

Remarks of  
Vice President Hubert Humphrey  
At The  
United States Naval Academy

June 7, 1967



OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT  
UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21402

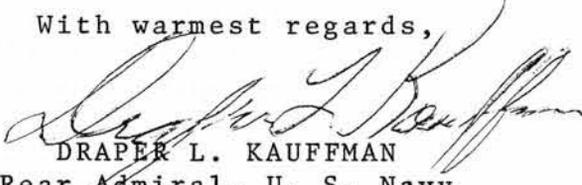
Dear Members of the Class of 1967

Last June you culminated your four event-filled years at the Naval Academy with the Graduation and Commissioning Ceremony held in the Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium.

Certainly the highlight of that ceremony was the stirring speech delivered by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey who pointed out your duties as history makers for this generation. I am sure you will long remember the Vice President's timely remarks.

His speech is reproduced in this booklet as a memento of your last "June Week." I trust it will act as an inspiration for you in the years to come.

With warmest regards,

  
DRAPER L. KAUFFMAN  
Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy  
Superintendent

I was for a moment somewhat perplexed as to how I might address you and how I might open this ceremony, at least my part of it. But I am very fortunate today to be able to begin my message to you with a message from your Commander in Chief, a message from the President of the United States. And it is my honor and privilege to read it to you.

“It is a pleasure for me to extend my best wishes as you complete your college education.

“You are graduating into a society in which you will be warmly welcomed. Our country has never had so great a need for highly educated men and women. Never have young Americans moved from the campus into a world offering so broad a range of opportunities for individual fulfillment and contribution to the welfare of humanity.

“Your generation of students has been distinguished by its fresh and vigorous concern for the quality of American life and its commitment to American democracy. Perhaps the greatest opportunity awaiting you is the challenge to make this a life-long commitment.

“Today, Americans from every walk of life are striving together to shape a society that can offer a meaningful and

rewarding life to all of its members. Never have so many of our countrymen been so deeply dedicated to eradicating the old evils of ignorance, poverty, and bigotry from every corner of the land.

“Through your years of study, you have prepared yourselves for positions of leadership in this quest for a better America.

“I congratulate you, and urge you to take full advantage of that opportunity.”

Lyndon B. Johnson

Gentlemen of the Class of 1967, it is to you that I direct my remarks. In the spirit of that message, let me call your attention to the future.

My friend and your friend, Bop Hope, in addressing the commencement at Georgetown University some years ago said something like this. He said, “We are sending you out into a world. You are being asked to go into a troubled world.” And then with his unique sense of humor he said, “my advice is, don’t go.”

But gentlemen you have no choice. And my advice to you is go, and go willingly. Go with the same spirit that has characterized your years of study and training here at this great Academy. You are indeed an honored class and you have honored the traditions of this great institution and the Navy and nation it serves so well.

For you the future is one of dedicated service. It is a future of sacrifice in the great tradition of the Naval service—a future of duty, of responsibility, of leadership for which you have been uniquely prepared.

Leadership today is not a luxury. Hardly is it a privilege. It is indeed a burden, and it is one that you must and, I know will, bear willingly.

So I commend to you that future because you can fashion it. Fashion it as you will. I am interested in your generation for several reasons. You are going to have an awful lot to say about the next 33 years of this 20th Century. This is the last third of the 20th Century. Only 33 years from now our familiar 20th Century will end and a new century will begin. You are going to be in charge of many things including my Medicare, so I want you to be sure that you know exactly what your duties are.

There are those who predict that we’ll never make it alive through this century, much less the next. They predict that nuclear Armageddon is bound to come, these men of little faith.

But there are others, and I am proud and happy to say that I am among them, who believe that the year 2000, which is just around the corner, can bring not only a new century but the beginning of a new millenium of human hope, of human aspirations, and happiness. It is this characteristic of cautious optimism, prudent optimism, which I hope that you will maintain forever. Because the history of this republic commends it to you. What the future offers will depend in large measure on what we Americans do with our times.

A discussion of present and future progress these days almost always seems to be stated in terms of scientific and technological wonder or horror . . . comfort or cataclysm.

We seem to be people of extremes in speech and description. Then, too, the future is generally characterized largely in terms of the quantitative: How much? How many? How big? How far? How fast? We constantly equate our country with gross national products, television sets, scientific papers, jobs. Might I suggest that there is something else to the future besides this.

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

With our power, with our wealth, with our history, with our incredible science and technology, with our learning, what are we going to do with all of these things? Today more and more Americans are asking Huxley's question of themselves. With our power and resources and our great creative capacity magnified a thousand times, what are we going to do with all of these things?

Now if the achievements of America are to be no more than the hardware of science and the machinery of technology and the extension of material abundance, I do not believe that we will have fulfilled our mission, or our destiny. We will, in fact, have made only a minor contribution to mankind.

Because other societies also can make that contribution.

But more important than machines, and the wealth that they produce, are the people—the quality of the people and what happens to the people who inhabit this earth, and to the rights that they possess or should possess.

Gentlemen of this Class of 1967 you are the custodians of those rights, as well as, may I say, the guarantors of even greater rights.

Let me say a word about this drama of the extension and attainment of what we call the rights of man. If a future historian were to set out to trace the preservation and the realization of the rights of man in this millenium, he would be able to describe a pattern of progress. He could start, for example, with the Middle Ages where only the ruling classes had any rights. He could dwell on the significance of the Magna Carta, defining the rights and the duties of kings and barons, and becoming the symbol of the rule of law for succeeding kings.

And he would note, I suppose, the enactment by the British Parliament in 1689, of what they called their Bill of Rights, which declared the rights and liberties of British subjects under the crown.

I would hope that that historian would give a full page and preferably a full chapter to the American Constitution of 1789 and the amendments added by the first Congress in 1791, and how they became known throughout this country and throughout the world as the American Bill of Rights. They would be spelled out as we know them so well on the his-

torian's page: The right of free exercise of religion, of free speech and press, the right to assemble and to petition the government, and the right to be secure against unreasonable searches, the right of trial by jury, and more.

That historian of the future would relate two patterns of development which have followed in your time, in my time. How America itself, through the Congress and the courts, has refined and extended all of these rights to all of its citizens, one of the great achievements of American democracy. And how other people have been inspired by this example and how they have learned and fought for the same rights.

Remember, gentlemen, rising expectations are a reality at home and abroad and it is to the eternal credit of this republic, which you symbolize, and are sworn to serve and protect, that rising expectations shall be fulfilled.

Now then, what of the future? What will our future historian report as the role of America in extending the rights of man as this millenium, the 20th Century, raced to a close?

Permit me to suggest a hopeful, hypothetical paragraph in that new history book yet to be written. In the bland, detached prose of the scholar, that historian might write the following words about our United States in the year 1967:

Here's what I think he will say: "It was a time of crisis and challenge for the United States. While seeking to improve its own standards for its own people and to redefine its own rights at home for its

own people, that nation was tested as never before, tested as it sacrificed to protect and extend human rights to other areas of the world, as it stood guard at the gates of freedom. This will be the measure of its greatness."

And then in conclusion, we would hope that that historian would set down this final line in that paragraph:

"America met the test."

Now there are those who say history cannot be made; that it must be accepted; that it is somehow or another preordained. But we Americans have never looked upon human history with fatalism or a sense of despair. We have never written off the future to the winds of chance and the whims of nature. As I have said to many a student whom it has been my privilege to work with, it is good to study history, you should and you had to, but gentlemen, it is even better to make it. Make it in your own image. Make it in your own time. Make it with your own hearts and spirits and with your own hands. But you and I know that before the act of the making there must be the vision.

In the past we equated man's rights with protection against coercion by his government.

The protection of the people against abuse by authority in the world we know today—in a world where destruction is only a half-hour away, as the intercontinental missile flies—we all know that man's rights are affected by forces far beyond those possessed by his own immediate government.

We are no longer just children of America. No longer just citizens of this republic. We are people of the world. The events of this week underscore this fact of interdependence. We know that every major event—or trend—taking place on this earth sends ripples outward to all places. And sometimes it's like a tidal wave that engulfs nations and people.

The world is what Wendell Willkie said it was—one world, and it will ever become even more so, smaller, more constricted, much more your world.

If we wish man's life therefore to be nourished and not to wither, then I submit that we must move beyond the goals of merely helping mankind resist incursions on his life by his immediate government. We must move beyond the business of the protection of rights to a much more positive doctrine. We must move to the assertion of rights and the extension of them.

In short, we must help man become not just protected, but liberated—emancipated so that he can realize his potential.

Now does this seem to be a new and revolutionary doctrine? You know you have to be careful these days. Well, let me say frankly to this graduating class, it is revolutionary. But it is hardly new. It is, in fact, the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson. It's the doctrine that proclaims "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as the inalienable rights of all men.

Gentlemen, you are about to be commissioned in a proud service with the high honors of this republic. Life is more than mere existence and survival. The liberty we want is not only to be proclaimed; it must

be practiced. And the happiness that Jefferson spoke of and that we know of is found in the rich life of men who are both secure and free.

We know through our own experience that the rights of man are never real unless they are constantly reasserted. We have seen what happens to them when they are left to fend for themselves.

We know that the rights of man are a never-ending unfinished business, just as America is a nation never-finished, a destination never quite reached.

The quest for the rights of man can never end at our own doorway. Nor can they be pursued in any narrow, nationalistic, protective sense.

Therefore, I hope you will not consider me presumptuous, gentlemen, if I say here and now that we Americans must dedicate ourselves to a new Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for the 21st Century—rights and responsibilities, pillars of freedom, which fit new times and new circumstances. The times and circumstances of your time, of your future.

What are some of these? They are familiar to you because we build on the past.

The first right, gentlemen, is the right to peace—so that man may live and hope, free from the threat of those who would march to power through brute force. This is a precious right for which you may well give your life.

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.

And the right to free expression—unfettered, so that man may speak and be heard, despite the deci-

sions and beliefs of any temporary compact majority.

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

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

The right to a meaningful role in society—so that man may follow his own cadence, set his own step and live with self-respect and dignity among his fellow citizens.

And gentlemen, the right to full opportunity—so that man may lift himself to the limits 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 a wholesome environment, clean air, clean water, safe streets, and a decent neighborhood.

The right to public compassion—so that he may live with the knowledge that his health and his well-being and his old-age and loneliness are the concern, not only of himself, but of his society.

The right to movement and free associations—so that he may freely move and choose his friends without coercive restraints.

And the right to privacy—so that man may be free of the heavy hands of the snoopers, the watchers and the listeners.

The right to rest and recreation—so that the necessity of labor may not be permitted to cripple human development, and the experience of cultural relaxation and fulfillment.

Gentlemen, these are some of the rights that we seek and there are more, I am sure. But this is a big order in itself. We must continue to seek these rights, to make alive every one of them and make them real for ourselves and for others. But these rights will not be achieved at home, or in the world, without the constant exercise of responsibility by those of us who are fortunate enough to possess most of them.

Then what are the responsibilities of modern man? Many Americans like to talk of rights, but hesitate to speak of responsibilities. Citizenship includes both. Freedom requires both.

The responsibility to participate, to participate in every aspect of life—lest critical initiative and decisions 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—which you and the armed services symbolize—lest service be to self rather than to fellow man.

The responsibility to support the rule of law—lest the law of the jungle at home and abroad become the pattern of human behavior.

The responsibility to protect the ideals that we believe in in the face of force—lest ideals be lost and violence become a habit, and spread throughout the earth.

The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of others—lest freedom become license, and opportunity be changed into coercion.

And these responsibilities, I might add, are no-

where more clearly spelled out than in those two remarkable documents for the future: The Charter of the United Nations being tested now once again and the recent Encyclical of his Holiness, Pope Paul VI, where he reminds us of our duties and tells us that development is but another name for peace.

Both of these documents point the way to your future responsibilities, the responsibilities of our blessed America and all other free nations. They point the way to the creative, constructive work that will be necessary if peace with freedom is ever to be achieved. And that peace with freedom means the work of nation building, of peace keeping, of self-sacrifice in the cause of mankind.

I know there are certain self-styled realists who believe that both the United Nations Charter and the Pope's Encyclical are the documents of dreamers. Unrealistic they say. But I say they are not only realistic, they are essential. For it is more unrealistic, gentlemen, to expect man to survive through the years ahead if the purpose of these historic documents goes unheeded. Man has created the means of his own destruction. He must now create the moral force in his own spirit for his own salvation.

Now a final thought. I have been speaking to you of rights and responsibilities. And who better should hear the message than you whose service will be as the guardians of those rights—so heavy a responsibility.

Rights and responsibilities represent pillars of freedom. They truly are the superstructure that makes our life worthwhile. But in essence my remarks have been directed also to the necessity for

the security of peoples and lands in this modern and yet changing world. The two are intrinsically linked. Security in the broadest sense of our aspirations is not possible without freedom and freedom is not attainable without the security of peoples and nations. Security is the physical well-being of man. Freedom is the realm of his mind and his soul. We can never focus our efforts on one without the attention to the other.

And what better moment is there to focus attention upon those things of the mind and the spirit than at a time of graduation. At a time of commissioning when you take on a new life, new responsibilities and the guardianship of our precious rights.

The pillars of our nation's freedom for me are not therefore to be described only in historic, academic, economic, military or even moral terms. The pillars of American freedom are the people of this nation—all of them. Our strength rests on the individual dignity and the freedom of the almost 200 million Americans; Americans of all persuasions, creeds, races, ages; Americans who quietly support the majority and Americans who on occasions dissent from it; but Americans all.

Gentlemen, if the freedom of any American is denied him, our total strength is diminished. Our total national freedom becomes unbalanced and thus incomplete. Our American freedom therefore is only as secure as the freedom of our most obscure and humble citizen, and I happen to believe that freedom in the world is only as secure as the freedom of the newest, the humblest nations and the people within it.

Carl Sandburg, the great American poet, wrote these words: "Who shall speak for the people, who speaks for the family of man."

Gentlemen and fellow Americans, I think that we as Americans can give only one answer. We have spoken and we shall continue to do so, for we are a nation of nation-builders, not nation-destroyers. We are life-givers, not life-takers. We are educators, not tyrants. We are the children of peace, not the parents of violence. And we must never lose sight of this our heritage, of our purpose. I give you the words of the wartime president in World War I, Woodrow Wilson, statesman and scholar, man of spirit and will—words that I believe ring with eternal truth and words for us to live by; and words which I hope will be in your hearts and minds and spirits through the days of your life.

"America," said Wilson, "will come into the full light of 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."

This is our purpose. This is our goal. And I am happy to look out upon an audience and a graduating class, the gentlemen of the Class of 1967, and know that you gentlemen have a better appreciation and realization of Wilson's dream and hope than any generation of Americans in the history of our country.

I salute you. I commend you and may the Good Lord bless you in all the days of your service.

Thank you.



Underclassmen

Supt -

Admiral Kaufman

REMARKS  
chr Bd of Visitors

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

Ray Stillman

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY

Admiral McDonald

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

Gene Greene

JUNE 7, 1967

~~San Antonio~~

First class

Michigan

Summer Class  
of 1967

~~Admiral~~  
Excellencies

Gentlemen, I am honored to bring you today

this message from the President:

"It is a pleasure for me to extend my best wishes as you complete your college education.

"You are graduating into a society in which you will be warmly welcomed. Our country has never had so great a need for highly educated men and women. Never have young Americans moved from the college campus into a world offering so broad a range of opportunities for individual fulfillment and contribution to the welfare of humanity.

"Your generation of students has been distinguished by its fresh and vigorous concern for the quality of American life and its commitment to American democracy. Perhaps the greatest opportunity awaiting you is the challenge to make this a life-long commitment.

"Today, Americans from every walk of life are striving together to shape a society that can offer a meaningful and rewarding life to all its members. Never have so many of our countrymen been so deeply dedicated to eradicating the old evils of ignorance, poverty, and bigotry from every corner of the land.

"Through your years of study, you have prepared yourselves for positions of leadership in this quest for a better America.

"I congratulate you, and urge you to take full advantage of that opportunity.

Lyndon B. Johnson"

↙ Gentlemen, in the spirit of that message,  
 I call your attention to the future. *see you a future of*  
*- dedicated service,*

In your generation, only 33 years from now,  
 our familiar 20th century will end and a new century  
 will begin.

*Sacrifice,*  
*Honor*  
*Duty-*

↙ There are those who predict that we'll never  
 make it alive through this century, much less the next ...  
 that nuclear <sup>Armageddon</sup> / is bound to come.

↙ But there are others, and I am among them, who  
 believe that the year 2000 can bring not only a new century,  
 but the beginning of a new millenium of human hope and  
happiness.

~~Bros Age -  
 kicking you out -  
 this world -  
 Dont go.~~

↳ It will in large part depend on what we Americans do with our time.

↳ There seems to be general agreement that we in America can be living in streamlined, chromeplated, air-conditioned, automated, solid-state, all-electronic comfort in the year 2000.

↳ Discussion of present and future progress almost always seems to be in terms of scientific and technological wonder or horror ... comfort or cataclysm.

↳ It is ~~also~~ largely in terms of the quantitative:  
How much? How many? How far? How fast?

For instance, in quantitative terms, we know today that we have a Gross National Product of three-quarters of a trillion dollars ... the ability to produce a plane which will fly at 2 thousand miles per hour ...

a national inventory of 60 million TV sets ... more than a half-million scientific papers published each year.

All these facts indicate economic prosperity and growth ... a greater scientific and technological capacity ... a wider ownership of material goods.

And we are told that these trends will surely continue.

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Yet, if we look more closely we see other things too: That, for instance, in the shading of high-income areas on census maps, the shading never falls on neighborhoods where Negroes live; that, in a time of prosperity in the rich nations, per capita income is going down in the poor nations of the world.

And we increasingly feel -- I know I do -- that it is imperative to apply critical, qualitative measures to what we see -- that it is necessary to see how change is affecting people and their lives.

We have over 2 thousand institutions of higher education in our country. The question is: What proportion of their students are receiving both a solid technical grounding and the ability to think for themselves?

We have, in our cities, billions of dollars of new investment in office buildings and luxury apartments. The question is: Are the families who live in the shadow of these buildings -- that is, the majority of the people who live in our central cities -- better-housed or worse-housed today than they were yesterday?

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

Today more and more Americans are asking Huxley's question of themselves: With our power, our resources, and our innovative capacity magnified a thousand times, what are we going to do with all these things?

~~I think the answer is clear.~~

~~Our goals are not and must not be confined to improvement in physical conditions and creature comforts.~~

↳ If the achievements of America are to be no more than the hardware of science, the machinery of technology, and the extension of material abundance, we will have made only a minor contribution to mankind.

~~We must not lose sight of this:~~

↳ More important than the machines, and the wealth they produce, are the people who inhabit this earth and the rights they possess.

~~It is to the fulfillment of the rights of mankind which~~  
~~and the story~~  
~~is the right of mankind~~  
~~which~~

If a future historian set out to trace the preservation and realization of the rights of man in this millenium, he would be able to describe a pattern of progress.

He would, of course, note that in the Middle Ages only the ruling sovereign firmly possessed rights to own land.

He would dwell on the significance of the Magna Carta, issued by King John of England in 1215, defining the rights and duties of barons, and becoming a symbol of the rule of law for succeeding kings.

He would note the enactment by Parliament, in 1689, of what the British called the "Bill of Rights," which declared the rights and liberties of British subjects under the Crown.

↳ He would, possibly, give a full page or chapter to the American Constitution adopted in 1789, the amendments added by our first Congress in 1791, and how they became known throughout the country and the world as the American Bill of Rights. ↳ They would have to be spelled out on our historian's pages: The right of free exercise of religion, of free speech and press, the right to assemble and petition the government, the right to be secure against unreasonable searches, the right of trial by jury, and more.

↳ That historian of the future would relate two patterns of development which followed: How America itself, through action of Congress and the courts, refined and extended those rights to all its citizens, and how other peoples learned of and fought for the same rights.

↳ And what then? What would our future historian report of the role of America in extending the rights of man as this millenium raced to a close?

Permit me to suggest a hopeful, hypothetical paragraph for that future historian. ↳ In the bland, detached prose of the scholar, he might write the following words about the United States in the year 1967:

"It was a time of crisis and challenge for the United States. While seeking to improve its own standards and redefine its own rights at home, that nation was tested as never before as it sacrificed to protect and ~~in its pronouncements and policies to help~~ extend human rights to other areas of the world." This is the  
measure of greatness.

It is clear: 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 our greatest challenge.

And then, in conclusion, we would hope that the historian would set down this paragraph:

"America met the test."

↳ There are those who say history cannot be made; it must be accepted.

↳ But we Americans have never looked upon human history with fatalism or a sense of despair. ↳ We have never written off the future to the winds of chance and the whims of nature.

↳ It is good to know history. ~~but~~ It is even better to make it.

But before the act must come the vision.

↳ What are the rights -- and what are the corresponding responsibilities -- which man may envision in the century ahead, and which he may work toward today?

← *mainly* ↳ In the past, man's rights have ~~been~~ mainly protected him against coercion by his government. ~~Man's past rights, as previously defined, have most~~

↳ But in a world where destruction is only a half-hour away, as the intercontinental missile flies, we all know that man's rights are affected by forces far beyond those possessed by his own immediate government.

↳ ~~The events of this week underscore the fact.~~  
None of us needs to be reminded of that fact this week. *fact.*

↳ We know that every major event -- or trend -- taking place on this earth sends ripples outward to all other places.

↳ ~~All this is a way of saying that this truly is one world, and will become even more so.~~  
*This is one.*

↳ ~~It is thus clear that~~ if we wish man's rights to be nourished and not to wither, we must move beyond the goal of merely helping him resist the incursions of his immediate government.

↳ We must ~~not~~ move beyond the business of the protection of rights to a more positive doctrine -- toward their assertion.

In short, we must help man become not just protected, but liberated.

↳ Does this seem to be new and revolutionary doctrine?

↳ It is revolutionary.

But it is hardly new. It is, in fact, the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson -- doctrine that proclaims "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as the inalienable rights of all men.

-- Life that is more than mere existence.

-- Liberty that is not only proclaimed, but practiced.

-- Happiness that is found ~~in~~ the full and rich life of men who are both secure and free.

↳ We know through our own experience that the rights of man are never real unless they are constantly reasserted, We have seen what happens to them when they are left to fend for themselves.

↳ We know ~~in our hearts~~ that the rights of man are a never-ending unfinished business, just as America is a nation never-finished, a destination never quite reached.

∟ The quest for the rights of man can never end at our own doorway. Nor can it be pursued in any narrow, protective sense.

Therefore, I hope you will not consider me presumptuous if I say that, here and now, we as Americans must dedicate ourselves to a new Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for the 21st Century -- rights and responsibilities which fit new times and circumstances.

← ~~Let us raise our sights beyond the past and present. Let us declare ourselves for the future rights which one day all men may share:~~

∟ The right to peace -- so that man may live and 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 truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

The right to free expression -- so that man may speak and be heard, despite the decisions and beliefs of any temporary 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 man.

↳ The right to a meaningful role in society -- so that man may follow his own cadence and live with self-respect and dignity among his fellow citizens.

↳ The right to full 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 a wholesome environment -  
clean air, ~~safe streets~~, clean water

↳ ~~The right to health~~ Safe Streets  
and decent neighborhoods.

↳ ~~The right to~~

↳ 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 friends without coercive restraints.

↳ 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 the rights we seek -- and must continue to seek -- to make alive and ~~real~~ <sup>in</sup> our own nation. *real for ourselves* These are the rights, I believe, which we can do no less than seek for our *and for others.* ~~brothers in mankind.~~

*But* ↳ These rights will not be achieved at home, or in the world, without the exercise of consonant responsibility by men who would possess them.

↳ Then what are the responsibilities of modern man?  
↳ The responsibility to participate -- lest critical

initiatives and decisions 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 <sup>fallen</sup> law of human behavior.

↳ The responsibility to protect ideals in the face of force -- lest ideals be lost and violence be spread.

↳ The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of others -- lest freedom become license, and opportunity become coercion.

↳ And these ~~later~~ responsibilities, I might add, are nowhere more clearly spelled out than in two remarkable

documents for <sup>of our time -</sup> the future: The Charter of the United Nations and the recent Encyclical of his Holiness, Pope Paul VI.

Both of these documents point the way to the future responsibilities ~~in this world~~ of the United States and ~~the~~ <sup>all other</sup> free nations. <sup>↳</sup> They point the way to the creative, constructive work that will be necessary if peace with freedom is ever to be achieved — the work of nation-building, of peace-keeping, of self-sacrifice in the cause of ~~the world~~ <sup>mankind.</sup>

I know there are certain "realists" who believe both the UN Charter and the Pope's Encyclical <sup>are</sup> to be the documents of dreamers. <sup>↳</sup> That they may be, <sup>↳</sup> But they are also realistic. ~~For I believe~~ <sup>For I believe</sup> it is most unrealistic to expect man to survive through the years ahead if ~~these documents are not~~ <sup>the purpose of these</sup> historic documents ~~are~~ <sup>go</sup> unheeded. ~~needed, and in the specific.~~

\* \* \*

It is clear: 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.

The first step is to have a vision of the rights we seek. The second step is to resourcefully find the means to their attainment. The third step is to have the courage to use those means until the vision is achieved.

I have faith that America has within itself vision ... and resourcefulness ... and courage.

I give you the words of Woodrow Wilson:

"This is not America because it is rich. This is not America because it has set up for a great population great opportunities for material prosperity. America is a name which sounds in the ears of men everywhere as a synonym with individual opportunity because it is a synonym of individual liberty."

I have faith that we shall not be diverted, at home or in the world, by the temporary crises and distractions which tempt men to infringe on the rights of others ... or to abandon their responsibilities.

And I have faith that the year 2000 will dawn on a world not of emptiness and devastation ... not of oppression and conformity ... not of self-indulgence and materialism ... but a world in which each man stands free and equal in his search for the happier, better life that can be his.

That is the promise of the 21st century. And that is the promise of America.

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