were discontented, not too far from the Statehouse and battling for one reason or another, but no one seemed to convert that confusion into a clear course of action.

The situation at that time called for a commitment and total commitment. It was no simple commitment and no easy decision.

The men who drafted our Declaration of Independence knew full well the gravity of their actions, but they still made their choice. A decision for commitment and resolution.

In today's world can we do any less? In facing up to the turbulence of our own times, can we hope to resolve our vital problems without a total commitment?

Yes, our principal speaker today is a man who, like those who drafted and adopted the Declaration of Independence at this very spot, reflects total commitment for he has committed himself so many years ago and even today and tomorrow, the commitment to the cause of human dignity and to peace.

Yes, Hubert Horatio Humphrey is a life-long liberal, one who was speaking out for social justice, for full economic and educational opportunities a quarter century ago. His spirit -- it is really the spirit of our nation's founding fathers -- liberal yet conservative, proud yet humble, and courageous with responsibilities. He is a statesman and a great patriot for these times.

My fellow Americans, it is my pleasure as the Mayor of this city and with a deep sense of pride to present the Vice-President of these United States.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mayor Tate, Bishop Graham, and Rabbi Charry, Senator Clark, Congressman Green, and other members of Congress, the lovely lady, Miss Lida Welyczko, Miss Liberty Belle, may I first of all, my dear young lady, apologize to you for the untimely interruption of your remarks. I know that this audience was particularly pleased to have you here because of what you mean to our coun-

try and what this country means to you.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Mr. Mayor, it is a very proud thing to be an American, and it is the proudest thing of all for me to be an American standing here on this 4th day of July beside Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

A nation, yes, a great nation was born here, a nation conceived in the belief that its freedom and in the conviction that government would be the ally and not the enemy of individual liberty, but only if that government derived its just power from the consent of the governed.

The Declaration of Independence was not only a manifesto of new political philosophy in its time. It was above all, my fellow Americans, a working paper, a bill of particulars.

Woodrow Wilson said, speaking from this platform fifty-four years ago today, "Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action, and if we would keep it alive we must fill it with a bill of particulars for the year 1914."

John Kennedy declared, speaking from this platform six years ago today in a memorable historic address, our readiness as a free nation and free people for a declaration

not merely of independence but a declaration of interdependence, a declaration of our readiness to join in an Atlantic partnership with the nations of western Europe, a dream that is yet ours and a dream to be fulfilled.

But today we must even go beyond that. We must go beyond the immediate needs of our time. We must look beyond even the bright vision as John Kennedy saw it of the 1960's.

We must declare here as Wilson and President Kennedy did before, our interdependence not only with the nations of the Atlantic, but indeed with the family of man because it was to the family of man that the Declaration of Independence addressed itself. We must set our vision not only for today but for the goals we may hope to achieve by 1976, the 200th anniversary of our freedom.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: There can be no doubt that our commitment as Americans and as free men must be now what it was in the beginning to man's liberation.

That liberation, however, will only be achieved when all the nations on this earth allow their citizens the free exercise of their rights as they have been so brilliantly and so succinctly stated for us, those unalienable rights of life and of liberty and the pursuit of happiness; rights

that 192 years ago were but an idea; rights that today must be translated in terms of reference of our time.

There is first of all the right to peace so that man may live free from the threat of those who would march to power.

There is the right to justice so that man may stand before his peers and his society on a truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

There is the right, as we see today, to free expression so that man may speak and be heard despite the decision and the belief of any compact majority.

The right to search relentlessly for knowledge so that no man may remain another's slave through the denial of skill or education.

That author of that declaration, Thomas Jefferson, once said, "Man can not be both ignorant and free."

How important, therefore, that the basic right to the search for knowledge be maintained as the very center of freedom.

There is then, too, the right to public accountability so that man may remain the master of the state rather than the state to become the master of the man.

There is the right of meaningful work so that man may have a decent wage and he may live with self-respect

and dignity among his fellow men.

There is the right to open opportunity so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his so-called class.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And, my fellow Americans, there is the right to public compassion so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his wellbeing, his old age and loneliness are the concern of his society.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: The right to movement and free association so that man may freely move and choose his associates without coercive restraint.

The right to privacy so that man may be free of the heavy hand of the watchers, the snoopers and the listeners.

The right to rest and recreation so that the necessity of labor not be permitted to cripple human development.

These are rights, these are the rights of the 20th century that we make and seek to make secure in our nation.

These are rights that we seek to establish not

only for ourselves but for our brothers in mankind.

But these rights will not be achieved at home nor even in the world without the exercise of consonant responsibility on a scale equal to that of those who declared our independence for these rights are under continual challenge, and those who would hold them must pay the price of responsibility.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And what are those responsibilities? The responsibility to participate lest critical decisions and initiatives be left to those who would bend them to their own use.

The responsibility to speak out lest silence in the face of injustice be interpreted as its acceptance.

The responsibility of public service lest service be for self rather than for fellow man.

The responsibility to support the rule of law lest the law of the jungle become the law of human behavior.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And the responsibility to respect and defend the rights of one's fellow man lest the loss of liberty by any one become the loss of liberty by all.

The rights of each man must by necessity, of course, be limited by the rights of others, and by the just

demands of the general welfare. Yet, within these limits, the possibilities of making men truly free are today but barely touched.

Then, my fellow Americans, what are the particulars of the purposes that we enunciate now?

Well, they include tangible and immediate goals in America, the goals that the people of this city, the people of any city, may be able to walk the streets or to advocate their cause without fear of violence, crime, or assassination.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That tangible and immediate goal that every American, white, brown, black, red or yellow, may receive from his society the same high standard of education, of training, and of opportunity from birth onward.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That every citizen in this land of plenty shall have enough to eat and the care of his health.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That all who may want to work and that all who can not work shall have income sufficient to provide for human dignity and self-respect.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And that immediate and tangible goal that our people may dwell in decent open housing and in neighborhoods filled not with strangers, but filled with the friendly spirit of good neighbors.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And that important goal that the business of American government shall be conducted openly, and with the participation of a maximum number of our citizens from every walk of life and every ethnic and economic group.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And then what are the particulars in the wider world in which we live, because man today does not live by himself.

The first is that we shall seek and that we shall make peace above all other things our national purpose.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And that we shall re-dedicate this nation to the work of economic and social development in the poorer nations, and that we shall persevere relentlessly in the negotiations for a genuine peace until a just and lasting settlement is achieved in that troubled and war-torn southeast Asia.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And that we and the Soviet Union shall move promptly with our full and total commitment to the reduction of offensive and defensive weapon systems for I believe that a nuclear nonproliferation treaty signed this last week, and the pending discussions on offensive and defensive weapons are the best chance for peace and the reduction of international tensions since the advent of the Cold War and the end of World War II.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: But we shall set our vision, we shall set our vision even beyond this to a worldwide reduction of arms and military expenditures so that human and material resources may in the future be devoted to the betterment of all peoples for we now see before us for the first time in a long time the prospect of a possible end to the costly, deadly and dangerous arms race.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: And other particulars in our modern manifesto to have freedom and interdependence that we shall make our alliances not merely forces for defense, but instruments of active peaceful engagement, and that we shall support and strengthen the United Nations and regional and international organizations and the peacekeeping machinery within them.

That we shall, once and for all, accept and ratify the Human Rights Conventions of the United Nations which still stand unratified before the United States Senate.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: For, my friends, it is human rights, people's rights above all else that should lie at the heart of our concern.

It was human rights, God-given rights, that were at the heart of the concern of those who put their signatures to our Declaration of Independence.

The documents signed here 192 years ago declared that the inalienable rights that we sought of life, of liberty and the pursuit of happiness were in the words of the immortal document the rights of that humanity which is above nations.

Now, only eight years before the 200th birthday of this nation I declare this nation's dedication to securing those rights not only for ourselves, but as the declaration said for that humanity, that humanity, that humanity of God Almighty which is above nations and above institutions of government.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: How shall we do it?  
Not by force.

Not by conquest.

But above all by the power of our ideas and the power of free men filled with confidence and hope for the future which this nation represents in its every being.

I believe that we as a people have not lost our way as so many would have you believe. I believe that our way has always been clear.

It was declared here on July 4th, 1776.

Only the means have been contested, and our purposes then must remain the protection and the enrichment of meaningful life which is what life means, the assurance of liberty and the development of those conditions which permit man to pursue the high goal of happiness.

Our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and above all their sacred honor to these ideals and purposes.

We in our time as we approach the 200th anniversary of this great document in our independence can do no less. If we do we are unworthy of our heritage.

(Applause.)

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: If then we living strong and prosperous in this blessed land, and blessed it is, can call forth from within ourselves the faith and the passion which we know is there, I believe that history can record that

on July 4, 1976, the peaceful American revolution found fulfillment in its own land, in its own country, and stood once more as a beacon of hope and promise throughout all the world.

I ask you to join me in those words of Woodrow Wilson whom I quoted in the beginning of my message, words that tell us what is the goal and what is the objective of this republic.

Wilson, the scholar and the President, said this, "My dream is that 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."

What a high purpose, and one, may I say, of which we can be worthy if we but reach for it, strive for it, work for it and commit our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to its achievement.

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

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Reported by

Paul T. Buttery, Jr.  
and  
James T. Buttery

# TRANSCRIPT

J. Stewart

Remarks of the Vice President

Independence Day Speech

Philadelphia, Pa

July 4, 1968

Thank you very much. Just a minute while you're standing, <sup>the</sup> Since this is the time for formalities and for the respects that we like to pay to our distinguished people. Let me ask you to join in a toast to the Mayor of the great city of Philadelphia and to ~~the great city~~ Philadelphia itself. To the mayor and his city. Thank you, Mr. Mayor.

Mr. mayor, and Mrs. Tate, my good friend, Jim and Ann, the Rev. Clergy, and all the members of the congress, the congressional delegation that are here with us today; already been identified as your city chairman. Distinguished young congressman, able and talented, Bill Green. And other members of your delegation, each in their own way, <sup>and</sup> giving so much to their state, to our country and to this city, to Bill Barrett and to Jim Burns, to Jimmy, and to Bob Nix and to Josh Eilburg, and a fine congressman who has come to us from the western part of the state, Joe Vigorito. I did not have the chance today to <sup>chaired</sup> express publicly my good wishes and my thanks to Mr. Goldman who ~~chaired~~ the ceremonies at Independence Hall. I know we're all indebted to him. And to the President of the City Council, Paul Datona, and all the <sup>&</sup> members of this fine, municipal/county government; representatives of state government and federal. I told Mayor Tate that I ~~thought~~ I had already given the speech of the day as far as I was concerned and that whatever I might say now I would like to have interpreted as some <sup>always</sup> neighborly remarks from one who has been greeted so generously and warmly and kindly when I come to this great city. Philadelphia has a very

special place in my heart and it has had for years. It is no secret; it is well-known that I consider Mayor Tate as one of my close personal friends and one of the finest municipal leaders in the United States. And not only do I consider him so but his fellow municipal leaders and mayors/<sup>have</sup>also condidered him so when <sup>as their</sup> they elected him/President of The League of Cities and one of the leading officers in the conference of mayors. Now, mayor let me reflect for a moment on this occasion. I realize that most of those who are gathered here today are partisan friends of ours and that/<sup>makes</sup> me very happy to be sure. But I also realize that there are others who are not of our party and there are those here who may just very well classify themselves as independents. I look upon you/<sup>as</sup> our citizens of this great country and when our liberty bells, Miss Leda was speaking ~~xxx~~ there today, and I've been told of her experiences, of how she has come to our country, and how she has made a wonderful place in this country for herself, but more importantly the great contribution <sup>our</sup> that she has made to ~~xxx~~ young people and the citizenship of this country, I just want to salute her again publicly for all that she stands for and all she ~~xxx~~ means.

but

My dear friends, it's common place to say ~~and~~ we do take ~~xxx~~ for granted much that we have. That is, those of/<sup>us</sup> who have much seem to take it for ~~xxxxxxx~~ granted. The promise of this country was not just intended for the few. The promise of this country was intended for everyone, for the many. This business called democracy is not something that is signed, sealed and delivered, ready-packaged, pre-fabricated.

This thing called democracy is the work of generations. It is the fulfillment of the finest <sup>qualities</sup> ~~qualities~~ of social organizations of human kind. Winston Churchill once said 'Democracy is the worst possible form of government, except all others that have ever been tried.' And how right. Sometimes we seem to forget just what our system, governmental, social and economic means to us. And I don't mean to get out here and just beat the tom toms. Even though let me say I'm proud of just plain calling myself a patriot. I love to be patriotic about this country. I don't think it makes you any less intellectual. I don't think it makes you any less of a person of independent judgment. Anyone who has studied the history of this country and what it stands for cannot help but have a love of country a deep love of country which is indeed the fulfillment and the meaning of patriotism. And I do not believe in any way that it detracts from our desire to see change and progress if we salute those accomplishments which others have made possible by their endeavors. As a matter of fact, it would be downright ugly and selfish, not to respect what others have done because while each generation must add its own measure to freedom, to the cup of freedom, it would be wrong for each generation not to remember that that cup that runneth over came that way because others before us tried and did their job. This thing called democracy is like a growing tree. It requires the rich nourishment of the love of people for institutions that we call our free institutions. And each year it

grows and its a little different; each year it sinks its roots hopefully deeper into the nourishing soil of good citizenship And if it doesn't, then the tree shall perish. And I did mention what Mr. Churchill said about democracy for a reason. There are those who are very critical of some of the ways we do things and there is no doubt that when you put people to the task, just ordinary people like we are, that the product ~~x~~ does not always come out shined and refined and with perfection But I believe it is fair to say that there is no one that has more wisdom in the ~~any~~ long run than the accumulated aggregate wisdom of the entire people.

We have relied upon the wisdom of the people. And now we dig deeper into what we ~~x~~ call the fabric of our society. ~~We're trying~~ ~~We~~ ~~xxx~~ to see that more and more people come into the decision-making process of this country. We're trying to see that those who have been the "left-outs" and there have been plenty, are brought in. Not only brought in on jobs and schools but brought to the participation that is so necessary for a vital democracy. Many people have called this different names. Some have called it a new democracy, a participatory democracy I just remind you that democracy is at best a beginning towards a great fulfillment and each year, each decade, each generation we make some contribution to that fulfillment. We've come <sup>a</sup> ~~along~~ ways. When I think of my own limited experience; when I think ~~x~~ that I stood in this city just twenty years ago, this month and asked my party to walk out of the shadows of states rights into the bright sunshine of human rights.

And when I think that that precipitated a crisis in my party - and yet ~~y~~ today we stand now with a ~~g~~ tremendous body of public law; federal, state and local known as civil rights law I say what wonders have happened and taken place. When I think for example of what we are trying to do, and/surely getting done slowly but to upgrade the quality of education in this country so that those who were the victims of separate but unequal shall have the chance to be with all of their fellow Americans with an equal chance and with the best of education. When I think that we're moving in that direction, I'm encouraged.

We're going to make some great decisions, very shortly, ladies and gentlemen. We're going to have to decide whether this country is to be moved forward or to be any way by the politics of fear and despair which some people preach and they often preach it without regard to party; or whether we're going to take our stand and move forward with the politics of hope and inspiration I happen to believe that the Declaration of Independence which we ~~xxx~~ honor today in this ceremony and did earlier today, was/<sup>not</sup>the politics of fear and doubt, disillusionment and despair, but rather it was the politics of a group of men who had a great dream, who had great hopes, and above all had a sense of inspiration to get people <sup>to</sup> do what's best A famed clergyman once said that in the ~~best~~<sup>worst</sup> of times, you were called/<sup>upon</sup>to do the best of things. Of course, the times are difficult, They have

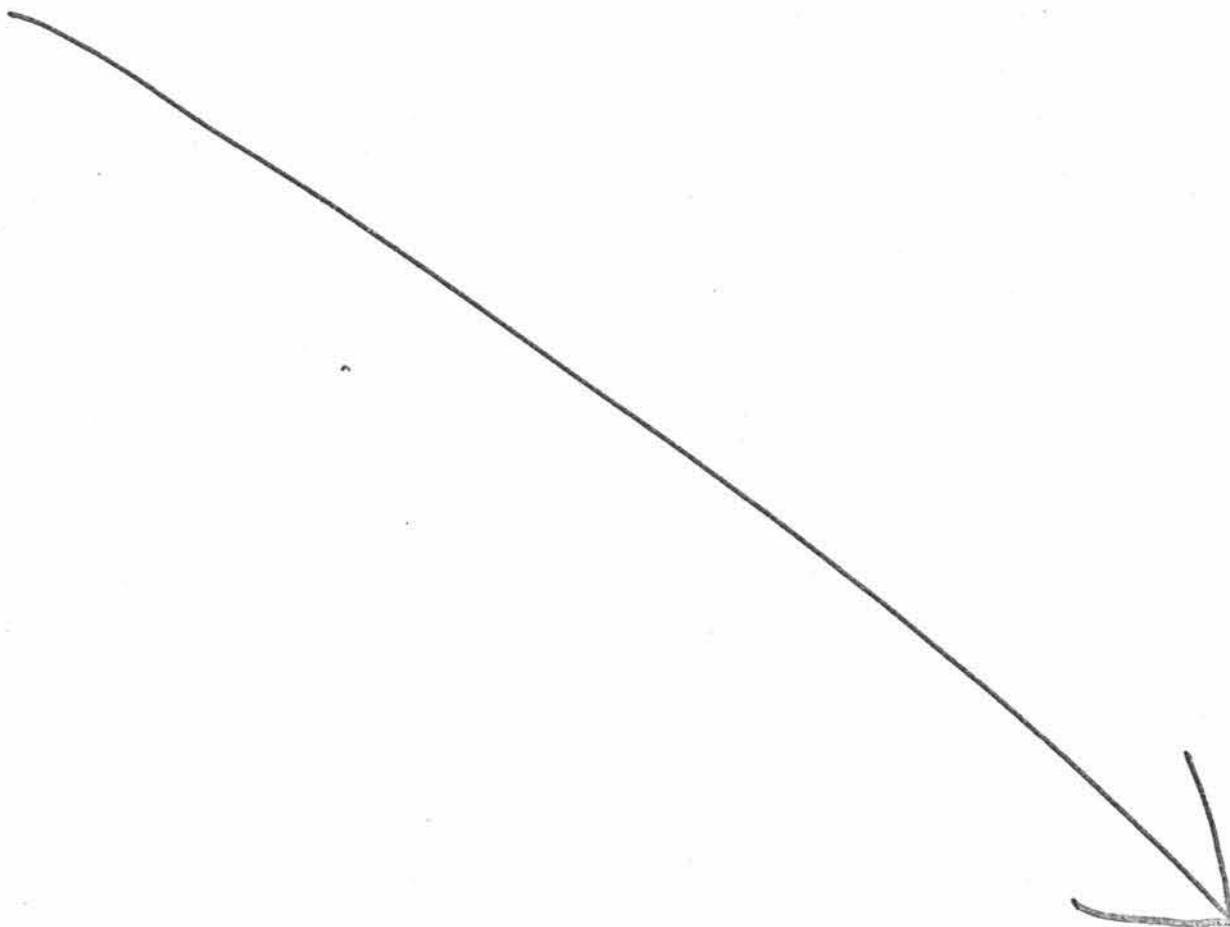
always been thus. In my lifetime, the bank failures, that took away everything, the depression that destroyed jobs and industry. A war, World War II that literally drenched the world in blood. The unbelievable apprehension in the post war period. Of the movement of communism like a tidal wave across Europe; the war in Korea that sapped our strength once again; and then these tense moments that we've lived thru in Berlin and in Cuba when the very fate ~~and~~ of our nation and the very safety of our nation was challenged. And now up to Vietnam. Ladies and gentlemen,, when I hear people say today that that's awful, that America is sick, that it is gone, that~~s~~ its had its best days, I must say that those people who say that are people of little faith and a very poor sense of history. Think of what your country's gone thru from the civil war ~~xxxxxx~~ - the most terrible war any people ever fought. Brother against brother, family against family. Incredible casualties and fatalities. From that dark day when we were trying to decide whether this nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure up to this very moment. If I act like an optimist - and I am - its because History - the history of this country is on my side and your side. We have been able to do the impossible and we have been able to do it time and time. There have always been the prophets of doom. There have always been those to told us we couldn't make it. There have always been those who able to gather the headlines by condemning what this country stood for. I think its about time that

we rallied around some who really understand what this country stands for and has faith in its future . Thank you.

Well, I do thank you very much. I ~~do~~ know that you believe this way. And I won't say that our work is done, it has only begun. America is a young country, even though soon we will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a free people - it is young in spirit, young in ~~its~~ ideals, young in its hopes, young in its confidence. ~~and~~ Those are the attributes of youth. I've seen some people who are very young in age that have already lived their best days They're ready really for Geritol and Soc. Security. No, age is not the time of life, its the attitude of mind and spirit and that applies to individuals as well as country. So when I am asked - and I leave you with this thought - when I am asked 'what is it that we're trying to do? Which is yet undone, and even though it is undone it does not mean that we can't do it, it simply means that like raising a family - it takes time, like growing into adulthood, you can't hurry it. The processes of life are there. What ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> it ~~we're~~ we're trying to do? Well, we're not trying to build two societies, separate and unequal. We're trying to do what you and I know we are doing. Even though its difficult, even though its costly , even though at times it seems like a distant goal beyond our reach. Nevertheless, it is what we are doing. We are building, building my friends, <sup>destroying</sup> not ~~destroying~~ - building one nation, one country, understanding fully that that country has its roots deep in this spiritual promise of human dignity, of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. One nation, under God, indivisible, not black or white, north or south, but one nation under God/<sup>indivisible</sup> with liberty as I said today and justice

for all because if it isn't for all, its for no one.

So, my fellow Americans do not sell your country short, do not sell yourselves short, be proud of your citizenship, proud enough to want to respond to its every duty and its every call and let's make up our minds to tell this nation, and its doubters and ~~xx~~ its critics, to tell this world ~~xx~~ with its doubters and its critics of us - let's make it clear that our finest hour is yet to come and we are not afraid We are a people who are brave and courageous and compassionate and good and we'll do what needs to be done for ourselves and mankind.



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may hope to achieve by 1976, the 200th anniversary of our  
independence and freedom. There can be no doubt that our  
commitment as Americans and as free men must be now what it was  
in the beginning: To man's liberation. That liberation, however,  
will only be achieved when all of the nations on this earth allow  
their citizens the free exercise of their rights as they have been so  
brilliantly and so succinctly stated for us, "those unalienable rights  
of life



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and of liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- rights that 192 years ago were put an idea -- rights that today must be translated in terms of reference of our time. There is, first of all, the right to peace, so that man may live free from the threat of those who would march to power. There is the right to justice, so that man may stand before his peers and his society on a truly just and equal basis with his neighbor. There is the right, as we see today, to free expression, so that man may speak and may be heard, despite the decision and the belief of any compact majority. The right to search relentlessly for knowledge, so that no man may remain another's slave through the denial of skill or of education. That author of this Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, once said man cannot be both ignorant and free. How important, therefore, that the basic right to the search for knowledge be maintained as the very center of freedom. There is then too the right to public accountability, so that man may remain the master of the state, rather than the states to become the master of the man. And there is the right to meaningful work, so that man may have a decent wage and he may live with self-respect and dignity among his fellow men. And there is the right to open opportunity, so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his so-called class. There is

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the right -- and my fellow Americans -- there is the right to public compassion, so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his well-being, his old ~~xxx~~ age and his loneliness are the concern of his society. The right to movement and free association so that man may freely move and choose his associates without coercive restraint. And the right to privacy so that man may be free of the heavy hand of the watchers, the <sup>and</sup> snoopers, /the listeners. And the right to rest and to recreation, so that the necessity of labor not be permitted to cripple human development. These are rights, these are the rights of the twentieth century that we make and seek to make secure in our own nation. These are rights that we seek to help establish, not only for ourselves, but for our brothers in mankind. But these rights will not be achieved at home, nor even in the world, without the exercise of consonant responsibility and on a scale of those who declared our independence. For these rights are under continual challenge, and those who would hold them must pay the price of responsibility. And what are those responsibilities? The responsibility, first, to participate, lest critical decisions and initiatives be left to those who would bend them to their own use. The responsibility to speak <sup>out,</sup> /lest silence in the face of injustice be interpreted as its acceptance. The responsibility of public service, lest service be for self rather than for fellow man. And the responsibility

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to support the rule of law, lest the law of the jungle become the law of human behavior. And the responsibility to respect and defend the rights of one's fellow man, lest the loss of liberty by any one become the loss of liberty by all. The rights of each man must of necessity, of course, be limited by the rights of others and by the just demands of the general welfare. Yet within these limits the possibilities of making men truly free are <sup>today but</sup> barely touched. Then, my fellow Americans, <sup>that</sup> what are the particulars of the purposes ~~which~~ we enunciate now. Well, they include tangible and immediate goals in America -- the goals of that the people of this city, the people of any city, may be able to walk the streets or to advocate their cause without fear of violence, crime or assassination. That tangible and immediate goal that every American -- white, brown, black, red or yellow -- may receive from his society the same high standard of education, of training and opportunity from birth onward. That every citizen in this land of plenty shall have enough to eat and the care of his <sup>that</sup> health. That all who may want to work, and/all who cannot work shall have income sufficient to provide for human dignity and self-respect. And that immediate and tangible goal that our people may dwell in decent, open housing, and in neighborhoods filled, not with strangers, but filled with the friendly spirit

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of good neighbors. And that important goal that the business of American government shall be conducted openly and with the participation of a maximum number of our citizens from every walk of life and from every ethnic and economic group. And then what are the particulars in the wider world in which we live? Because man today does not live by himself. The first is that we shall seek and that we shall make peace above all other things our national purpose. And that we shall rededicate this nation to the work of economic and social development in the poor nations. And that we shall persevere relentlessly in the negotiations for a genuine peace until a just and lasting settlement is achieved in that troubled and war-torn Southeast Asia. And that we and the Soviet Union shall move promptly with our full and total commitment to the reduction ~~xxxxxxx~~ of offensive and defensive weapons systems, for I believe that the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, signed this last week, and the pending discussions on offensive and defensive weapons, are the best chance for peace and the reduction of international tensions since the advent ~~xxx~~ of the cold war and the end of World War II. But we shall set our visions, we shall set our visions even beyond this, to a worldwide reduction of arms and military expenditures so that human and material resources may in the future be devoted to the betterment of all peoples, for we now see before us, for the first time in a long time, the

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prospect of a possible end to the costly, deadly and dangerous arms race. And other particulars in our modern manifesto of freedom and interdependence, that we shall make our alliances not merely forces for defense, but instruments of active peaceful engagement and that we shall support and strengthen that great institution of interdependence, the United Nations, and the regional and international organizations and the peace-keeping machinery within them. That we shall once and for all accept and ratify the Human Rights Convention of the United Nations, which still stand unratified before the United States Senate. For, my friends, it is human rights, people's rights above all else that should lie at the heart of our concern. It was human rights, God-given rights, that were at the heart of the concern of those who put their signatures to our Declaration of Independence. The document signed here 192 years ago declared that the unalienable rights that we sought, of life, of liberty and the pursuit of happiness were, in the words of that immortal document, the rights that humanity (which is above nations). Now only eight years before the 200th birthday of this nation, I declare this nation's dedication to securing those rights not only for ourselves but, as the Declaration said, for that humanity, that humanity of God Almighty which is above nations and above institutions of government. How shall we do it?

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Not by force. Not by conquest. But above all by the power of our ideas and the power of free men, filled with confidence and hope for the future which this nation represents in its every being. I believe that we as a people have not lost our way as some would have you believe. I believe that our way has always been clear. It was declared here on July 4, 1776. Only the means have been contested. And our purposes then must remain the protection and the enrichment of meaningful life, which is what life means, the assurance of liberty and the development of those conditions which permit man to pursue the high goal of happiness. Our forefathers pledged their lives, their fortune, and above all their sacred honor to these ideals and purposes. We in our time, as we approach the 200th anniversary of this great document and our independence, can do no less. If we do we are unworthy of our heritage. If then we, living strong and prosperous in this blessed land -- and blessed it is -- can call forth from within ourselves the faith and the passion that which we know is there, I believe/history/can record that on July 4, 1976, the peaceful American revolution found fulfillment in its own land, in its own country, and stood once more as a beacon of hope and promise throughout all the world. I ask you to join me in those words of Woodrow Wilson, whom I quoted in that the beginning of my message, words ~~which~~ tell us what is the goal and what is the objective of this Republic. Wilson, the

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scholar and the President, said this, "My dream is that 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." What a high purpose, and one, may I say, of which we can be worthy if we but reach for it, strive for it, work for it and commit our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor to its achievement.

###

June 27, 1968  
TJM/DB/JS

DRAFT

Independence Day Ceremonies  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
July 4, 1968

We celebrate today more than a daring political move ... more than a commitment to battle ... more than the birth of a nation.

Our Declaration of Independence was all of that ... and more. It was an exciting ideal ... a philosopher's argument that became a patriot's dream ... an ideal which courage, bravery and wisdom made reality.

The light that glowed from Independence Hall in the hot summer evening 192 years ago has illuminated the pathway to freedom for countless millions around the world.

And it all began when our courageous forebearers pledged each other their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

Hardly a handful of Americans can recite more than a few lines of the Declaration.

But the words we do remember -- the ones that have meaning for us -- are the special words we told ourselves ... for all the world to overhear: "all men are created equal." This is the framework of the Declaration ... the shining residue of simple, clear rhetoric that was born in a bricklayer's cottage and ultimately rallied the world.

Yes, just five simple words to shatter the darkness and uncertainty of centuries. Five words of revolution ... and reassurance ... urged on a reluctant legislature by strong and gifted men ...

Men with a sense of change ...

Men with faith so sure they could herald a political millenium, noting merely that it was "self-evident."

And this, with 12,000 fresh mercenaries arming against them, and thousands of others already in the field.

*These men*  
~~They~~ also spoke of --

Life ...

A right claimed for all men ... the most precious gift of creation.

Liberty ...

A right claimed for all men ... that while no man could be master of another, neither could he become slave.

And finally,

The pursuit of happiness.

A right claimed for all men ... the audacious assertion -- never proclaimed before -- that happiness was a privilege accessible to the common man.

These words live on. They are burned in our consciousness ... a simple litany of political ethics, easy to recall.

But the Declaration of Independence was not only -- not even primarily -- the manifesto of a new political philosophy. It was a working paper for the burning issues of 1776 -- what Woodrow Wilson called "a bill of particulars" for the business of the day.

Woodrow Wilson went on to say -- he was speaking from this very platform 54 years ago -- that

-- "Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action. ... If we would keep it alive, we must fill it with a bill of particulars for the year 1914."

We can do no less than draw up our bill of particulars -- our working paper for 1968.

What of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in America today?

Is it Life ... when black infant mortality in America is double (check) that for whites ... or when children in Appalachia and Mississippi suffer irreparable brain damage due to protein deficiency in their diet?

Is it Life ... when people die senselessly of bullet wounds, dirty air, unsafe factories and uncontrolled speed?

Is it Life ... when violence and crime threaten our neighborhoods ... and citizens fear to walk the streets after dark?

Is it Liberty ... when millions of Americans are trapped by the merciless and impersonal forces of poverty, ignorance and unemployment?

Is it Liberty ... when citizens are foreclosed from direct participation in the governing of their neighborhoods ... cities ... or nation?

And who can pursue happiness when every working minute must be used for finding enough to eat . . . or when a young person is denied an education by inferior schools or second-rate teaching?

Who can believe in happiness when he doesn't believe even in himself or in anything else?

Some among us may be outraged by this bill of particulars-- just as King George rejected the indictment handed down by the signers of the Declaration.

But those of us who may lead America toward its 200th Anniversary in 1976 must speak out on these crucial issues.

The jury of the American people ultimately will judge the validity of this indictment. And they will rightfully demand hard evidence to refute these charges.

This evidence can be thrown out of court only when the following rights are secured for all:

-- The right to an education ... I have proposed a New Education Policy for America -- one which provides free educational opportunity for every child from the fourth year through college on a strict basis of ability to learn -- not ability to pay.

-- The right to a wholesome and nutritious diet ... I have proposed Administration and legislative action now to establish food stamp and commodity distribution programs in every county where severe problems of hunger exist. School lunches on a year-round basis must be provided every needy child as rapidly as possible.

-- The right to earn a living ... I have proposed a guaranteed job for everyone able to work -- with private employers providing job opportunities to the fullest extent possible and with the government

making whatever back-up or financing arrangements are necessary.

--The right to civil order. Crime and violence must be sharply reduced. The unregulated possession and use of firearms and ammunition must be ended. The illegal drug traffic must be stopped.

Yes, the signers of the Declaration said it clearly: That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the Government..."

Power resides in the people. Not in government. Not in officers... or legislatures... or judges... or political parties... or corporations or unions... or churches or social movements... but in the people.

This is the new politics. . . and it is as old as the Republic.

But rights can only be secured in a society where the people are equally zealous in facing up to their public responsibilities.

*Responsibilities*

First among these is to reason -- alone and together.

Free speech assumes a rational dialogue ... and government of the people, by the people demands it.

The arrogant certitude of extremists is no substitute for thoughtful debate.

Confrontation is no substitute for discussion.

Incitement is no substitute for persuasion.

All too often in man's history the cheap currency of demagoguery and fanaticism have driven out the sound currency of reason in human affairs.

Democracy can withstand wrong opinions sincerely expressed. But it will not long withstand the assault of calculated irrationality and immoderation -- call it fanaticism or demagoguery -- and there is a strain of that in our political dialogue today.

Responsibility number two is consent -- consent to cooperate ...  
consent to recognize the justly established will of the majority ...  
consent to obey the law of the land.

The consent of the governed is more than the legal underpinning of democracy. It is the life force which makes democracy work day by day.

Consent is no small burden -- as all know who have lost an election ... or paid a tax ... or sent a son to war. But it is nothing less than the price of liberty.

Responsibility number three: participation.

Democracy assumes it -- but the needs of our nation demand it.

The survival of democracy's community depends on everyone having a sense of community--and the chance to play a meaningful role in its decisions.

New forms and institutions of democratic participation must be created at all levels of government, especially for persons.

previously excluded because of race, poverty, geography or modern technology.

The problems of our cities will be solved only by the people who live in them.

Your children will have decent schools only if you provide them.

Your communities will be safe only if you make them safe.

Your federal government is ready to help; it is not equipped to direct the affairs of your community, nor should it be.

\* \* \*

The over-riding question before us now is whether in 1976 we will celebrate hypocrisy ... or whether today we can accept the stern consequences of democracy ... examine our course with absolute honesty ... and move forward.

Either freedom is forever imperfect, or else the people are not free.

What will it be like here in Philadelphia on July 4, 1976?

The "particulars" of our commitment in 1968 will have a lot to do with the answer.

One thing is certain: blind devotion to the past is a luxury we cannot afford. And it is a political indulgence we <sup>can</sup> hardly tolerate.

We who have enjoyed the blessings of this land have too much invested in things as they are to let them stay as they are.

We cannot return to this Hall and take pride in our past ...

if all we do is hail the past...

To do this would dishonor the past and deny the future.

Remember the ballad?

"Our country's strong ... our country's young,

greatest  
And it's ~~grest~~ songs are still unsung... "

A nation conceived in an endless search for perfection  
can believe no less.

And a government attuned to change as the essence of freedom, can serve no better.

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