

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE ANNUAL DINNER

Breakers Hotel

Palm Beach, Florida

February 3, 1977

I deeply appreciate what has been said here today. I am doubly honored by receiving this award.

First, because it is your organization that honors me. And second, because of what this award is honoring -- that great and treasured right of all people called Freedom.

To be honored by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith is a particular pleasure because of my long and warm relationship with your splendid organization.

We first worked together when I was Mayor of Minneapolis in the drafting of the Nation's first municipal anti-discrimination legislation.

And the ADL's officers, staff and members have assisted the progressive forces in the Congress during the past decades.

I know of few organizations which so consistently have represented the values which make this country great: a free, vibrant and open society in which all people are free to make the most of their God-given potential.

Today I have been honored. Yet there is a person here -- an old and dear friend of mine -- that you also honored recently by making him National Chairman of the ADL.

Burton Joseph has dedicated most of his life to building a better America. As corporate executive and community leader, he is a symbol of the incredible potential and spirit of the American people.

He has fought for the things that matter to the ADL and the Jewish community at large. He stands for a humane and compassionate America. And he stands for an America dedicated to eliminating every vestige of prejudice and bigotry from national life.

I am proud not only of Burton and his accomplishments, but also those of his lovely wife, Geri. Geri not only is one of the finest journalists the State of Minnesota has ever produced, but also is one of the most intelligent and charming women I have been privileged to know.

Whether in the fields of civil rights or human rights, whether battling for social justice or waging war to eradicate poverty, the ADL and the American Jewish community always have been in the forefront of progressive causes leading our nation to a better day.

There is an important message derived from the age-old traditions and heritage of the Jewish people. The struggle for political democracy cannot be won unless it is joined with the battle for social and economic justice.

This is the concept of freedom which is at the heart of Judaism.

And this is the fundamental driving force of America's liberty.

The Jewish people brought to the New World their age-old struggle to be free. It is here in America that the memories of tyranny -- of Pharaohs, Kings, Czars, Fuehrers and Commissars -- have kept alive the vigilance of the Jewish people to threats against freedom.

And it is here in America that the Jewish concept of social and economic justice was joined with the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian ideals of equality. Together, they form a potent force -- a force capable of guaranteeing that we remain a free, vibrant, open society in which all men and women can make the most of their God-given potential.

We live in a world of rapid change. What took decades to accomplish in the past, now takes weeks.

Years are compressed into milliseconds, and whole generations pass through eras and epochs at mind-boggling speed.

In an age when the world and time are shrinking the dimensions of our lives, at a moment when the power of private and public institutions is growing rapidly, the challenge of preserving democracy as we know it becomes formidable.

How do we go about this awesome task?

How do we adapt the precepts of Jefferson, Franklin and Madison to the 21st century and beyond?

There are no easy answers to this challenge, and no one should tell you there are.

But I want to discuss with you ways in which Americans can begin to meet this challenge and work together to insure that we remain a free people in a free land.

This evening I would like to discuss four principles for our government and ourselves which I believe are fundamental to the preservation of American democracy.

The first principle is perhaps the most important, and that is that government by consent of the governed cannot long endure if government does not respect the law.

The brilliant jurist, Mr. Justice Brandeis, said it best in one of his famous dissenting opinions:

"Decency, security and liberty alike demand that government officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperiled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously."

We have just passed through a tragic period in our history. Men and the very institutions they led took the law unto themselves.

They eroded a people's trust and confidence in their government at all levels.

They damaged a people's belief in the viability of their political institutions.

We must never again let this happen.

To prevent it will take vigilance by the press, the Congress and the Courts.

But, even more, it will take greater respect for the law by all Americans.

Government must set high standards for its own conduct. Unless it does, our democracy will be endangered.

Let me turn to another important principle.

We cannot seek democracy and social justice at home and abandon these principles abroad.

The time has come for the United States to put a premium on the support of democratic governments as a central tenet of American foreign policy.

We must learn that there can be little security in the world if democratic governments become an endangered species.

The United States should aid and support those peoples and nations who choose to form governments guided by democratic principles, whether they be in Israel, Greece, Portugal or Africa.

The great American President who first recognized the state of Israel, Harry Truman, knew that Israel's rebirth was the creation of a democracy at a time when democracy in Europe and elsewhere was threatened.

Today, as in 1948, America's support of a democratic Israel is vital to the security of that nation and the maintenance of peace in that troubled part of the world.

Our democratic heritage is shared by Israel. America's love for freedom is a cornerstone of Israel's independence. Whether here in America or in Israel, we must stand for the preservation and protection of democratic values.

The only effective way to combat the tyranny of Communism and the totalitarianism of the "right" is to battle for human rights and democratic values. We know from history that the Jewish community always has been a leading force for the defense and enhancement of human rights on the international scene.

It is imperative that we reinstill a sense of moral values in our foreign policy. Until we do, we will find it difficult to gain the support of peoples around the world who look to us for spiritual and moral support in their struggles for freedom.

The Basket Three provision of the Helsinki agreement, hopefully, will prove to be a most important development in the field of human rights. While it is true that we don't have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, this does not mean we should not continually remind the world that human rights are of the highest priority of our government and our people.

The message of the United States is not nuclear power. The message of the United States is a spiritual message. It is the message of human ideals; it is the message of human dignity; it is the message of the freedom of ideas, speech, press, the right to assemble, to worship, and the message of freedom of movement of peoples.

It is the message of the Bill of Rights. It is the message of the Declaration of Independence where we boldly proclaimed to a world dominated by monarchs and tyrants that all men are created equal and they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

This is the message of America. This is the source of our power. This is the source of our strength.

Yes, indeed, one of our priority objectives must be to reduce tensions and reduce prospects for war between ourselves and the Soviets. Peace is our highest priority.

However, in this delicate process of negotiation and accommodation, the United States government and our people must not neglect our basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These principles have formed the foundation of our government and have served as a beacon of hope for the rest of the world.

To refrain from calling attention to these basic concerns only tarnishes the image of the United States. It diminishes our value system in the eyes of the global community.

Most importantly, if human rights become less of a priority for our country, we only weaken ourselves and deceive others.

Now to the third principle, which is of critical importance to all Americans:

There can be no meaningful freedom in America without freedom from poverty, freedom from hunger and freedom from unemployment.

It is not enough to allow a man or woman the right to sit at a lunch counter if they don't have the money in their pockets to pay for the meal. The right to full participation in the economic life of our nation is the birthright of every American. Until we guarantee this freedom to all Americans, we cannot call ourselves truly free.

Increasing poverty, high unemployment, and widespread urban decay simply cannot be accepted or overlooked any longer.

An America divided between rich and poor and white and black is in trouble. Freedom for the comfortable cannot endure alongside of misery for one quarter of the American population.

The era of escape is over. The time has come to mobilize those in and out of government who want to eradicate poverty in America once and for all.

Let me turn to another and final principle:

A free people who refuse to participate in their own political process and government do so at their peril.

Democratic self-government will be threatened in the long run unless Americans take the time and effort to choose their leaders and work to make government a better protector of their rights and interests.

Just look at the alarming statistics of voter participation in our recent elections.

If Americans think they can fail to vote in such large numbers and still insure themselves able and dedicated public servants, they are dead wrong.

Government is not some monster apart from and detached from our lives. It is us -- our values, our strengths and our weaknesses.

As a nation we are a community of people. Americans must participate in this community to achieve common goals.

This is our duty and our responsibility as citizens. If we as Americans do not care about our collective political destiny, we must accept the consequences of our own irresponsibility.

America is still a young country.

The American people are builders.

They are restless. They are energetic. They are idealists eager to put their ideals to the test.

Let us not forget who we are and what we are. We are the most heterogeneous mixture of races, religions and nationalities ever to coexist peacefully under the tent of democracy. And we are the world's largest democracy celebrating two centuries of freedom.

There is a reason to believe that our third century can be one of expanding freedom and opportunity for all Americans.

There is every reason to believe that the progressive forces in America and abroad can make great gains in the struggle to eradicate injustice, hunger and poverty wherever they are found.

America's future is a bright one. As the poet and scholar, Carl Sandburg, so eloquently spoke:

"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision...."

I know that the men and women of will and vision here this evening are ready to join hands and work for the kind of America which is in our hopes and dreams.

⊗ Mrs Martin (Emily Fisher) 2 Sons + Daughters
"Woman of Valor"

⊗ Bob Cummings - Dr. May Foreman
Nat'l Chairman - Burton Joseph ⊗

REMARKS OF
⊗ Dore Schary -

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

⊗ Edgar Bronfman

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE ANNUAL DINNER

⊗ Ben Epstein - Dore Brody

BREAKERS HOTEL

PALM BEACH, FLORIDA

FEBRUARY 3, 1977

V.P. Mondale

" an for Political Award "

✓ ADL - \$2500
✓ NAACP \$2500

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE WHAT HAS BEEN SAID HERE TODAY, I AM
DOUBLY HONORED BY RECEIVING THIS AWARD.

First, because it is your organization ^{the ADL} that honors me. AND
SECOND, BECAUSE OF WHAT THIS AWARD IS HONORING -- THAT GREAT AND
TREASURED RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLE CALLED FREEDOM, *which is*
embodied in the first amendment

TO BE HONORED BY THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF THE B'NAI
B'RITH IS A PARTICULAR PLEASURE BECAUSE OF MY LONG AND WARM
RELATIONSHIP WITH YOUR SPLENDID ORGANIZATION.

h WE FIRST WORKED TOGETHER WHEN I WAS MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS IN
THE DRAFTING OF THE NATION'S FIRST MUNICIPAL ANTI-DISCRIMINATION
LEGISLATION.

L AND THE ADL'S OFFICERS, STAFF AND MEMBERS HAVE ASSISTED THE
PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN THE CONGRESS DURING THE PAST DECADES.

L I KNOW OF FEW ORGANIZATIONS WHICH SO CONSISTENTLY HAVE
REPRESENTED THE VALUES WHICH MAKE THIS COUNTRY GREAT: A FREE,
VIBRANT AND OPEN SOCIETY IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE ARE FREE TO MAKE THE
MOST OF THEIR GOD-GIVEN POTENTIAL.

L TODAY I HAVE BEEN HONORED. YET THERE IS A PERSON HERE -- AN
OLD AND DEAR FRIEND OF MINE -- THAT YOU ALSO HONORED RECENTLY BY
MAKING HIM NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE ADL

L BURTON JOSEPH HAS DEDICATED MOST OF HIS LIFE TO BUILDING A
BETTER AMERICA. AS CORPORATE EXECUTIVE AND COMMUNITY LEADER, HE
IS A SYMBOL OF THE INCREDIBLE POTENTIAL AND SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE.

HE HAS FOUGHT FOR THE THINGS THAT MATTER TO THE ADL AND THE
JEWISH COMMUNITY, ~~AT LARGE~~. HE STANDS FOR A HUMANE AND COMPASSIONATE
AMERICA. AND HE STANDS FOR AN AMERICA DEDICATED TO ELIMINATING
EVERY VESTIGE OF PREJUDICE AND BIGOTRY FROM ^{our} NATIONAL LIFE.

I AM PROUD NOT ONLY OF BURTON AND HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS, BUT
ALSO THOSE OF HIS ^{and talented} LOVELY WIFE, GERI. GERI NOT ONLY IS ONE OF THE
FINEST JOURNALISTS THE STATE OF MINNESOTA HAS EVER PRODUCED, BUT
ALSO IS ONE OF THE MOST INTELLIGENT AND CHARMING WOMEN ^{Murieland} ~~THAT~~

^{have} BEEN PRIVILEGED TO KNOW - ^{Murieland}

WHETHER IN THE FIELDS OF CIVIL RIGHTS OR HUMAN RIGHTS,
WHETHER BATTLING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE OR ~~WAGING WAR~~ ^{struggling to} ERADICATE
POVERTY, THE ADL AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY ALWAYS HAVE
BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF PROGRESSIVE CAUSES LEADING OUR NATION
TO A BETTER DAY.

THERE IS AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE DERIVED FROM THE AGE-OLD
TRADITIONS AND HERITAGE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE ^{Heretics} THE STRUGGLE FOR
POLITICAL DEMOCRACY CANNOT BE WON UNLESS IT IS JOINED WITH THE
BATTLE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE,

THIS IS THE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM WHICH IS AT THE HEART OF
JUDAISM.

AND THIS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL DRIVING FORCE OF AMERICA'S
LIBERTY.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE BROUGHT TO THE NEW WORLD THEIR AGE-OLD
STRUGGLE TO BE FREE. IT IS HERE IN AMERICA THAT THE MEMORIES
OF TYRANNY -- OF PHARAOHS, KINGS, CZARS, FUEHRERS AND COMMISSARS --
HAVE KEPT ALIVE THE VIGILANCE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO THREATS
AGAINST FREEDOM.

AND IT IS HERE IN AMERICA THAT THE JEWISH CONCEPT OF SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE WAS JOINED WITH THE JEFFERSONIAN AND
JACKSONIAN IDEALS OF EQUALITY. TOGETHER, THEY FORM A POTENT
FORCE -- A FORCE CAPABLE OF GUARANTEEING THAT WE REMAIN A
FREE, VIBRANT, OPEN SOCIETY IN WHICH ALL MEN AND WOMEN CAN
MAKE THE MOST OF THEIR GOD-GIVEN POTENTIAL.

WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF RAPID CHANGE. WHAT TOOK DECADES
TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE PAST, NOW TAKES WEEKS.

Years are compressed into milliseconds, and whole generations pass through eras and epochs at mind-boggling speed,

In an age when the world and time are shrinking the dimensions of our lives, at a moment when the power of private and public institutions is growing rapidly, the challenge of preserving democracy as we know it becomes formidable.

How do we go about this awesome task?

How do we adapt the precepts of Jefferson, Franklin and Madison to the 21st century and beyond?

There are no easy answers to this challenge, ~~and no one~~ should tell you there are.

└ BUT I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU WAYS IN WHICH AMERICANS
CAN BEGIN TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE AND WORK TOGETHER TO INSURE
THAT WE REMAIN A FREE PEOPLE IN A FREE LAND.

THIS EVENING I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS FOUR PRINCIPLES FOR
OUR GOVERNMENT AND OURSELVES WHICH I BELIEVE ARE FUNDAMENTAL
TO THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE IS PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT, AND
THAT IS THAT GOVERNMENT BY CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED CANNOT LONG
Tracy
ENDURE IF GOVERNMENT DOES NOT RESPECT THE LAW.

THE BRILLIANT JURIST, MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS, SAID IT BEST

IN ONE OF HIS FAMOUS DISSENTING OPINIONS:

"DECENCY, SECURITY AND LIBERTY ALIKE DEMAND

THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SHALL BE SUBJECTED

TO THE SAME RULES OF CONDUCT THAT ARE COMMANDS

TO THE CITIZEN IN A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS,

EXISTENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE IMPERILED

IF IT FAILS TO OBSERVE THE LAW SCRUPULOUSLY."

✓ WE HAVE JUST PASSED THROUGH A TRAGIC PERIOD IN OUR HISTORY,

MEN AND THE VERY INSTITUTIONS THEY LED TOOK THE LAW UNTO THEM-

SELVES.

*We have seen - FBI, CIA, IRS
Regulatory agencies, President & Vice Pres.*

THEY ERODED A PEOPLE'S TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN THEIR
GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS.

THEY DAMAGED A PEOPLE'S BELIEF IN THE ^{integrity} ~~WEALTHY~~ OF THEIR
POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

WE MUST NEVER AGAIN LET THIS HAPPEN.!

TO PREVENT IT WILL TAKE VIGILANCE BY THE PRESS, THE CONGRESS
AND THE COURTS - *and the ADL*

BUT, EVEN MORE, IT WILL TAKE GREATER RESPECT FOR THE LAW
BY ALL AMERICANS.

GOVERNMENT MUST SET HIGH STANDARDS FOR ITS OWN CONDUCT.
UNLESS IT DOES, OUR DEMOCRACY WILL BE ENDANGERED.

LET US TURN TO ANOTHER IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE;

LET ME TURN TO ANOTHER IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE:

#2 WE CANNOT SEEK DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE AT HOME AND

ABANDON THESE PRINCIPLES ABROAD.

↳ THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PUT A PREMIUM
ON THE SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AS A CENTRAL TENET OF
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY,

↳ WE MUST LEARN THAT THERE CAN BE LITTLE SECURITY IN THE
WORLD IF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS BECOME AN ENDANGERED SPECIES,

↳ THE UNITED STATES SHOULD AID AND SUPPORT THOSE PEOPLES AND
NATIONS WHO CHOOSE TO FORM GOVERNMENTS GUIDED BY DEMOCRATIC

PRINCIPLES, WHETHER THEY BE IN ISRAEL, GREECE, PORTUGAL OR AFRICA.

This must be our Policy

THE GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENT WHO FIRST RECOGNIZED THE STATE
OF ISRAEL, HARRY TRUMAN, KNEW THAT ISRAEL'S REBIRTH WAS THE
CREATION OF A DEMOCRACY AT A TIME WHEN DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE AND
ELSEWHERE WAS THREATENED.

(7 American Presidents Support Israel
Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon
and Carter)

TODAY, AS IN 1948, AMERICA'S SUPPORT OF A DEMOCRATIC ISRAEL
IS VITAL TO THE SECURITY OF THAT NATION AND THE MAINTENANCE OF
PEACE IN THAT TROUBLED PART OF THE WORLD.

(7 Presidents)

OUR DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE IS SHARED BY ISRAEL. AMERICA'S
LOVE FOR FREEDOM IS A CORNERSTONE OF ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE.
WHETHER HERE IN AMERICA OR IN ISRAEL, WE MUST STAND FOR THE
PRESERVATION AND PROTECTION OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

↳ THE ONLY EFFECTIVE WAY TO COMBAT THE TYRANNY OF COMMUNISM

AND THE TOTALITARIANISM OF THE "RIGHT" IS TO BATTLE FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES. { WE KNOW FROM HISTORY THAT THE
JEWISH COMMUNITY ALWAYS HAS BEEN A LEADING FORCE FOR THE DEFENSE
AND ENHANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

↳ IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE REINSTALL A SENSE OF MORAL VALUES
IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. { UNTIL WE DO, WE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT
TO GAIN THE SUPPORT OF PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD WHO LOOK TO US
FOR SPIRITUAL AND MORAL SUPPORT IN THEIR STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM.

a year ago this summer -
Helsinki Agreement
-13-

L THE BASKET THREE PROVISION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT, *Human Rights Provision!*

HOPEFULLY, WILL PROVE TO BE A MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN THE

FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS. L WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE

RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY,

THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD NOT ~~CONTINUALLY~~ REMIND THE WORLD

THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT

AND OUR PEOPLE.

and our Policies will be directed accordingly.

L THE MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT NUCLEAR POWER. L THE

MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS A SPIRITUAL MESSAGE. L IT IS THE

MESSAGE OF HUMAN IDEALS; *pick up* IT IS THE MESSAGE OF HUMAN DIGNITY; IT

IS THE MESSAGE OF THE FREEDOM OF IDEAS, SPEECH, PRESS, THE RIGHT

TO ASSEMBLE, TO WORSHIP, AND THE MESSAGE OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

OF PEOPLES.

L IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS. IT IS THE MESSAGE
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WHERE WE BOLDLY PROCLAIMED TO
A WORLD DOMINATED BY MONARCHS AND TYRANTS THAT ALL MEN ARE
CREATED EQUAL AND THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN
INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AND AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE
PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

L THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF AMERICA. L THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR
POWER. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH.

L *I know that*
YES, INDEED, ONE OF OUR PRIORITY OBJECTIVES MUST BE TO
REDUCE TENSIONS AND ~~REDUCE~~ PROSPECTS FOR WAR BETWEEN OURSELVES
AND THE SOVIETS. PEACE IS OUR HIGHEST PRIORITY.

HOWEVER, IN THIS DELICATE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION AND
ACCOMMODATION, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE
MUST NOT NEGLECT OUR BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND
FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THESE PRINCIPLES HAVE FORMED THE
FOUNDATION OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND HAVE SERVED AS A BEACON OF HOPE
FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD.

TO REFRAIN FROM CALLING ATTENTION TO THESE BASIC CONCERNS
ONLY TARNISHES THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES. IT DIMINISHES
OUR VALUE SYSTEM IN THE EYES OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

MOST IMPORTANTLY, IF HUMAN RIGHTS BECOME LESS OF A PRIORITY
FOR OUR COUNTRY, WE ONLY WEAKEN OURSELVES AND DECEIVE OTHERS.

NOW TO THE THIRD PRINCIPLE, WHICH IS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE
TO ALL AMERICANS:

THERE CAN BE NO MEANINGFUL FREEDOM IN AMERICA WITHOUT
FREEDOM FROM POVERTY, FREEDOM FROM HUNGER AND FREEDOM FROM
UNEMPLOYMENT.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO ALLOW A MAN OR WOMAN THE RIGHT TO
SIT AT A LUNCH COUNTER IF THEY DON'T HAVE THE MONEY IN THEIR
POCKETS TO PAY FOR THE MEAL. THE RIGHT TO FULL PARTICIPATION
IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF OUR NATION IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF EVERY
AMERICAN. UNTIL WE GUARANTEE THIS FREEDOM TO ALL AMERICANS,
WE CANNOT CALL OURSELVES TRULY FREE.

INCREASING POVERTY, HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, AND WIDESPREAD
URBAN DECAY SIMPLY CANNOT BE ACCEPTED OR OVERLOOKED ANY LONGER.

h AN AMERICA DIVIDED BETWEEN RICH AND POOR AND WHITE AND
BLACK IS IN TROUBLE. FREEDOM FOR THE COMFORTABLE CANNOT
ENDURE ALONGSIDE OF MISERY FOR ONE ^{fifth} ~~QUARTER~~ OF THE AMERICAN
POPULATION.

h THE ERA OF ESCAPE IS OVER. THE TIME HAS COME TO MOBILIZE
THOSE IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT WHO WANT TO ERADICATE POVERTY
IN AMERICA ONCE AND FOR ALL.

LET ME TURN TO ANOTHER AND FINAL PRINCIPLE:

A FREE PEOPLE WHO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THEIR

OWN POLITICAL PROCESS AND GOVERNMENT DO SO AT THEIR PERIL

DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT WILL BE THREATENED IN THE LONG
RUN UNLESS AMERICANS TAKE THE TIME AND EFFORT TO CHOOSE THEIR
LEADERS AND WORK TO MAKE GOVERNMENT A BETTER PROTECTOR OF
THEIR RIGHTS AND INTERESTS.

JUST LOOK AT THE ALARMING STATISTICS OF VOTER PARTICIPATION
IN OUR RECENT ELECTIONS.

IF AMERICANS THINK THEY CAN FAIL TO VOTE IN SUCH LARGE
NUMBERS AND STILL INSURE THEMSELVES ABLE AND DEDICATED PUBLIC
SERVANTS, THEY ARE DEAD WRONG.

GOVERNMENT IS NOT SOME MONSTER APART FROM AND DETACHED FROM
OUR LIVES. IT IS US -- OUR VALUES, OUR STRENGTHS AND OUR
WEAKNESSES.

AS A NATION WE ARE A COMMUNITY OF PEOPLE, AMERICANS MUST
PARTICIPATE IN THIS COMMUNITY TO ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS.

THIS IS OUR DUTY AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS CITIZENS. IF
WE AS AMERICANS DO NOT CARE ABOUT OUR COLLECTIVE POLITICAL
DESTINY, WE MUST ACCEPT THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR OWN IRRESPONSIBILITY.

h AMERICA IS STILL A YOUNG COUNTRY.

h THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BUILDERS.

h THEY ARE RESTLESS. h THEY ARE ENERGETIC. h THEY ARE IDEALISTS
EAGER TO PUT THEIR IDEALS TO THE TEST.

LET US NOT FORGET WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE ARE. h WE ARE THE
MOST HETEROGENEOUS MIXTURE OF RACES, RELIGIONS AND NATIONALITIES
EVER TO COEXIST PEACEFULLY UNDER THE TENT OF DEMOCRACY h AND
WE ARE THE WORLD'S LARGEST DEMOCRACY CELEBRATING TWO CENTURIES
OF FREEDOM.

In Optimism

h THERE IS A REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OUR THIRD CENTURY CAN
BE ONE OF EXPANDING FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS,

yell, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRESSIVE
FORCES IN AMERICA AND ABROAD CAN MAKE GREAT GAINS IN THE
STRUGGLE TO ERADICATE INJUSTICE, HUNGER AND POVERTY WHEREVER
THEY ARE FOUND.

AMERICA'S FUTURE IS A BRIGHT ONE. AS THE POET AND SCHOLAR,
CARL SANDBURG, SO ELOQUENTLY SPOKE: (The Possible Dream)

"I SEE AMERICA, NOT IN THE SETTING SUN OF A
BLACK NIGHT OF DESPAIR AHEAD OF US. I SEE
AMERICA IN THE CRIMSON LIGHT OF A RISING SUN
FRESH FROM THE BURNING, CREATIVE HAND OF GOD.
I SEE GREAT DAYS AHEAD, GREAT DAYS POSSIBLE
TO MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION...."

I KNOW THAT THE MEN AND WOMEN OF WILL AND VISION HERE THIS
EVENING ARE READY TO JOIN HANDS AND WORK FOR THE KIND OF AMERICA
WHICH IS IN OUR HOPES AND DREAMS.

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