

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

REVOLUTION & POLITICS
The Legacy of Independence

BY
THE HONORABLE
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY



COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG
WILLIAMSBURG • VIRGINIA

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An Address by the Honorable

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*On the occasion of the celebration of the
Prelude to Independence
At the eighteenth-century Capitol
Williamsburg, Virginia*

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COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

REVOLUTION AND POLITICS

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Mr. Humphrey's address was entered in the Congressional Record by Congressman Thomas N. Downing of Virginia's First Congressional District.



Revolution and Politics: The Legacy of Independence

By the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

This is indeed a beautiful day. No one could stand in this place at this time without feeling the importance of the hour and the occasion. And I am grateful for the invitation to join in celebrating the memory of the great Virginians whose decisions made here almost two centuries ago led the way to American independence.

A celebration such as this has a direct bearing on our mental health as a people and as a nation. For in a very real sense a nation, like an individual, can be a victim of amnesia. If it loses the memory of its own past, it can be at a loss to know what it is in the present, and what it wants to be in the future.

So, therefore, today, I want to dwell on the relationship between living Americans and a sense of the American past. I am convinced that this matter is of central importance to all other topics now at the focus of American attention.

Every generation looks at the world through the prism of its own experiences and the present is always in contest with the past. My own generation was no exception.

We came to maturity at a time of great trouble in this world. All units of economic value had collapsed. Totalitarian dictatorship and democratic appeasement destroyed the hope for peace.

All of us knew that something was profoundly wrong in many aspects of American life. Yet, with few exceptions, my generation did not feel hostile to the whole of America's past. We did not reject the entire web of legal and political institutions which we had inherited from other generations. Nor did we call for their overthrow in a thrust of violence and force.

Our thoughts and our actions were governed by a political equation between the idea of progress and the idea of order. On the side of progress, we insisted that laws and institutions can no more resist the need for change than a grown man can wear the clothes which fit him as a boy.

And we were convinced that if the need for change was denied while life moved on, the predictable result would be a violent explosion that could shatter existing institutions.

Now, on the side of order, we insisted that if existing institutions were simply destroyed in the name of progress, the people would find their hope for liberty and progress destroyed in an unlimited war of all against all, and there would be no standard of conduct to which all alike could appeal.

Therefore, by striking a balance between the two sides of that delicate equation, we came to a definition of our own task, namely: to cleanse, hopefully to purify the body of existing laws and institutions and to retain what was best in them. That which was conserved became the foundation on which we could raise a bridge binding the American past to its unfolding future.

Now, it would be an abuse of language to say that everything my generation hoped to do was done. Nor did everything that was done gain the objects in view.

But what my generation achieved, however, with all of its shortcomings, was no small thing. We laid the basis for a tremendous advance in material and intellectual conditions of American life, and for the possibility of a world security system that has thus far spared us the carnage of a nuclear war.

That for my generation.

Now. How do things stand today?

Serious minded and vocal members of the rising generation of young people have framed a troubled indictment which demands our attention regardless of whether or not we agree with what it says. The indictment, stripped to its essentials, goes something like this. Here is what they're saying to us:

The whole order of American politics, inherited from the past, has lost relevance in the face of rapid, accelerated and pervasive changes. These changes, differing in quantity and quality from any experiences in the past, have broken the link between public talk and the possibility of being heard, between urgent needs and the capacity of established institutions to respond to them.

And that young peoples' indictment continues:

Only a person who denies, they say, the evidence of his own senses can deny the shameful reality of two Americas in our midst—the one affluent and often indifferent, the other miserable and seething with frustration.

And the indictment concludes in these words:

There is a clinching proof that the structure of American politics

inherited from the past has lost its relevance to the present needs. It can be seen in the order of values which governs the mechanism of American politics when it comes to the allocation of national resources.

It is a mechanism, they say, geared almost automatically to pour out limitless billions of dollars in support of armament systems beyond the limits of rational and justifiable needs. Yet that same system strains at a gnat when asked to support programs designed to deal with the dangerous conditions in our internal security—the crisis conditions in our cities, in our impoverished rural areas, the crisis conditions of inequality of opportunity, the crisis conditions of hunger, of unemployment, of educational deprivations among the submerged one-fourth of our population, white and black alike.

They say it is a system geared to pour out billions of dollars in order to put two men on the moon, but it is sullen and canker-hearted when asked to help put a dispirited man back on his feet right here on earth.

Now, most of the young people, and I repeat the vast majority of young people, who have framed this anguished indictment stop with the indictment itself. They do not say that existing institutions must be destroyed or overturned, or that necessary changes should be entrusted to disorderly or even violent means.

They retain a residue of respect for the political and legal system inherited from the past.

But, my fellow Americans, they also demand—and they demand it loudly and constantly—repair and remedy. They seek above all to humanize our institutions—to broaden the base of participation and to open the avenues of opportunity. This young generation, I call them patriots of dissent, is filled with anger and indignation over our failures to do what it knows we are capable of doing. Yes, they are impatient, angry, but not irresponsible—such are their characteristics.

And I submit they deserve our thanks, not our rebuke. To them we must listen and act. They remind us that freedom's work is never done—that the American revolution is a continuing one, unfinished and ever changing.

Now, if we fail to answer this indictment, the shape of our future is already visible to us in a miniature prototype. I refer to the activities and motivations of, thank goodness, a still very small group of young people—white and black alike—who have been pressing an “age-war” more virulent than any previously known in American history.

The members of this group, as yet small, whether in the colleges or the ghettos, despise the kind of social changes that are made in small steps. Change—for this new breed of rebels—must be total, beginning with an assault on all existing institutions and social relationships.

In one breath, the young rebels insist on absolute truth. "Tell It Like It Is." In a second breath, they are suspicious of any truth, saying that it is only a lie concocted in the interest of what they call "the establishment."

In one breath, they insist on the right to full participation in self-government. In a second breath, they say that the more a man is involved in the life of organized society, the more he is likely to be corrupted by it.

In one breath, they insist on neat and rational order for society. In a second breath, they say that orderly thought and action imprison a man and corrupt the honesty of his responses. Orderly thought must therefore be displaced by the stress on spontaneity, by direct response to immediate circumstances, by a purifying, discontinuous happening.

Now the young rebels, this small group of whom I speak, are not troubled by the fact that they have no coherent program for action, or that their impulses—generous in some respects, dangerous and absurd in others—discharge themselves in almost any direction and in almost any form. Since they view themselves as a self appointed elite—an embodiment of the total good—they feel morally armed with the right to make only their own voice heard and to gag all others.

They feel morally armed to prevent any other people from meeting, to invade any assembly or classroom, to break up any proceedings where people of divergent views seem to be engaged in rational, though groping search for a common understanding. They, the destroyers—the nihilists of our time—to them and their tactics, I say we must not yield.

If there is any comfort in all of this, it is that we have been forced anew to consider the meaning of dissent and civil disobedience in American politics—or more particularly, the tradition of dissent and civil disobedience stemming in good part from this very place and from the great Virginia dissenters whose work we honor today.

Now, the great Virginians who labored here were not schoolboys. They were mature men, leaders in their respective communities, heads of substantial enterprises, with much to lose if they erred, and they were not given to rash adventures, nor given to raising hell just for the hell of it.

Before they embarked on their great act of dissent and civil disobedience, which led to revolt and then to revolution, they carefully debated among themselves the most difficult of all political questions.

At what point does the need for "order" in the state or society take precedence over the need for "justice"—or the other way around?

How much injustice is tolerable for the sake of order?

How shall the modes of protest be expressed? And against what

objects? And decided by whom?

Who shall say if the avenues of legal relief for the redress of grievances exist in point of fact? Who shall say if these avenues exist only on paper, but not in the real world of things?

The great Virginians recognized that unless they asked and at least struggled with the possible answers to these basic questions, they could become useless, useless to themselves and to the cause they intended to promote by their dissent. They understood as have few others in our history the relationship of meaning to achieving their goals or their ends.

They could become useless if they were to bring to their act of dissent the wrong kind of behavior, the wrong kind of strategy, the wrong sense of their own moral autonomy.

They could become useless, if the act of civil disobedience were permitted to degenerate into breaking all laws, good or bad, simply because they were laws.

Yes, they could become useless, even if their initial cause was just, if by the lack of moral and intellectual discipline they were to open the gates to indiscriminate dissent and indiscriminate civil disobedience as a way of life.

Mind you, their act of civil disobedience was not a private act. It was not a conspiracy designed in a corner. It was a public act made in the open by a regularly constituted representative body of the community, a public act agreed to only after full debate and finally an approving vote.

And instead of coupling their civil disobedience with the clamor for amnesty if they failed to carry their object, they made it clear that they were prepared to suffer the loss of their fortunes and even their lives if their revolt should fail.

They ventured to prove that they had resorted to civil disobedience only because they had exhausted every available constitutional legal means for redress of their grievances, or only because the constitutional means that existed on paper were in fact inoperative in practice.

They made it abundantly clear that they were not protesting in the abstract. Theirs was real life, real problems. Their object was to bring to birth the terms of a new policy under which they could live more happily.

They clearly distinguished, in the words of George Washington "between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority . . ." and between the "spirit of liberty and licentiousness." And that is why, once they had unanimously instructed the Virginia representatives at the Continental Congress to propose independence for the American colonies, they allowed no time, no gap to develop in the legal structure of Virginia itself.

They promptly went to work on a new constitution—a new constitution which by law, enlarged the market place for public freedom, enlarged the political space in which more Virginians than ever before would have the right of access to the public realm, to their share in public power, to participate in the conduct of public affairs with its discussions, deliberations and decisions.

In short, and there is a lesson to be learned here, the whole object and achievement of the great Virginia dissenters was to uphold the concept of law by establishing it on a broader basis of consent than was possible when Virginia was held in tutelage by the English monarchy and parliament.

For all of these reasons, the great Virginia dissenters led the way to a durable and positive achievement in freedom and independence—as against the trail of wreckage left in the wake of some of our present-day advocates of violence and destruction.

Now, my fellow Americans, does contemporary politics have any answer to give to the case of America's young rebels of today who seek to manipulate other people by coercive means—by gun-play, by fire-bombs, by intimidation, by physical assaults, by kidnappings?

Possibly, at least I must hope so.

It is my view, that politics can at least keep their numbers small instead of gaining them new recruits from among the vast majority of young people who love this country and yet want it better—who still retain a respect for legal and political forms inherited from the past.

Before I come to the ways and means, let me note two sets of realities that are often overlooked and that may lie very close to the heart of our present predicament.

First, there was the oversight of the comfortable people of the United States who on the one hand applauded the actions of the late beloved Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which gave currency to the strategy of non-violence, but who on the other hand, these same comfortable people turned away when it came time to remedy the injustices and the discriminations which prompted Dr. King into the streets. These comfortable people, and there are so many of us, saw the non-violent strategy simply as an instrument for restraining restive Negro Americans.

This oversight was the father to other things that were also overlooked. For example, the very success of the non-violent methods used in getting long-needed civil rights legislation created the illusion that the battle for civil rights was over. In fact, it had only begun.

The laws, all indispensable in themselves, had only established the conditions for legal equality between the constitutional rights of whites and blacks alike.

They did not, of themselves, achieve a condition of equity measurable in terms of concrete rights—rights that we all want—the right to a job at decent pay, the right to adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which spurs rather than hobbles human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to a decent diet, and the right to access to the benefits of modern medical science.

Now, those of us who battled year in and year out to reconstruct the edifice of legal equality between the two races were not under any illusion about what had been accomplished even when the year 1964 brought our legislative effort to the peak of success.

We knew that this effort was only a down payment on the larger and more difficult task of translating legal language into improved material conditions in the day-to-day life of Americans who are poor—who are black or who are white.

We also knew that if there was a default or failure of nerve with respect to this larger and more difficult task, two things would inevitably happen:

First, there would be a tendency on the part of people whose hopes and rising expectations for a better life had been aroused, to lose faith in the normal operations of the law as the best instrument for the promotion and distribution of justice.

Secondly, if the non-violent tactic which had helped get necessary civil rights law did not lead directly to tangible social improvements, the predictable result would be an escalation of social tensions and a loss of capacity to solve the problems of social justice by peaceful means within the framework of law. And we've seen this happen.

If these two melancholy predications were to be proven false, it was also clear where the primary remedial initiative must come from. It must come primarily from the privileged segment of our society—which by the way is the majority—the main beneficiary of all the good things our society has to bestow.

It could not come, nor could it have been expected to come, from the segment of the American population that had been denied for so long full participation in America's economic, social and political life.

But unfortunately, and in the privacy of our own meditation and in the serenity of our own conscience, we know that the privileged segment of our society did not provide the initiative in a measure commensurate to the need. Unlike the signers of the Declaration of Independence we did not pledge our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor to secure these rights. We pledged but a bit of it.

Everyone, of course, still talks about the urgent need for peace between the white and black races in America. But I ask today, what kind

of peace? On what terms? Achieved how? Where? And by whom?

A peace which depends on walls and moats that each race builds around itself, announces on its face that the spirit of war is in the air. A peace which comes after human races have spent themselves in passion and in violence is of the kind covered by the cry of Isaiah: "In peace is my bitterest bitterness."

Peace has something to do with the habits of the heart in the encounters of daily life, and with perceptions that are a guide to actions which are beyond the reach of law.

Peace has something to do with the truth that the white and black races in America are like two mountain climbers tied to the same rope. Their fate is indivisible. If they do not move in mutual support of each other, then as surely as the law of gravity exists, they will fall together into a deadly abyss where violence will be the rival of violence and where neighbor will set upon neighbor.

Above all, peace has something to do with justice, with equity, and with those measures in the public realm that promote justice and equity in the private realm of daily experience.

Now, the specific things that have to be done should no longer be any mystery or secret. They were clearly stated in the report of the Kerner Commission. They were restated again this year—one year later—in the study released by Urban America and the Urban Coalition. And these groups are not made up of irresponsible radicals but rather men and women of substance, conscience and thought.

Through these and similar sources, we have again been told—and I say it is true—that poverty remains a pervasive fact of American life, and the continued disparity between this poverty and the general affluence was and remains a source of alienation and discontent.

We have again been told—and it is true—that ghetto schools continue to fail, and the small amount of progress made in improving the quality of these schools has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

And we have been told—and it is true—that there are no programs that seriously attack the continued existence of the filth and the degradation of the American slums.

Each of these failures cries out like the voice of a prophet for the need for remedial measures. The question is not whether we have the power of mind required to devise social inventions that can give effective form and force to the remedial measures. We have that inventive power. And, we have the means and we have the resources. The question is, do we have the will—the determination. Will we make the commitment of our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor?

That inventive power and that commitment will not be brought into full play unless all of us are keenly aware of the stakes. They are the same stakes which confronted the great Virginians of the American Revolution after the American War had been won—the stakes to establish a government under a new constitution for a more perfect union. The stake of building one nation and as we put it—one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

As in their case, so now in our time and in our own instance we are confronted with the need to prove anew that men can establish good government, responsible government, through reflection and choice, rather than to entrust their future to the play of accident and force.

So now I come to the second reality that is often overlooked and is right at the heart of our problem. The traditional dividing line between domestic and foreign affairs has become in all our cardinal questions as indistinct as a line drawn through the water.

What we do in the arena of the world has a direct bearing on what we can do at home. What we must do at home, has a direct bearing on what we can and must do in the world arena—one and inseparable. And precisely on this account we must be clear about our national priorities. I'm sure that everyone from the President to every person in this audience knows that the paramount priority requiring persevering patience, steadfastness and courage, and yet a sense of urgency, is the attainment of a just peace in Viet-Nam.

There is no doubt of it. And might I add I intend to do all I can as one citizen to support the hand of our President, who I am sure as I am sure of anything, as the man before him, seeks peace and seeks it with all the power at his command.

The growing debate that's focused on the anti-ballistic missile system is only symptomatic of the more fundamental decisions that must be reached over the size and nature of military spending.

And unless we are successful now, my friends, in slowing down the nuclear arms build-up, it can be predicted without qualification that we will be caught up in a new spiraling arms race that will cost this troubled world hundreds of billions of dollars, and be meaningless in securing either side any military advantage. The level of danger, however, will be raised—and the balance of terror will become more precarious.

It can be predicted, further, that as this military spending accelerates, our urgent domestic needs will be neglected and our efforts to mobilize the country in getting at the running sores in our internal life will fall woefully short of need.

We may find ourselves in the peculiar position of a people devoured from within by bitter and embittering social conflicts, while our outer

face is that of a super-power bristling with new weapons systems, but all amounting to a hard shell encasing a rotten, soft or empty center.

We must come to see, therefore, that our security is threatened more immediately and more directly by the missiles of hate and bigotry and injustice and violence that are loose within our own shores and borders, rather than the nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union that are currently checked by the policy of mutual deterrence. And I submit that we must set our priorities accordingly.

Therefore, high on the list of priorities for me is to promptly initiate discussions, and I say promptly, with the Soviet Union, directed toward halting the expansion of both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. Already precious time has been lost.

To complicate this urgent task by injecting issues of trade and political disputes of many years standing is both dangerous and unrealistic.

Yes, to wait for Congress to act on the issue of the ABM before initiating negotiations is neither necessary nor desirable. The fact is, it is later than we think. The time to negotiate is now. If the negotiations are successful, then we will be spared the cost of the weapons. If the negotiations should fail, we will know, at least, that we tried. Yes, that we the American people tried to spare mankind from a dangerous and costly escalation in armament. The world looks to us today as it did in those days of the great Virginians for moral leadership. We dare not default. Peace like war needs its heroes.

So let me speak candidly: In this time of rapidly rising tension and festering alienation, to delay in coming to grips with the issue of arms control and our domestic social and economic problems is only to intensify the danger. It is like trying to cap a volcano only to find that in the end it explodes with greater force and destructive power.

We paid dearly in the 1960's for our failure in the 1950's to come to grips with the problems of race, urban decay, education, and poverty.

The price, mind you, will be higher and the level of danger will be greater if, in the next two, four, six years, we fail again to set our national priorities wisely and make the national investments that the American society so desperately needs.

So I summon you on this beautiful occasion. I summon you to action—we the American people. This cannot be a time for relaxation, nor of turning our faces from the unmet human needs around us. There is no place to hide—no place to escape.

Yes, now, as in the time of this nation's birth, we must once again resort to the difficult ways of civilized and rational men—fearlessly striking down that which hobbles our national growth and purpose, but always with a decent respect for the opinions of others, always with a

firm grip and a firm grasp on democratic principles and liberties, and always with an unclouded view of where we are ultimately headed. This is in fact the spirit of the continuing American revolution.

I recall the words of Adlai Stevenson, who in his own spirit personified the nobility of democracy: "Democracy is not self executing. We have to make it work, we have to understand it . . . not only external vigilance but unending self-examination must be the perennial price of liberty, because the work of self government never ceases."

With a sense then of urgency and destiny as if creating a new nation, which is in fact what we're doing, we must ventilate the clogged, stale channels of political participation and social opportunity. The refreshing winds of change which are everywhere about us, must be directed to constructive purposes—not through violence—not through hate—not through bitterness—not through passion, but through debate and dissent—through dialogue and discussion—until decision and direction are achieved.

This to me, my fellow Americans, is the meaning of government by the consent of the governed—the social contract of equals. To do less would be disrespectful of our heritage and be unworthy of our priceless legacy of freedom and independence which this occasion, this hallowed ground itself commemorates to us and reminds this nation.

Thank you.

BIOGRAPHY OF HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Hubert H. Humphrey, former Vice President of the United States, first achieved national prominence in 1945 when, at the age of 34, he was elected mayor of Minneapolis, Minnesota. He was re-elected to a second term in 1947. The following year he was elected to the U. S. Senate, and was returned again in 1954 and 1960. In 1964 he was elected Vice President. He was unsuccessful in his bid for the Presidency in 1968 after winning his party's nomination.

Mr. Humphrey's name has been closely associated with nearly all national social reform and human rights legislation of the past two decades. During his sixteen years in the U. S. Senate, the last four as majority whip, he proposed and saw to fruition, laws on civil rights, elimination of poll taxes, anti-job discrimination, and protection of rights guaranteed by constitutional and statutory law, among others. As a freshman Senator in 1949 Mr. Humphrey was the first to propose a program of health insurance for the elderly; sixteen years later he helped Medicare become law. He also was the first to propose creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development which is today a functioning arm of the federal government.

Likewise, Mr. Humphrey's endeavors on behalf of American youth can be seen in a range of legislative achievements which he has either proposed, or guided to passage, or both, as U. S. Senator and Vice President. Among these milestones are the Peace Corps; Youth Opportunity; the Job Corps; the "Head-start" program for disadvantaged pre-school children; the first federal program of direct aid to elementary and secondary education; federal scholarships and loans to college students; grants to colleges for needed facilities, and a variety of other actions which have directly or indirectly affected the education and welfare of young people.

The breadth of Mr. Humphrey's interests has encompassed diplomatic and international affairs. He served as a delegate to the United Nations by appointment of President Eisenhower and undertook official missions to all six continents of the world during his term as Vice President.

Mr. Humphrey received a degree from the Denver College of Pharmacy in 1933, a B.A. (Magna Cum Laude) from the University of Minnesota in 1939, and an M.A. from Louisiana State University in 1940.

Prior to his election as mayor of Minneapolis, Mr. Humphrey was a teacher of political science, a profession he follows again today at Macalester College, St. Paul, and the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE

TO RECALL basic American concepts of liberty and individual rights, Colonial Williamsburg annually commemorates the Prelude to Independence period from May 15 through July 4. This spring marked the 193d anniversary of three momentous actions taken by the Virginia Convention, meeting in the Capitol at Williamsburg: the Independence Resolution of May 15, the Declaration of Rights of June 12, and the Virginia Constitution of June 29.

On May 15, 1776, the convention unanimously instructed the Virginia representatives at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia to propose independence for the American colonies. Accordingly, Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates, moved on June 7 "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Lee's motion was approved on July 2, and two days later the Continental Congress addressed to the world a formal Declaration of Independence. This American credo, penned by another Virginia delegate, Thomas Jefferson, grew directly from the decision taken on May 15.

The Virginia Declaration of Rights is read annually at the Prelude to Independence ceremony.

Virginia Declaration of Rights

DRAWN ORIGINALLY BY GEORGE MASON AND
ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION OF DELEGATES

June 12, 1776

A Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good People of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention; which Rights do pertain to them, and their posterity, as the Basis and Foundation of Government.

I.

That all Men are by Nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent Rights, of which, when they enter into a State of Society, they cannot, by any Compact, deprive or divest their Posterity; namely, the Enjoyment of Life and Liberty, with the Means of acquiring and possessing Property and pursuing and obtaining Happiness and Safety.

II.

That all Power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the People; that Magistrates are their Trustees and Servants, and at all Times amenable to them.

III.

That Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common Benefit, Protection, and Security, of the People, Nation, or Community; of all the various Modes and Forms of Government that is best, which is capable of producing the greatest Degree of Happiness and Safety, and is most effectually secured against the Danger of Mal-administration; and that, whenever any Government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these Purposes, a Majority of the Community hath an indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible Right, to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such Manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public Weal.

IV.

That no Man, or Set of Men, are entitled to exclusive or separate Emoluments or Privileges from the Community, but in Consideration of public Services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the Offices of Magistrate, Legislator, or Judge, to be hereditary.

V.

That the legislative and executive Powers of the State should be separate and distinct from the Judicative; and, that the Members of the two first may be restrained from Oppression, by feeling and participating the Burthens of the People, they should, at fixed Periods, be reduced to a private Station, return into that Body from which they were originally taken, and the Vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular Elections, in which all, or any part of the former Members, to be again eligible, or ineligible, as the Laws shall direct.

VI.

That the Elections of Members to serve as Representatives of the People, in Assembly, ought to be free; and that all Men, having sufficient Evidence of permanent common Interest with, and Attachment to, the Community, have the Right of Suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their Property for public Uses without their own Consent or that of their Representatives so elected, nor bound by any Law to which they have not, in like Manner, assented, for the public Good.

VII.

That all Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by any Authority without Consent of the Representatives of the People, is injurious to their Rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII.

That in all capital or criminal Prosecutions a Man hath a Right to demand the Cause and Nature of his Accusation, to be confronted with the

Accusers and Witnesses, to call for Evidence in his Favour, and to a speedy Trial by an impartial Jury of his Vicinage, without whose unanimous Consent he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give Evidence against himself; that no Man be deprived of his Liberty except by the Law of the Land, or the Judgment of his Peers.

IX.

That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

X.

That general Warrants, whereby any Officer or Messenger may be commanded to search suspected Places without Evidence of a Fact committed, or to seize any Person or Persons not named, or whose Offense is not particularly described and supported by Evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

XI.

That in Controversies respecting Property, and in Suits between Man and Man, the ancient Trial by Jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

XII.

That the Freedom of the Press is one of the greatest Bulwarks of Liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic Governments.

XIII.

That a well regulated Militia, composed of the Body of the People, trained to Arms, is the proper, natural, and safe Defense of a free State; that standing Armies, in Time of Peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to Liberty; and that, in all Cases, the Military should be under strict Subordination to, and governed by, the civil Power.

XIV.

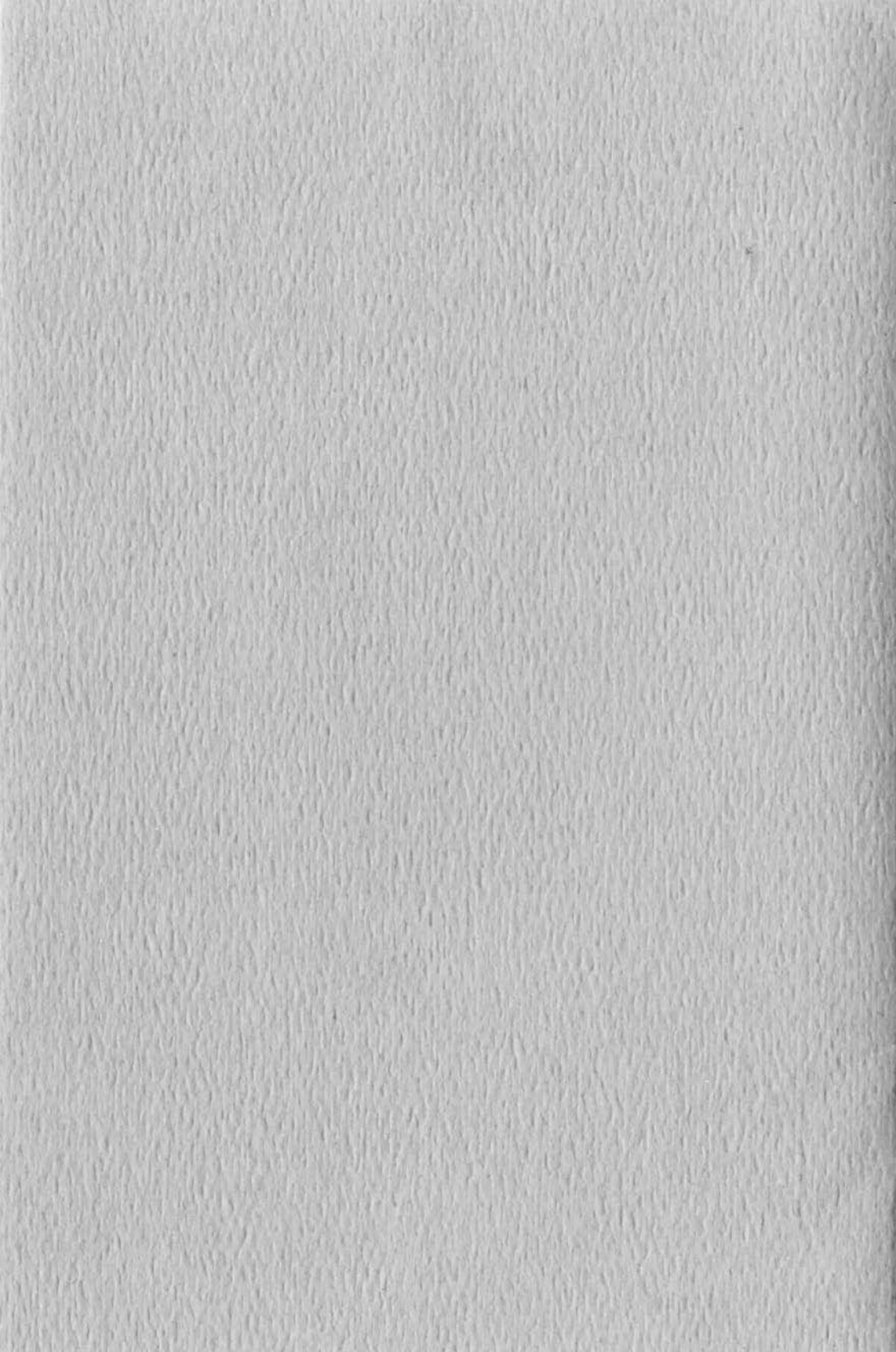
That the People have a Right to uniform Government; and therefore, that no Government separate from, or independent of, the Government of *Virginia*, ought to be erected or established within the Limits thereof.

XV.

That no free Government, or the Blessing of Liberty, can be preserved to any People but by a firm Adherence to Justice, Moderation, Temperance, Frugality, and Virtue, and by frequent Recurrence to fundamental Principles.

XVI.

That Religion, or the Duty which we owe to our Creator, and the Manner of discharging it, can be directed only by Reason and Conviction, not by Force or Violence; and therefore, all Men are equally entitled to the free exercise of Religion, according to the Dictates of Conscience; and that it is the mutual Duty of all to practice Christian Forbearance, Love, and Charity, towards each other.



x Reverend Williams
x Gov. Hodges 000713
x Gov. Rockefeller
x Dr. Paschal
x President, Colonial W. Williamsburg
Charles Hummeline

REMARKS BY
THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE ADDRESS
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA
MAY 31, 1969

(I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE INVITATION TO JOIN IN
CELEBRATING THE MEMORY OF THE GREAT VIRGINIANS WHOSE
DECISIONS MADE HERE ALMOST TWO CENTURIES AGO LED THE
WAY TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

(A CELEBRATION SUCH AS THIS HAS A DIRECT BEARING
ON OUR MENTAL HEALTH AS A NATION. (FOR IN A VERY REAL
SENSE, A NATION LIKE AN INDIVIDUAL, CAN BE A VICTIM OF
AMNESIA. (IF IT LOSES THE MEMORY OF ITS OWN PAST, IT CAN
BE AT A LOSS TO KNOW WHAT IT IS IN THE PRESENT, AND WHAT
IT WANTS TO BE IN THE FUTURE.

(TODAY, I WANT TO DWELL ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
LIVING AMERICANS AND A SENSE OF THE AMERICAN PAST. (I AM
CONVINCED THAT THIS MATTER IS OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE TO ALL OTHER
TOPICS NOW AT THE FOCUS OF AMERICAN ATTENTION.

* * *

(MORE)

EVERY GENERATION LOOKS AT THE WORLD THROUGH THE PRISM OF ITS OWN EXPERIENCES. MY OWN GENERATION WAS NO EXCEPTION.

WE CAME TO MATURITY AT A TIME OF GREAT TROUBLE IN THE WORLD. ALL UNITS OF ECONOMIC VALUE HAD COLLAPSED. TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC APPEASEMENT DESTROYED THE HOPE FOR PEACE.

ALL OF US KNEW THAT SOMETHING WAS PROFOUNDLY WRONG IN MANY ASPECTS OF AMERICAN LIFE. YET, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, MY GENERATION DID NOT FEEL HOSTILE TO THE WHOLE OF THE AMERICAN PAST. WE DID NOT REJECT THE ENTIRE WEB OF LEGAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WE INHERITED FROM OTHER GENERATIONS. NOR DID WE CALL FOR THEIR OVERTHROW IN A THRUST OF VIOLENCE AND FORCE.

OUR THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS WERE GOVERNED BY A POLITICAL EQUATION BETWEEN THE IDEA OF PROGRESS AND THE IDEA OF ORDER. ON THE SIDE OF PROGRESS, WE INSISTED THAT LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS CAN NO MORE RESIST THE NEED FOR CHANGE, THAN A GROWN MAN CAN WEAR THE CLOTHES WHICH FIT HIM AS A BOY.

(MORE)

WE ~~ARE~~ ^{WERE} CONVINCED THAT IF THE NEED FOR CHANGE WAS DENIED WHILE LIFE MOVED ON, THE PREDICTABLE RESULT WOULD BE A VIOLENT EXPLOSION THAT COULD SHATTER EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

ON THE SIDE OF ORDER, WE INSISTED THAT IF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS WERE SIMPLY DESTROYED IN THE NAME OF PROGRESS, THE PEOPLE WOULD FIND THEIR HOPE FOR LIBERTY AND PROGRESS DESTROYED IN AN UNLIMITED WAR OF ALL AGAINST ALL. THERE WOULD BE NO STANDARD OF CONDUCT TO WHICH ALL ALIKE COULD APPEAL.

BY STRIKING A BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES OF THE EQUATION, WE CAME TO A DEFINITION OF OUR OWN TASK, NAMELY: TO CLEANSE AND PURIFY THE BODY OF EXISTING LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS AND TO RETAIN WHAT WAS BEST IN THEM, THAT WHICH WAS CONSERVED BECAME THE FOUNDATION ON WHICH WE COULD RAISE A BRIDGE BINDING THE AMERICAN PAST TO ITS UNFOLDING FUTURE.

IT WOULD BE AN ABUSE OF LANGUAGE TO SAY THAT EVERYTHING MY GENERATION HOPED TO DO WAS DONE. NOR DID EVERYTHING THAT WAS DONE, GAIN THE OBJECTS IN VIEW. AT SOME POINTS, THERE WAS A SHORT FALL BETWEEN INTENTIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

(MORE)

WHAT MY GENERATION ACHIEVED, HOWEVER, WAS NO SMALL THING. WE LAID THE BASIS FOR A TREMENDOUS ADVANCE IN THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONDITIONS OF AMERICAN LIFE, AND FOR A WORLD SECURITY SYSTEM THAT HAS THUS FAR SPARED US THE CARNAGE OF A NUCLEAR WAR.

* * *

How DO THINGS STAND TODAY?

SERIOUS MINDED AND VOCAL MEMBERS OF THE RISING GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE FRAMED A TROUBLED INDICTMENT WHICH DEMANDS OUR ATTENTION REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OR NOT WE AGREE WITH WHAT IT SAID. THE INDICTMENT, STRIPPED TO ITS ESSENTIALS, GOES LIKE THIS:

THE WHOLE ORDER OF AMERICAN POLITICS, INHERITED FROM THE PAST, HAS LOST ITS RELEVANCE IN THE FACE OF RAPID, ACCELERATED AND PERVASIVE CHANGES. THESE CHANGES, DIFFERING IN QUANTITY AND QUALITY FROM ANY EXPERIENCES IN THE PAST, HAVE BROKEN THE LINK BETWEEN PUBLIC TALK AND THE POSSIBILITY OF BEING HEARD, BETWEEN URGENT NEEDS AND THE CAPACITY OF OUR ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS TO RESPOND TO THEM.

IN FACT, THE STRUCTURE OF THE INSTITUTIONS, AND THE PEOPLE WHO CONTROL THE LEVERS OF EFFECTIVE POWER IN THEM, MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO EFFECT CHANGES IN SOCIETY IN AN ORDERLY AND COHERENT WAY.

AND THE INDICTMENT CONTINUES:

(MORE)

ONLY A PERSON WHO DENIES THE EVIDENCE OF HIS OWN SENSES CAN DENY THE SHAMEFUL REALITY OF TWO AMERICAS IN OUR MIDST -- THE ONE AFFLUENT AND OFTEN INDIFFERENT, THE OTHER MISERABLE AND SEETHING WITH FRUSTRATION.

IT IS A REALITY MADE ALL THE MORE OFFENSIVE WHEN PLACED ALONGSIDE THE FACT, THAT AFFLUENT AMERICA IS IN A POSITION TO ENJOY, ^{all} THE BENEFITS OF AN ECONOMY, AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, AND A COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK, ALL MORE HIGHLY DEVELOPED IN AMERICA THAN ANY OTHER NATION KNOWN IN HUMAN HISTORY. YET IT CHOOSES WILFULLY NOT TO SEE OR CARE VERY MUCH ABOUT HOW THE OTHER AMERICA, THE DEPRIVED AMERICA, LIVES.

AND THE INDICTMENT CONCLUDES:

THERE IS A CLINCHING PROOF THAT THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS INHERITED FROM THE PAST HAS LOST ITS RELEVANCE TO PRESENT NEEDS. IT CAN BE SEEN IN THE ORDER OF VALUES WHICH GOVERNS THE MECHANISM OF AMERICAN POLITICS WHEN IT COMES TO THE ALLOCATION OF NATIONAL RESOURCES.

IT IS A MECHANISM GEARED ALMOST AUTOMATICALLY TO POUR OUT LIMITLESS BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN SUPPORT OF ARMAMENT SYSTEMS BEYOND THE LIMITS OF RATIONAL AND JUSTIFIABLE NEEDS.

(MORE)

/ YET THE SAME SYSTEM STRAINS AT A GNAT WHEN ASKED TO SUPPORT
 PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH DANGEROUS CONDITIONS IN OUR
 INTERNAL SECURITY -- THE CRISIS CONDITIONS IN OUR CITIES, IN
 OUR IMPOVERISHED RURAL AREAS, THE CRISIS CONDITIONS OF
 INEQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, THE CRISIS CONDITIONS OF HUNGER,
 UNEMPLOYMENT, EDUCATIONAL DEPRIVATIONS AMONG THE SUBMERGED
 ONE-FOURTH OF OUR POPULATION, WHITE AND BLACK ALIKE,

/ IT IS A SYSTEM GEARED TO POUR OUT UNTOLD BILLIONS
 OF DOLLARS IN ORDER TO PUT TWO MEN ON THE MOON, BUT IS
 SULLEN AND CANKER-HEARTED WHEN ASKED TO HELP PUT A
 DISPIRITED MAN BACK ON HIS FEET RIGHT HERE ON EARTH.

This is the

* * *

/ MOST OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO HAVE FRAMED THIS
 ANGUISHED INDICTMENT STOP WITH THE INDICTMENT ITSELF.

/ THEY DO NOT GO ON TO SAY THAT EXISTING INSTITUTIONS MUST
 BE DESTROYED OR OVERTURNED, OR THAT THE NECESSARY CHANGES
 OF MODERNIZATION SHOULD BE ENTRUSTED TO DISORDERLY OR
 EVEN VIOLENT MEANS.

They speak to be heard - to be included - not to be shut out.

THEY RETAIN A RESIDUE OF RESPECT FOR THE POLITICAL
 AND LEGAL SYSTEM INHERITED FROM THE PAST. ~~It is this~~

(MORE)

BUT THEY DEMAND REPAIR AND REMEDY -- THEY SEEK ABOVE ALL
 TO HUMANIZE OUR INSTITUTIONS -- TO BROADEN THE BASE OF
 PARTICIPATION AND TO OPEN THE AVENUES OF OPPORTUNITY. THIS
YOUNG GENERATION OF RESPONSIBLE RADICALS ^{Patience & Determination} IS FILLED WITH
ANGER AND INDIGNATION OVER OUR FAILURES TO DO WHAT IT
KNOWS CAN BE DONE. YES, IMPATIENT, ANGRY, BUT NOT
IRRESPONSIBLE -- SUCH ARE THEIR CHARACTERISTICS.

THEY DESERVE OUR THANKS, NOT OUR REBUKE.! TO THEM WE MUST
 LISTEN AND ACT. THEY REMIND US THAT FREEDOM'S WORK IS NEVER
DONE -- THAT THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IS A CONTINUING ONE,
UNFINISHED AND EVER CHANGING!

IF WE FAIL, THE SHAPE OF OUR FUTURE IS ALREADY
 VISIBLE TO US IN A MINATURE PROTOTYPE. I REFER TO THE
 ACTIVITIES AND MOTIVATIONS OF A STILL ^{very} SMALL GROUP OF YOUNG
 PEOPLE -- WHITE AND BLACK ALIKE -- WHO HAVE BEEN PRESSING
 AN "AGE-WAR" MORE VIRULENT THAN ANY PREVIOUSLY KNOWN IN
 AMERICAN HISTORY.

THE MEMBERS OF THIS SMALL GROUP, WHETHER IN THE COLLEGES
 OR THE GHETTOS, DESPISE THE KIND OF SOCIAL CHANGES THAT ARE
 MADE IN SMALL STEPS. CHANGE -- FOR THIS NEW BREED OF REBELS --
MUST BE TOTAL, BEGINNING WITH AN ASSAULT ON ALL EXISTING
INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

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IN ONE BREATH, THE YOUNG REBELS INSIST ON ABSOLUTE TRUTH. "TELL IT LIKE IT IS." IN A SECOND BREATH, THEY ARE SUSPICIOUS OF ANY TRUTH, SAYING THAT IT IS ONLY A LIE CONCOCTED IN THE INTEREST OF WHAT THEY CALL "THE ESTABLISHMENT."

IN ONE BREATH, THEY INSIST ON THE RIGHT FOR FULL PARTICIPATION IN SELF-GOVERNMENT. IN A SECOND BREATH, THEY SAY THAT THE MORE A MAN IS INVOLVED IN THE LIFE OF ORGANIZED SOCIETY, THE MORE HE IS LIKELY TO BE CORRUPTED BY IT.

IN ONE BREATH, THEY INSIST ON A NEAT AND RATIONAL ORDER FOR SOCIETY. IN A SECOND BREATH, THEY SAY THAT ORDERLY THOUGHT AND ACTION IMPRISON A MAN AND CORRUPT THE HONESTY OF HIS RESPONSES. ORDERLY THOUGHT MUST THEREFORE BE DISPLACED BY A STRESS ON SPONTANEITY, BY A DIRECT RESPONSE TO IMMEDIATE CIRCUMSTANCES, BY A PURIFYING, DISCONTINUOUS HAPPENING.

~~THE YOUNG~~ THE ~~YOUNG~~ REBELS OF WHOM I SPEAK ARE NOT TROUBLED BY THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE NO COHERENT PROGRAM FOR ACTION; OR THAT THEIR IMPULSES -- GENEROUS IN SOME RESPECTS, DANGEROUS AND ABSURD IN OTHERS -- DISCHARGE THEMSELVES IN ALMOST ANY DIRECTION AND IN ALMOST ANY FORM.

(MORE)

✓ SINCE THEY VIEW THEMSELVES AS AN ELITE -- AN EMBODIMENT OF THE TOTAL GOOD -- THEY FEEL MORALLY ARMED WITH THE RIGHT TO MAKE ONLY THEIR OWN VOICE HEARD AND TO GAG ALL OTHERS.

✓ THEY FEEL MORALLY ARMED TO PREVENT ANY OTHER PEOPLE FROM MEETING, TO INVADE ANY ASSEMBLY OR CLASSROOM, TO BREAK UP ANY PROCEEDINGS WHERE PEOPLE OF DIVERGENT VIEWS SEEM TO BE ENGAGED IN A RATIONAL, GROPING SEARCH FOR A COMMON UNDERSTANDING. ✓ THEY, THE DESTROYERS -- THE NĒEHILISTS -- TO THEM AND THEIR TACTICS, WE MUST NOT YIELD.

* * *

✓ IF THERE IS ANY GROUND FOR COMFORT IN ALL THIS, IT IS THAT WE HAVE BEEN FORCED ANEW TO CONSIDER THE MEANING OF DISSENT AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN AMERICAN POLITICS -- OR MORE PARTICULARLY, THE TRADITION OF DISSENT AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE STEMMING IN GOOD PART FROM THE GREAT VIRGINIA DISSENTERS WHOSE WORK WE HONOR TODAY.

✓ THE GREAT VIRGINIANS WHO LABORED HERE WERE NOT SCHOOLBOYS. ✓ THEY WERE MATURE MEN, LEADERS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES, HEADS OF SUBSTANTIAL ENTERPRISES, WITH MUCH TO LOSE IF THEY ERRED; THEY WERE NOT GIVEN TO RASH ADVENTURES, NOR GIVEN TO RAISING HELL JUST FOR THE HELL OF IT.

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↳ BEFORE THEY EMBARKED ON THEIR GREAT ACT OF DISSENT AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WHICH LED TO A REVOLT AND THEN A REVOLUTION, THEY CAREFULLY DEBATED AMONG THEMSELVES THE MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

↳ AT WHAT POINT DOES THE NEED FOR "ORDER" IN THE STATE AND SOCIETY TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE NEED FOR "JUSTICE" IN THE STATE AND SOCIETY -- OR THE OTHER WAY AROUND?

↳ HOW MUCH INJUSTICE IS TOLERABLE FOR THE SAKE OF ORDER?

HOW SHALL THE MODES OF PROTEST BE EXPRESSED? AGAINST WHAT OBJECTS? DECIDED BY WHOM?

↳ WHO SHALL SAY IF THE AVENUES OF LEGAL RELIEF FOR THE REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES EXIST IN POINT OF FACT? WHO SHALL SAY IF THESE AVENUES EXIST ONLY ON PAPER, BUT NOT IN THE WORLD OF REAL THINGS?

↳ THE GREAT VIRGINIANS RECOGNIZED THAT UNLESS THEY ASKED AND AT LEAST STRUGGLED WITH POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO THESE *basic* QUESTIONS, THEY COULD BECOME USELESS TO THEMSELVES AND TO THE CAUSE THEY INTENDED TO PROMOTE BY THEIR DISSENT. *They understood the relationship of means in achieving their ends.*

↳ THEY COULD BECOME USELESS IF THEY WERE TO BRING TO THEIR ACT OF DISSENT THE WRONG KIND OF BEHAVIOR; THE WRONG KIND OF STRATEGY; THE WRONG SENSE OF THEIR OWN MORAL AUTONOMY.

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✓ THEY COULD BECOME USELESS, IF THE ACT OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WERE PERMITTED TO DEGENERATE INTO A BREAKING OF ALL LAWS, GOOD OR BAD, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY ARE LAWS.

Yes, THEY COULD BECOME USELESS, EVEN IF THEIR INITIAL CAUSE WAS JUST, IF BY LACK OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL DISCIPLINE THEY WERE TO OPEN THE GATES TO INDISCRIMINATE DISSENT AND TO INDISCRIMINATE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AS A WAY OF LIFE.

✓ THEIR ACT OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WAS NOT A PRIVATE ACT. IT WAS NOT A CONSPIRACY IN A CORNER. ✓ IT WAS A PUBLIC ACT MADE IN THE OPEN BY A REGULARLY CONSTITUTED REPRESENTATIVE BODY OF THE COMMUNITY; A PUBLIC ACT AGREED TO ONLY AFTER A FULL DEBATE AND AN APPROVING VOTE.

and, INSTEAD OF COUPLING THEIR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WITH A CLAMOR FOR AMNESTY IF THEY FAILED TO CARRY THEIR OBJECT, THEY MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO SUFFER THE LOSS OF THEIR FORTUNES AND EVEN THEIR LIVES IF THEIR REVOLT SHOULD FAIL.

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↳ THEY VENTURED TO PROVE THAT THEY HAD RESORTED TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ONLY BECAUSE THEY EXHAUSTED EVERY AVAILABLE CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS FOR A REDRESS OF THEIR GRIEVANCES, OR ONLY BECAUSE THE CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS, AS THEY EXISTED ON PAPER, WERE IN FACT INOPERATIVE IN PRACTICE.

↳ THEY MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT THEY WERE NOT PROTESTING IN THE ABSTRACT, ~~BUT THAT IN BREAKING THE LAW BINDING THEM TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE~~ THEIR OBJECT WAS TO BRING TO BIRTH THE TERMS OF A NEW POLICY UNDER WHICH THEY COULD LIVE MORE ~~HAPPILY~~ happily.

↳ THEY CLEARLY DISTINGUISHED, IN THE WORDS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON "BETWEEN OPPRESSION AND THE NECESSARY EXERCISE OF LAWFUL AUTHORITY. . ." AND BETWEEN THE "SPIRIT OF LIBERTY AND THAT OF LICENTIOUSNESS." ↳ THAT IS WHY, ONCE THEY HAD UNANIMOUSLY INSTRUCTED THE VIRGINIA REPRESENTATIVES AT THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS TO PROPOSE INDEPENDENCE FOR THE AMERICAN COLONIES, THEY ALLOWED NO GAP TO DEVELOP IN THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF VIRGINIA ITSELF,

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THEY PROMPTLY WENT TO WORK ON A NEW CONSTITUTION
~~FOR THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF VIRGINIA~~ -- A CONSTITUTION
WHICH BY LAW, ENLARGED THE MARKET PLACE FOR PUBLIC
FREEDOM; ENLARGED THE POLITICAL SPACE IN WHICH MORE
VIRGINIANS THAN EVER BEFORE WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT OF
ACCESS TO THE PUBLIC REALM; TO THEIR SHARE IN PUBLIC
POWER; TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WITH ITS DISCUSSIONS, DELIBERATIONS AND DECISIONS.

↳ IN SHORT, THE WHOLE OBJECT AND ACHIEVEMENT OF THE
GREAT VIRGINIA DISSENTERS WAS TO UPHOLD THE CONCEPT OF
LAW BY ESTABLISHING IT ON A BROADER BASIS OF CONSENT THAN
HAD BEEN POSSIBLE WHEN VIRGINIA WAS HELD IN TUTELAGE BY
THE ENGLISH MONARCHY AND PARLIAMENT.

↳ FOR ALL THESE REASONS, THE GREAT VIRGINIA DISSENTERS
LED THE WAY TO A DURABLE AND POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENT IN *freedom and*
INDEPENDENCE - AS AGAINST THE TRAIL OF WRECKAGE LEFT IN
THE WAKE OF SOME OF OUR PRESENT-DAY ADVOCATES OF VIOLENCE *and*
destruction.

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Does POLITICS HAVE ANY ANSWER TO GIVE TO THE CASE OF AMERICA'S YOUNG REBELS OF TODAY WHO SEEK TO MANIPULATE OTHER PEOPLE BY COERCIVE MEANS -- BY GUN-PLAY, FIRE-BOMBS, INTIMIDATION, PHYSICAL ASSAULTS, KIDNAPPINGS? *Possibly - at least, I hope so.*

~~I HESITATE TO SAY. IF, AS SOME MEDICAL MEN BELIEVE, THE PATTERN OF BEHAVIOR HAS ALL THE EARMARKS OF PARANOIA, THEN POLITICS MAY HAVE TO BE GUIDED BY THE PSYCHIATRIC PROFESSION IN DEALING WITH THE SICKNESS.~~

IT IS MY VIEW ~~HOWEVER~~ THAT POLITICS CAN AT LEAST KEEP THEIR NUMBERS SMALL INSTEAD OF GAINING THEM NEW RECRUITS FROM ~~AMONG~~ *the vast majority of* YOUNG PEOPLE WHO STILL RETAIN ~~RESIDUE OF~~ RESPECT FOR THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL FORMS INHERITED FROM THE PAST.

BEFORE I COME TO THE WAYS AND MEANS, LET ME NOTE TWO SETS OF REALITIES THAT ARE OFTEN OVERLOOKED AND THAT LIE AT THE HEART OF OUR PRESENT PREDICAMENT.

FIRST, THERE WAS THE OVERSIGHT OF THE COMFORTABLE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES WHO ON THE ONE HAND APPLAUDED THE ACTIONS OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WHICH GAVE CURRENCY TO THE STRATEGY OF NON-VIOLENCE, BUT WHO ON THE OTHER HAND, TURNED AWAY WHEN IT CAME TIME TO REMEDY THE INJUSTICES AND DISCRIMINATIONS WHICH PROMPTED DR. KING INTO THE STREETS.

(MORE)

↳ THESE "COMFORTABLE PEOPLE" SAW THE NON-VIOLENT STRATEGY SIMPLY AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR RESTRAINING RESTIVE NEGRO AMERICANS.

THIS OVERSIGHT WAS THE FATHER TO OTHER THINGS THAT WERE OVERLOOKED. FOR EXAMPLE, THE VERY SUCCESS OF THE NON-VIOLENT METHODS USED IN GETTING LONG-NEEDED CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION ~~ON THE STATUTE BOOKS CREATED~~ *created* THE ILLUSION THAT THE BATTLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WAS OVER.

↳ IN FACT, IT HAD ONLY BEGUN.

THE LAWS, ALL INDISPENSABLE IN THEMSELVES, HAD ONLY ESTABLISHED THE CONDITIONS FOR LEGAL EQUALITY BETWEEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF WHITES AND BLACKS ALIKE,

↳ THEY DID NOT, OF THEMSELVES, ACHIEVE A CONDITION OF EQUITY MEASURABLE IN TERMS OF CONCRETE RIGHTS -- THE RIGHT TO A JOB OF DECENT PAY, THE RIGHT TO ADEQUATE INCOME IF ONE CANNOT WORK, THE RIGHT TO AN EDUCATION WHICH SPURS RATHER THAN HOBBLES HUMAN CREATIVITY; THE RIGHT TO DECENT HOUSING IN SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS; THE RIGHT TO A DECENT DIET; AND THE RIGHT TO ACCESS TO THE BENEFITS OF MODERN MEDICAL SCIENCE,

↳ THOSE OF US WHO BATTLED YEAR IN AND YEAR OUT TO RECONSTRUCT AN EDIFICE OF LEGAL EQUALITY BETWEEN THE TWO RACES WERE NOT UNDER ANY ILLUSION ABOUT WHAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED EVEN WHEN THE YEAR 1964 BROUGHT THE LEGISLATIVE EFFORT TO THE PEAK OF SUCCESS.

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↳ WE KNEW THIS WAS ONLY A "DOWN PAYMENT" ON THE LARGER AND MORE DIFFICULT TASK OF TRANSLATING LEGAL LANGUAGE INTO IMPROVED MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE DAY TO DAY LIFE OF AMERICANS WHO WERE BLACK,

↳ WE ALSO KNEW THAT IF THERE WAS A DEFAULT OR FAILURE OF NERVE WITH RESPECT TO THIS LARGER, MORE DIFFICULT TASK, TWO THINGS WOULD HAPPEN!

FIRST, THERE WOULD BE A TENDENCY ON THE PART OF PEOPLE WHOSE HOPES FOR A BETTER LIFE HAD BEEN AROUSED, TO LOSE FAITH IN THE NORMAL OPERATIONS OF THE LAW AS THE BEST INSTRUMENT FOR THE PROMOTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF JUSTICE,

↳ SECONDLY, ~~AND IN A RELATED DEGREE~~ IF THE NON-VIOLENT TACTIC WHICH HAD HELPED GET NECESSARY CIVIL RIGHTS LAW ~~ON~~ ~~THE STATUTE BOOKS~~ DID NOT LEAD DIRECTLY TO TANGIBLE SOCIAL IMPROVEMENTS, THE PREDICTABLE RESULT WOULD BE AN ESCALATION OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AND A LOSS OF CAPACITY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF LAW.,

(MORE)

↳ IF THESE TWO MELANCHOLY PREDICATIONS WERE TO BE PROVEN FALSE, IT WAS ALSO CLEAR FROM WHERE THE PRIMARY REMEDIAL INITIATIVE MUST COME. ↳ IT MUST COME PRIMARILY FROM THE PRIVILEGED SEGMENT OF OUR SOCIETY. — THE MAIN BENEFICIARY OF ALL THE GOOD THINGS OUR SOCIETY HAS TO BESTOW.

↳ IT COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO COME FROM THE SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION THAT HAD BEEN DENIED, FOR SO LONG, FULL PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA'S ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE.

↳ UNFORTUNATELY, THE PRIVILEGED SEGMENT OF OUR SOCIETY DID NOT PROVIDE THAT INITIATIVE IN A MEASURE COMMENSURATE TO THE NEED. ↳ UNLIKE THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THEY DID NOT PLEDGE THEIR LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES, THEIR SACRED HONOR TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS.

↳ EVERYONE, OF COURSE, STILL TALKS ABOUT THE URGENT NEED FOR PEACE BETWEEN THE WHITE AND BLACK RACES IN AMERICA. BUT WHAT KIND OF PEACE? ON WHAT TERMS? ACHIEVED HOW? WHERE? BY WHOM?

↳ A PEACE WHICH DEPENDS ON WALLS AND MOATS, ^{that} EACH RACE BUILDS AROUND ITSELF, ANNOUNCES ON ITS FACE THAT THE SPIRIT OF WAR IS IN THE AIR. ↳ A PEACE WHICH COMES AFTER HUMAN RAGES HAVE SPENT THEMSELVES IN VIOLENCE IS OF THE KIND COVERED BY THE CRY OF ISAIAH: "IN PEACE IS MY BITTEREST BITTERNESS."

(MORE)

PEACE HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE HABITS OF THE HEART IN THE ENCOUNTERS OF DAILY LIFE, AND WITH PERCEPTIONS THAT ARE A GUIDE TO ACTIONS WHICH ARE BEYOND THE REACH OF THE LAW.

IT HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE TRUTH THAT THE WHITE AND BLACK RACES IN AMERICA ARE LIKE TWO MOUNTAIN CLIMBERS TIED TO THE SAME ROPE. THEIR FATE IS INDIVISIBLE. IF THEY DO NOT MOVE IN MUTUAL SUPPORT OF EACH OTHER, THEN, AS SURELY AS THE LAW OF GRAVITY EXISTS, THEY WILL FALL TOGETHER INTO A DEADLY ABYSS WHERE VIOLENCE WILL BE THE RIVAL OF VIOLENCE.

ABOVE ALL, PEACE HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH JUSTICE, WITH EQUITY, AND WITH MEASURES IN THE PUBLIC REALM THAT PROMOTE JUSTICE AND EQUITY IN THE PRIVATE REALM OF DAILY EXPERIENCE.

THE SPECIFIC THINGS THAT HAVE TO BE DONE SHOULD NO LONGER BE A SUBJECT OF MYSTERY. THEY WERE CLEARLY STATED IN THE REPORT OF THE KERNER COMMISSION. THEY WERE RESTATED AGAIN A YEAR LATER -- THIS YEAR -- IN THE STUDY RELEASED BY URBAN AMERICA AND THE URBAN COALITION.

(MORE)

✓ THROUGH THESE AND SIMILAR SOURCES, WE HAVE AGAIN BEEN TOLD -- AND IT IS TRUE -- THAT POVERTY REMAINS A PERVERSIVE FACT OF AMERICAN LIFE, AND THAT THE CONTINUED DISPARITY BETWEEN THIS POVERTY AND GENERAL AFFLUENCE WAS AND REMAINS A SOURCE OF ALIENATION AND DISCONTENT.

✓ WE HAVE AGAIN BEEN TOLD -- AND IT IS TRUE -- THAT GHETTO SCHOOLS CONTINUE TO FAIL, AND THE SMALL AMOUNT OF PROGRESS MADE IN IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THESE SCHOOLS HAS BEEN COUNTERBALANCED BY A GROWING ATMOSPHERE OF HOSTILITY AND CONFLICT IN MANY CITIES,

✓ WE HAVE AGAIN BEEN TOLD -- AND IT IS TRUE -- THAT THERE ARE NO PROGRAMS THAT SERIOUSLY ATTACK THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE SLUMS.

✓ EACH OF THESE FAILURES ^{*cross out*} ~~STATED~~ THE NEED FOR REMEDIAL MEASURES. ✓ THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER WE HAVE THE POWER OF MIND REQUIRED TO DEVISE THE SOCIAL INVENTIONS THAT CAN GIVE EFFECTIVE FORM AND FORCE TO THE REMEDIAL MEASURES. ✓ WE HAVE THAT INVENTIVE POWER, ✓ AND, WE HAVE THE MEANS AND THE RESOURCES. ✓ THE QUESTION IS, DO WE HAVE THE WILL -- THE DETERMINATION. WILL WE MAKE THE COMMITMENT?

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↳ THAT INVENTIVE POWER AND THAT COMMITMENT WILL NOT BE BROUGHT INTO FULL PLAY UNLESS ALL OF US ARE KEENLY AWARE OF THE STAKES AT ISSUE. ↳ THEY ARE THE SAME STAKES WHICH CONFRONTED THE GREAT VIRGINIANS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AFTER THE AMERICAN WAR HAD BEEN WON -- TO ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT UNDER A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR A MORE PERFECT UNION.

↳ AS IN THEIR CASE, SO NOW IN OUR OWN, WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE NEED TO PROVE ANEW THAT MEN CAN ESTABLISH GOOD GOVERNMENT THROUGH REFLECTION AND CHOICE, RATHER THAN ENTRUST THEIR FUTURE TO THE PLAY OF ACCIDENT AND FORCE.

* * *

HERE I COME TO THE SECOND REALITY THAT IS OFTEN OVERLOOKED. ~~IT IS THAT~~ THE TRADITIONAL DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS HAS BECOME IN ALL OUR CARDINAL QUESTIONS AS INDISTINCT AS A LINE DRAWN THROUGH WATER.

(MORE)

WHAT WE DO IN THE WORLD ARENA HAS A DIRECT BEARING ON WHAT WE CAN DO AT HOME. WHAT WE MUST DO AT HOME, HAS A DIRECT BEARING ON WHAT WE CAN AND MUST DO IN THE WORLD ARENA. AND PRECISELY ON THIS ACCOUNT -- WE MUST BE CLEAR ABOUT OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES. THE PARAMOUNT PRIORITY REQUIRING PERSISTENT PATIENCE AND YET A SENSE OF URGENCY, IS THE ATTAINMENT OF PEACE IN VIET-NAM.

THE GROWING DEBATE FOCUSED ON THE ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM IS ONLY SYMPTOMATIC OF THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS THAT MUST BE REACHED OVER THE SIZE AND NATURE OF MILITARY SPENDING.

UNLESS WE ARE SUCCESSFUL NOW IN SLOWING DOWN THE NUCLEAR ARMS BUILD^{-UP}, IT CAN BE PREDICTED WITHOUT QUALIFICATION THAT WE WILL BE CAUGHT UP IN A NEW SPIRALING ARMS RACE THAT WILL COST HUNDREDS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, AND BE MEANINGLESS IN SECURING EITHER SIDE ANY MILITARY ADVANTAGE. THE LEVEL OF DANGER WILL BE RAISED - THE "BALANCE OF TERROR" MORE PRECARIOUS.

IT CAN BE PREDICTED, FURTHER, THAT AS THIS MILITARY SPENDING ACCELERATES, OUR URGENT DOMESTIC NEEDS WILL BE NEGLECTED AND OUR EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE THE COUNTRY IN GETTING AT THE RUNNING SORES IN OUR INTERNAL LIFE WILL FALL WOEFULLY SHORT OF NEED.

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∟ WE MAY THEN FIND OURSELVES IN THE PECULIAR POSITION
OF A PEOPLE DEVOURER FROM WITHIN BY BITTER AND EMBITTERING
SOCIAL CONFLICTS, WHILE OUR OUTER FACE IS THAT OF A SUPER-
POWER BRISTLING WITH WEAPONS SYSTEMS, BUT ALL AMOUNTING TO
A HARD SHELL ENCASING AN EMPTY CENTER.

∟ WE MUST COME TO SEE THAT OUR SECURITY IS THREATENED
MORE IMMEDIATELY AND MORE DIRECTLY BY THE MISSILES OF
HATE AND BIGOTRY AND INJUSTICE AND VIOLENCE THAT ARE LOOSE
WITHIN OUR OWN BORDERS, RATHER THAN THE NUCLEAR MISSILES
OF THE SOVIET UNION THAT ARE CHECKED BY THE POLICY OF
MUTUAL DETERRENCE. ∟ AND WE MUST SET OUR PRIORITIES
ACCORDINGLY.

~~SURELY~~ HIGH ON THE LIST OF PRIORITIES IS TO PROMPTLY
INITIATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION DIRECTED TOWARD
HALTING THE EXPANSION OF BOTH OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS. ∟ ALREADY PRECIOUS TIME HAS BEEN LOST!

and To COMPLICATE THIS URGENT TASK BY INJECTING ISSUES OF
TRADE AND POLITICAL DISPUTES OF MANY YEARS STANDING, IS BOTH
DANGEROUS AND UNREALISTIC.

∟ To WAIT FOR CONGRESS TO ACT ON THE ISSUE OF THE
ABM BEFORE INITIATING NEGOTIATIONS IS NEITHER NECESSARY
NOR DESIRABLE. ∟ THE TIME TO NEGOTIATE IS NOW.

(MORE)

1 IF THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE SUCCESSFUL, THEN WE WILL BE
SPARED THE COST OF THE WEAPONS. IF THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD
FAIL, WE WILL KNOW, AT LEAST, THAT WE TRIED TO ^{save} ~~save~~ MANKIND
FROM AN ^{expensive} ~~experience~~ OF DANGEROUS ESCALATION IN ARMAMENT.
THE WORLD LOOKS TO US FOR MORAL LEADERSHIP. WE DARE NOT
DEFAULT. Peace needs its heroes!

2 LET ME SPEAK CANDIDLY: IN THIS TIME OF RAPIDLY
RISING TENSION AND FESTERING ALIENATION, TO DELAY IN
COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE ISSUE OF ARMS CONTROL AND OUR
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IS TO ONLY INTENSIFY THE
DANGER. IT IS LIKE TRYING TO CAP A VOLCANO ONLY TO FIND
THAT IN THE END IT EXPLODES WITH EVEN GREATER FORCE AND
DESTRUCTIVE POWER.

3 WE PAID DEARLY IN THE 1960's FOR OUR FAILURE IN
THE 1950's TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEMS OF RACE,
URBAN DECAY, EDUCATION, AND POVERTY.

4 THE PRICE WILL BE HIGHER AND THE LEVEL OF DANGER
WILL BE GREATER IF, IN THE NEXT TWO TO FOUR YEARS, WE
FAIL AGAIN TO SET OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES WISELY AND
MAKE THE NATIONAL INVESTMENTS THAT THE AMERICAN SOCIETY
SO DESPERATELY NEEDS.

(MORE)

THIS CANNOT BE A TIME OF RELAXATION, OR AGAIN
TURNING OUR FACES FROM THE UNMET HUMAN NEEDS AROUND US.

YES, NOW, AS IN THE TIME OF THIS NATION'S BIRTH, WE
MUST RESORT TO THE ~~THESE~~ DIFFICULT WAYS OF CIVILIZED AND
RATIONAL MEN -- FEARLESSLY STRIKING DOWN THAT WHICH
HOBBLES OUR NATIONAL GROWTH BUT ALWAYS WITH A DECENT RESPECT
FOR THE OPINIONS OF OTHERS, ALWAYS WITH A FIRM GRASP ON
DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND LIBERTIES, AND ALWAYS WITH AN
UNCLOUDED VIEW OF WHERE WE ARE ULTIMATELY HEADED, THIS IS
THE SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

I RECALL THE WORDS OF ADLAI STEVENSON -- "DEMOCRACY IS
NOT SELF EXECUTING. WE HAVE TO MAKE IT WORK, WE HAVE TO
UNDERSTAND IT . . . NOT ONLY EXTERNAL VIGILANCE BUT UNENDING
SELF-EXAMINATION MUST BE THE PERENNIAL PRICE OF LIBERTY,
BECAUSE THE WORK OF SELF GOVERNMENT NEVER CEASES."

WITH A SENSE OF URGENCY AND DESTINY AS IF CREATING A
NEW NATION, WE MUST VENTILATE THE CLOGGED STALE CHANNELS
OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL OPPORTUNITY. THE
REFRESHING WINDS OF CHANGE MUST BE DIRECTED TO CONSTRUCTIVE
PURPOSES THROUGH DEBATE AND DISSENT -- THROUGH DIALOGUE
AND DISCUSSION -- UNTIL DECISION AND DIRECTION ARE ACHIEVED.

(MORE)

THIS IS THE MEANING OF GOVERNMENT BY THE CONSENT
OF THE GOVERNED -- THE SOCIAL CONTRACT OF EQUALS. TO
DO LESS WOULD BE DISRESPECTFUL OF OUR HERITAGE AND
UNWORTHY OF OUR PRICELESS LEGACY OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

~~Cash generation must~~
#

NEWS



from COLONIAL
WILLIAMSBURG

PRESS BUREAU
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FOR RELEASE: Sunday, April 13

WILLIAMSBURG, Va. -- Hubert H. Humphrey, 38th Vice President of the United States and Presidential candidate in 1968, will deliver the annual Prelude to Independence address here Saturday, May 31.

The address will highlight the 50-day Prelude to Independence celebration held annually in this colonial capital of Virginia. The 50 days in Williamsburg, from May 15 to July 4, 1776, were marked by heated political debate and major legislative action which gave impetus to the movement culminating in the adoption of America's Declaration of Independence.

Humphrey currently serves as professor of political science at Macalaster College, St. Paul, and professor in the social science program at the University of Minnesota. He also plans to write a syndicated column on current political affairs, and two books. One book will focus on his political experiences and the other will review the continuity and change in America's foreign policy.

During more than two decades of public service, both as senator and Vice President, Humphrey was instrumental in the passage of many social reform and human rights programs ranging from Youth Opportunity to Medicare which he introduced as a freshman senator in 1949.

In 1957 Humphrey proposed the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development and under his guidance the first bill to establish a cabinet-level department was favorably received by the Senate.

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In addition to Humphrey's vigorous activities in the field of human rights, his expertise in international relations is widely recognized, and in 1956 and 1957 the late President Eisenhower selected Humphrey as the U. S. delegate to the United Nations.

The Senate Disarmament Subcommittee was established as a result of Humphrey's resolution first introduced in 1955. The U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, created in 1961, was initially proposed by Humphrey in 1960 and resulted in the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty ratified in 1963.

Humphrey's understanding of international problems was expanded by frequent key official visits to Southeast Asia, Mexico, Africa, Malaysia, Canada, Europe, Asia and India where he met informally with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin.

In addition to the former Vice President's duties as an educator, Democratic party leader and lecturer, he is chairman of the board of consultants of Encyclopaedia Britannica's Educational Corporation; member of the board of trustees for Brandeis University; and chairman of the board of trustees for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, a Washington center of advance study in international relations authorized last year by Congress.

The series of events commemorated by the Prelude to Independence celebration began on May 15, 1776 when the Virginia Convention, meeting in Williamsburg, unanimously adopted the Virginia Resolution for Independence. With the adoption of this resolution the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia were instructed to "declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain."

Other key historical dates during these 50 days are June 12, 1776, when the Convention passed George Mason's Declaration of Rights, and June 29, 1776, when a plan of government was adopted and Patrick Henry became the first elected governor of the Virginia Commonwealth.

File

Remarks by
The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Prelude to Independence Address
Williamsburg, Virginia
May 31, 1969

This is indeed a beautiful day. No one could stand in this place at this time without feeling the importance of the hour and the occasion. And I am grateful for the invitation to join in celebrating the memory of the great Virginians whose decisions made here almost two centuries ago led the way to American independence.

A celebration such as this has a direct bearing on our mental health as a people and as a nation. For in a very real sense, a nation like an individual, can be a victim of amnesia. If it loses the memory of its own past, it can be at a loss to know what it is in the present, and what it wants to be in the future.

So, therefore, today, I want to dwell on the relationship between living Americans and a sense of the American past. I am convinced that this matter is of central importance to all other topics now at the focus of American attention.

Every generation looks at the world through the prism of its own experiences and the present is always in contest with the past. My own generation was no exception.

We came to maturity at a time of great trouble in this world. All units of economic value had collapsed. Totalitarian dictatorship and democratic appeasement destroyed the hope for peace.

All of us knew that something was profoundly wrong in many aspects of American life. Yet, with few exceptions, my generation did not feel hostile to the whole of American past. We did not reject the entire web of legal and political institutions which we had inherited from other generations. Nor did we call for their overthrow in a thrust of violence and force.

Our thoughts and our actions were governed by a political equation between the idea of progress and the idea of order. On the side of progress, we insisted that laws and institutions can no more resist the need for change than a grown man can wear the clothes which fit him as a boy.

And we were convinced that if the need for change was denied while life moved on, the predictable result would be a violent explosion that could shatter existing institutions.

Now, on the other side of order, we insisted that if existing institutions were simply destroyed in the name of progress, the people would find their hope for liberty and progress destroyed in an unlimited war of all against all and there would be no standard of conduct to which all alike could appeal.

Therefore, by striking a balance between the two sides of that delicate equation, we came to a definition of our own task, namely: to cleanse, hopefully to purify the body of existing laws and institutions and to retain what was best in them. That which was conserved became the foundation on which we could raise a bridge binding the American past to its unfolding future.

Now, it would be an abuse of language to say that everything my generation hoped to do was done. Nor did everything that was done, gain the objects in view.

But what my generation achieved, however, with all of its shortcomings, was no small thing. We laid the basis for a tremendous advance in material and intellectual conditions of American life, and for the possibility of a world security system that has thus far spared us the carnage of a nuclear war.

That for my generation.

Now. How do things stand today?

Serious minded and vocal members of the rising generation of young people have framed a troubled indictment which demands our attention regardless of whether or not we agree with what it said. The indictment, stripped to its essentials, goes something like this. Here is what they're saying to us:

The whole order of American politics, inherited from the past, has lost relevance in the face of rapid, accelerated and pervasive changes. These changes, differing in quantity and quality from any experiences in the past, have broken the link between public talk and the possibility of being heard, between urgent needs and the capacity of established institutions to respond to them.

And that young people indictment continues:

Only a person who denies, they say, the evidence of his own senses can deny the shameful reality of two Americas in our midst---the one affluent and often indifferent, the other miserable and seething with frustration.

And the indictment concludes in these words:

There is a clinching proof that the structure of American politics inherited from the past has lost its relevance to the present needs. It can be seen in the order of values which governs the mechanism of American politics when it comes to the allocation of national resources.

It is a mechanism they say geared almost automatically to pour out limitless billions of dollars in support of armament systems beyond the limits of rational and justifiable needs. Yet that same system strains at a gnat when asked to support programs designed to deal with the dangerous conditions in our internal security---the crisis conditions in our cities, in our improverished rural areas, the crisis conditions of inequality of opportunity, the crisis conditions of hunger, of unemployment, of educational deprivations among the submerged one-fourth of our population, white and black alike.

They say it is a system geared to pour out billions of dollars in order to put two men on the moon, but it is sullen and canker-hearted when asked to help put a dispirited man back on his feet right here on earth.

Now, most of the young people, and I repeat the vast majority of young people, who have framed this anguished indictment stop with the indictment itself. They do not say that existing institutions must be destroyed or overturned, or that necessary changes should be entrusted to the disorderly or even violent means.

They retain a residue of respect for the political and legal system inherited from the past.

But my fellow Americans they also demand and they demand it loudly and constantly, repair and remedy---they seek above all to humanize our institutions---to broaden the base of participation and to open the avenues of opportunity. This young generation, I call them patriots of dissent, is filled with anger and indignation over our failures to do what it knows we are capable of doing. Yes, they are impatient, angry, but not irresponsible---such are their characteristics.

And I submit they deserve our thanks, not our rebuke. To them we must listen and act. They remind us that freedom's work is never done--that the American revolution is a continuing one, unfinished and ever changing.

Now, if we fail to answer this indictment, the shape of our future is already visible to us in a minature prototype. I refer to the activities and motivations of, thank goodness, a still very small group of young people---white and black alike---who have been pressing an "age-war" more virulent than any previously known in American history.

The members of this small group, as yet, whether in the colleges or the ghettos, despise the kind of social changes that are made in small steps. Change--for this new breed of rebels--must be total, beginning with an assault on all existing institutions and social relationships.

In one breath, the young rebels insist on absolute truth. "Tell It Like It Is." In a second breath, they are suspicious of any truth, saying that it is only a lie concocted in the interest of what they call "the establishment."

In one breath, they insist on the right for full participation in self-government. In a second breath, they say that the more a man is involved in the life of organized society, the more he is likely to be corrupted by it.

In one breath, they insist on neat and rational order for society. In a second breath, they say that orderly thought and action imprison a man and corrupt the honesty of his responses. Orderly thought must therefore be displaced by the stress on spontaneity, by direct response to immediate circumstances, by a purifying, discontinuous happening.

Now the young rebels, this small little group of whom I speak, are not troubled by the fact that they have no coherent program for action, or that their impulses---generous in some respects, dangerous and absurd in others---discharge themselves in almost any direction and in almost any form. Since they view themselves as a self appointed elite--an embodiment of the total good---they feel morally armed with the right to make only their own voice heard and to gag all others.

They feel morally armed to prevent any other people from meeting, to invade any assembly or classroom, to break up any proceedings where people of divergent views seem to be engaged in rational, though groping

search for a common understanding. They, the destroyers---the nihilists of our time---to them and their tactics, I say we must not yield.

If there is any comfort in all of this, it is that we have been forced anew to consider the meaning of dissent and civil disobedience in American politics---or more particularly, the tradition of dissent and civil disobedience stemming in good part from this very place the great Virginia dissenters whose work we honor today.

Now, the great Virginians who labored here were not schoolboys. They were mature men, leaders in their respective communities, heads of substantial enterprises, with much to lose if they erred, and they were not given to rash adventures, nor given to raising hell just for the hell of it.

Before they embarked on their great act of dissent and civil disobedience, which led to revolt and then to revolution, they carefully debated among themselves the most difficult of all political questions.

At what point does the need for "order" in the state or society take precedence over the need for "justice"--or the other way around?

How much injustice is intolerable for the sake of order?

How shall the modes of protest be expressed? And against what objects? And decided by whom?

Who shall say if the avenues of legal relief for the redress of grievances exist in point of fact? Who shall say if these avenues exist only on paper, but not in the real world of things?

The great Virginians recognized that unless they asked and at least struggled with the possible answers to these basic questions, they could become useless, useless to themselves and to the cause they intended to promote by their dissent. They understood as few others in our history the relationship of meaning to achieving their goals or their ends.

They could become useless if they were to bring to their act of dissent the wrong kind of behavior, the wrong kind of strategy, the wrong sense of their own moral autonomy.

They could become useless, if the act of civil disobedience were permitted to degenerate into breaking all laws, good or bad, simply because they are laws.

Yes, they could become useless, even if their initial cause was just, if by the lack of moral and intellectual discipline they were to open the gates to indiscriminate dissent and indiscriminate civil disobedience as a way of life.

Mind you, their act of civil disobedience was not a private act. It was not a conspiracy designed in a corner. It was a public act made in the open by regularly constituted representative body of the community, a public act agreed to only after full debate and finally an approving vote.

And instead of coupling their civil disobedience with the clamor for amnesty if they failed to carry their object, they made it clear that they were prepared to suffer the loss of their fortunes and even their lives if their revolt should fail.

They ventured to prove that they had resorted to civil disobedience only because they had exhausted every available constitutional legal means for redress of their grievances, or only because the constitutional means as existed on paper were in fact inoperative in practice.

They made it abundantly clear that they were not protesting in the abstract. Theirs was real life, real problems. Their object was to bring to birth the terms of a new policy under which they could live more happily.

They clearly distinguished, in the words of George Washington "between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority..." and between the "spirit of liberty and licentiousness." And that is why, once they had unanimously instructed the Virginia representatives at the Continental Congress to propose independence for the American colonies, they allowed no time, no gap to develop in the legal structure of Virginia itself.

They promptly went to work on a new constitution---a new constitution which by law, enlarged the market place for public freedom, enlarged the political space in which more Virginians than ever before would have the right of access to the public realm, to their share in public power, to participate in the conduct of public affairs with its discussions, deliberations and decisions.

In short, and there is a lesson to be learned here, the whole object and achievement of the great Virginia dissenters was to uphold the concept of law by establishing it on a broader basis of consent than was possible when Virginia was held in tutelage by the English monarchy and parliament.

For all of these reasons, the great Virginia dissenters led the way to a durable and positive achievement in freedom and independence--as against the trail of wreckage left in the wake of some of our present-day advocates of violence and destruction.

Now my fellow Americans, does contemporary politics have any answer to give to the case of America's young rebels of today who seek to manipulate other people by coercive means---by gun-play, by fire-bombs, by intimidation, by physical assaults, by kidnappings?

Possibly, at least I must hope so.

It is my view, that politics can at least keep their numbers small instead of gaining them new recruits from among the vast majority of young people who love this country and yet want it better---who still retain a respect for legal and political forms inherited from the past.

Before I come to the ways and means, let me note two sets of realities that are often overlooked and that may lie very close to the heart of our present predicament.

First, there was the oversight of the comfortable people of the United States who on the one hand applauded the actions of the late

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beloved Dr. Martin Luther King , Jr., which gave currency to the strategy of non-violence, but who on the other hand, these same comfortable people turned away when it came time to remedy the injustices and the discriminations which prompted Dr. King into the streets. These comfortable people, and there are so many of us, saw the non-violent strategy simply as an instrument for restraining restive Negro Americans.

This oversight was the father to other things that were also overlooked. For example, the very success of the non-violent methods used in getting long-needed civil rights legislation created the illusion that the battle for civil rights was over. In fact, it had only begun.

The laws, all indispensable in themselves, had only established the conditions for legal equality between the constitutional rights of whites and blacks alike.

They did not, of themselves, achieve a condition of equity measurable in terms of concrete rights---rights that we all want---the right to a job of decent pay, the right to adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which spurs rather than hobbles human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to a decent diet, and the right to access to the benefits of modern medical science.

Now, those of us who battled year in and year out to reconstruct the edifice of legal equality between the two races were not under any illusion about what had been accomplished even when the year 1964 brought our legislative effort to the peak of success.

We knew that this effort was only a down payment on the larger and more difficult task of translating legal language into improved material conditions in the day to day life of Americans who are poor, who are black or who are white.

We also knew that if there was a default or failure of nerve with respect to this larger and more difficult task, two things would inevitably happen:

First, there would be a tendency on the part of people whose hopes for a better life had been aroused, their rising expectations to lose faith in the normal operations of the law as the best instrument for the promotion and distribution of justice.

Secondly, if the non-violent tactic which had helped get necessary civil rights law did not lead directly to tangible social improvements, the predictable result would be an escalation of social tensions and a loss of capacity to solve the problems of social justice by peaceful means within the framework of law. And we've seen this happen.

If these two melancholy predications were to be proven false, it was also clear from where the primary remedial initiative must come. It must come primarily from the privileged segment of our society which by the way is the majority. The main beneficiary of all the good things our society has to bestow.

It could not nor could it have been expected to come from the segment of the American population that had been denied for so long full participation in America's economic, social and political life.

But unfortunately, and in the privacy of our own meditation and in the serenity of our own conscience, we know that the privileged segment of our society did not provide the initiative in a measure commensurate to the need. Unlike the signers of the Declaration of Independence we did not pledge our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor to secure these rights. We pledged but a bit of it.

Everyone, of course, still talks about the urgent need for peace between the white and black races in America. But I ask today, what kind of peace? On what terms? Achieved how? Where? And by whom?

A peace which depends on walls and moats that each race builds around itself, announces on its face that the spirit of war is in the air. A peace which comes after human rages have spent themselves in passion and in violence is of the kind covered by the cry of Isaiah: "In peace is my bitterest bitterness."

Peace has something to do with the habits of the heart in the encounters of daily life, and with perceptions that are a guide to actions which are beyond the reach of law.

Peace has something to do with the truth that the white and black races in America are like two mountain climbers tied to the same rope. Their fate is indivisible. If they do not move in mutual support of each other, then as surely as the law of gravity exists, they will fall together into a deadly abyss where violence will be the rival of violence and where neighbor will set upon neighbor.

Above all, peace has something to do with justice, with equity, and with those measures in the public realm that promote justice and equity in the private realm of daily experience.

Now, the specific things that have to be done should no longer be any mystery or secret. They were clearly stated in the report of the Kerner Commission. They were restated again this year--one year later--in the study released by Urban America and the Urban Coalition. And these groups are not made up of irresponsible radicals but rather men and women of substance, conscience and thought.

Through these and similar sources, we have again been told--and I say it is true--that poverty remains a pervasive fact of American life, and the the continued disparity between this poverty and the general affluence was and remains a source of alienation and discontent.

We have again been told--and it is true--that ghetto schools continue to fail, and the small amount of progress made in improving the quality of these schools has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

And we have been told--and it is true--that there are no programs that seriously attack the continued existence of the filth and the degradation of the American slums.

Each of these failures cries out like the voice of a prophet for the need for remedial measures. The question is not whether we have the power of mind required to devise social inventions that can give

effective form and force to the remedial measures. We have that inventive power. And, we have the means and we have the resources. The question is, do we have the will--the determination. Will we make the commitment of our lives, our fortunes, our sacred honor?

That inventive power and that commitment will not be brought into full play unless all of us are keenly aware of the stakes. They are the same stakes which confronted the great Virginians of the American Revolution after the American War had been won--the stakes to establish a government under a new constitution for a more perfect union. The stake of building one nation and as we put it---one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

As in their case, so now in our time and in our own instance we are confronted with the need to prove anew that men can establish good government, responsible government, through reflection and choice, rather than to entrust their future to the play of accident and force.

So now I come then to the second reality that is often overlooked and right at the heart of our problem. The traditional dividing line between domestic and foreign affairs has become in all our cardinal questions as indistinct as a line drawn through the water.

What we do in the arena of the world has a direct bearing on what we can do at home. What we must do at home, has a direct bearing on what we can and must do in the world arena--one and inseparable. And precisely on this account--we must be clear about our national

priorities. I'm sure that everyone from the President to every person in this audience knows that the paramount priority requiring persevering patience, steadfastness and courage, and yet a sense of urgency, is the attainment of a just peace in Viet-Nam.

There is no doubt of it. And might I add I intend to do all I can as one citizen to support the hand of our President, who I am sure as I am sure of anything, as the man before him, seeks peace and seeks it with all the power at his command.

The growing debate that's focused on the anti-ballistic missile system is only symptomatic of the more fundamental decisions that must be reached over the size and nature of military spending.

And unless we are successful now, my friends, in slowing down the nuclear arms build-up, it can be predicted without qualification that we will be caught up in a new spiraling arms race that will cost this troubled world hundreds of billions of dollars, and be meaningless in securing either side any military advantage. The level of danger, however, will be raised--and the balance of terror will become more precarious.

It can be predicted, further, that as this military spending accelerates, our urgent domestic needs will be neglected and our efforts to mobilize the country in getting at the running sores in our internal life will fall woefully short of need.

We may find ourselves in the peculiar position of a people devoured from within by bitter and embittering social conflicts, while our outer face is that of a super-power bristling with new weapons systems, but all amounting to a hard shell encasing a rotten, soft or empty center.

We must come to see, therefore, that our security is threatened more immediately and more directly by the missiles of hate and bigotry and injustice and violence that are loose within our own shores and borders, rather than the nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union that are currently checked by the policy of mutual deterrence. And I submit that we must set our priorities accordingly.

Therefore, high on the list of priorities for me is to promptly initiate discussions, and I say promptly, with the Soviet Union, directed toward halting the expansion of both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons. Already precious time has been lost.

To complicate this urgent task by injecting issues of trade and political disputes of many years standing is both dangerous and unrealistic.

Yes, to wait for Congress to act on the issue of the ABM before initiating negotiations is neither necessary nor desirable. The fact is, it is later than we think. The time to negotiate is now. If the negotiations are successful, then we will be spared the cost of the weapons. If the negotiations should fail, we will know, at least, that we tried.

Yes, that we the American people tried to spare mankind from a dangerous and costly escalation in armament. The world looks to us today as it did in those days of the great Virginians for moral leadership. We dare not default. Peace like war needs its heroes.

So let me speak candidly: In this time of rapidly rising tension and festering alienation, to delay in coming to grips with the issue of arms control and our domestic social and economic problems is only to intensify the danger. It is like trying to cap a volcano only to find that in the end it explodes with greater force and destructive power.

We paid dearly in the 1960's for our failure in the 1950's to come to grips with the problems of race, urban decay, education, and poverty.

The price, mind you, will be higher and the level of danger will be greater if, in the next two, four, six years, we fail again to set our national priorities wisely and make the national investments that the American society so desperately needs.

So I summon you on this beautiful occasion. I summon you to action--we the American people. This cannot be a time for relaxation, nor of turning our faces from the unmet human needs around us. There is no place to hide--no place to escape.

Yes, now, as in the time of this nation's birth, we must once again resort to the difficult ways of civilized and rational men--fearlessly striking down that which hobbles our national growth and purpose, but always with a decent respect for the opinions of others, always with a

firm grip and a firm grasp on democratic principles and liberties, and always with an unclouded view of where we are ultimately headed. This is in fact the spirit of the continuing American revolution.

I recall the words of Adlai Stevenson, who in his own spirit personified the nobility of democracy, said: "Democracy is not self executing. We have to make it work, we have to understand it... not only external vigilance but unending self-examination must be the perennial price of liberty, because the work of self government never ceases."

With a sense then of urgency and destiny as if creating a new nation, which is in fact what we're doing, we must ventilate the clogged, stale channels of political participation and social opportunity. The refreshing winds of change which are everywhere about us, must be directed to constructive purposes--not through violence--not through hate--not through bitterness--not through passion, but through debate and dissent--through dialogue and discussion--until decision and direction are achieved.

This to me, my fellow Americans, is the meaning of government by the consent of the governed--the social contract of equals. To do less would be disrespectful of our heritage and be unworthy of our priceless legacy of freedom and independence which this occasion, this hallowed ground itself commemorates to us and reminds this nation.

Thank you.

John Stewart

Remarks of
Governor Winthrop Rockefeller
Prelude to Independence
Williamsburg, Virginia
May 31, 1969

During our just-concluded Colonial Williamsburg Board meetings, Mr. Humelsine included in his report a review of the increasing impact Williamsburg is having not only on American visitors, but primarily on those who visit here from abroad. Williamsburg is, indeed, becoming more and more of an international crossroads. And this fact in itself pleases me immensely--as I know it would have pleased my father, whose spirit still guides this restoration program.

This rising interest has prompted me to look back over the 32 years of my association with Williamsburg to search for the reasons why it continues to grow, and to attract, in this small city, nearly 2,000,000 visitors each year.

Certainly the history and heritage which grew here are fundamental to the interest of Williamsburg.

The location of the College of William and Mary with its long and treasured history--as well as Jamestown and Yorktown, where so many important events occurred---also add greatly to the appeal of this area.

During more recent years, the appeals of the furnishings, the architecture, the gardens and greens, the crafts, and the outstanding research program underway here have increased interest in Williamsburg.

But as I contemplated the events since 1926--when Dr. Goodwin and my father first talked about restoring Williamsburg-- I would add one basic appeal which grows in importance, in my mind. This is authenticity.

The rebirth of Williamsburg would never had been possible without the kind of insight of these two men into Williamsburg's past greatness and its future promise of being made to live again. This foresight was later coupled with a devotion to authenticity, particularly on the part of my father as he delved into the program of restoration-- and broadened its scope.

It is fortunate that the restoration of Williamsburg has been based on an outstanding accumulation of historical evidence. This body of knowledge was amassed from a variety of sources, including--

A copperplate engraving discovered in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University--

A map drawn by an unknown French soldier after the War of Independence--

A floor plan of the Governor's Palace by Thomas Jefferson,

And a collection of details from letters, private wills, deeds and insurance papers. No source was left untapped as the work was being planned and carried out, and, of course, the best guide was the 85 buildings that survived from the eighteenth century.

With his dedication to authenticity my father at the same time felt a sense of urgency in completing the restoration of Williamsburg. He wanted to see it completed during his lifetime, and once said, "Let's get going!" But he would not compromise on authenticity, and, therefore, unfortunately, in that sense, the work here was not finished when he passed away nine years ago.

The challenge of accomplishing the original goals is one that still confronts us.

And upon reflection, perhaps it is one of the appeals to our visitors that work is still underway and will be for many years. This gives the program a vitality, and, at the same time, interests others from all over the world. Last week, for example, a delegation from Quebec spent several days to study the restoration of Williamsburg, and its future program.

This broad and continuing interest--and the impact of this city--would have encouraged my father--as it does me and other members of my family--for his interests were, indeed, international.

In addition to those from abroad who wish to study Williamsburg as a restoration, at least seven thousand foreign travelers come here each year, and the total grows annually. Only last week the Prime Minister of the Netherlands made Williamsburg his first stop on an official visit to this country. He was the third head of state this year to make such a visit prior to a meeting with President Nixon.

Just the week before Williamsburg was visited by a large group of government and business leaders from England, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and Spain.

In recent days Williamsburg received two Danish school teachers, a Congolese government intern, a Bulgarian atomic scientist, a Japanese journalist, and a museum director from South Africa-- among many others.

Colonial Williamsburg has a further program in the international field. Each year we sponsor international student forums aimed at providing a platform for analyzing current problems against the background of Williamsburg. To date, 1,055 foreign students from 101 countries have taken part in these programs. By way of example, next month the Williamsburg International Assembly will attract 58 foreign graduate students for the forum's thirteenth annual meeting.

In 1948 my father said, "we must make Colonial Williamsburg so alive, so meaningful, so expressive of the principles of the founders of our country that those who come here will carry away with them a better understanding of the fundamentals of our American way of life and its importance to our national and international future."

This continues to be our goal.

Thank you very much.

Remarks by
Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr.
Prelude to Independence
Williamsburg, Virginia
May 31, 1969

Once again it is my pleasure to welcome all of you and you Mr. Vice President in particular, on behalf of Commonwealth of Virginia, to these ceremonies, marking as they do the fires of debate in which the Declaration of Independence of our country was forged.

I think sometimes the ringing phrases from that day recorded in our school books mislead us as to what it is that we really celebrate this afternoon. The true meaning of this remembrance is not the defiance of our forebears. Untempered defiance is a commonplace ingredient of history.

What gives depth to those events of long ago is that America's revolutionaries took the field with a structure of government already well formulated to replace the one that they so violently opposed.

From the beginnings of representative government in the New World at Jamestown in 1619, and we celebrate this year the 350th anniversary of that event, from a century and a half of self reliance as they tamed a trackless wilderness of that day, the men of the prelude came to Williamsburg with their political philosophies already proved and tempered, with the responsibilities of self-government already ingrained in their consciousness, asking only the chance to adapt their English heritage to new conditions that they found.

Their insistence on individual freedom, their abiding suspicion of power, were the ingredients they used to refine the English model into the American system, unhampered by traditions of either royalty or peasantry, shaped to a virgin continent where every man might stake his claim, not as a conqueror, but as a free citizen, beholden to no one and jealous only of his own individual liberty.

From that day until this hour, the story of America has been the story of perfecting their ideals, of really equalizing opportunity for our citizens.

With the system they devised, we have peopled a great nation with the rich and the poor from every country in the world, instilling in them and in their children the unique qualities that make Americans.

We have fought a bloody civil war to become one free people. We have fought two world conflicts that other nations might be free. We have settled political, social, and economic conflicts of every kind, but always they have been settled within the system.

More important for our own time, we have listened patiently to every minority opinion, every expression of disagreement, to the proponents of every ideology, and we have taken the best of what they had to offer to keep that system vibrant and alive, generation after generation.

I think then that this is the message Williamsburg has for us today. We tend to lose our perspective in the immediacy of the present.

Technology has so magnified the voices of dissent that they tend sometimes to cloud our vision.

So, let it be clear, in the perspective of that first prelude long ago, that the current tumult and shouting are only America taking another chance on freedom.

The process of refining the American dream has always been a noisy one. With complete freedom of speech and freedom of the press, it could hardly have been otherwise. With minorities given full freedom of action, it has always been a boisterious process, a big country that does big things in a big way.

But finally the people themselves, free to form a majority opinion, have exercised their common sense, their respect for the law, their insistence on justice, and they have resolved the conflict, and I am confident that they will do so again. They have never abandoned their basic belief in their ability to govern themselves, or their defense of their own method of doing so.

So, today we pay reverent tribute to that method. In the Prelude to Independence we really celebrate a prelude to the full symphony of America.

We gather now to hear again in our own hearts its opening chords, its central theme, composed here and repeated with variations throughout fifty states and around the world, to be reminded and I think it's important sometimes to be reminded, of who we are and from

whence we came, and to resolve that with the instruments that God has given each of us, we will play our own parts, that its cadences may never be stilled.

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R E M A R K S

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE ADDRESS

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

MAY 31, 1969

Draft

I am grateful for the invitation to join you in celebrating the memory of the great Virginians whose decisions made here almost two centuries ago led the way to American independence.

A celebration such as this is no empty ceremony. It has a direct bearing on our mental health as a nation. For in a very real sense, a nation like an individual, can be a victim of amnesia. If it loses the memory of its own past, it can be at a loss to know what it is in the present, and what it wants to be in the future.

It is through celebrations such as this in Williamsburg that we heighten our national self-awareness. In the very act of recalling the men, the deeds and an era of past greatness, we become most fully alive to our own identity as a people -- most fully alive to where we now stand, where we are trending, where we want to go and how to get there.

I want to dwell on the relationship between living Americans and a sense of the American past. I am convinced that this matter is of central importance to all other topics now at the focus of American attention.

* * *

Every generation looks at the world through the prism of its own experiences. My own generation was no exception.

We came to maturity at a time of great trouble in America. All units of economic value had collapsed, and parents could not go to sleep at night without fear that the next dawn would bring more economic distress to their family.

All of us knew that something was wrong, profoundly wrong in many aspects of American life. Yet it is fair to say that with few exceptions, my generation did not feel hostile to the whole of the American past. We did not reject the entire web of legal and political institutions we inherited from other generations. We did not call for their overthrow in an apocalyptic thrust.

Our thoughts and actions were governed by a political equation between the idea of progress and the idea of order. On the side of progress, we insisted that laws and institutions can no more resist the need for change than a grown man can wear the clothes which fit him as a boy. They must change, to keep pace with changes in material conditions, with the disclosure of new truths, with refinements of insights about the meaning of justice and injustice, of liberty and oppression.

We were convinced that if the need for change was denied while life moved on, the predictable result would be a violent explosion that could shatter existing institutions.

On the side of order, we insisted that if existing institutions were ^{simply} destroyed in the name of progress, the people would find their hope for liberty and progress destroyed in an unlimited war of all against all. There would be no standard of conduct to which all alike could appeal.

By striking a balance between the two sides of the equation, we came to a definition of our own task, namely: to cleanse and purify the body of existing laws and institutions and to retain what was best in them. That which was conserved became the foundation on which we could raise a bridge binding the American past to its unfolding future.

It would be an abuse of language to say that everything my generation hoped to do was done. Nor did everything that was done, gain the objects in view. At some points, there was a short fall between intentions and achievements.

What my generation achieved, however, was no small thing. We laid the basis for a tremendous advance in the material and intellectual conditions of American life, and for a world security system that has thus far spared us the carnage of a nuclear war.

* * *

How do things stand today?

Serious minded and vocal members of the rising generation of young people have framed a troubled indictment which demands our attention regardless of whether or not we agree with what it said. The indictment, stripped to its essentials, goes like this:

The whole order of American politics, inherited from the past, has lost its relevance in the face of rapid, accelerated and pervasive changes. These changes, differing in quantity and quality from any experiences in the past, have broken the link between public talk and the possibility of being heard, between urgent needs and the capacity of our established institutions to respond to them. In fact, the structure of the institutions, and the people who control the levers of effective power in them, makes it impossible to effect changes in society in an orderly and coherent way.

And the indictment continues:

Only a person who denies the evidence of his own senses can deny the shameful reality of two Americas in our midst -- the one affluent and indifferent, the other miserable and seething with frustration.

It is a reality made all the more offensive when placed alongside the fact that affluent America is in a position to enjoy the benefits of an economy, an educational system, and a communications network, all more highly developed in America than any other nation known in human history. Yet it chooses wilfully not to see or care very much about how the other America, the deprived America, lives.

And the indictment concludes:

There is a clinching proof that the structure of American politics inherited from the past has lost its relevance to present needs. It can be seen in the order of values which governs the mechanism of American politics when it comes to the allocation of national resources.

It is a mechanism geared almost automatically to pour out limitless billions of dollars in support of armament systems beyond the limits of rational and justifiable needs. Yet the same system strains at a gnat when asked to support programs designed to deal with dangerous conditions in our internal security -- the crisis conditions in our cities, in our impoverished rural areas, the crisis conditions of inequality of opportunity, the crisis conditions of hunger, unemployment, educational deprivations among the submerged one-fourth of our population, white and black alike.

It is a system geared to pour out untold billions of dollars in order to put two men on the moon, but is sullen and canker-hearted when asked to help put a dispirited man back on his feet right here on earth.

* * *

Most of the young people who have framed this anguished indictment stop with the indictment itself. They do not go on to say that existing institutions must be totally overturned, or that the necessary changes of modernization should be entrusted to disorderly or even violent means.

They retain a residue of respect for the political and legal system inherited from the past. We are fortunate that this is so, though we would be well advised to recognize another fact. It is that we are in a race against the absolute of time itself in order to introduce the remedial measures of public policy that can get at the real blights underlying the indictment I've just sketched.

If we fail in this respect, the shape of our future is already visible to us in a miniature prototype. I refer to the activities and motivations of a still small group of young people -- white and black alike -- who have been pressing an "age-war" more virulent than any previously known in American history.

The members of this small group, whether in the colleges or the ghettos, despise the kind of social changes that are made in small steps by our institutions acting at random intervals. Change -- for the new breed of rebels -- must be total, beginning with an assault on all existing institutions and social relationships.

In one breath, the young rebels insist on absolute truth. "Tell it like it is". In a second breath, they are suspicious of any truth, saying that it is only a lie concocted in the interest of what they call "the establishment".

In one breath, they insist on the right for full participation in self-government. In a second breath, they say that the more a man is involved in the life of organized society, the more he is likely to be corrupted by it.

In one breath, they insist on a neat and rational order for society. In a second breath, they say that orderly thought and action imprison a man and corrupt the honesty of his responses. Orderly thought must therefore be displaced by a stress on spontaneity, by a direct response to immediate circumstances, by a purifying, discontinuous happening.

The young rebels of whom I speak are not troubled by the fact that they have no coherent program for action, or that their impulses -- generous in some respects, dangerous and absurd in others -- discharge themselves in almost any direction and in almost any form.

Since they view themselves as an elite--an embodiment of the total good--they feel morally armed with the right to make only their own voice heard and to gag all others.

They feel morally armed to prevent any other people from meeting, to invade any assembly or classroom, to break up any proceedings where people of divergent views seem to be engaged in a rational, groping search for a common understanding.

* * * *

If there is any ground for comfort in all this, it is that we have been forced anew to consider the meaning of dissent and civil disobedience in American politics--or more particularly, the tradition of dissent and civil disobedience stemming in good part from the great Virginia dissenters whose work we honor today.

The great Virginians who labored here were not schoolboys. They were mature men, leaders in their respective communities, heads of substantial enterprises, with much to lose if they erred. They were not given to rash adventures, nor given to raising Hell just for the Hell of it.

Before they embarked on their great act of dissent and civil disobedience which led to a revolt and then a revolution, they carefully debated among themselves the most difficult of all political questions:

At what point does the need for "order" in the state and society take precedence over the need for "justice" in the state and society--or the other way around?

How much injustice is tolerable for the sake of order?

How shall the modes of protest be expressed? Against what objects? Decided by whom?

Who shall say if the avenues of legal relief for the redress of grievances exist in point of fact? Who shall say if these avenues exist only on paper, but not in the world of real things?

The great Virginians recognized that unless they asked and at least struggled with possible answers to these old questions, they could become useless to themselves and useless to the cause they intended to promote by their dissent.

They could become useless, because they could bring to their act of dissent the wrong kind of behavior, the wrong kind of strategy, the wrong sense of their own moral autonomy.

They could become useless, because they could weaken the moral and intellectual discipline required if the act of civil disobedience was not to degenerate into a breaking of all laws, good or bad, simply because they are laws.

They could become useless, because even if their initial cause was just, unless they fully understood the mainsprings of their action, they could open the gates to indiscriminate dissent and to indiscriminate civil disobedience as a way of life.

What distinguished these men from many of our contemporary young rebels can be put something like this. Their dissent and civil disobedience under English rule, was not directed toward law generally but toward an impersonal legal relationship which they felt stunted their growth. They assumed the burden of proving that their specific law-breaking was in fact justifiable by the inherent injustice of the particular law itself.

Their act of civil disobedience was not a private act. It was not a conspiracy in a corner. It was a public act made in the open by a regularly constituted representative body of the community, a public act agreed to only after a full debate and an approving vote.

Instead of coupling their civil disobedience with a clamor for amnesty if they failed to carry their object, they made it quite clear that their conviction of being in the right prepared them to suffer the loss of their fortunes and even their lives if their revolt should fail.

They ventured to prove that they had resorted to civil disobedience only because they exhausted every available constitutional means for a redress of their grievances, or only because the constitutional means as they existed on paper were in fact inoperative in practice.

They made it abundantly clear that they were not protesting in the abstract, but that in breaking the law binding them to the British Empire, their object was to bring to birth the terms of a new policy under which they could live more happily.

They clearly distinguished, in the words of George Washington "between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority. . ." and between the "spirit of liberty and that of licentiousness." That is why, once they had unanimously instructed the Virginia representatives at the Continental Congress to propose independence for the American colonies, they allowed no gap to develop in the legal structure of Virginia itself.

They promptly went to work on a new constitution for the independent state of Virginia--a constitution which by law, enlarged the market place for public freedom, enlarged the political space in which more Virginians than ever before would have the right of access to the public realm, to their share in public power, to participate in the conduct of public affairs with its discussions, deliberations and decisions.

In short, the whole object and achievement of the great Virginia dissenters was to uphold the concept of law by establishing it on a broader basis of consent than had been possible when Virginia was held in tutelage by the English monarchy, parliament, and magnates within England.

For all these reasons, the great Virginia dissenters led the way to a durable and positive achievement in independence - as against the trail of wreckage left in the wake of some of our present - day advocates of violence.

* * * *

Does politics have any answer to give to the case of America's young rebels to-day who seek to manipulate other people by coercive means --by gun-play, fire-bombs, physical assaults, kidnappings?

I hesitate to say. If, as some medical men believe, the pattern of behavior has all the earmarks of paranoia, then politics may have to be guided by the psychiatric profession in dealing with the sickness.

It is my view, however, that politics can at least keep their numbers small instead of gaining them new recruits from among young people who still retain a residue of respect for the legal and political forms inherited from the past.

Before I come to the ways and means, let me note two sets of realities that are often overlooked and that lie at the heart of our present predicament.

First, there was the oversight of the comfortable people in the United States who on the one hand applauded the actions of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. which gave currency to the strategy of non-violence, but who on the other hand, turned away when it came time to remedy the injustices and discriminations which prompted Dr. King into the streets. These comfortable people saw the non-violent strategy simply as an instrument for restraining restive Negro Americans.

This oversight was the father to other things that were overlooked. For example, the very success of the non-violent methods used in getting long-needed civil rights legislation on the statute books created the illusion that the battle for civil rights was over. In fact, it had only begun.

The laws, all indispensable in themselves, had only established the conditions for legal equality between the constitutional rights of whites and blacks alike.

They did not, of themselves, achieve a condition of equity measurable in terms of concrete rights -- the right to a job at decent pay, the right to adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which spurs rather than hobbles human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to a decent diet, and the right of access to the benefits of modern medical science.

Those of us who battled year in and year out to reconstruct an edifice of legal equality between the two races were not under any illusion about what had been accomplished even when the year 1964 brought the legislative effort to the peak of success.

We knew this was only a down payment on the larger and more difficult task of translating legal language into improved material conditions in the day to day life of Americans who were black.

We also knew that if there was a default or failure of nerve with respect to this larger, more difficult task, two things would happen:

First, there would be a tendency on the part of people whose hopes for a better life had been aroused, to lose faith in the normal operations of the law as the best instrument for the promotion and distribution of justice.

Secondly, and in a related degree, if the non-violent tactic which had helped get necessary civil rights law on the statute books did not lead directly to tangible social improvements, the predictable result would be an escalation of social tensions and a loss of capacity to solve the problems of social justice by peaceful means within the framework of law.

If these two melancholy predications were to be proven false, it was also clear from where the primary remedial initiative must come. It must come primarily from the privileged segment of our society, the main beneficiary of all the good things our society has to bestow.

It could not be expected to come from the segment of the American population that had been denied for so long full participation in America's economic, social and political life.

Unfortunately, the privileged segment of our society did not provide that initiative in a measure commensurate to the need.

Everyone, of course, still talks about the urgent need for peace between the white and black races in America. But what kind of peace? On what terms? Achieved how? Where? By whom?

A peace which depends on walls and moats each race builds around itself, announces on its face that the spirit of war is in the air. A peace which comes after human rages have spent themselves in violence is of the kind covered by the cry of Isaiah: "In peace is my bitterest bitterness."

Peace has something to do with the habits of the heart in the encounters of daily life, and with perceptions that are a guide to actions which are beyond the reach of the law.

It has something to do with the truth that the white and black races in America are like two mountain climbers tied to the same rope. Their fate is indivisible. If they do not move in mutual support of each other, then as surely as the law of gravity exists, they will fall together into a deadly abyss where violence will be the rival of violence -- where the hand of every man will be raised against his neighbor and those of neighbors will be raised against him.

Above all, peace has something to do with justice, with equity, and with measures in the public realm that promote justice and equity in the private realm of daily experience.

The specific things that have to be done should no longer be a subject of mystery. They were clearly stated in the report of the Kerner Commission. They were restated again a year later -- this year -- in the study released by Urban America and the Urban Coalition.

Through these and similar sources, we have again been told -- and it is true -- that poverty remains a pervasive fact of American life, and that the continued disparity between this poverty and general affluence was and remains a source of alienation and discontent.

We have again been told -- and it is true -- that ghetto schools continue to fail, and the small amount of progress made in improving the quality of these schools has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

We have again been told -- and it is true -- that there are no programs that seriously attack the continued existence of the slums.

Each of these failures states the need for remedial measures. The question is not whether we have the power of mind required to devise the social inventions that can give effective form and force to the remedial measures. We have that inventive power of mind.

But that inventive power will not be brought into full play unless all of us are keenly aware of the stakes at issue. They are the same stakes which confronted the great Virginians of the American Revolution after the American War had been won, and the next task was to establish a government under a new constitution for a more perfect union.

As in their case, so now in our own case, we are confronted with the need to prove anew that men can establish good government through reflection and choice, rather than entrust their future to the play of accident and force.

* * *

Here I come to the second reality that is often overlooked. It is that the traditional dividing line between domestic and foreign affairs has become in all our cardinal questions as indistinct as a line drawn through water.

What we do in the world arena has a direct bearing on what we can do at home. What we must do at home, has a direct bearing on what we must do in the world arena. And precisely on this account -- though many other reasons can be given -- we must be clear about our national priorities -- just as those who caused our independence had not the slightest doubt about their priorities.

The growing debate focused on the anti-ballistic missile system is only symptomatic of the more fundamental decisions that must be reached over the size and nature of military spending.

Unless we are successful now in slowing down the nuclear arms buildup, it can be predicted without qualification that our military planners will win approval of a number of often postponed weapons programs costing, in the end, many hundreds of billions of dollars.

It can be predicted, further, that as this military spending accelerates, our urgent domestic needs will be neglected and our efforts to mobilize the country in getting at the running sores in our internal life will fall woefully short of need.

We may then find ourselves in the peculiar position of a people devoured from within by bitter and embittering social conflicts, while our outer face is that of a superpower bristling with weapons systems, but all amounting to a hard shell encasing an empty center.

We must come to see that our security is threatened more immediately and more directly by the missiles of hate and bigotry and injustice and violence that are loose within our own borders, rather than the nuclear missiles of the Soviet Union that are checked by the policy of mutual deterrence. And we must set our priorities accordingly.

Let me speak candidly: in this time of rapidly rising tension and festering alienation, to delay in coming to grips with pressing social and economic problems is to only intensify the danger. It is like trying to cap a volcano only to find that in the end it explodes with even greater force and destructive power.

We paid dearly *in the 1950's* in the 1960's for our failure [^] to come to grips with the problems of race, urban decay, education, and poverty.

The price will be higher and the level of danger will be greater if, in the next two to four years, we fail again to set our national priorities wisely and make the national investments that the American society so desperately needs.

This cannot be a time of relaxation, of taking it easy, of again turning our faces from the unmet human needs around us.

Now, as in the time of this nation's birth, we must resort instead to the terribly difficult ways of civilized and rational men -- fearlessly striking down that which hobbles our national growth but always with a decent respect for the opinions of others, always with a firm grasp on democratic principles and liberties, and always with an unclouded view of where we are ultimately headed.

With a sense of urgency and destiny as if creating a new nation, we must ventilate the clogged and stale channels of political participation and social opportunity. The refreshing winds of change must be channeled to constructive purposes through debate and dissent -- through dialogue and discussion -- until our course is clear and our national purposes secure.

This is the meaning of government by the consent of the governed -- the social contract of equals. To do less would be disrespectful of our heritage and unworthy of our priceless legacy of freedom and independence.

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Let me speak candidly: in this time of rapidly rising tension and festering alienation, to delay in coming to grips with pressing social and economic problems is to only intensify the danger. It is like trying to cap a volcano only to find that in the end it explodes with even greater force and destructive power.

We paid dearly in the 1960's for our failure to come to grips with the problems of race, urban decay, education, and poverty.

The price will be higher and the level of danger will be greater if, in the next two to four years, we fail again to set our national priorities wisely and make the national investments that the American society so desperately needs.

This cannot be a time of relaxation, of taking it easy, of again turning our faces from the unmet human needs around us.

Now, as in the time of this nation's birth, we must resort instead to the terribly difficult ways of civilized and rational men -- fearlessly striking down that which hobbles our national growth but always with a decent respect for the opinions of others, always with a firm grasp on democratic principles and liberties, and always with an unclouded view of where we are ultimately headed.

With a sense of urgency and destiny as if creating a new nation, we must ventilate the clogged and stale channels of political participation and social opportunity. The refreshing winds of change must be channeled to constructive purposes through debate and dissent -- through dialogue and discussion -- until our course is clear and our national purposes secure.

This is the meaning of government by the consent of the governed --the social contract of equals. To do less would be disrespectful of our heritage and unworthy of our priceless legacy of freedom.

1st draft
Sidney T. H. man

I am grateful for the invitation to join you in celebrating the memory of the great Virginians whose decisions made here almost two centuries ago led the way to American independence.

A celebration such as this is no empty ceremony. It has a direct bearing on our mental health as a nation. For in a very real sense, a nation like an individual, can be a victim of amnesia. If it loses the memory of its own past, it can be at a loss to know what it is in the present, and what it wants to be in the future. It is through celebrations such as this ~~one~~ in Williamsburg that we ~~are~~ heighten~~ed~~ our self-awareness. ~~But~~ In the very act of recalling the men, the deeds and an era of past greatness, ~~that~~ we become most fully alive to our own identity as a people--most fully alive to where we now stand, where we are trending, where we want to go and how to get there.

I want to dwell ~~little longer~~ on the relationship between living Americans and a sense of the American past. ~~I am convinced~~ I ~~am~~ ^{am} convinced that this matter is of central importance to all other topics now at the ~~center~~ ^{focus} of American attention.

* * *

Every generation looks at the world through the prism of its own experiences. My own generation was no exception. We came to maturity at a time of great trouble in America. All units of economic value had collapsed, and no parents could go to sleep at night without fear that the next dawn

would bring more economic distress to their family.

All of us knew that something ~~was~~ wrong, profoundly wrong in many aspects of American life. Yet it is fair to say that with few exceptions, my generation did not feel hostile to the whole of the American past. We did not reject the entire web of legal and political institutions we inherited from other generations. We did not call for their overthrow in an apocalyptic thrust.

Our thoughts and actions were governed by a political equation between the idea of progress and the idea of order. On the side of progress, we ~~insisted~~^{insisted} that laws and institutions can no more resist the need for change than a grown man can wear the cloths which fit him as a boy. They must change, to keep pace with changes in material conditions, with the disclosure of new truths, with refinements of insights about the meaning of justice and injustice, of liberty and oppression. We were convinced that if the need for change was denied while life moved on, the predictable result would be a violent explosion that could shatter existing institutions.

On the side of order, we ~~maintain~~^{insisted} that if existing institutions were destroyed in the name of progress, ~~if the necessary exercise of lawful authority were opposed in the name of freedom~~ no good would come of it. The people would find their hope for liberty and progress destroyed in an unlimited war of all against all. It would be destroyed that way because there would be no standard of conduct to

which all alike could appeal.

By striking a balance between the two sides of the equation, we came to a definition of our own task. Our own task was ~~was~~ to cleanse and purify the body of existing laws and institutions, to retain what was best in them, ~~and~~ ^{and} to make of what was conserved, the foundation on which we could raise a bridge binding the American past to its unfolding future. ^{It} It would be an abuse of language to say that everything my generation hoped to do was done. Nor ~~was~~ ^{did} everything that was done, gain ~~the~~ the objects in view. At some points, there was a short fall between intentions and achievements. What my generation achieved, however, was no small thing. We laid the basis for a tremendous advance in the material and intellectual conditions of American life, and for a world security system that has thus far spared us the carnage of a nuclear war.

* * * *

How do things stand to-day?

Serious minded and vocal members of the rising generation of young people have framed ^{2 + troubled} ~~an engendered~~ indictment which demands our attention regardless of whether or not we agree with what it said. The indictment, stripped to its essentials, goes like this:

The whole order of American politics, inherited from the past, has lost its relevance in the face of rapid, accelerated and pervasive changes. These changes, differing in quantity and quality from any experiences in the past, have broken the link between public talk and the possibility of being heard, between urgent needs and the capacity of our

established institutions to respond to them. In fact, the structure of the institutions, and the people who control the levers of effective power in them, makes it impossible to effect changes in society in an orderly and coherent way. They make it impossible to transform change into justice in an unfinished struggle with poverty, racism, exploitation and ignorance.

And the indictment continues:

Only a person who denies the evidence of his own senses can deny the shameful reality of two Americas in our midst--the one affluent and indifferent, the other miserable and seething with frustration. It is a reality made all the more offensive when placed alongside the fact that affluent America is in a position to enjoy the benefits of an economy, an educational system, and a communications network, all more highly developed in America than any other nation known in human history. Yet it chooses willfully not to see or care very much about how the other America, the deprived America, lives.

And the indictment concludes:

There is a clinching proof that the ~~structure of~~ ^{structure in} American politics inherited from the past has lost its relevance to present needs. It can be seen in the order of values which governs the mechanism of American politics when it comes to the allocation of national resources. It is a mechanism geared almost automatically to pour out limitless billions of dollars in support of armament systems beyond the limits of rational and justifiable needs. Yet the same system strains at a ~~point~~ ^{point} when asked

to support programs designed to deal with dangerous conditions in our internal security--the crisis conditions in our cities, in our impoverished rural areas, the crisis conditions of inequality of opportunity, the crisis conditions of hunger, unemployment, educational deprivations among the submerged one-third of our population, white and black alike. It is a system geared to pour out untold billions of dollars in order to put one man on the moon, but is sullen and canker-hearted when asked to help put a dispirited man back on his feet right here on earth.

* * * * *

Most of the young people who have framed this anguished indictment stop with the indictment itself. They do not go on to say that existing institutions must be overturned, or that the necessary changes of modernization should be entrusted to disorderly or even violent means. They retain a residue of respect for the political and legal system inherited from the past. We are ~~fortunate~~ fortunate that this is ~~no~~ so, though we would be well advised to recognize another ^{fact} ~~reality~~. It is that we are in a race against the absolute of time itself in order to introduce the remedial measures of public policy that can get at the real blights underlying the indictment I've just sketched in.

If we fail in this respect, the shape of our future is already visible to us in a miniature prototype. I refer to the activities and motivations of a still small group

of young people--white and black alike--who have been pressing an "age-war" more virulent than any previously known in American history.

The members of this small group, whether in the colleges or the ghettos, despise the kind of social changes that are made in small steps by our institutions acting at random intervals. Change ^{for} the new breed of rebels ^{must} be total, beginning with an assault on all existing institutions and social relationships. In one breath, they insist on absolute truth. "Tell it like it is." In a second breath, they are suspicious of any truth, saying that it is only a lie concocted in the interest of what they call "the establishment." In one breath, they insist on the right for full participation in self-government. In a second breath, they say that the more a man is involved in the life of organized society, the more he is likely to be corrupted by it. In one breath, they insist on a neat and rational order for society. In a second breath, they say that orderly thought and action imprisons a man and corrupts the honesty of his responses. Orderly thought must therefore be displaced by a stress on spontaneity, by a direct response to immediate circumstances, by a purifying, discontinuous happening.

The young rebels of ^{whom} which I speak are not troubled by the fact that they have no coherent program for action, or that their impulses--generous in some respects, dangerous and absurd in others--discharge themselves in almost any direction and in almost any form. Since they view themselves as an elite--an embodiment of the total good--

they feel morally armed with the right to make only their own voice heard and to gag all others. They feel morally armed to prevent any other people from meeting, to invade any assembly or classroom, to break up any proceedings where people of divergent views seem to be engaged in a rational, groping search for ^A common ~~ground~~ understanding.

* * * *

If there is any ground for comfort in all this, it is that we have been forced anew to consider the meaning of dissent ^{and civil disobedience} in American politics--or more particularly, the tradition of dissent ^{and civil disobedience} stemming in good part from the great Virginia dissenters whose work we honor to-day.

The great Virginians who labored here were not schoolboys. They were mature men, leaders in their respective communities, heads of substantial enterprises, with much to lose if they erred, not given to rash adventures, not given to raising Hell just for the Hell of it. Before they embarked on their great act of dissent ^{and civil disobedience} which led to a revolt and then a revolution, they carefully debated among themselves the most difficult of all political questions. At what point does the need for "order" in the state and society take precedence over the need for "justice" in the state and society--or the other way around? How much injustice is tolerable for the sake of order? How much disorder is tolerable for the sake of justice? How shall the modes of protest be expressed? Against what objects? Decided by whom? Who shall say if the avenues of legal relief for the redress of grievances exist in point of fact? Who shall say if these avenues exist only on paper, but ~~not~~ ^{are}

not in the world of real things? Who shall say whether the whole of a society is so shot through with injustice as to make it ripe for revolution, or whether only its branches were withered while the trunk and roots were healthy?

The great Virginians recognized that unless they asked and at least struggled with possible answers to these old questions, they could become useless to themselves and useless to the ~~just~~ cause they intended to promote by their dissent. They ~~could~~ become useless, because they ~~could~~ bring to their act of dissent the wrong kind of behavior, the wrong kind of strategy, the wrong sense of their own moral autonomy. They ~~could~~ become useless, because they ~~could~~ weaken the moral and intellectual discipline required if the act of civil disobedience was not to degenerate into a breaking of all laws, good or bad, simply because they are laws. They ~~could~~ become useless, because even if their initial cause was just, unless they fully understood the mainsprings of their action, they ~~could~~ open the gates to indiscriminate dissent and ^{to} indiscriminate civil disobedience as a way of life.

What distinguished them from many of our contemporary young rebels can be put something like this. Their dissent and civil disobedience under English rule, was not directed toward law generally but toward ~~an imperial~~ ^{an imperial} relationship which they felt stunted their growth. They assumed the burden of proving that their pin-pointed law-breaking was in fact justifiable by the inherent injustice of the ~~particular~~ ^{imperial} law itself. Their act of civil disobedience was not a private act. It was ~~not~~ ^{act}

not a conspiracy in a corner. It was a public act made in the open by a regularly constituted representative body of the community, a public act agreed to only after a full debate and an approving vote. ⁴ Instead of coupling their civil disobedience with a clamor for amnesty if they failed to carry their object, they made it quite clear that their conviction of being in the right prepared them to suffer the loss of their fortunes and even their lives if their revolt should fail. They ventured to prove that they had resorted to civil disobedience only because they had exhausted every available constitutional means for a redress of their grievances, or only because the constitutional means as they existed on paper were in fact inoperative in practice. They made it abundantly clear that they were not protesting in the abstract, but that in breaking the law binding them to the British Empire, their object was to bring to birth the terms of a new ^{polity} ~~law~~ under which they could live more happily.

⁴ They clearly distinguished, in the words of George Washington "between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority..." and between the "spirit of liberty and that of licentiousness. That is why, once they had ^{unanimously} ~~unanimously~~ instructed the Virginia representatives at the Constitutional Congress to ^{propose} ~~propose~~ independence for the American colonies, they allowed no gap to develop in the legal structure of Virginia itself. They promptly went to work on a new constitution for the independent state of Virginia--a constitution which by law, enlarged the market place for public freedom, enlarged the political

space in which more Virginians than every before would have the right of access to the public realm, to their share in public power, to participate in the conduct of public affairs with its high seriousness, its discussions and deliberations and decisions. ^{ch}In short, the whole object and achievement of the great Virginia dissenters was to uphold the concept of law by establishing it on a broader basis of consent than had been possible when Virginia was held in tutelage by the English monarchy, parliament, and magnates within England. For all these reasons, the great Virginia dissenters led the way to a durable achievement in independence ^{as} against the trail of wreckage left in the wake of some of our young present-day dissenters.

* * * * *

Does politics have any answer to give to the case of ^{known as} the young rebels ^{so-called} who seek to manipulate other people by coercive means -- ^{or} gun-play, fire-bombs, physical assaults, kidnappings? I hesitate to say. If as some medical men believe, the pattern of behavior has all the earmarks of paranoia, then politics may have to be guided by the psychiatric profession in dealing with the sickness. It is my view, however, that politics ^{can} ~~must~~ at least ~~maintain~~ ^{keep their numbers small instead of gaining them} ~~prevent the ranks of the young paranoids from gaining~~ new recruits from among ~~the~~ young people who ^{indict} ~~have gained in~~ indicting the whole order of American politics, yet ^{still} retain ~~a~~ a residue of respect for the legal and political forms inherited from the past.

Before I come to the ways and means, let me note several ~~new~~ sets of realities that are often overlooked.

First, there was the oversight of the comfortable people in the United States who applauded the side of Dr. Martin Luther King which gave currency to the message of non-violence. Comfortable people saw in the man and the message the instrument for restraining restive American Negroes. Among the other things they failed to see, was that aspect of Dr. King's work where he appeared as a dedicated fighter for equality and justice.

This oversight was the father to other things that were overlooked. One was, that the very success of the non-violent methods used in getting long-needed civil rights legislation on the statute books, created the illusion that the battle for civil rights was over. In fact, it had only begun. The laws, all indispensable in themselves, had only established the conditions for legal equality between the constitutional rights of whites and blacks alike. They did not, of themselves, achieve a condition of equity measurable in terms of concrete rights--the right ~~of~~ to a job at decent pay, the right to adequate income if one cannot work, the right to an education which spurs rather than hobbles human creativity, the right to decent housing in safe neighborhoods, the right to a decent diet, and the right of access to the benefits of modern medical science.

Those of us who battled year in and year out to reconstruct an edifice of legal equality between the two races, were not under any illusion about what had been accomplished even when the year 1964 brought the legislative effort to the peak of success. ⁴ We knew that what had been set in place was only a down payment on the larger, and more difficult task of translating legal language into improved material conditions in the lived life of Americans who were black. We knew that if there was a default or failure of nerve with respect to this larger, more difficult task, two things would happen. *First,* There would be a tendency on the part of people whose hopes for a better life had been aroused, to lose faith in the normal operations of the law as ~~the~~ ^{the best} ~~most~~ ^{improvements,} ~~reliable~~ instrument for the promotion and distribution of justice. Secondly, and in a related degree, if the non-violent tactic which had helped get necessary civil rights law on the statute books did not lead directly to ~~visible~~ ^{improvements,} tangible social ~~changes for the better~~, the predictable result would be an escalation of social tensions and a loss of capacity to solve the problems of social justice' by peaceful means within the framework of law.

If these two melancholy predictions were to be proven ~~happy~~ false to reality, it was also clear where the ^{primary} remedial initiative must come from. It must come ~~from~~ the privileged segment

primarily from

of our society, the main beneficiary of all the good things our society has to bestow, ~~It could not be expected~~ ^{to come from} ~~and not from~~ the segment of the American population that had been ^{in so long} denied full participation in America's economic, social and political life. Unfortunately, the privileged segment of our society did not provide that initiative, ~~not even when it was earnestly appealed to in the solemn language of the Kerner Commission report,~~ ~~not even when it was appealed to a year later in the equally sober reports issued by Urban America and the Urban coalition.~~

Everyone, of course, still talks about the urgent need for peace between the white and black races in America. But what kind of peace? On what terms? Achieved how? Where? By whom? A peace which depends on walls and moats each race builds around itself announces on its face that the spirit of war is in the air. A peace which comes after human rages have spent themselves in violence is of the kind covered by the cry of Isaiah: "In peace is my bitterest bitterness."

Peace has something to do ~~with the~~ habits of the heart in the encounters of daily life, ~~and~~ with perceptions that are a guide to actions which are beyond the reach of the law. It has something to do with the ^{truth} ~~perception~~ that the white and black races in America are like two mountain climbers tied to the same rope. Their fate is indivisible. If they do not move in mutual support of each other, then as surely as the law of gravity exists, they will

where

will be the rival of violence, where the hand of everyman will be raised against his neighbor and those of neighbors will be raised against him.

Above all, peace has something to do with justice, with equity, and with measures in the public realm that promote justice and equity in the private realm of daily experience.

The specific things that have to be done should no longer be a subject of mystery. They were clearly stated in the ^{Urban} report of the Kerner Commission. They were restated again a year later--this year--in the ^{Urban} study released by Urban America and the Urban Coalition.

Through these and similar sources we have again been told--and it is true--that poverty remains a pervasive fact of American life, and that the continued disparity between this poverty and general affluence was and remains a source of alienation and discontent.

We have again been told--and it is true--that ghetto schools continue to fail, and the small amount of progress made in improving the quality of these schools has been counterbalanced by a growing atmosphere of hostility and conflict in many cities.

We have again been told--and it is true--that there are no programs that seriously attack the continued existence of the slums.

Each of these failures states the need for remedial measures. The question is not whether we have the power of mind required to devise the social inventions that can give effective form and force to the remedial measures. We have that inventive power of mind. But that inventive power will not be brought into full play unless all of us are keenly aware of the ~~great~~ stakes at issue. They are the same ~~great~~ stakes which confronted the great Virginians of the American Revolution after the American War had been won, and the next task was to establish a government under a new constitution for a more perfect union. As in their case, so now in our own case, we are confronted with the need to prove anew that men can establish good government through reflection and choice, rather than entrust their future to the play of accident and force.

✱ ✱ ✱ ✱ ✱

Here I come to another reality that is often overlooked. It is that the old traditional dividing line between domestic and foreign affairs has become in all our cardinal questions as indistinct as a line drawn through water. What we do ~~in the world~~ in the world arena has a direct bearing on what we can do at home. What we must do at home, has a direct bearing on what we must do in the world arena. And precisely on this account, though many other reasons can be given-- we must be clear about our national priorities

when we are confronted with a request for funds to be used in the initial deployment of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

The growing debate focused on the proposals to proceed with that system is only symptomatic of the more fundamental decisions that must be reached in the coming year over the size and nature of military spending. Unless we are successful now in slowing down the nuclear arms buildup, it can be predicted without qualification that our military planners will win approval of a number of often postponed weapons programs costing, in the end, many hundreds of billions of dollars. It can be predicted, further, that as this military spending accelerates, our urgent domestic needs will be ~~shortchanged~~ ^{neglected} and our efforts to mobilize the country in getting at the running sores in our internal life will fall woefully short of need. We may then find ourselves in the peculiar position of a people devoured from within by bitter and embittering social conflicts, while the outer face we showed to the world was that of a super-power bristling with weapons systems, but all amounting to a hard shell encasing an empty center.

We know that there are many kinds and levels of arms control problems. We know there is more than one arms race going on this world. But we know, too, that there is one arms race which overhangs and overshadows all the others: the strategic nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States.

We are, and we have been since the Soviet Union's initial rejection of the Baruch Plan, reluctant participants in this arms race. We have done what we had to do. We have stayed ahead in the race we tried very

very hard to avoid. We have stayed ahead not only for our own security and defense, but also because of our responsibilities and obligations to other free people. But "staying ahead" in the nuclear race is a highly relative concept in the late 1960's. The fundamental political fact is that both sides now possess the means to inflict "unacceptable damage" to the others.

Now one knows better than I do the difficulty of negotiating any kind of agreement to control the nuclear arms race. It is an experience shot through with many false starts, with many disappointments, with many nerve-wracking frustrations. Yet it stands to the credit credit of the American government--and to the skill of our tireless negotiators--that patience and perseverance have prevailed, ~~the process has~~ and have reaped their rewards. It is only the immensity of the problem as a whole--and the awesome nature of strategic nuclear weaponry--that obscured a series of dramatic achievements. Yet we should keep the record of these achievements before our eyes, not because they represent the outer limits of arms negotiations, but rather because we need the record to brace our hopes against the onslaught of cynicism, fatalism, defeatism.

In the past eight years, ^{for example,} we have negotiated the following steps towards arms control:

We have achieved total disarmament in Antarctica--
 banned the testing of nuclear weapons in three environments--
 --halted the rise of atmospheric contamination--ruled out
 nuclear weapons in outer space--quaranteed Latin America against
 atomic arms. Through the non-proliferation treaty, we have
 curbed the spread of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapon
 technology. We have started work on securing the
 environment of the seabed from encroachment by weapons of
 mass destruction. We have offered to move toward regional
 arms control in Europe. We are seeking to negotiate a program
 of Regional Arms control in the Middle East. And in order
 to insure and verify the integrity of Arms Control Agreements,
 we have developed an elaborate and effective system of
 detection, inspection and surveillance.

We now have a rare and fugitive opportunity to
 break the upward spiral of strategic weaponry which
 has dominated US-Soviet relations since the dawn of the
 atomic age. We have had reason to believe for many months
 that Soviet leaders were willing to begin bilateral negotiations
 over the control of offensive and defensive strategic
 weapons. Talks to this effect would have begun last fall
 were it not for the tragic Soviet intervention in
 Czechoslovakia. The opportunity to begin such talks
 must not slip through our hands. I am aware of the argument
 that these negotiations should mark time until more
 general political problems are settled. I cannot agree.
 The imperative of our present circumstance--that of
 preventing the next round in the nuclear arms race before

the solution of political disputes many years in the making, and that will be many years, if not generations, in solving.

It is especially important that prior ~~negotiations~~ to negotiations we exercise great restraint in words and action on matters relating to strategic weapons. We must believe, until their actions demonstrate otherwise, ~~that~~ the Soviets understand the compelling reasons for ending the nuclear arms spiral--a process which is not only expensive and dangerous, but one which has become meaningless in terms of securing for either side a decisive military advantage.

It is primarily for this reason that I have opposed the decision to proceed with a modified deployment of the anti-ballistic missile system. I remain unconvinced that the security of our second-strike forces require such action at this time. It is both possible and feasible to protect our ICBM's and to strengthen our Polaris fleet on station around the world, without moving to the next level of nuclear weapons technology. We should not inflame the atmosphere by loose talk about Soviet first-strike intentions until we can in fact determine through direct talks with the Soviet whether they are actually willing or unwilling to decelerate the arms race. Then we will know where we stand and can take our bearing accordingly. If on the other hand, we amplify our public talk about Soviet first-strike strategic intent, ~~the~~ the immediate result will be to raise doubts in the Soviet mind about our own strategic intent. And we know from the past that doubt or uncertainty on either side about the strategic goals of the other has been a principal stimulus to

I repeat that I remain unconvinced that the security of our second-strike forces requires us to proceed at the present time with a modified deployment of the anti-ballistic missile system. On the contrary, I am convinced that the risks of postponing deployment of the ABM at this time are small compared compared to the great risks we run if we keep on postponing the urgent domestic needs facing America. The availability of resources to attack our urgent domestic problems will, in the end, be largely a factor of our capacity to hold back the impending flood of new offensive strategic weapons without endangering the real security of this country or our people. I pray that we we will be willing to take the risks for peace which can gradually transform the fragile balance of terror into a covenant of trust among nations in the world arena, and among the races and generations here at home within the United States.



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