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- Thank you, Charlton Heston
 - Gov Shapp
 - Mayor Rizzo
 - Distinguished Members of Congress
 - Distinguished Guests
 - Ladies + Gentlemen
- Raw Clipp*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ~~.....~~

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

JULY 4, 1976

ON WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY in 1861, | A FORTNIGHT AFTER
SIX STATES HAD FORMED A CONFEDERACY OF THEIR OWN, | ABRAHAM
LINCOLN CAME HERE TO INDEPENDENCE HALL, KNOWING THAT TEN DAYS
LATER HE WOULD FACE THE CRUELEST NATIONAL CRISIS OF OUR 85-YEAR
HISTORY.

"I AM FILLED WITH DEEP EMOTION," HE SAID, "AT FINDING
MYSELF STANDING HERE IN THE PLACE WHERE WERE COLLECTED TOGETHER
THE WISDOM, THE PATRIOTISM, THE DEVOTION TO PRINCIPLE -- FROM
WHICH SPRANG THE INSTITUTIONS UNDER WHICH WE LIVE."

TODAY WE CAN ALL SHARE THESE SIMPLE, NOBLE SENTIMENTS.

LIKE LINCOLN, | I FEEL BOTH PRIDE AND HUMILITY, | REJOICING AND

REVERENCE, AS I STAND IN THE PLACE WHERE TWO CENTURIES AGO

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WAS CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY AND

DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

FROM THIS SMALL BUT BEAUTIFUL BUILDING, THEN THE MOST
IMPOSING STRUCTURE IN THE COLONIES, CAME THE TWO GREAT
DOCUMENTS THAT CONTINUE TO SUPPLY THE MORAL AND THE INTELLECTUAL
POWER FOR THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE IN SELF-GOVERNMENT•

BEFORE ME IS THE GREAT BRONZE BELL THAT JOYOUSLY RANG

OUT NEWS OF THE BIRTH OF OUR NATION FROM THE STEEPLE OF THIS

STATEHOUSE.

IT WAS NEVER INTENDED TO BE A CHURCHBELL.

YET A GENERATION BEFORE THE GREAT EVENTS OF 1776, THE ELECTED
ASSEMBLY OF PENNSYLVANIA ORDERED IT TO BE INSCRIBED WITH THIS
BIBLICAL VERSE: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND,
UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

THE EARLY AMERICAN SETTLERS HAD MANY HARDSHIPS, BUT
THEY HAD MORE LIBERTY THAN ANY OTHER PEOPLE ON EARTH.

THAT WAS WHAT THEY CAME FOR AND WHAT THEY MEANT TO KEEP.

THE VERSE FROM LEVITICUS ON THE LIBERTY BELL REFERS TO

THE ANCIENT JEWISH YEAR OF JUBILEE.

IN EVERY 50th YEAR, THE JUBILEE RESTORED THE LAND AND THE
EQUALITY OF PERSONS THAT PREVAILED WHEN THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL
ENTERED THE LAND OF PROMISE. AND BOTH GIFTS CAME FROM GOD,
AS THE JUBILEE REGULARLY REMINDED THEM.

OUR FOUNDING FATHERS KNEW THEIR BIBLES AS WELL AS
THEIR BLACKSTONE.

THEY BOLDLY REVERSED THE AGE-OLD POLITICAL THEORY THAT KINGS
DERIVE THEIR POWERS FROM GOD, AND ASSERTED THAT BOTH POWERS
AND UNALIENABLE RIGHTS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE AS DIRECT
ENDOWMENTS FROM THEIR CREATOR.

FURTHERMORE, THEY DECLARED THAT GOVERNMENTS ARE
INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, TO SECURE THEIR RIGHTS AND TO SERVE
THEIR PURPOSES, AND GOVERNMENTS CONTINUE ONLY SO LONG AS THEY
HAVE THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

WITH GENERAL WASHINGTON ALREADY COMMANDING THE
AMERICAN CONTINENTAL ARMY IN THE FIELD, THE SECOND CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS MET HERE IN 1776, NOT TO DEMAND NEW LIBERTIES BUT TO
REGAIN LONG-ESTABLISHED RIGHTS WHICH WERE BEING TAKEN AWAY
FROM THEM WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS UNIQUE, AND REMAINS
UNIQUE, IN THAT IT WAS FOUGHT IN THE NAME OF LAW AS WELL AS
LIBERTY. AT THE START, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
PROCLAIMED THE DIVINE SOURCE OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND THE
PURPOSE OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT, AS AMERICANS UNDERSTAND IT.

THAT PURPOSE IS TO SECURE THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS, AGAINST
EVEN GOVERNMENT ITSELF•

BUT THE DECLARATION DID NOT TELL US HOW TO ACCOMPLISH
THIS PURPOSE, OR WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT TO SET UP•

FIRST, OUR INDEPENDENCE HAD TO BE WON•

IT WAS NOT WON EASILY, AS THE NEARBY ENCAMPMENT OF
VALLEY FORGE, THE RUDE BRIDGE AT CONCORD, AND THE CRUMBLING
BATTLEMENTS OF YORKTOWN BEAR WITNESS.

WE HAVE HEARD MUCH -- THOUGH WE CANNOT HEAR IT TOO

OFTEN - ABOUT THE 56 AMERICANS WHO CAST THEIR VOTES, AND

LATER SIGNED THEIR NAMES, TO THOMAS JEFFERSON'S RINGING

DECLARATION OF EQUALITY AND FREEDOM SO MOVINGLY READ TO US

BY MISS MARIAN ANDERSON.

~~THE~~ DO YOU KNOW WHAT PRICE THE SIGNERS OF THAT
PARCHMENT PAID FOR 'THE PATRIOTISM, THE DEVOTION TO
PRINCIPLE" OF WHICH LINCOLN SPOKE?

JOHN HANCOCK OF MASSACHUSETTS WAS ONE OF THE
WEALTHIEST MEN WHO CAME TO PHILADELPHIA.

LATER, AS HE STOOD OUTSIDE BOSTON AND WATCHED THE ENEMY SWEEP
BY, HE SAID, "BURN BOSTON, THOUGH IT MAKES JOHN HANCOCK
A BEGGAR."

ALTOGETHER, OF THE 56 MEN WHO SIGNED OUR GREAT
DECLARATION, FIVE WERE TAKEN PRISONER; TWELVE HAD THEIR HOMES
SACKED; TWO LOST THEIR SONS; NINE DIED IN THE WAR ITSELF.

THOSE MEN KNEW WHAT THEY WERE DOING. IN THE FINAL
STIRRING WORDS OF THE DECLARATION, THEY PLEGGED TO ONE ANOTHER
"OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES AND OUR SACRED HONOR."

AND WHEN LIBERTY WAS AT STAKE, THEY WERE WILLING TO
PAY THE PRICE.

WE OWE A GREAT DEBT TO THESE FOUNDERS, AND TO THE
FOOT-SOLDIERS WHO FOLLOWED GENERAL WASHINGTON INTO BATTLE
AFTER BATTLE, RETREAT AFTER RETREAT.

BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT FINAL SUCCESS IN THAT
STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, AS IN THE MANY STRUGGLES THAT HAVE
FOLLOWED, WAS DUE TO THE STRENGTH AND SUPPORT OF ORDINARY
MEN AND WOMEN WHO WERE MOTIVATED BY THREE POWERFUL IMPULSES --
PERSONAL FREEDOM, SELF-GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL UNITY.

FOR ALL BUT THE BLACK SLAVES, MANY OF WHOM FOUGHT
BRAVELY BESIDE THEIR MASTERS BECAUSE THEY ALSO HEARD THE
PROMISE OF THE DECLARATION, FREEDOM WAS WON IN 1783.
BUT THE LOOSE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION HAD PROVED INADEQUATE
IN WAR AND WERE EVEN LESS EFFECTIVE IN PEACE.

AGAIN IN 1787, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE AND THE
STATES MET IN THIS PLACE TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION,
A PERMANENT LEGAL MECHANISM THAT WOULD TRANSLATE THE PRINCIPLES
AND PURPOSE OF JEFFERSON'S DECLARATION INTO EFFECTIVE
SELF-GOVERNMENT.

SIX SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION CAME BACK TO FORGE THE
CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING THE SAGE OF PHILADELPHIA,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. JEFFERSON HAD REPLACED HIM AS AMBASSADOR
IN PARIS. THE YOUNG GENIUS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
WAS ANOTHER VIRGINIAN, JAMES MADISON. THE HERO OF THE
REVOLUTION, WASHINGTON, WAS CALLED BACK FROM MOUNT VERNON
TO PRESIDE.

SELDOM IN HISTORY HAVE THE MEN WHO MADE A REVOLUTION

SEEN IT THROUGH, BUT THE UNITED STATES WAS FORTUNATE.

THE RESULT OF THEIR DELIBERATIONS AND COMPROMISES WAS OUR

CONSTITUTION, WHICH WILLIAM GLADSTONE, A GREAT BRITISH PRIME

MINISTER, CALLED "THE MOST WONDERFUL WORK EVER STRUCK OFF

AT A GIVEN TIME BY THE BRAIN AND PURPOSE OF MAN."

THE CONSTITUTION WAS CREATED TO MAKE THE PROMISE OF THE
DECLARATION COME TRUE. THE DECLARATION WAS NOT A PROTEST
AGAINST GOVERNMENT, BUT AGAINST THE EXCESSES OF GOVERNMENT.
IT PRESCRIBED THE PROPER ROLE OF GOVERNMENT, TO SECURE THE
RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS.
IN MODERN SOCIETY NO INDIVIDUAL CAN DO THIS ALONE, SO
GOVERNMENT IS NOT A NECESSARY EVIL, BUT A NECESSARY GOOD.

THE FRAMERS OF THE DECLARATION FEARED A CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT THAT WAS TOO STRONG, AS MANY AMERICANS RIGHTLY
DO TODAY. THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION, AFTER THEIR
EXPERIENCE UNDER THE ARTICLES, FEARED A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
THAT WAS TOO WEAK, AS MANY AMERICANS RIGHTLY DO TODAY.

THEY SPENT DAYS STUDYING ALL THE CONTEMPORARY GOVERNMENTS
OF EUROPE AND CONCLUDED WITH DR. FRANKLIN THAT ALL CONTAINED
THE SEEDS OF THEIR OWN DESTRUCTION•

SO THE FRAMERS BUILT SOMETHING NEW, DRAWING ON THEIR
ENGLISH TRADITIONS, ON THE ROMAN REPUBLIC, AND ON THE
UNIQUELY AMERICAN INSTITUTION OF THE TOWN MEETING•

TO REASSURE THOSE WHO FELT THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION
DID NOT SUFFICIENTLY SPELL OUT THE UNALIENABLE RIGHTS OF THE
DECLARATION, THE FIRST UNITED STATES CONGRESS ADDED, AND THE
STATES RATIFIED, THE FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS, WHICH WE CALL
THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

LATER, AFTER A TRAGIC FRATERNAL WAR, THOSE GUARANTEES
WERE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE ALL AMERICANS. LATER STILL,
VOTING RIGHTS WERE ASSURED FOR WOMEN AND FOR YOUNGER CITIZENS
18 TO 21 YEARS OF AGE. IT IS GOOD TO KNOW THAT IN OUR OWN
LIFE-TIMES, WE HAVE TAKEN PART IN THE GROWTH OF FREEDOM AND
THE EXPANSION OF EQUALITY WHICH BEGAN HERE SO LONG AGO.

THIS UNION OF CORRECTED WRONGS AND EXPANDED

RIGHTS HAS BROUGHT THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO 215

MILLION AMERICANS TODAY, BUT THE STRUGGLE FOR LIFE,

LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS IS NEVER TRULY

WON.

EACH GENERATION OF AMERICANS, INDEED OF ALL HUMANITY,

MUST STRIVE TO ACHIEVE THESE ASPIRATIONS ANEW.

LIBERTY IS A LIVING FLAME TO BE FED, NOT DEAD
ASHES TO BE REVERED, EVEN IN A BICENTENNIAL YEAR.
IT IS FITTING THAT WE ASK OURSELVES HARD QUESTIONS,
EVEN ON A GLORIOUS DAY LIKE TODAY.

ARE "THE INSTITUTIONS UNDER WHICH WE LIVE"

WORKING THE WAY THEY SHOULD?

ARE THE FOUNDATIONS

LAI IN 1776 AND 1789 STILL STRONG ENOUGH AND SOUND

ENOUGH TO RESIST THE TREMORS OF OUR TIMES?

ARE OUR GOD-GIVEN RIGHTS SECURE, OUR HARD-WON LIBERTIES

PROTECTED?

THE VERY FACT THAT WE CAN ASK THESE QUESTIONS,
THAT WE CAN FREELY EXAMINE AND CRITICIZE OUR SOCIETY,
IS CAUSE FOR CONFIDENCE IN ITSELF. MANY OF THE VOICES
RAISED IN DOUBT 200 YEARS AGO SERVED TO STRENGTHEN AND
IMPROVE THE DECISIONS FINALLY MADE.

THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE IS A CONTINUING PROCESS.

AS ONE MILESTONE IS PASSED ANOTHER IS SIGHTED.

AS WE ACHIEVE ONE GOAL -- A LONGER LIFESPAN, A LITERATE
POPULATION, A LEADERSHIP IN WORLD AFFAIRS --

WE RAISE OUR SIGHTS.

AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY THERE IS STILL SO

MUCH TO BE DONE.

-- WE MUST INCREASE THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE

INDIVIDUAL, AND THE OPPORTUNITY OF ALL AMERICANS TO

ATTAIN THEIR FULL POTENTIAL.

-- WE MUST ENSURE EACH CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO

PRIVACY.

-- WE MUST CREATE A MORE BEAUTIFUL AMERICA,

MAKING HUMAN WORKS CONFORM TO THE HARMONY OF

NATURE.

-- WE MUST DEVELOP A SAFER SOCIETY, SO ORDERED

THAT HAPPINESS MAY BE PURSUED WITHOUT FEAR OF CRIME

OR MAN-MADE HAZARDS.

-- WE MUST BUILD A MORE STABLE INTERNATIONAL
ORDER, POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY AND LEGALLY•

-- WE MUST MATCH THE GREAT BREAKTHROUGHS OF THE
PAST CENTURY ^{by} IMPROVING HEALTH AND CONQUERING DISEASE•

-- WE MUST CONTINUE TO UNLOCK THE SECRETS OF
THE UNIVERSE BEYOND OUR PLANET AS WELL AS WITHIN OURSELVES•

-- WE MUST WORK TO ENRICH THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN

LIFE AT WORK, AT PLAY AND IN OUR HOMES.

IT IS RIGHT THAT AMERICANS ARE ALWAYS IMPROVING

IT IS NOT ONLY RIGHT, IT IS NECESSARY. FROM NEED COMES

ACTION, AS IT DID HERE IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.

THOSE FIERCE POLITICAL RIVALS, JOHN ADAMS AND

THOMAS JEFFERSON, IN THEIR LATER YEARS CARRIED ON A WARM

CORRESPONDENCE. BOTH DIED ON THE FOURTH OF JULY

OF 1826 HAVING LIVED TO SEE THE HANDIWORK OF THEIR FINEST

HOUR ENDURE A FULL 50 YEARS.

THEY HAD SEEN THE DECLARATION'S CLEAR CALL FOR HUMAN

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY AROUSE THE HOPES OF ALL MANKIND,

AND JEFFERSON WROTE TO ADAMS THAT "EVEN SHOULD THE

CLOUD OF BARBARISM AND DESPOTISM AGAIN OBSCURE THE

SCIENCE AND LIBRARIES OF EUROPE, THIS COUNTRY REMAINS

TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE LIGHT AND LIBERTY TO THEM."

OVER A CENTURY LATER, IN 1936, JEFFERSON'S

DIRE PROPHECY SEEMED ABOUT TO COME TRUE.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, SPEAKING FOR A MIGHTY

NATION REINFORCED BY MILLIONS OF IMMIGRANTS WHO HAD JOINED

THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE, WAS ABLE TO WARN THE NEW

DESPOTISM.

"WE TOO, BORN TO FREEDOM, AND BELIEVING IN

FREEDOM, ARE WILLING TO FIGHT TO MAINTAIN FREEDOM.

WE, AND ALL OTHERS WHO BELIEVE AS DEEPLY AS WE DO,

WOULD RATHER DIE ON OUR FEET / THAN LIVE ON OUR KNEES."

THE WORLD KNOWS WHERE WE STAND. THE WORLD
IS EVER CONSCIOUS OF WHAT AMERICANS ARE DOING, FOR
BETTER OR FOR WORSE, BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES REMAINS
TODAY THE MOST SUCCESSFUL REALIZATION OF HUMANITY'S
UNIVERSAL HOPE.

THE WORLD MAY OR MAY NOT FOLLOW, BUT WE LEAD
BECAUSE OUR WHOLE HISTORY SAYS WE MUST;
LIBERTY IS FOR ALL MEN AND WOMEN AS A MATTER OF EQUAL
AND UNALIENABLE RIGHT. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUSTICE
AND PEACE ABROAD WILL IN LARGE MEASURE DEPEND UPON THE
PEACE AND JUSTICE WE CREATE HERE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY,
FOR WE STILL SHOW THE WAY.

THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE BEGAN HERE "WITH A FIRM
RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE."

IT CONTINUES IN A COMMON CONVICTION THAT THE SOURCE OF

OUR BLESSINGS IS A LOVING GOD, IN WHOM WE TRUST.

THEREFORE, I ASK ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY,

OUR GUESTS AND FRIENDS, ^{*stand &*} TO JOIN ME NOW IN A MOMENT

OF SILENT PRAYER OR MEDITATION:

-- IN GRATITUDE FOR ALL WE HAVE RECEIVED

-- AND TO ASK CONTINUED SAFETY AND HAPPINESS

FOR EACH OF US, AND FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(LONG PAUSE)

THANK YOU / AND GOD BLESS YOU.

END OF TEXT